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Reduction of location error in GPS collar tracking data of bovine cattle by using data screening

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Abstract

Global Positioning System (GPS) telemetry enables tracking of an individual animal over a long period of time and can provide researches with accurate information on animal movement. However, various environmental factors influence the satellite signals received by a GPS collar, potentially deteriorating accuracy of position. We tracked Caprivi Sanga cattle using Televilt Tellus Basic GPS collars in North-East Namibia in 2006 and 2007. Locations obtained during the night, when the cattle are gathered inside livestock enclosures, revealed that a significant proportion of the locations are inaccurate. We used data of seven GPS collars for testing different data screening options as a way to reduce location error. Basic analysis showed that simple measures of accuracy like dilution of precision (DOP) and figure of merit (FOM) are not sufficient to remove erroneous locations from the data. We removed the inaccurate locations with the following condition: 2D location with DOP >6 or 0< altitude <850 m or altitude >1050 m or DOP ≥10 or FOM ≥10 or walking speed of the animal over 4.5 km/h. This data screening option eliminated 75% of the most erroneous locations (>300 m from the livestock enclosures) retaining 97.2% of the locations correctly located inside the livestock enclosures. Before data screening, 95% (1372) of the night-time locations that were located outside the livestock enclosures were located 71-406 m from the enclosures. The maximum error was over 10 km. After data screening, 95% (485) of the locations were 54-298 m from the enclosures; the maximum error was 4.4 km.

Introduction

Global Positioning System (GPS) telemetry is a widely used method in studies of animal movement, habitat use and resource selection. GPS collars have many benefits in studies of animal movement: the collars enable tracking of an individual animal over a long period of time and automatically record geographical position at predefined time intervals. The

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method has been used in wildlife studies, but also in monitoring semi-domestic reindeer (Kumpula & Colpaert, 2007) and domestic cattle grazing (e.g., Turner, Udal, Larson, & Shearer, 2000; Agouridis et al., 2004; Bailey, Keil, & Rittenhouse, 2004). GPS measurement has been usually assumed to be reliable and accurate in comparison to conventional radio-telemetry. Recent studies indicate that GPS error can be substantial and need to be accounted for when location accuracy is required.

Reliability of GPS collar data depends on the fix rate (i.e., rate of GPS measurement success) and accuracy of obtained fixes. Availability, quality and strength of satellite signals received by a GPS collar can be influenced by various environmental factors, all potentially leading to unsuccessful fix attempts and increased positional errors. Terrain obstructions (D'Eon, Serrouya, Smith, & Kochanny, 2002; Cain III, Krausman, Jansen, & Morgart, 2005; Lewis, Rachlow, Garton, & Vierling, 2007) and vegetation characteristics such as canopy cover and height (Di Orio, Callas, & Schaefer, 2003; Agouridis et al., 2004; Frair et al., 2004; DeCesare, Squires, & Kolbe, 2005; Lewis et al., 2007; Hansen & Riggs, 2008) are examples of environmental factors that may interfere with connection between satellites and GPS receivers. Error in GPS data will have influence on analyses of animal locations and movements (e.g., Jerde & Visscher, 2005). For example, systematically failing fix attempts cause a loss of information that can influence assessments of resource selection by animals. Position inaccuracy can lead to misclassification of habitat use depending on the magnitude of location error and landscape heterogeneity (Frair et al., 2004, p.202). Animal activity also causes variation both in fix rate and location error (D'Eon & Delparte, 2005; Lewis et al., 2007).

During 2006 and 2007, we collected GPS data using GPS collars to study grazing and movement patterns of Caprivi Sanga cattle on the floodplains of the Zambezi River in East Caprivi, North-East Namibia. In East Caprivi, the cattle graze under supervision of herdsmen during daytime and spend the night inside livestock enclosures (locally called kraal). Examination of the downloaded data revealed that there are obvious inaccuracies in the data since some night-time positions were located outside the enclosures at distances exceeding the nominal accuracy of the GPS-module (+/- 15 m). The quantity and magnitude of the location errors demanded elimination of at least the largest errors from the data using data screening techniques. Aim of the data screening is to eliminate inaccurate locations from the data while retaining the maximum amount of accurate positions. Caution is necessary, as unwanted data reduction resulting from too rigorous data screening may introduce additional biases (e.g., Frair et al., 2004; Lewis et al., 2007). However, the acceptable level of data accuracy and data reduction depends on the research goals and methods.

In studies carried out with GPS collars, different data screening options have been tested usually based on 2D/3D fix and DOP values (dilution of precision) (e.g., D'Eon et al., 2002; D'Eon & Delparte, 2005; Lewis et al., 2007). Two-dimensional (2D) and three-dimensional (3D) fixes are obtained when three or more satellites, respectively, are available; the latter usually are more accurate than the former (e.g., Di Orio et al., 2003, p. 373). Dilution of precision (DOP) is a mathematical representation for the quality of the GPS position solution that is affected mainly by the configuration of (distance and angle between) the satellites used to obtain the position. As a general rule, positions that are obtained with many satellites and have a low DOP value are accurate. Positions that have either low number of satellites, or have a high DOP value may not be as accurate (Televilt, 2006, p. 27).

The aim of this study is to evaluate different data screening options and their effect on the magnitude of positional error, as a purpose to reduce the amount of inaccurate positions and thus increase accuracy of the data. We estimated: (i) effectiveness of a DOP limit of 10, recommended e.g. by D'Eon and Delparte (2005), and (ii) effectiveness of other variables recorded by the GPS collars (2D/3D, FOM and altitude) in elimination of inaccurate positions. We also estimated (iii) which critical variable values and combinations of variables reduce most effectively the magnitude of location error without causing unacceptable data reduction.

Study area

The GPS collar data were collected on grazing areas of seven villages in East Caprivi, North-East Namibia. Mutikitila, Limai, Isuswa, Ioma, Mubbu and Lyalumba are located in the Salambala Conservancy and Ivilivinzi on the floodplains east from Salambala. The annually flooding area is located between the Zambezi River and its tributary, the Chobe River (Figure 1). The topography of the area is very flat ranging between 926 to 937 m above sea level. The climate has a dry and a rainy season (summer), at the end of which the area is affected by sometimes severe flooding of the Zambezi River. Open grasslands and wetlands on the floodplains form a significant type of vegetation and landscape. On higher ground the vegetation is characterized by open savanna forest and shrubland.

During the tracking period, the cattle were kept overnight inside livestock enclosures (Figure 2). In total 12 livestock enclosures were used during this time. In Ioma and Mubbu, only the enclosure located in the village was used during the tracking period. In other villages, besides the enclosures in the villages the cattle were also moved to another grazing area where new enclosures were constructed for part of the year (Figure 1, Table 1).



Figure 1. Location of the livestock enclosures in East Caprivi, North-East Namibia. Annually flooding areas are based on GIS data of Atlas of Namibia Project (2002).



Figure 2. The livestock enclosure, locally called "kraal", in Lyalumba, East Caprivi (Photo: Katja Polojärvi ,4 July 2006).

Materials and methods

During 2006 and 2007, 14 Televilt Tellus Basic 5H2D v2.0 (store onboard, nominal accuracy +/- 15 m) GPS collars (Televilt/Followit Lindesberg Ab, Sweden) were deployed on Caprivi Sanga cattle in ten villages of East Caprivi. The collars were programmed using Tellus Project Manager (TPM) to record one location per hour every day of the year. GPS Positioning Time was set to 90 s and the sensitivity for the activity sensor was set to five (medium sensitivity). In addition to the date (yyyy-mm-dd), time (hh:mm, Greenwich Mean Time) and geographic coordinates (Latitude/Longitude in decimal degrees), the collars also recorded the following information (Televilt, 2006, p. 27):

- Time (s) the GPS receiver has used to obtain the fix.
- SV: number of the satellites used to obtain the fix.
- Altitude (m) when at least four satellites are available.
- 2D/3D: the obtained fixes are three-dimensional when the collar has contact with four or more satellites. Otherwise the obtained fixes are two-dimensional.
- DOP: dilution of precision is a measure of the quality of the GPS data being received from the satellites. DOP is a mathematical representation for the quality of the GPS position solution that is affected mainly by the configuration of (distance and angle between) the satellites used to obtain the position. DOP values are between 0.0 and 25.0.
- FOM: figure of merit values indicates the best accuracy achievable from the satellites being tracked; the lower the value, the more accurate position. The

calculation of FOM values is manufacturer specific and varies between different GPS module brands.

- Temperature (C°) inside the main housing at the time the position was obtained.
- X,Y: The activity level that is measured as a certain change in collar position during the time the collar has been used to obtain the fix.

Tracking period and amount of data varied due to several reasons. 10 GPS collars (collars 1-10), which were deployed on bulls in July 2006, encountered severe problems; one collar (collar 2) was lost immediately and six collars (collars 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 10) were disabled as a result of serious damage. Physical damage was most certainly caused by fighting between bulls in the same herd. During the tracking period, the collars were retrieved from the bulls, were downloaded and the functioning collars were redeployed on cows of the same herds. Four new collars (collars 11-14) made of reinforced material were also deployed in November 2006 and June 2007 to replace some of the disabled collars. One of the reinforced collars (collar 11) had serious malfunctions. In total, data of eight collars were lost or incomplete. The seven best functioning collars operating on the grazing areas of seven villages and in 12 livestock enclosures were chosen to study data accuracy and screening options (Table 1).

Most obvious errors in the GPS data are recorded fixes without geographical coordinates or with coordinates where latitude and/or longitude are saved incorrectly, these errors were deleted from the data. Fix rates (%), or proportions of the successfully obtained fixes to fix attempts, were calculated for the collar data. The sequential recording of locations at hourly intervals enables calculation of hourly walking distances of the tracked animals. The distances between sequentially recorded locations, also called step lengths, were calculated using Hawth's Analysis Tools for ArcGIS (version 3.26) (Beyer 2004).
Table 1. Operation periods of seven GPS collars in 12 livestock enclosures in East Caprivi, North-East Namibia in 2006 and 2007.

GPS collar	Enclo-sure	Location of the enclosure:	Latitude, Longitude (DMS)	Operation period of the GPS collar
1	1A	Isuswa:	17°55´55″S, 24°39´55″E	1.7.2006 – 20.8.2006, 29.11.2006 – 7.3.2007[1])
	1B	Grazing area (Isuswa):	17°53´0″S, 24°37´33″E	7.3.2007 – 4.6.2007
4	4	Ioma:	17°55´36″S, 24°37´42″E	2.7.2006 – 30.9.2006
7	7A	Lyalumba:	17°54´13″S, 24°42´17″E	4.7.2006 – 23.8.2006
	7B	Grazing area (Lyalumba):	17°39´58″S, 25°3´41″E	23.8.2006 – 1.2.2007
9	9A	Ivilivinzi:	17°47´23″S, 24°56´8″E	6.7.2006 – 18.2.2007
	9B	Grazing area (Ivilivinzi):	17°50´25″S, 24°44´20″E	18.2.2007 – 5.6.2007
12	12A	Limai:	17°52´57″S, 24°38´41″E	7.1.2007 – 1.6.2007[2])
	12B	Mutikitila:	17°57´40″S, 24°34´26″E	7.6.2007 – 15.8.2007
	12C	Grazing area (Mutikitila):	18°2´54″S, 24°32´11″E	15.8.2007 – 4.12.2007
13	13	Mubbu:	17°53´22″S, 24°39´52″E	5.6.2007 – 7.12.2007
14	14	Grazing area (Limai):	17°52´57″S, 24°38´41″E	4.6.2007 – 7.12.2007

[1]) The collar fell off on 21 August 2006, but was retrieved and redeployed on 29 November 2006.
[2]) The animal carrying the collar 12 used two other livestock enclosures on the grazing area of Limai from November 2006 to January 2007. The data are patchy as a result of constant movement between the enclosures and thus excluded from the study.

Data classification

The collar data were imported into the ArcMap 9.1 (ArcGIS 9/ESRI Inc., USA) GIS software for reviewing and analysing. Firstly, the data of the seven collars were divided into 12 data sets according to a livestock enclosure (Table 1). Date and time when the enclosures and grazing areas were used are easily recognised in ArcMap. Secondly, the collar data were classified into the daytime grazing locations and the night-time enclosure locations. The evaluation of different data screening options requires that accurate and inaccurate locations are known. Thus, thirdly, the enclosure locations were again classified into "accurate" inside and "inaccurate" outside locations.

In autumn 2008, we were able to record perimeters of the four livestock enclosures located on the grazing areas of Isuswa and Ivilivinzi (collars 1 and 9) using GPS. Perimeters of the other enclosures were not recorded in the field and thus a rigorous MCP (minimum convex polygon) approach was used in data classification.

Collars 1 and 9

During the field trip in September 2008, the perimeters of the four livestock enclosures of Isuswa and Ivilivinzi were recorded using a Fortuna Slim Bluetooth GPS (Fortuna Electronic, Taiwan) connected to a Toshiba ToughBook laptop with GeoMedia Professional 6.0 (Intergraph, USA) GIS software. The digitized perimeters of the enclosures were imported into the ArcMap 9.1 (ArcGIS 9/ESRI Inc., USA). Because of the nominal GPS position error (+/- 15 m), a buffer of 15 m was set around the perimeters of the enclosures. This buffer was used to remove positional ambiguity, e.g. ensuring that observations were correctly classified into inside and outside locations. The classification of the data into grazing and enclosure locations is also based on the boundary formed by the outer edge of the buffer.

In ArcMap, all locations were checked and classified according to arrival in and departure from the buffered enclosures. Movement is easy to review in ArcMap, and based on that the animals graze as late as possible and then walk directly into the enclosure before sunset. It must also be noted that any damage to crops by cattle carries a fine, as a consequence of which people ensure that their cattle are indeed in the enclosures during the growing season.

Several presumptions were needed when classifying the data: (1) When the animal arrives in the enclosure in the afternoon (between 15:00 and 18:00 GMT), it stays there until the following morning. (2) In case there are many error locations during the afternoon (i.e., many locations outside but very near the enclosure), the first location near the enclosure is the last grazing location of the day and the animal goes thereafter directly into the enclosure. Thus, the other locations outside but very near the enclosure are classified as inaccurate. (3) After leaving the enclosure in the morning (between 5:00 and 7:00 GMT) the animal does not go back into the enclosure before the afternoon. (4) In case there are many error locations during the morning, the last location outside but very near the enclosure is assumed to be the first grazing location. To avoid possible misclassification, all locations were carefully checked hour by hour in ArcMap revealing possible escapes or other reasons why tracked animals moved outside the enclosures during the night. In case the animal had escaped, was lost or migrating, the movements outside the enclosure are systematic and logical and thus easily recognised. However, movements of this kind were very exceptional. In total 226 locations in data of the collars 7, 9, 12, 13 and 14 were excluded from the study due to this kind of night-time movements.

The evening and night-time locations, when the cattle are supposed to be inside the enclosure, were divided in "accurate" locations inside and "inaccurate" locations outside the buffered enclosures. In ArcMap, the distances between the inaccurate outside locations and the enclosure buffers were calculated. It must be noticed that the diameters of the buffered enclosures varied between 67 and 102 m and thus all locations falling inside the buffered enclosures are not necessarily accurate. However, accurate locations are concentrated inside the buffered enclosures, and locations outside the enclosures are mainly inaccurate. Distribution of the night-time enclosure locations inside and outside the four buffered enclosures is illustrated in Figure 3.

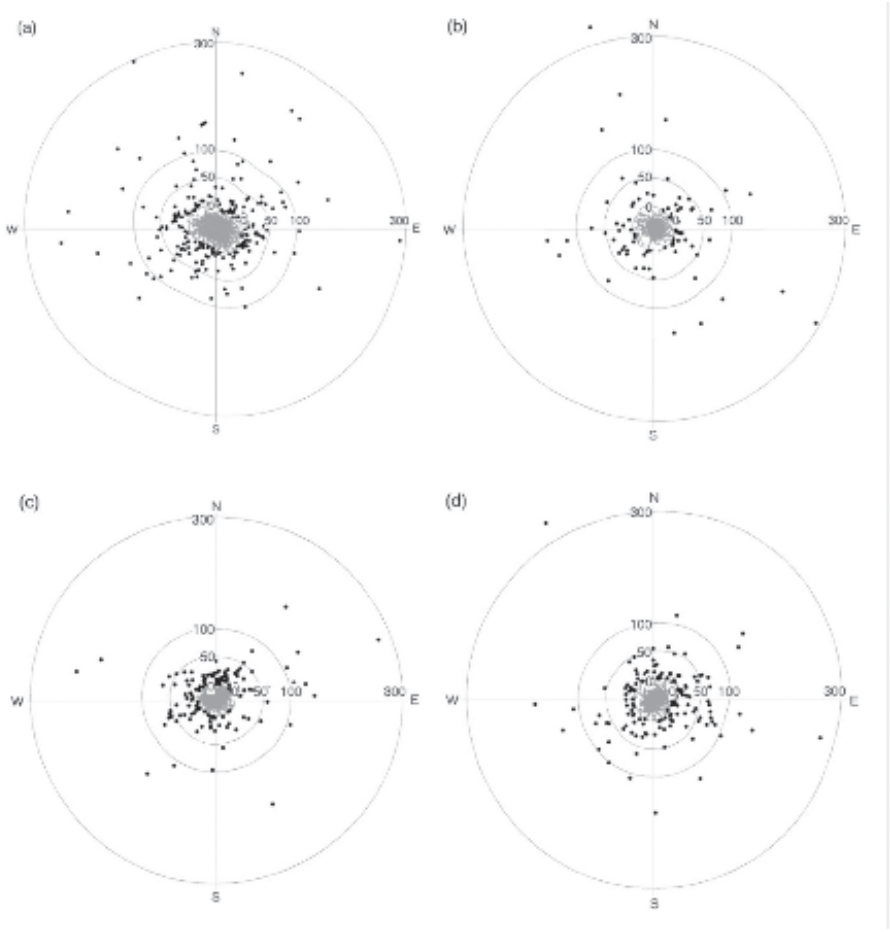


Figure 3. Distribution of the night-time enclosure locations inside (grey dots) and outside (black dots) the four livestock enclosures: (a) 1A, (b) 1B, (c) 9A and (d) 9B. Circles (0, 50, 100 and 300) illustrate the distance (m) from the outer edge of the enclosure buffer. Largest outliers are not shown in the figure.

Collars 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14

The perimeters of the livestock enclosures used by the animals carrying the collars 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14 were not digitized with GPS in the field. These collars were used to test and refine the data screening strategies derived from analysing collars 1 and 9. To obtain the size and form of the enclosures we generated polygons for the enclosures based on the fact that the night-time observations were predominantly correctly located inside the enclosures forming dense clusters that reveal the location and even the shape of the enclosures. To simplify the classification of very large amount of locations into the daytime grazing locations and the night-time enclosure locations, the arrival in and departure from the enclosures in the morning and in the afternoon were first manually checked in ArcMap. Because the exact perimeters of the enclosures were not known, only the locations between 20:00 and 4:00 (GMT) were chosen for the study. For the classification into the "accurate" locations inside and "inaccurate" locations outside the enclosures

we created minimum convex polygons (MCP) of 90% and 40% by using the Home Range Tools for ArcGIS (version 1.1.) (Rodgers, Carr, Beyer, Smith, & Kie, 2007). The floating mean algorithm calculates the arithmetic mean of all points, and then drops the farthest single point. The mean is recalculated from the subset of points and another point is dropped. This continues until the requested percentage of points remains selected (Rodgers & Carr, 2002, p. 17).

MCP 90% forms a polygon clearly outside the location clusters leaving the farthest and most erroneous locations outside the polygon. The "accurate" locations inside the enclosures were chosen by creating MCP 40%. The result of the calculation is a smaller polygon clearly inside the dense location clusters. The limit of 40% was not calculable in data of enclosures 7B (Lyalumba) and 14 (Limai) and thus MCP 41% and MCP 50%, respectively, were used. The real perimeter of the enclosure is located approximately between the edges of MCP 90% and inner MCP 40% (41%, 50%). All the locations in this zone were excluded from the study. Only the farthest locations outside the MCP 90% and the locations inside the MCP 40% core of the enclosures were included in the study. An example of data classification is illustrated in Figure 4.

Location error means the distance between a location recorded by GPS receiver and a true location of the tracked object at the moment when the GPS fix is obtained. Because the livestock enclosures are areas, exact location errors in metres are not calculable. However, understanding about the magnitude of location error is necessary. Because of this, the geometric centroid (i.e., centre of area) of the MCPs 90% and distances between the GPS locations and the centroid were calculated in ArcMap. The centroids do not represent the real geometric centres of the enclosures but are close approximations of them.

Evaluation of data screening options

The simple method to remove erroneous locations from GPS tracking data is to remove all locations above or below a certain DOP, FOM or 2D/3D limit. However, additional measures can be calculated from the GPS data. We have utilized the step length between hourly observations as a measure of accuracy. The maximum walking distance per hour of the cattle was estimated from hourly observations during the migration from one grazing area to another. The maximum hourly walking distances were 4019 m/h (collar 1, Ioma), 4396 m/h (collar 7, Lyalumba) and 4042 m/h (collar 9, Ivilivinzi). For example, the tracked animal of Lyalumba migrated nearly 50 km from the eastern flooded area to the hinterland during one day, which means that the walking had to be straightforward. The step length limit was set to 4500 m. Before removing these cases from the data, time between two sequential locations was ensured to be one hour by manual checking in ArcMap. We also applied a measure to verify 3D accuracy, as the area is very flat, we could identify 3D observations with exceptional large deviations from the local base level.

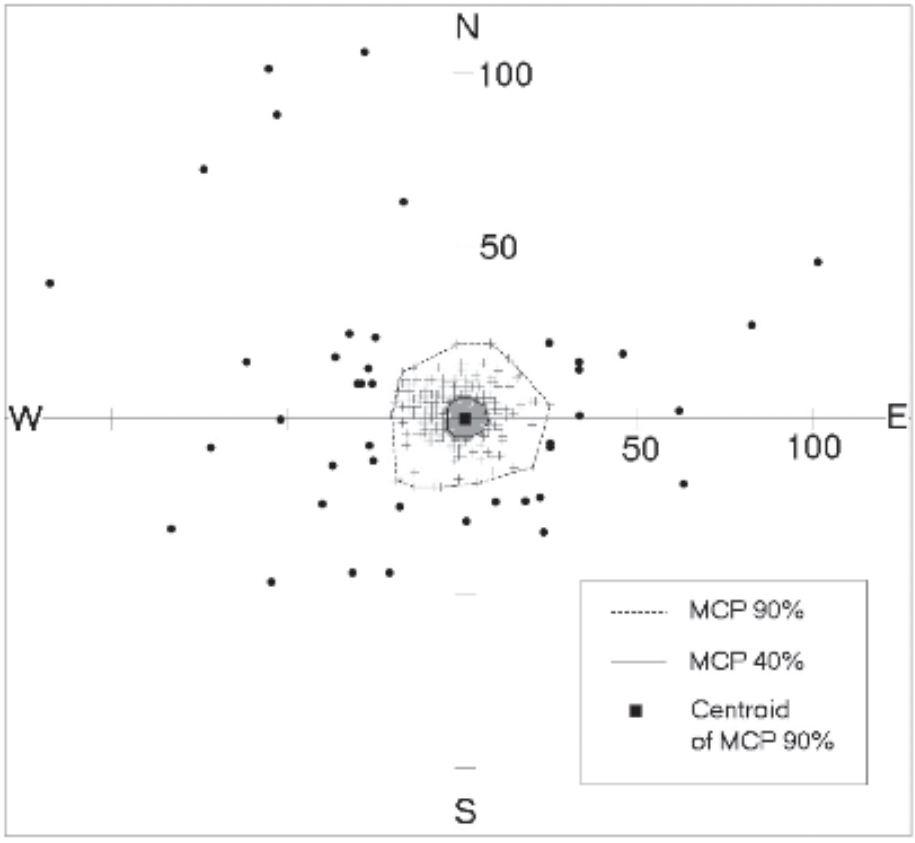


Figure 4. An example of data classification: The night-time enclosure locations (recorded 20:00-4:00 GMT) in data 7A (Lyalumba) classified into the accurate locations inside the livestock enclosure (grey dots inside MCP 40%), the inaccurate locations outside the enclosure (black dots outside MCP 90%) and the locations excluded from the study (black crosses) based on the minimum convex polygons. The distances (50 and 100 m) are calculated from the centroid of the MCP 90% (black square).

DOP and FOM values and altitudes with different limits, step lengths over 4500 m and 2D fixes were tested as data screening options, first each variable separately, and thereafter using different combinations and limits of the variables. First, proportions of these variables among the "inaccurate" outside locations and "accurate" inside locations were calculated with SPSS 16.0 (SPSS Inc., USA) statistical software. 3D locations, low DOP and FOM values and altitudes near the base altitude level (926-937 m.a.s.l.) are expected to be prevalent among the "accurate" inside locations. On the contrary, 2D locations, high DOP and FOM values as well as altitudes clearly differing from the base altitude level should be prevalent among the "inaccurate" outside locations.

Different data screening options were evaluated using the enclosure locations of 1A, 1B, 9A and 9B. In SPSS, the ability of different options to eliminate largest location errors and resulting elimination of accurate locations were compared by calculating proportions of eliminated locations among the "inaccurate" outside locations for different distances

(<=100 m, >100 m, > 300 m) and likewise among the "accurate" locations inside the buffered enclosures. Effects on the magnitude of location error were estimated by calculating mean, standard error of mean, standard deviation and frequency percentiles (50%, 95%, 99% and 100%) for the distances the "inaccurate" locations are from the buffered enclosures, and by comparing these calculations before and after data screening. It must be stressed that the calculated distances only approximate the magnitude of location error and are not absolute values expressed as radial distance of error location from true location.

The results of the first phase were used to distinguish the variables and combinations that were most effective in data screening. These data screening options were again tested using the data of collars 4, 7, 12, 13, and 14. In SPSS, mean, standard error of mean, standard deviation and frequency percentiles (50%, 95%, 99% and 100%) were calculated for the distances between the "inaccurate" locations and the centroids of the MCPs 90%. The calculations were made before and after data screening with different options. Proportions of eliminated locations among the "inaccurate" locations on different distances (<=100 m, >100 m, > 300 m) and among the "accurate" locations inside the MCPs 40% (41%, 50%) were also calculated.

Results

The fix rates of the collars are mainly over 95%, collars 12 and 13 have the lowest fix rates 90.3% and 86.4% respectively. In data of collars 1 and 9, the night-time enclosure locations comprise over 50% of all the obtained fixes, and 8.5 and 6.4% of them, respectively, were "inaccurate" locations outside the enclosures. In data of the other collars, only enclosure locations between 20:00 and 4:00 (GMT) were chosen for the study decreasing the number of observations in the test. Because data of these collars were classified using minimum convex polygons of 40% and 90%, proportions of the locations classified as "accurate" inside and "inaccurate" outside the enclosures were naturally approximately 40% and 10%, except in data 7B and 14 where MCP40% was replaced with MCP41% and MCP50% (Table 2).

Table 2. Fix rates (%) and successfully obtained fixes for seven Televilt Tellus Basic GPS collars in East Caprivi, North-East Namibia as classified into the night-time enclosure locations (inside and outside) and daytime grazing locations.

	Collar						
	1	4	7	9	12[1])	13	14
Fixes	5528	2098	4868	7778	7053	3848	4344
Fix rate %	96.8	96.8	95.9	97.0	90.3	86.4	97.1
Enclosure locations[2])	3529	805	1791	4648	2784	1548	1574
Classified inside[3])	3228	323	731	4352	1115	620	791
%	91.5	40.1	40.8	93.6	40.1	40.1	50.3
Classified outside[4])	301	80	179	296	277	154	157
%	8.5	9.9	10.0	6.4	9.9	9.9	10.0
Grazing locations	1999	817	1835	3090	2384	1201	1657
Other locations[5])	0	476	1242	40	1885	1099	1113

[1]) Tracking period when the livestock enclosures 12A-C were used by the collared animal.
[2]) Collars 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14: the enclosure locations recorded between 20:00 and 4:00 GMT.
[3]) Collars 1 and 9: inside the buffered enclosures. Collars 4, 7, 12 and 13: inside MCP40% (data 7B: MCP41%). Collar 14: inside MCP50%.
[4]) Collars 1 and 9: outside the buffered enclosures. Collars 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14: outside MCP90%.
[5]) Locations when the tracked animal migrated or otherwise stayed overnight somewhere else than in the livestock enclosure. In data of collars 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14, the enclosure locations recorded before 20:00 and after 4:00 (GMT) are also included in these locations.

Obtained fixes are mainly three-dimensional (3D), proportions of which are higher among the "accurate" locations inside the livestock enclosures. Two-dimensional (2D) fixes are more prevalent among the "inaccurate" locations outside the enclosures. The proportion of 2D fixes is as high as 34% in data 12A, but mostly the proportions are less than 10%. DOP <3 values are clearly more prevalent among the "accurate" locations than among the "inaccurate" locations. Proportions of DOP >10 values among the "inaccurate" locations vary between 0.0 and 8.8% indicating that a DOP limit of 10 is ineffective. Differences in proportions of FOM >10 values among the "accurate" and "inaccurate" locations are instead much larger being higher among the "inaccurate" locations varying between 9.4 and 22.1%. Calculations made with different altitude limits revealed that altitudes over 0 m but under 850 m or altitudes over 1050 m eliminated most effectively inaccurate locations. These altitudes are more prevalent among the "inaccurate" locations and are actually very infrequent among the "accurate" enclosures locations. This indicates that the altitude limits are able to remove erroneous locations from the GPS data, while retaining accurate locations. Only a few outliers are located over 4500 m from the enclosures and thus very few locations have a step length value exceeding 4500 m (Table 3).

Table 3. Variety of data screening options and proportions (%) of fixes inside and outside the livestock enclosures fulfilling the conditions.

		Fixes (%)							
		Data screening option:							
Enclosure		3D	2D	DOP<3	DOP>10	FOM>10	0<alt <850 m	alt>1050 m	step length >4500 m
Inside									
1A	2321	96.7	3.3	84.4	0.4	2.0	0.9	0.5	0.0
1B	907	93.5	6.5	81.8	0.9	1.8	1.0	0.7	0.0
4	323	97.5	2.5	86.1	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
7A	168	99.4	0.6	88.1	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0
7B	563	99.6	0.4	94.7	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
9A	2902	99.1	0.9	87.8	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.1	0.0
9B	1450	97.7	2.3	83.1	0.5	1.6	1.0	0.6	0.0
12A	490	94.7	5.3	79.2	0.8	1.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
12B	230	95.2	4.8	84.8	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.4	0.0
12C	395	96.5	3.5	85.3	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
13	620	100.0	0.0	91.5	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
14	791	100.0	0.0	87.4	0.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Outside									
1A	214	85.5	14.5	58.9	5.1	17.3	20.1	10.7	0.0
1B	87	87.4	12.6	60.9	0.0	18.4	21.8	10.3	0.0
4	80	92.5	7.5	56.3	3.8	15.0	8.8	18.8	0.0
7A	42	95.2	4.8	69.0	2.4	14.3	7.1	14.3	2.4
7B	137	92.0	8.0	82.5	0.7	10.2	13.9	7.3	0.0
9A	149	94.0	6.0	68.5	5.4	9.4	8.1	8.1	2.0
9B	147	90.5	9.5	63.9	2.0	13.6	12.2	16.3	0.7
12A	122	65.6	34.4	47.5	8.2	22.1	14.8	14.8	0.0
12B	57	84.2	15.8	50.9	8.8	21.1	17.5	14.0	0.0
12C	98	90.8	9.2	64.3	4.1	14.3	15.3	5.1	0.0
13	154	100.0	0.0	60.4	1.9	12.3	1.9	0.6	0.0
14	157	100.0	0.0	55.4	1.9	12.1	4.5	0.6	0.0

In the combined data of the seven GPS collars, removal of all locations outside the enclosures that have DOP ≥10 eliminated 10% of the locations at a distance of more than 300 m from the livestock enclosures (distance from the enclosure buffers in data of collars 1 and 9, and from the centroids of MCP90% polygons in data of collars 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14). FOM ≥10 as a data screening option was instead able to eliminate 25% of the outside locations on the same distance. Lower limits for DOP and FOM values were also tested but they increased elimination of accurate locations inside the enclosures. Compared to the DOP and FOM values, data screening option 0< altitude <850 m or altitude >1050 m was more effective in elimination of the erroneous locations and in retaining accurate locations (Table 4). However, all these three options were not able to eliminate location errors satisfactorily by themselves.

Before data screening, the magnitude of location error expressed as mean distance between the "inaccurate" locations and the livestock enclosures varied between 31.5 and 159.6 m in data of seven collars. 95% of the "inaccurate" locations outside the enclosures were at a distance from 71.1 to 405.9 m. Maximum distance was as high as 10327 m in data of collar 9 and only 150 m in data of collar 13 (Table 5).

The best performing screening option for the combined data was as follows:
2D location with DOP >6 or 0< altitude <850 m or altitude >1050 m or step length >4500 m or DOP ≥10 or FOM ≥10

This combination of variables was able to eliminate 75% of the most erroneous locations at a distance of more than 300 m (30 locations eliminated from 40 most erroneous locations) and removed only 2.8 % of the "accurate" locations (315 eliminated from 11160 "accurate" locations) (Table 4). After data screening with this option, the mean distance of the remaining "inaccurate" locations vary between 23.5 and 133.0 m. 95% of these remained locations were at a distance of 54.5 to 297.6 m. In data of collar 12, one location with a distance of 4423 m remained. In data of the other collars, maximum distances were from 130.5 to 363.6 m after data screening (Table 5).

Table 4. Variety of data screening options and elimination % of the locations outside and inside the livestock enclosures in individual and combined data of seven GPS collars classified according to the distance from the enclosures.

Data screening option	Distance from enclosure	Elimination % of the locations							
		Collar							
		1	4	7	9	12	13	14	ALL
DOP ≥10									
	> 300 m	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	14.3	-	0.0	10.0
	> 100 m	2.1	7.1	0.0	8.8	12.5	0.0	0.0	7.4
	≤ 100 m	3.9	3.0	1.3	3.1	3.9	2.0	2.1	2.9
	Inside	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.4
FOM ≥10									
	> 300 m	16.7	0.0	0.0	28.6	28.6	-	50.0	25.0
	> 100 m	29.8	42.9	28.6	32.4	31.3	60.0	14.3	31.2
	≤ 100 m	18.1	13.6	11.4	10.3	13.3	13.4	11.9	13.3
	Inside	2.4	0.3	0.4	1.4	2.1	1.3	1.0	1.6
0< altitude <850 m or altitude >1050 m									
	> 300 m	66.7	66.7	0.0	28.6	23.8	-	0.0	32.5
	> 100 m	53.2	57.1	52.4	47.1	37.5	20.0	0.0	42.0
	≤ 100 m	19.5	21.2	17.1	19.1	21.0	2.0	5.6	17.2
	Inside	1.4	0.6	0.1	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.8
2D location with DOP >6 or 0< altitude <850 m or altitude >1050 m or step length >4500 m or DOP ≥10 or FOM ≥10									
	> 300 m	83.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	-	0.0	75.0
	> 100 m	68.1	85.7	66.7	82.4	63.5	60.0	7.1	65.4
	≤ 100 m	43.3	31.8	63.6	28.6	34.3	16.1	17.5	29.6
	Inside	4.4	2.2	0.5	2.6	3.0	1.3	1.3	2.8

Table 5. The magnitude of location error expressed as distances (m) the inaccurate locations are located outside the livestock enclosures1) in data of seven GPS collars before and after data screening with the option: 2D locations with DOP >6 or 0< altitude <850 m or altitude >1050 m or step length >4500 m or DOP ≥10 or FOM ≥10.

Collar (enclosures)	Inaccurate locations	Eliminated locations	Distance (m)[1)]					
					Percentiles			
	n	%	Mean (S.E.)	SD	50	95	99	100
Before data screening:								
1 (A, B)	301		56.7 (6.4)	111.3	23.8	213.3	551.7	1300.2
4	80		95.2 (15.0)	134.2	63.3	284.6	1171.0	1171.0
7 (A, B)	179		96.2 (43.9)	587.2	38.0	141.3	1788.5	7892.2
9 (A, B)	296		159.6 (60.0)	1032.6	18.4	166.0	8849.3	10326.5
12 (A, B, C)	277		156.9 (23.1)	385.3	80.3	405.9	3043.8	4423.2
13	154		31.5 (1.6)	19.4	24.9	71.1	132.4	150.3
14	157		49.7 (4.3)	54.3	30.5	186.6	329.8	363.6
After data screening:								
1 (A, B)	159	47.2	35.2 (4.2)	53.2	15.2	153.0	307.6	329.9
4	47	41.3	61.7 (2.3)	19.0	60.7	98.9	130.5	130.5
7 (A, B)	123	31.3	44.8 (2.4)	27.1	35.6	112.9	179.7	191.2
9 (A, B)	193	34.8	23.5 (2.1)	29.8	12.8	74.0	142.0	221.4
12 (A, B, C)	154	44.4	133.0 (30.6)	380.2	67.2	297.6	2890.1	4423.2
13	127	17.5	29.1 (1.4)	16.1	24.4	54.5	136.8	150.3
14	131	16.6	48.1 (4.7)	53.3	30.0	187.0	342.3	363.6

[1)] Collars 1 and 9: Distance from the outer edge of the buffered perimeter of the livestock enclosure.
Collars 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14: Distance from the centroid of minimum convex polygon of 90%.

Discussion

The GPS collar data were collected in a true pasture environment and natural circumstances, thus representing in practise the problems and challenges that are related to this method. The study revealed that animal tracking by GPS collars effectively produces long-term data about the animal's movements. However, the method also suffers from position inaccuracies, malfunctions and even loss or destruction of some devices. Stronger belt materials reduced at least part of these problems. Selecting of tranquil animal individuals for tracking is also recommended. A possible solution to GPS accuracy problems could be collars allowing differential correction of the downloaded data. However, the seven best functioning GPS collars produced data of animal movements from three months to almost one year. Two collars had a fix rate of 90% or less, but otherwise the fix rates are high (96-97%).

The GPS collar data consist of both failed fix attempts and successfully obtained fixes with different accuracy depending on the prevailing conditions. Fix success and positional accuracy are dependent on the number and configuration of the available GPS satellites, atmospheric conditions and topography. Also, local factors, such as canopy cover and incorrect position of a collar (i.e., GPS antenna not facing the sky), interfere with reception of the GPS signal, thus diluting the fix success and accuracy.

The locations obtained during the night-time were mainly correctly located inside the livestock enclosures, but 6.4-10.0% of the locations were inaccurate outside the enclosures and the maximum errors were several kilometres (150-10327 m). Actually, the proportions of inaccurate locations are higher because of the use of a MCP 90% in testing inaccuracy of collar data 4, 7, 12, 13 and 14. However, less than 3% of these inaccurate locations were located further than 300 m from the livestock enclosures.

When animal tracking is implemented during a long period of time, such as one year, it is not possible to observe tracked animals continuously and examine all constantly changing factors that possibly are affecting GPS performance. Since these factors in the research area were not rigorously studied, we did not estimate causes for the inaccuracies of the data but rather tried to achieve a reasonable method to eliminate largest errors and thus increase the accuracy of the data. This method, also called data screening, lacks general rules how GPS collar data should be processed to eliminate inaccurate locations and retain accurate ones. Dilution of precision (DOP) values, especially with limit of 10, and two-dimensional (2D) fixes are examples of data screening options used in GPS collar studies, but commonly accepted methods are lacking. D'Eon & Delparte (2005, pp. 387-388) have concluded that even the establishment of a rigorous PDOP based (positional dilution of precision) screening method would be difficult because PDOP values are not necessarily related to the size of the location error. According to them, a PDOP limit of 10 removes effectively major outliers but does not significantly change an average location error. We concluded that DOP values are very ineffective in data screening. If the DOP value is ≥10, the location is most likely inaccurate, and removal of these cases from the data can be recommended. But our study also revealed that only very few cases of the inaccurate locations actually have high DOP values. Only four cases (10%) of 40 most erroneous locations (distance > 300 m) have DOP ≥10 and any of the largest outliers are not included them. The "accurate" locations inside the livestock enclosures have mainly DOP <3 (79-95% of the locations), but the low DOP values are also fairly common among the "inaccurate" locations outside the enclosures (48-83% of the locations).

2D fixes are obtained when only three satellites are available. Small number of the satellites may reduce accuracy of the obtained fixes, but not necessarily. Based on the data screening evaluations, we do not recommend removal of all 2D locations automatically. Removal of 2D location when DOP value is also higher retains more effectively accurate locations. We used 2D location with DOP >6 as one data screening option. The result supports the view of Lewis et al. (2007, p. 670) who also recommended to screen out 2D locations at a specific PDOP cut-off (PDOP >5).

Figure of merit (FOM) values ≥10 and altitudes differing from the base altitude level (0< altitude <850 m or altitude >1050 m) were more effective in data screening than DOP values. Altitudes offered the best single variable recorded by the GPS collars that was able to eliminate 32.5% of the most erroneous locations (distance > 300 m) retaining 99.2% of the "accurate" locations inside the livestock enclosures. The altitude given by the GPS is dependent upon not only on the number of satellites, but also on satellite constellation, atmospheric conditions and terrain, thus partially indicating circumstances during a fix attempt. However, any of these single variables were not able to eliminate the largest location errors by themselves.

We concluded that the best and the only way to remove the largest location errors from the data is usage of a combination of several variables. We achieved the best result by using the data screening option; 2D location with DOP >6 or 0< altitude <850 m or altitude >1050 m or step length >4500 m or DOP ≥10 or FOM ≥10 which removed effectively largest location errors retaining accurate locations and significantly decreased the magnitude of location error. However, this data screening option cannot be fully generalized to other data and research areas. Data screening options presented in GPS collar studies, in general, seem to be difficult to generalise to other data. Based on our results, significance of DOP limit of 10 in data screening is very small, but on the other hand, there is not any harm to use it as a data screening option. FOM values are instead manufacturer specific calculations and vary between GPS module brands. Thus, FOM limit of 10 is probably applicable only if the tracking data are collected using the same manufacturer and GPS module than we did. The altitude proved to be the most effective single variable in data screening, which shows that other options than DOP values and 2D locations should also be considered and tested as data screening options. In our case, the study area is topographically very flat and thus altitudes that were remarkably different from the base altitude level of 926-937 m above sea level were used as a data screening option. However, altitudes are difficult to apply in data screening if the research area is topographically variable. A digital elevation model could be very useful for this option. In addition, abnormally high hourly walking distances of tracked animals are also very useful in data screening. In our study, a step length limit of 4.5 km/h removed effectively the largest outliers from the data. This requires measurement or estimation of the maximum speed of the tracked animal species.

It must be accepted in data screening that all errors cannot be removed from data, because at some point it will result in an unacceptable elimination of accurate locations. What criteria should be used in data screening, how effectively error locations should be eliminated and how high amount of data reduction is acceptable depends on the specific research goals. This requires profound understanding of both data and analysis methods.

Conclusions

We conclude that GPS collar tracking data contain location errors that must be taken into account before further data analyses. A DOP limit of 10 is not able to remove largest location errors from the data and thus insignificantly increases data accuracy. If DOP value is >10, the location is most likely inaccurate and can be removed from the data, but its significance in data screening is very weak. The altitude is the most effective single variable in data screening. However, any of the single variables recorded by GPS collars are not able to eliminate the largest location errors by themselves. Data screening option; 2D location with DOP >6 or 0< altitude < 850 m or altitude >1050 m or step length >4500 m or DOP ≥10 or FOM ≥10 offered the most effective solution to eliminate the inaccurate locations from the data, while retaining accurate locations and thus significantly reducing the magnitude of location error.

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Determinants of manufactured export performance in Namibia

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Abstract
The current study looks at the determinants of manufactured exports in Namibia during the period from 1970 through 2009. In line with the international trade and finance literature, the paper focuses on the investment GDP ratio; foreign income; real effective exchange rate; real gross domestic product; consumer price index; and export processing zones to be the key determinants for manufactured exports in Namibia. Due to the non-stationarity of many macro-economic variables, the Johansen Cointegration Procedure is adopted in this study. Most of the results came out as expected. Investment GDP ratio and foreign income have a positive effect on manufactured exports. The results indicate that real effective exchange rate and consumer price index, is negatively related to the manufactured exports in both equations. This implies that exchange appreciation and currency overvaluation exert adverse effects on production for export. Surprisingly, the results indicate that the export processing zones relate negatively to manufactured exports and the coefficient is insignificant in all the equations. The key recommendations from this paper are that there is a need to review the current export processing zone regime with the purpose of identifying new amendments to the framework legislation in order to make the zone more competitive. Thus, there is also a need to relook at various investment incentives that are aimed at promoting manufactured exports with the aim of removing some constraints that might hinder companies in realising full benefits from these regimes.

Introduction

Namibia is a country of sharp contrasts. From one point of view it is a prosperous middle-income country: its physical infrastructure is comparable to that of Western European country, its telecommunications system is one of the most efficient, and its public administration is highly developed. From the other point of view, Namibia is a poor country. The majority of the population live under primitive conditions without adequate housing, potable water, sewerage, health services, or education.

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The Namibian economy is characterised by erratic up and down swings, which primarily result from Namibia's vulnerability to external shocks and adverse climatic conditions. Factors such as the severe drought Namibia experienced during the early 1990s, the world market recession for mineral products including the quota for diamonds imposed by the Central Selling Organisation and other external factors have been serious drawbacks to the Namibian economy. However, despite these problems, the country has not been subjected to Structural Adjustment Programmes like many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. At independence, Namibia's income distribution was highly skewed with limited access for the majority of Namibians to the mainstream of economic activities; high variation in social indicators with lack of access to health, education, housing and sanitary facilities for the majority of Namibians; a trade balance tilted in favour of South Africa; concentration of export markets and a non-diversified economy.

Namibia is a fairly open economy particularly from trading perspective, and this has been so before and after independence. However, this openness also meant higher foreign competition for most sectors of the economy. The economy has been and remains dominated by the export of primary commodities, particularly mineral exports. On average, these accounted for about 50 per cent of exports after independence. Merchandise exports have grown substantially from N$3.4 billion in 1991 to N$10.1 billion in 2000 posting an increase of about 197.0 per cent. Broadly, the growth trends in exports can be examined by looking at the two main components of merchandise exports: mineral and non-mineral exports. Mineral exports form the core of the total exports.

The discussion on the constraints facing Africa's manufacturing sector has indicated that high input costs constitute an important factor which negatively impacts upon the competitiveness of African manufacturing firms (Ajakaiye Oyejide, 2005). In addition, it is generally agreed that the openness of an economy tends to induce specialisation and generate a domestic vector similar to international prices. At independence in 1990, Namibia's exports were mainly a small number of unprocessed primary commodities such as minerals, meat and fish (small industrial/export base), with a few export destinations (South Africa, Western Europe). Exports, as a percentage of GDP, remained more or less unchanged during the post-independence decade even though the year 2000 reported an encouraging increase in exported commodities. Between 1996 and 2000, exports in relation to GDP increased moderately to 47.9 per cent from 46.6 per cent during 1991-1995. During the last 5 years exports of goods and services as percentage of GDP was on average about 48.2 per cent. It is surprising to note that this share is almost equal to the export sector's contribution of 49.5 per cent which was recorded in 1990 (BoN, 2010).

On the other hand, the growth rate of export over the last 10 years has been fluctuating up and down, with a highest rate of 23.0 per cent and lowest rate of -4.1 recorded in 2003 and 2004, respectively. Exports also remain skewed towards primary unprocessed commodities, mainly minerals, meat and meat products, and fish. The processing of these goods for export purposes remains largely unexplored. There may well be room for further processing and value addition to primary commodities for exports. Value addition in the export sector can contribute substantially to economic growth and job creation. The process of integrating Namibia in the global economy in the past decades has been accompanied by essential changes in her balance of payments. One such change is the marked increase in trade deficit.

However, since independence, the Namibian government has made extensive efforts towards diversifying export products and export markets, and where possible to increase

the level of domestic value addition in each exported product by launching Namibia Export Development Strategy in 1998. The 1998 Export Development Strategy for Namibia was to provide a comprehensive, more focused, long-term strategic approach for the development of exports in Namibia, taking into account opportunities and constraints in all sectors of the economy. Nevertheless, long before this strategy was drawn up, the government has put in place some policy instruments and institutional frameworks to support the trade environment and export development in particular. For instance: the foreign investment act of 1990; the white paper on industrial development of 1992 (later reviewed in 1997 and adopted as the Second Industrial Policy and Strategies in 2002); and the promulgation of the export processing Zones Act in 1995 and launch of the EPZ regime in 1997 which seeks to expand the manufacturing base, value addition and export-led industrialisation by attracting both foreign and local investment.

This formed the beginning of a national strategic approach to the development of a conducive policy framework, services and physical infrastructures for easy facilitation of the export development programme in Namibia. Despite these efforts the country is still experiencing low levels of both growth rates of exports as well as the contribution of exports to the gross domestic product. Therefore, an analysis of Namibia's Manufactured Export performance at this point is quite important. Hence, the objectives of this study are to: (i) give a broad overview on the performance of exports in Namibia; (ii) analyse the factors that are likely to have influenced trends in manufactured exports; and recommend policy guidelines that will promote manufactured exports.

The study covers several sections, structured in the following way. Section two discusses the structure of the manufacturing sector and trends of exports. Section three surveys the literature review, followed by section four which presents the estimation and analysis of results. Section five gives conclusions and policy recommendations of the study.

The structure of the manufacturing sector

The economy of Namibia is based on its natural resources, mineral, agricultural and marine. What little activity there is in the manufacturing industry has grown in ad hoc fashion, mainly in downstream resource-based activities, partly in response to natural protection as for example, in baking but it remains disjointed and random with earlier production in parts of food processing, clothing and metal working that have been destroyed by South African competition (Curry Stoneman, 1993). Furthermore, there is very little informal sector activity, consequent to the suppression and over-regulation of this sector under the colonial regimes.

A picture of the industrial sector shortly after independence was constructed from interviews conducted in 1991 in both the formal and informal sectors supplemented by secondary data from earlier official surveys, mainly carried out in 1989. Out of 259 formal companies in nine manufacturing sub-sectors, the largest numbers are in food and drink processing and wood products and furniture. However, several companies are engaged in engineering and repair activities and producing associated metal products.

Manufacturing production and employment is concentrated geographically in Windhoek and a few small towns, all of them far from the major population concentrations in the north of the country. Some industries such as slaughtering, bakery products and furniture are distributed widely, but only a few are in communal areas while the majority are in the Windhoek area alone. Resource based activities depend principally on livestock, fish and minerals. In livestock, beef is now chilled before exported to Europe as well as South

Africa, and speciality meats are produced for the local and increasingly the export market. A minority of karakul pelts are processed to garments for export whilst woven karakul wools with a high design standard are sold in the tourist market and carpets are exported. Similarly, shoes and bags are produced from game skins although there is not much processing of game meats. Perhaps, most importantly, the major tannery faces supply problems and has to import whilst raw hides are also being exported.

Small-scale industries, whether formal or informal, are underdeveloped in Namibia. Although a range of products and services are produced, the geographic spread is very uneven, small-scale enterprises are concentrated in retailing, with little manufacturing or repair activity. As indicated in the previous sections, main mineral exports are of uranium oxide and diamonds. A few years ago a substantial investment has been put in the cutting and polishing of diamonds. However, companies in this sub-sector continue to face the shortage of supply of diamonds. This is due to the fact that they have to source the rough diamonds from the international market, which is very competitive and expensive for local companies.

Trends in export growth in Namibia

The aim of this section is to provide an overview of the main export indicators. Namibia has a highly trade dependent economy. The openness index computed for the period 1990 – 2005 ranges from 90 to 111. Like other less developed economies, economic performance as well as export growth in Namibia are largely dictated by external factors such as weather, ocean condition and international commodity prices. Particularly world market prices for diamonds and uranium have major determining impact on the whole economy. The direction of exports has remained unchanged since independence. Close to three-quarters of exports go outside SACU markets with destinations in the United Kingdom, Japan, Spain, and Germany. The United Kingdom is Namibia's leading export market with over 38.7 per cent of exports going to that country during the period of 1993-1998. South Africa comes second with an average of 24.1.

Table 1: Trends in main export products since independence (%)

Indicator	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Exports ratio of GDP	49.1	53.4	52.0	56.2	51.8	49.5	50.6	47.5	46.0	46.2	45.6	45.0	49.6	51.4	46.3	47.9	45	51	52	44
Diamonds	27.0	32.4	31.3	30.4	26.1	28.0	30.7	31.3	24.9	30.0	36.5	33.5	31.9	20.5	29.4	27.2	27.6	19.7	19.2	14.6
Other mineral products	15.0	10.4	10.0	7.6	8.3	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.6
Live animals, animal products and crops	14.4	8.2	7.3	6.4	8.7	7.2	7.4	3.9	4.5	3.9	2.8	2.9	5.6	5.1	5.5	5.7	4.2	3.9	3.9	3.1
Manufactured	15.5	22.9	27.9	27.3	29.0	35.6	30.6	30.4	37.3	32.2	33.4	36.4	32.8	36.0	38.5	39.2	40.8	41.7	43.7	51.6

Source: National Accounts various issues.

The contribution of exports to GDP has grown on average 47.8 per cent during the 1990 through 2009 period. It has increased gradually from 49.1 per cent in 1990 to 56.2 per cent in 1993. The contribution of exports fell significantly to 44 per cent in 2009, after high levels of 51 per cent and 52 per cent were recorded in 2007 and 2008, respectively. The downward trend in exports was attributed by the decline in mineral exports which was adversely affected by the weakening of the international market for minerals and the closure of the Tsumeb Corporation Limited (TCL) mines. As indicated, the Namibian economy has been and remains dominated by the export of primary commodities, particularly mineral exports. Diamonds remain the main mineral exports. In 1990, the contribution of diamonds to total exports was 27.0 per cent and this rose to 36.5 per cent in 2000 before it declined to 14.6 per cent in 2009. During the same period other minerals declined in their total contribution from 15.0 per cent in 1990 to 0.5 per cent in 2000, before they rose slightly to 0.6 per cent in 2009. The substantial decrease in diamonds and other mineral exports during 2009 was due to a drop in global demand for these products. The slow demand in these commodities was caused by a financial crisis which was witnessed in North America, and then spilled over to Europe as well as East-Asia. Non-mineral exports particularly manufactured products have improved remarkably during the period under review. The contribution of the manufactured products to total exports rose from 15.5 per cent in 1990 to 33.4 per cent in 2000. This share has increased further to 41.7 per cent in 2007, before it reached a high level of 51.6 per cent in 2009.

Literature review

The theoretical foundation of the export supply model is based onthe imperfect-substitutes-model of trade; the key assumption is that neither exports nor imports are perfect substitutes for domestic goods (Goldstein Khan, 1985). It is widely held that, in the long run, export supply traditionally depends on productive capacity, relative prices and input prices, amongst others. The literature on international trade and finance regarding determinants of export supply is well established. What follows is the discussion on the key determinants on export performance that are important for this study. These determinants of export performance are production capacity, world income, real exchange rate, and consumer price index.

Lack of capacity to produce products in a given country limits the production of a given commodity in question. In addition, production of products at a level below potential output just signifies fewer products being manufactured at a given point in time. The key determinants of supply capacity like transport infrastructure, macroeconomic environment, regulatory framework, lack of access to credit, information on export opportunities, foreign direct investment, and institutions, do matter most for export expansion. To be more specific, an improvement in the overall manufactured export capacity should be reflected in higher exports of tradable products in individual sectors of the economy. The literature is vast that links the relationship of productive capacity, in the form of infrastructure, and export competitiveness. Mbekeani (2007) shows that infrastructural development in the form of transport services, port facilities, communications, energy, financial services and business services are key elements of a country's ability to produce and move goods. Weak infrastructure is a major impediment to trade, competitiveness and sustainable development in most African countries, particularly land-locked and small island countries. What can be implied from Mbekeani's study is that a limited investment in infrastructure is not good for export performance while adequate investment in infrastructure can boost production for export. It is well postulated in the trade literature that there is a positive correlation between world income and manufactured exports of less developed countries

(LDCs). In this context Hogendorn (1992) said that low demand for imports of LDCs can also hinder development of manufactured exports of LDCs.

Manufactured exports are perceived to be normal goods in the trade literature. This means that the income elasticity of demand for manufactured exports is higher thanunity. Income elasticity of demand is the responsiveness of manufactured goods of LDCs due to changes in incomes in developed economies. Piana (2001) also says that exports grow when income rises in other countries. Changes in real exchange rate have important implications for an economy's incentives for exporting industries. As shown in the work of Oyejide (2007) titled "African trade, investments and exchange rate regimes and incentives for exporting", when a country's domestic currency is overvalued, the structure of its incentives is biased against the production of export goods. Hence, ensuring that the exchange rate adjusts to more realistic levels is a means of enhancing the economy's incentives for exporting and could lead to increase in the production of export goods.

Developing countries are characterised as net importers of products because of their limited productive capacity. Raw materials and semi-finished products used in the production process constitute a bigger share of what is imported from the rest of the world. This means developing countries are susceptible to shocks that include prices and costs emanating from the foreign sector. Imported raw materials and other goods form part of the costs to manufacture goods in the developing world. In its 2008 report on economic development in Africa, the United Nations (UN), through its United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), shows various ways how manufactured exports can be promoted in Africa. While it acknowledges the importance of macroeconomic policies in boosting exports of manufactures, it strongly says that firm level policies are important to increase manufactured exports from Africa. Three key factors identified are: increasing competitiveness; the need for large manufacturing firms; and facilitating access to credit to invest and foster firm growth.

In addition, the UN says access to credit hampers manufacturing for export in Africa. The problem is more acute on small and medium sized enterprises that cannot access credit through formal financial institutions. Financial institutions are comfortable if financial securities are brought from larger firms than smaller firms without collateral. In this connection, the UN recommends that specific institutions be created that look into the needs of SMEs in order to encourage manufactured exports in Africa. Lyakurwa (2007) discussed the transaction costs facing suppliers in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) at the level of export trade in the agricultural, horticultural and manufacturing sectors. According to him transaction costs are high in Africa and this status quo is ascribed to a number of factors that include constraints to production, distribution constraints, trade financing related constraints, trade facilitation related constraints, and marketing constraints. The issue of production constraints is important because this relates to productive capacity and costs of production, all of which affect exports of manufactures. In this context production constraints that are negatively affecting countries in SSA highlighted by the author include initial costs, labour costs, wages and productivity, standards and regulations, high taxes and license costs, structural and storage costs, investment climate, and the impact of China and India on Africa's trade competitiveness.

Edwards and Alves (2005) analysed the determinants of South African manufacturing performance using a panel of industry data from 1970-2002. They estimated export supply as a function of relative prices and competitiveness (REER); variable cost of production

(unit labour cost and producer prices); infrastructure; and tariffs and export measures. They find that the constraints to growth lie on the side of export supply since South African manufacturers are on average price-takers in the international market. They argue that export growth is constrained by factors that affect the profitability of exports, REER, infrastructure costs, tariff rates and skilled labour.

Naude, Krugell and Gries (2005) studied the determinants of manufacturing exports from 354 magisterial districts across South Africa from 1997 through 2002 using the Static Tobit Maximum Likelihood Regression and Random Effects Tobit Regression. The authors included the following determinants of manufacturing exports from magisterial districts: skills-to-labour ratio, land-to-labour ratio, gross value added, population, foreign market access, distance to port, and capital stock. They estimated two models, a "Skills-to-Land Heckscher Ohlin Model" and "Geography Heckscher Ohlin Model". Their key findings are that geography (with distance, market effects and fixed costs) offers a better explanation for the manufactured export performance of the country's magisterial districts. Bhanu and Usha (2005) studied the role of foreign direct investment (FDI) in India's manufacturing exports and fiscal decentralisation during the period 1990/1 to 2003/04. They specified the export supply function whereby export supply is determined by export prices relative to domestic prices (Px/P), GDP as a measure of domestic demand and FDI. Their results are interesting. The GDP coefficient was found to be positive and the variable significant on export supply.

Damijan, Ferjancic, and Rojec (2006) in a study covering Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) found that supply capacity related factors like foreign direct investment (FDI), institutional set-up, and increased productivity improve export performance. The conclusions are supported in other empirical analysis (Limao Venables, 2001; Edwards Alves, 2005) indicating that levels of trade flows observed for African countries are relatively low, essentially because of poor transport infrastructures.

On the relationship between real exchange volatility and exports, Kroner and Lastrapes (1993), McKenzie (1998) and Aristotelous (2001) find no firm evidence for the relationship between exchange rate volatility and trade. Kumar and Dhawan (1991), Caporale and Doroodian (1994), Dell'Ariccia (1998) and Vergil (2002), provide, on the other hand, evidence in support of the view that the volatility of exchange rates reduces the volume of international trade. Grobar (1993), McKenzie and Brooks (1997) and Devlin et al. (2001) find some evidence for a positive effect of exchange rate volatility on trade flows. Moccero and Winograd (2006) say volatility matters for exports in Argentina and reducing RER volatility (intra-region or extra-region) has a positive impact on exports to Brazil but a negative impact on sales to the rest of the world.

Athukorala and Sen (1996) studied the determinants and patterns of processed food exports from developing countries during the period 1970 to 1994. They show that outward orientation or openness of the policy (OPEN), agricultural resource endowment (RE), level of per capita income (Y), and growth rate of per capita income (GY) are key determinants of processed food exports from developing countries. The coefficient of RE turned out to be statistically insignificant (with the perverse sign) in various alternative specifications, suggesting that resource endowments are not an important explicator of inter-country variations in processed food export growth. After factoring out multicollinearity between Y and GY, it was found that GY is a superior explicator of the two in terms of the F test. The coefficient of OPEN is statistically significant at one per cent with the expected sign.

According to their results, it is the nature of the policy regime and not the initial resource endowment which is crucial in explaining inter-country differentials in growth performance in processed food exports. The result for GY is consistent with the hypothesis that the expansion in the domestic economy provides a conducive setting for the emergence of agro-based food industries.

Empirical Model

The Model

The econometric analysis focuses on the estimation of an export supply function. Export supply function is typically postulated to be a function of relative prices (export prices relative to domestic prices), the domestic capacity to produce (at times proxied by domestic output or other proxies) and trading partners' incomes. With relative prices a proxy for the real effective exchange rate (REER), the study explores the impact of REER volatility on export performance. Based on the foregoing, our supply function to be estimated appears as follows:

$$X_s = \beta_0 + \beta_1 igdp + \beta_2 y^f + \beta_3 reer + \beta_4 cpi + \beta_5 epz + \mu \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (1)$$

Where:

x_s = represents the real value of manufactured export supply for Namibia. The values of this variable are in the domestic currency.

β_o & = β_i stand for constant term and coefficients respectively.

μ = refers to error term

igdp = refers to investment to GDP ratio as proxy for capital formation to capture the supply constraints. The variable was also applied by Were, Ndung'u, Geda and Karingi (2002). The parameter for this variable β_1 is expected to have a positive sign because an improvement in the overall domestic productive capacity should be reflected in higher exportable products.

y^f = stands for foreign income or world income for the purchasing power of the main trading partners. Namibia's main trading partners are the United Kingdom, South Africa, Switzerland and Spain. For the purpose of this study, world income is the summation of the gross national product (GDP) of all these trading partners. One would expect exports to increase with the increase in foreign income in the exporting countries due to higher foreign demand. This means β_2 is expected to have a positive sign.

reer = is a trade weighted exchange rate based on the real exchange rate. The REER is reported by the Bank of Namibia in its statutory bulletins and annual reports. The real exchange rate measures the competitiveness of a country's manufactured exports. The local currency is overvalued if REER is greater than 100 and undervalued if REER is smaller than 100. Overvaluation has a negative impact on exports and undervaluation has a positive impact on exports. Consequently the coefficient β_3 is expected to be negative in case of overvalued currency or positive in case of undervalued currency

cpi = is the consumer price index, a proxy for cost of production. CPI is a reliable measure of cost of production in a situation where direct and indirect costs of production are not available. In addition, it is more useful where a country, like Namibia, does not publish produce price index (PPI). Consequently the coefficient β_4 is expected to be negative because an increase in cost reduces production output and vice versa.

epz = refers to export processing zones. It was implemented to boost manufacturing in Namibia in 1998 - 2006. It takes the value of 1 in that period and zero otherwise. It is expected that the coefficient β_5 has a positive impact on manufactured exports in Namibia.

Estimation of regression analysis

This section presents the estimated results based on the empirical model shown in the previous section. A consistent Johansen procedure is followed. The process starts with stationarity test followed by testing for lag length structure. We then proceed to testing for the existence of cointegration and the long run relationship and the short-run relationship appear toward the end of the section.

Stationarity test

Stationarity test is a pre-requisite in the process of performing Johansen cointegration test. The hypothesis to be tested is that the time series does not exhibit stationarity. To do this, two tests, that is, Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) and Phillips-Perron (PP) tests are employed. The rule-of-thumb is that there is existence of stationarity of variables if calculated values are greater than critical values of the variables. Both ADF and Phillips-Perron test results suggest that all variables are first-difference stationary, that is I(1). Consequently, they satisfy the necessary condition of constructing a cointegration system. The results for stationarity test appear in the Table 2.

Table 2: ADF and PP Unit Root Tests for Time Series

Series	Level		First Difference	
	ADF	PP	ADF	PP
LX	0.19	0.98	-7.24*	12.85*
LIGDP	-1.72	-1.74	-5.74*	-5.77*
LY[f]	-1.00	-1.00	-4.96*	-4.95*
LREER	-1,74	-1.72	-6.20*	-6.20*
LCPI	-1.54	-1.54	-5.37*	-5.37*

Notes: (1) L represents logarithm. For instance, LCPI = log(CPI); * indicates significant at 1per cent level.

Lag structure

The lag length structure is used to identify the number of lags to include in the modeling process. The ideal number of lags is the ones associated with more asterisks. This is the lag number used in the regression process. The Schwarz information criterion is used to determine the appropriate lag length of the VAR. The optimal lag order equals 1, which is determined by the information criterion. The results using the Johansen procedure are reported in Table 3.

Table 3: Lag length structure

Lag	LogL	LR	FPE	AIC	SC	HQ
0	-63.92689	NA	3.97e-05	4.054523	4.278988	4.131072
1	119.4863	302.0923*	3.63e-09*	-5.263900*	-3.917111*	-4.804607*
2	136.6631	23.23924	6.36e-09	-4.803714	-2.334601	-3.961676
3	159.3862	24.05975	9.65e-09	-4.669778	-1.078341	-3.444995

* indicates lag order selected by the criterion
LR: sequential modified LR test statistic (each test at 5% level)
FPE: Final prediction error
AIC: Akaike information criterion
SC: Schwarz information criterion
HQ: Hannan-Quinn information criterion

Testing for cointegration

In a multivariate system the Johansen-Juselius method of testing for cointegration between a set of variables is preferred over the Engle-Granger two-step procedure. We, therefore, use the Johansen-Juselius method trace test to determine the number of cointegrating vectors in our model. With respect to cointegration relations, our results in Table 4 show that there is only one cointegration relation. So the null hypothesis of no cointegration relation is rejected. This means manufactured exports are cointegrated with foreign income, CPI, REER and investment-to-GDP ratio Both tests, that is, trace statistic and Max-Eigen statistic confirm the presence of one cointegration relation. The rule-of-thumb is that cointegration exists if the test statistic is greater than their critical value.

Table 4: Results from Cointegration test

Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test (Trace)

Hypothesized No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Trace Statistic	0.05 Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.638533	74.12192	69.81889	0.0217
At most 1	0.481029	38.50645	47.85613	0.2804
At most 2	0.225536	15.54968	29.79707	0.7435
At most 3	0.156370	6.604244	15.49471	0.6241
At most 4	0.018479	0.652809	3.841466	0.4191

Trace test indicates 1 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level
* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level
**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values

Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test (Maximum Eigenvalue)

Hypothesized No. of CE(s)	Eigenvalue	Max-Eigen Statistic	0.05 Critical Value	Prob.**
None *	0.638533	35.61548	33.87687	0.0307
At most 1	0.481029	22.95677	27.58434	0.1753
At most 2	0.225536	8.945431	21.13162	0.8368
At most 3	0.156370	5.951435	14.26460	0.6195
At most 4	0.018479	0.652809	3.841466	0.4191

Max-eigenvalue test indicates 1 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level
* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level
**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values

Long run equilibrium relationship

As reported in the preceding section, both Trace and Maximum Eigenvalue tests indicate that there exists one cointegrating vector or long-run equilibrium relation among variables during the sample period. Then, we specify the regression equation indicating the long run relation as follows:

$$LX_s = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Ligdp + \beta_2 Ly^f + \beta_3 Lreer + \beta_4 Lcpi + \mu \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \quad (2)$$

The variables are expressed in logarithm form, which shows the long run elasticity. The results of the estimated cointegrated vector are shown and discussed below.

LXs = 3.672LINVGDP + 2.515LCPI + 2.554LREER – 0.698LYf*
(0.573) (0.362) (0.595) (0.313)

*Numbers in the brackets are standard errors.

The results indicate that there exists a long run relationship among the variables in the model over the sample period. As expected the share of investment in gross domestic product is positively related to the manufactured exports in Namibia. Furthermore, the long run results indicate that the cost of production proxied by consumer price index and real effective exchange rate promote manufactured exports. These results contradict economic theory. Another surprising result from the long run equation shows that there is a negative relationship between foreign income and manufactured exports. These results are also not in line with the theory of international trade which indicates that an increase in foreign income leads to an increase in the foreign demand of the exporting country.

The short - run error correction model

After establishing that cointegration exists and there is a long run equilibrium relationship between dependent variable and explanatory variables, there is a need for testing if the long run relationship established in the model will hold given the short run disturbances. For this purpose, an error correction model derived from the cointegration vector is incorporated into a general error correction model. This leads to the specification of a general error correction model (ECM), as indicated in equation (3).

$$\Delta LX = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \Delta Ligdp + \beta_2 \Delta Ly^f + \beta_3 \Delta Lreer + \beta_4 ECM + \mu \ldots \ldots \ldots \quad (2)$$

Once a cointegrating relationship is established, an ECM can be estimated subsequently to determine the short run dynamic behaviour of manufactured exports. The ECM is obtained from the long run relationship and expresses deviations in manufactured export from its long run mean. The coefficient in front of the ecm term measures the speed of adjustment in current export to its previous equilibrium value. Following Hendry's (1995) general-to-specific approach, we first include two lags of the explanatory variables and the error correction (EC) term, and then gradually eliminate the variables that do not have expected signs and are also not significant. This process attempts also to incorporate the feedback effects of the explanatory variables. It is important to indicate that since consumer price index was used as a measure of costs of production and the fact that it affects output prices which enter into the real effective exchange rate, we have run two additional separate regression equations, one with real effective exchange rate and another without consumer price index and vice versa. These equations are numbered as equations (4) and (5), respectively in Table 5.

Table 5: Regression results: Manufactured Exports as a Dependent Variable

Equation number			
Explanatory Variable	(3)* OLS	(4) OLS	(5) OLS
Constant	0.151 (4.290)	0.142 (4.628)	0.150 (4.039)
ΔlogREER	-0.275** (-2.050)	-0.271** (2.051)	_____ _____
ΔlogYf	0.229 (0.999)	0.249 (1.123)	0.328 (1.393)
EPZ	-0.013 (-0.309)	-0.010 (-0.245)	-0.033 (-0.757)
$\Delta logIGDP_{t-2}$	0.205*** (1.872)	0.200*** (1.857)	0.141 (1.275)
ΔlogCPI	-0.049 (-0.522)	_____ _____	-0.039 (-0.391)
ECM(-1)	-0.142) (-1.065)	-0.159 (-1.244)	-0.280** (2.298)
Adjusted R^2	.26	.28	0.18
F	3.00	3.61	2.45
DW	1.92	1.95	2.15
B-G LM Test+ F-statistic	1.85[0.18]+++	1.80[0.19]	0.81[0.46]
Jarque-Bera Normality Test	1.99[0.37]	1.66[0.44]	1.59[0.45]
ARCH F-statistic	0.22[0.81]	0.37[0.69]	5.34[0.11]
W-H Test++ F-statistic	0.74[0.69]	1.04[0.44]	1.58[0.18]
Ramsey Reset F-statistic	2.01[0.16]	1.71[0.20]	1.61[0.22]

Source: *Regression results. T-ratios are in parentheses; ** 5 per cent significance level; *** 10 per cent significant level. + Breusch-Godfrey Serial Correlation LM Test; ++ White's heteroskedasticity test; +++The numbers in the square brackets are probability values.

Several diagnostic tests performed are listed in Table 5. The diagnostic tests include Durbin-Watson (DW) test, Langrange-Multiplier test (LM) for serial correlation, LM test for autoregressive conditional heteroskedasticity (ARCH), Jarque-Bera normality test and White's heteroskedasticity test and Ramsey's reset test for functional form. According to the results of the diagnostic tests, they are insignificant for the error correction model, and the short-run model appears to be well behaved with a white noise error term. What follows is a discussion of the impact of the independent variables on the dependent variable. As specified in the empirical model, depended variable is manufactured exports and independent variables are consumer price index (CPI), investment to GDP ratio, real effective exchange rate (REER), foreign income, and export processing zone (EPZ).

Our regression results of equations 3 and 5 support the economic theory. The results indicate that there is a negative relationship between manufactured exports and consumer price over the sample period. It is well known in microeconomic theory that capacity is one of the contributors to increase supply. At an aggregate level, increased production capacity highly explains the likehood of a country's firms to boost production and exports of manufactured exports. Investment in human resources and physical infrastructure do expand production capacity of a developing economy. Other forms of infrastructural development, as shown in the literature review by Mbekeani (2007), can

do well in boosting production capacity. We find interesting results in this study on the role of production capacity and manufactured exports in Namibia. The sign is as expected and the independent variables are significant on the depended variable. This means that production capacity influenced manufactured exports in Namibia during the period under review. The t-statistics for the variable are statistically significant in equations 3 and 4, at 10 per cent significance level.

During the period under review the Government of the Republic of Namibia and other stakeholders have put in place sterling efforts to encourage investments in Namibia. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) increased to more than N$2 billion per year in recent years. Government also believes that domestic investment in the local economy will also support economic growth and exports. Increased investments have also supported small and medium enterprises as well. They thrived through economic empowerment programs and incentives provided by the Government of Namibia. Consequently, all these developments are positive ingredients to production capacity and by extension manufacturing for exports. The coefficients for production capacity (investment/GDP ratio) are 0.21, 0.20 and 0.14 in equations 3, 4 and 5 respectively. In elasticity theory, this result refers to the inelastic situation. This would mean that a 100 per cent increase in production capacity would expand manufactured exports by 20 per cent. It implies that an increase in imports increases output by a smaller proportion.

The results show that REER had a significant impact on exports during the period under review. This means that REER was also responsible for changes in manufactured exports in Namibia. This observation stems from the t-statistics being at 2. The coefficients indicate that there was a negative impact on manufactured exports during the period under review. An increase in REER by 100 per cent led to a fall in manufactured exports by around 28 per cent and 27 per cent in equations 3 and 4, respectively.

REER in Namibia was greater than 100 in 2003 and 2004. In some years, like from 2005 onwards, it was just under 100. This means that the Namibian Dollar (N$) was getting strong compared to Namibia's major trading partners, that include the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Spain. Namibia exports more to these countries including South Africa. The abovementioned results would mean that in terms of competitiveness, Namibia's exports were not competitive on the international market. Besides, Namibian exports were expensive compared to the rest of the world.

Our results show that foreign income had a positive influence on Namibia's manufactured exports. This is in line with economic theory, which indicates that foreign income or world demand has a positive impact on imports from developing economies. Although there is a positive relationship between world income and manufactured exports in Namibia, the cause and effect relationship is not that strong. This is judged from the t-statistic for the independent variable on the depended variable, which is about unit. This statistic is less that the rule of thumb of close to 2, suggesting that world income does not adequately explain why manufactured exports from Namibia changed in a certain way. Elasticity can be used to understand the degree of responsiveness or sensitivity of manufactured exports to changes in foreign income. The elasticity value stands on average at 0.27. This means that an increase in world income by 100 per cent is probable to lead to the increase of manufactured exports by 27 per cent. Put another way, increase in world income by 1 per cent is accompanied by an increase in manufactured exports by 27 per cent.

The contribution of economic processing zones (EPZ) to production and exports of manufactured goods has been disappointing in Namibia in the period under review. This is deduced from our estimation results, which shows that there is a negative relationship

between EPZ and manufactured exports in Namibia, which contradicts economic theory. Economic theory predicts that government interventions and appropriate policies have a positive impact on exports, growth and development. The strength of causation for EPZ on manufactured exports is not strong. The t-statistic is on average around 0.4, which is far below than of the rule of thumb of close to 2. In terms of elasticity, the results show that 1 per cent change in EPZ related policies and incentives programs can change manufactured exports by on average 0.02 per cent. The above results are surprising. Government has put in place buildings and other infrastructures to enable companies to produce for exports. There are associated incentives for companies that obtain EPZ status. These incentives include tax holidays and rebates on training of employees. To the export oriented firms, these are savings that are ploughed back in company operations for further investments and production. Incentives in the EPZ scheme have attracted foreign firms that produce for export markets. Thus, these results should be interpreted with caution.

The error correction term shows the speed of adjustments to long-run equilibrium. It should be negative and less than unity in absolute terms because100 per cent instantaneous adjustments to equilibrium is not always expended. The error term is not significant in equations 3 and 4, while it turns out be statistically significant at 5 per cent in equation 5. It bears the correct sign in all the regression equations. This suggests a high speed of convergence to equilibrium and short run fluctuations in manufactured exports will not significantly affect the long run relationship between export supply and the important explanatory variables. It shows that there is on average a 19 per cent feedback from the previous year disequilibrium into the short run dynamic process and that the errors are corrected 19 per cent in a year.

Conclusion

The paper attempted to investigate the key determinants of manufactured export performance in the Namibian economy. It is well noted that the structure of exports has not significantly expanded since independence. The primary commodities continued to dominate the export sector in terms of foreign exchange. It is also noted that the Namibian Government has implemented a number of policies and programmes in order to boost exports and help to diversify the export sector. The study has found that the share of manufactured products in total exports have started picking up since the mid-1990s. It is pleasing to note that the shares of live animals and animal products and other minerals have declined significantly during the period under review. However, the results of the determinants of manufactured exports regression equations had mixed effects on exports. Some results are generally in accordance with the general economic theory. For instance, the effect of share of investment in GDP, foreign income, real exchange rate and consumer price index are consistent with the economic theory, while the effect of EPZ regime on manufactured exports are contrary to what we normally expect.

Generally speaking, the results of this study are quite informative and arguably point out several issues of policy concern. Potential for manufactured exports supply response exists in this sector, especially for the companies that are enjoying numerous benefits under the export processing zone (EPZ) regime. However, there is a need to review the current EPZ regime with the purpose of identifying new amendments to the framework legislation that will make the zone more competitive. It was found that the share of investment in GDP is beneficial to the exports of manufactured products. Thus there is also a need to relook at various investment incentives that are aimed at promoting manufactured exports with the aim of removing some constraints that might hinder companies in realising full benefits from these regimes. With the rising level of globalisation, openness through an export-

led growth strategy is inevitable, particularly in consideration of other development constraints such as limited external financing and declining revenue from the Southern African Customs Union (SACU). Nevertheless, to compete globally, costs including transaction costs should be minimal. That notwithstanding, trade liberalisation might also be associated with increased volatility, especially manufactured exports, therefore, justifying the need for strategic supportive policies to help this sector, when it might not be able to cope with the wave of globalisation.

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Joining the knowledge creation, scholarly publishing and dissemination network: The development of publishing at UNAM[1]

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Abstract
Since it was established in 1992, the University of Namibia has established itself as an institution of higher education that has won respect across Africa and internationally. It has developed new faculties, graduated thousands of students, and produced a wide range of publications including research reports on subjects of national, regional and international significance. As it approached its 20th anniversary in 2012, UNAM took the bold step of establishing a new unit dedicated to publishing, apparently ignoring the prevailing reality for smaller university presses around the world, which have experienced falling markets since the turn of the century. What was the context for this? What is the history of publishing at UNAM? How does the new unit fit into the overall work of the University and where is it going? This paper explores these questions. It is the product of my own involvement as Publisher for UNAM Press, appointed in June 2011, information gathered from meetings with academic leaders at UNAM, and an examination of University documents and publications and the UNAM Press Policy approved by Senate in 2011.

Introduction

Since it was established in 1992, the University of Namibia has established itself as an institution of higher education that has won respect across Africa and internationally. It has developed new faculties, graduated thousands of students, reached out to learners from disadvantaged areas of the country, provided distance learning access, and developed the new Library/Information and Learning Resource Centre (ILRC), and research centres and programmes that produce a wide range of reports on subjects of national, regional and international significance.

Academics at the University are also engaged in their own research, some of which has been published in book form within Namibia and some in international journals. A number of publications have been published by in the name of different faculties and units of the University.

A significant step was taken in the early 2000s to take ownership of publishing at the University, when UNAM decided to establish its own publishing imprint, UNAM Press.

[1] This paper was presented at the Launching Seminar for the Human Resource Development Project at the University of Namibia Library: Institutional Cooperation by the University of Namibia Library, University of Helsinki Library and University of Tampere Library, 10-14 October 2011, Windhoek, Namibia; and updated in May 2012.

Jane Katjavivi is the Publisher for the University of Namibia (UNAM) Press. She has a Master's degree from the Centre of West African Studies at the University of Birmingham (UK), and extensive publishing experience, including academic books in both the natural and social sciences, and running her own publishing company, New Namibia Books, and her bookshop Onganda Y'Omambo. She has been active in book development organisations in Namibia and across the continent and has authored many articles on writing, publishing and book development.

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However, UNAM Press did not have an institutional base in the University and did not publish on a regular basis. Then in 2011, the University established a new unit dedicated to publishing. What was the context for this? What is the history of publishing at UNAM? How does the new unit fit into the overall work of the University and where is it going?

UNAM publications output

Different types of publication

The word 'publications' occurs in many University documents. It covers a wide range of different types of publication: textbooks, scholarly books, distance learning materials, journals, articles in international journals, literary creations, booklets, technical reports, research reports, discussion papers, annual reports, newsletters, etc. It encompasses printed and, in recent years, some online materials, those distributed free and those for sale.

Publications come from all Faculties, from UNAM Centres, the Library and the Oshakati Campus. A look at past Annual Reports shows us the nature and extent of these publications.

- In 1999 the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences alone listed 136 publications: 13 books, 13 monographs, 26 articles in refereed journals, 19 academic conference papers, 2 other academic writings, 6 editorial contributions, 18 original creative and academic productions, and 13 teaching manuals and study guides (University of Namibia, 1999).

- In 2000, the Faculty of Science listed 42 publications: 1 book, 6 chapters in books, 11 journal articles, 18 workshop papers, 3 consultancy reports and 3 occasional publications (University of Namibia, 2000).

- In 2002, the Faculty of Agriculture and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences listed 100 and 101 publications respectively (University of Namibia, 2002).

- That same year, the Multidisciplinary Research Centre listed 1 book, 1 chapter in a book, 3 refereed journal articles, 4 manuals and 23 of its own reports.

- In 2008, the Faculty of Science published 59 articles; the Faculty of Law published six books, one Law journal, one translation of the Constitution into Afrikaans, and 40 articles; the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences published 12 articles in accredited journals and another 11 articles were submitted, plus chapters in books and peer reviews (University of Namibia, 2008).

These figures are examples of the publications output of the University. They are not a complete record of the total number of publications in the years cited, because not all Faculties and Centres have systematically reported on the publications of their staff members.

Responsibilities for different publications

UNAM publications have been produced in a number of ways. It is worthwhile looking at the different actors and processes involved and the history of these publications.

Communications and marketing department

This department is responsible for annual reports, information booklets, newsletters, inaugural lectures and occasional publications, e.g. Vice Chancellor Professor Lazarus Hangula, The Story of an Extraordinary UNAM Graduand – H.E. Dr Sam Nujoma (Hangula, 2009a), published when the Founding President of the Republic, and Founding UNAM Chancellor, received his Master's Degree in Geology.

Centre for External Studies (CES)

This centre is responsible for developing materials for distance education students pursuing courses at UNAM. The materials are usually developed by UNAM academics who receive a fee, while the university holds the copyright. The materials are printed through CES and are currently distributed free to distance students. The costs of production of the publications are covered in the students' fees.

Research and Publications Committee

The Senate University Research and Publications Committee (RPC) is made up of representatives from all Faculties and Centres of the university. Its stated purpose (University of Namibia, 2005), is 'To develop the University's strategy for research, scholarship and innovation, thus contributing to the University's overall mission.' Its terms of reference mostly focus on research but also include developing and maintaining a scientific publications policy and procedures; developing and maintaining publication series; and appointing editors and editing boards. However, except for a period in the 1990's when a Publications Sub-Committee existed for a short time, publications have received limited attention and funding.

The RPC receives a budget and distributes it in three ways – to cover visits to conferences, research, and publications. It receives submissions from Faculty Research and Publications Committees, requesting funding for research projects. Publication components are sometimes built into those requests. The Committee also processes requests for direct financial support for publications – either papers and articles submitted to international journals that require fees to be paid, or occasional books.

Publications funded by the RPC are supported on an individual basis. They are not part of a publishing programme and are not governed by any guiding publication policy. Books published with RPC funding usually carry the university logo, but beyond that they do not form a recognisable list of UNAM books. They are not publicised. They are not stored at a central place and are often not accessible. No distribution channels have been set up and there are very limited sales.

Local publishers

Faculties, departments and individual academics at UNAM have established working relationships with local commercial publishing companies, for them to publish manuscripts emanating from the University. The local publishers have handled the editorial management of these books, selected and briefed freelance copy-editors and designers, checked the proofs, and printed the books. Generally, the University has provided the funds to cover what has, effectively, been a professional publishing service rather than the more usual model whereby the publisher funds the book and recoups that investment through sales. The funds have come through the Research and Publications Committee or through financial support for specific projects of which the publications are one part.

In these cases, formal Agreements have usually (but not always) been concluded between the University and the publisher, and royalties of different amounts have been paid by the publisher to the University. These have then been divided between the University and the author(s).

Publishing in the name of the University: UNAM Press 2002-6

Alongside the work of the Research and Publications Committee, a significant step was taken in the early 2000s to take ownership of publishing at the University.

The Annual Report 2003 states that 'Following the 10th anniversary during which a number of UNAM publications were produced, UNAM decided to establish a UNAM Press' (University of Namibia, 2003). In fact, a UNAM Press Committee, appointed by the Founding Vice Chancellor, Professor Peter Katjavivi, first met in October 2002 and three books were published under the imprint that year. Professor Barnabas Otaala, the Director of the Teaching and Learning Unit and Chair of UNAM's HIV/AIDS Taskforce at that time, became the Chairperson of the Committee.

The following twelve titles are listed in University documents as published under UNAM Press, or through its support:

2002

- LeBeau, D., & Gordon, R.J. (Eds.). *Challenges for Anthropology in the 'African Renaissance': A Southern African Contribution.*
- Hinz, M. *The Constitution at Work: 10 Years of Namibian Nationhood.*
- *Ministry of Basic Education Sport and Culture (Eds.). HIV/AIDS. Government Leaders in Namibia Responding to the HIV/AIDS Epidemic.*

2003

- Gonzo, W. *Unemployment in an African Country: A Psychological Perspective.*

2004

- Iipinge, S., Hofnie, K., & Freidman, S. *The Relationship between Gender Roles and HIV Infection in Namibia.*
- Otaala, B., Davitz, L.L., Otaala, L., & Davitz, *J.R. 20 Tough Questions Teenagers Ask About HIV/AIDS and 20 Tough Answers, with Juta.*
- Haihambo, C., Hayden, J., Otaala, B., & Zimba, R. *An Assessment of Services Provided to Children Affected and Infected by HIV/AIDS in Windhoek, Namibia.*
- Winiarski, M.G. *Community-Based Counselling For People Affected by HIV and AIDS, with Longman and Catholic Aids Action.*
- Otaala, B. and Mahlalela, P. *Proceedings of the Workshop on the Enhancement of Leadership in Higher Education, with the British Council.*

2005

- Hangula, L. *The Rise and Role of the University through the Ages: An Abridged Overview (Inaugural Lecture).*
- Kiangi, G.E. *Evaluating E-Business and E-Governance Projects (Inaugural Lecture).*
- Zimba, R.F. *Authentic University Learning, Teaching and Assessment (Inaugural Lecture).*

These publications were marketed by the University within Namibia and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and in Europe and North America by the African Books Collective.

Du Pisani and Otaala's (2001) UNAM HIV/AIDS Policy was also distributed internationally in this way, although it was published prior to the existence of the UNAM Press imprint.

In the Annual Report 2004, Professor Otaala stated that 'The challenge for the University is to constitute a fully-fledged publishing house and all that goes with it' (University of Namibia, 2004). This was never done, however. Professor Otaala retired in 2006 and the UNAM Institutional Audit of the same time led to the Teaching and Learning Unit becoming an independent unit, which did not include the responsibility of UNAM Press. No UNAM Press publications are listed in the Annual Report 2006, or in subsequent annual reports.

UNAM Press was thus initially a name under which titles were published and distributed by the University. It had no defined mission or publishing programme, no staff and no long-term budget. Nor did it have an institutional base within the University. When Professor Otaala retired, no more books came out under the name of UNAM Press and the committee stopped meeting.

Publishing at UNAM 2006-10

Even though books no longer came out under the name of UNAM Press, funding for scholarly publications continued to come from the Research and Publications Committee and from partners who supported specific projects: 'Government Ministries, the Private Sector, through contractual research agreements; and through private/public partnerships, and mutual agreements that addressed specific problems affecting the nation's interests; and various sponsorships by Foundations and Agencies, including the United Nations System' (University of Namibia, 2006).

Books were published through local commercial publishers or non-governmental organisations such as the Namibia Scientific Society, UN agencies, donor foundations, etc. The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung funded a series of books from the Faculty of Law, published under the name of Macmillan Namibia but managed by Law Faculty academic staff and the Resident Representative of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. The Law Faculty also published a number of other titles.

The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung made the books it funded available free of charge to students and its partner institutions, including Law Faculties of universities in sub-Saharan Africa. Only 100 copies were available for sale in Namibia through Macmillan. However, interested individuals outside Namibia, and university libraries outside Africa that were not part of the Konrad Adenauer network, did not easily have access to the books.

The Namibia chapter of the Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) published two titles in the joint names of OSSREA and UNAM. They had UNAM ISBN numbers but incomplete details of the publisher on the copyright page. Copies of the books were sold directly from UNAM and distribution was, again, limited.

UNAM academics were actively involved on the Editorial Boards of the Namibia Law Journal, and the Namibia Educational Research Association Journal, although neither of these publications is owned by the university.

An online journal, the Namibia Development Journal, was launched by the University in 2007. One issue was published and another prepared but technical problems with the server and limited human resources to manage the journal, meant that subsequent issues did not come out. The Editorial Committee met but members had their own teaching and research work and insufficient time for the commissioning and reviewing of papers, copy-editing, and managing the production of the journal.

Those academics with experience of the publishing process, appropriate academic writing skills and editorial competency, and good contacts with NGOs and foundations active in their fields, have been able to publish. However, those without the contacts, academic writing skills or editorial competencies, have had to depend on the support of the Research and Publications Committee and submit their manuscripts to the peer-review process set up by the committee. This situation has benefitted those with initiative, who can approach donors and get books published without peer-review or central editorial approval.

Distribution has been a problem for all, however, both within Namibia and beyond our borders. Yet there is little point publishing unless the books produced are distributed.

Reviving UNAM Press

A publishing policy framework

In 2008 the Vice Chancellor, Professor Hangula, appointed an Interim UNAM Press Committee with the Librarian, Ms Ellen Ndeshi Namhila, as Chairperson. The Committee was entrusted with the responsibility of producing a Publishing Policy Framework for UNAM Press. In his letter of appointment to members of the Committee, the Vice Chancellor (Hangula, 2008) stated:

> Publishing is classically an inspiration and passion for every academic institution. Universities are creators and multiplicators of knowledge and one of their very basic distinctive characteristics is research, scholarly knowledge production, both universal and local knowledge, which has to be published to have an impact. Knowledge transmission and scholarly communication is one of the main pillars of academic life… The University of Namibia aspires to join the knowledge creation, scholarly publishing and dissemination network.

In October that year, the University of Namibia's Interim UNAM Press Committee held a workshop to discuss practical and policy issues concerning publishing at the University. It produced a Publishing Policy Framework for UNAM Press (Interim UNAM Press Committee, 2008). This established the background to UNAM Press, proposed vision and mission statements, discussed the possible scope of future University publications, and looked at a structure for UNAM Press, possible partnerships, and the question of sustainability.

The workshop proposed that the vision of UNAM Press should be 'To become the leading publisher of innovation and academic excellence in Namibia'. The proposed mission was:

- To publish and disseminate critical scholarly works of excellence through books, journals and the electronic media, for national and international audiences.
- To contribute to innovation in basic and applied research across a broad spectrum of relevant disciplines and interdisciplinary scholarship.
- To protect the intellectual property of the University.

- To contribute to national development through publishing in areas of national significance
- To creatively stimulate intellectual debate and authorship within Namibia, the Southern African region and beyond (Interim UNAM Press Committee, 2008)

To fulfill this vision and mission, the Publishing Policy Framework stated that UNAM Press should aim to:

- Speedily and professionally bring into published form the research done by UNAM academics, Namibian scholars and other scholars writing about Namibia.
- Be the publisher of choice for UNAM academic staff and promote their publications.
- Help shape national policy debates – assisting the development of UNAM as think-tank of the nation – and building the intellectual life of UNAM and the nation as a whole.
- Help to develop people's writing and publishing skills (Interim UNAM Press Committee, 2008).

The Publishing Policy Framework further stated: 'The success of the Press depends on the active involvement and commitment of UNAM academics and management. Academics will become involved through their own research and manuscripts... Management will dedicate human resources, and financial and moral support.'

It asserted that the value of UNAM Press should be judged in terms of academic excellence and the benefit it brought to the University, emphasising that it would be a powerful means of raising the image and profile of the University.

Implementation plan

In his Speech during the Academic Year Commencement Ceremony in March 2009, the Vice Chancellor, Professor Hangula, referred to 'the efforts we are making to invigorate UNAM Press and make our research and publication more coordinated and visible' (Hangula, 2009b).

Later that year, a consultancy was undertaken: 'to develop the UNAM Press Policy Framework drawn up in October 2008 into an Implementation Plan, with budget, that will strengthen UNAM Press and situate it within UNAM structures as a publishing branch of the University to support the mission and mandate of the University, win respect for and help to market the University within Namibia, the Southern African region and beyond, and become a catalyst for intellectual discourse through scholarly publications' (Katjavivi, 2009).

The consultancy report recommended that UNAM Press be established as an independent unit, reporting to the Pro-Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs and Research, with a Publications Committee that would function as an editorial board, made up of representatives from different Faculties and Centres. It proposed the appointment of three full-time staff:

1. A Publisher to plan, direct, coordinate, maintain and manage UNAM Press, commission books for publication and draw up budgets.
2. An Editorial and Production Manager to manage the editing and production of the books and journals and work with freelancers and outside printers.
3. An Administrative Officer to be responsible for general administrative tasks as well as keeping records of book stocks and sales.

However, financial constraints did not allow further action until late 2010. Mr Kavevangua Kahengua of the University Library supported the work of the Interim UNAM Press Committee in the meantime until mid-2011, when the posts of UNAM Press Publisher and Administrative Officer were filled by Ms Jane Katjavivi and Ms Fredrika Motinga, respectively. Ms Mutaleni Nadimi was later appointed as Editorial and Production Manager and started in February 2012.

Establishing the UNAM Press Unit

The UNAM Press unit was initially located within the Library, reporting to the Librarian, and on taking up her post in June 2011, the Publisher was tasked with:

- outlining the structure of UNAM Press;
- articulating its major goals;
- developing terms of reference for a UNAM Press Editorial Committee;
- translating the Publishing Framework from the 2008 Workshop into a UNAM Press Publication policy;
- revising the strategic management plan;
- developing a budget, administrative systems, an Author's Agreement, guidelines for commissioning and submitting manuscripts, for peer reviews, editors and copy-editors, etc.

A policy document to guide the work of UNAM Press was drawn up following discussions with colleagues at UNAM, especially regarding publication output and needs, governance of UNAM Press, the editorial board, objectives, strategic planning and the policy making process, and the relationship between UNAM Press and other University Centres and Units. This was discussed by the Academic Planning Committee (APC) in October 2011, and a revised document went on to Senate later that month, where it was formally approved.

Vision and Mission Statement

The UNAM Press Policy document (University of Namibia, 2011) states its mandate, vision and mission as follows:

Mandate

In the University of Namibia Act, Number 18 of 1992, the University is mandated, amongst other tasks, 'to advance and disseminate knowledge'. UNAM Press will take up this mandate.

Vision

The vision of UNAM Press is to be the leading publisher of scholarly research and innovation in Namibia. [The same statement defined by the 2008 Publishing Policy Framework Workshop.]

Mission

The mission of UNAM Press is to publish and disseminate critical, scholarly, works of excellence through books, journals and the electronic media, for national and international audiences, and to contribute to policy debates and development strategies in areas of national significance.

The UNAM Press Policy document further states its policy principles as follows:

> **Policy principles**
> UNAM Press will play a vital role in fulfilling the vision and mission of the university, in particular in the following aspects:
>
> - Disseminating the results of the university's research across a broad spectrum of real-world problems, in order to communicate and share this research with others and so contribute to nation building.
> - Serving as a repository for the preservation, development and articulation of national values and culture, through the promotion of Namibian history, art and languages.
> - Engaging with society in the creation and dissemination of knowledge.
> - Becoming a treasure house of knowledge at the service of national development.'

Structure

The work of UNAM Press is guided by a UNAM Press Committee, with the mandate to develop and maintain a publications policy and a budget for UNAM Press, guide its publishing strategy and programme, ensure high academic standards in UNAM Press publications, and approve or reject proposals and manuscripts. This is a Committee of Senate, comprised of representatives of all faculties and autonomous academic centres of the University, thus making UNAM Press horizontally accountable (University of Namibia, 2011).

At its first meeting in March 2012, the UNAM Press Committee set up an Editorial Board to implement the publishing programme of UNAM Press, and make recommendations regarding publication proposals and submitted manuscripts in the process of editorial development and/or production (design and printing). The Editorial Board is a sub-committee of the full UNAM Press Committee and reports to it (University of Namibia, 2012).

Function of the UNAM Press Unit

The UNAM Press unit is responsible for managing the editorial development of manuscripts; design, layout, production and printing; marketing, distribution and sale of books and journals published in the name of the University. It works with University Committees, Faculties and Centres, to define a publishing strategy, guidelines and procedures, develop academic writing skills, and contribute to building academic capacity through providing publishing opportunities for UNAM staff (University of Namibia, 2011).

Scholarly publishing strategies

In their Case Study of the University of Cape Town Press, Eve Gray and Michelle Willmers (2009, p.5) described the prevailing atmosphere in smaller university presses worldwide during the past fifteen years as one of crisis: 'university press directors confronted falling markets on the one hand, and increasing pressure from their parent institutions for them to break even, on the other'. The presses responded by trying to commercialise and publish trade books that would compete on the general market. This, however, created a distance between universities and their presses, a loss of strategic alignment of presses with their host institutions, and in too many cases, decisions being taken by the universities to stop publishing altogether. In the case of UCT, their publishing division was sold to the commercial publisher Juta.

Gray and Willmers (2009, p.6) go on to propose a 're-conceptualisation of scholarly publishing in the digital age [that] would have the potential to restore the central purpose of scholarly publishing – the communication of research findings that are of interest and importance to the scholarly community and the potential to translate these research results for a wider readership and for community impact'. They conclude by saying that: 'The strategic focus of the university press needs to match the strategic profile of the university.'

A publishing strategy for UNAM Press

The publishing strategy of UNAM Press is in line with this thinking and with current moves of scholarly presses to align themselves with the core functions of their host universities. It was developed after close examination of the University's overall vision and mission statements, its strategic plan for 2011-15, its agenda for change, the methodology for measuring current and desired states of service, the means of transformation and the scorecard approach for measuring achievements; and through consultation with senior academics from various Faculties and Centres. The Publishing Strategy of the UNAM Press Policy document (University of Namibia, 2011) states:

As a small publishing unit in a limited, highly specialized, academic book market, UNAM Press will aim to be cost-effective and to develop appropriate strategies to build sales income and recover costs.

It will engage critically with content and language, design and technology, to ensure that its publications are of high academic, editorial and production quality.

It will publish a range of publications that reflect the strengths of the University and the best scholarship in and on Namibia, in order to build a list, make public the University's scholarly research, attract authors, and build sales.

It will encourage academic staff to plan for publication of the results of their research, with publishing costs to be included if funding is sought from outside the University.

It will commission work in fields and disciplines of strategic or academic importance.

It will aim to be the publisher of choice for authors analysing or investigating Namibian society and arts, natural or social sciences, and public policy.

It will distribute its publications nationally, regionally and internationally in order to build sales and the reputation of UNAM Press.

It will make creative and innovative use of new technologies and different publishing and dissemination options – traditional offset printing, digital printing, print on demand, e-books, open access, etc. – in order to maximize use of UNAM Press resources and reach wider audiences.

In order to do this, it will need an effective, fast, internet and communications network.

Scope of UNAM Press publications

UNAM Press is responding to the interests and research programmes of academics at the University and nationwide, and intends to play a developmental role, working with authors to develop capacity and improve manuscripts, and participating in workshops on academic writing in cooperation with Faculties and Centres of the University.

The Policy document (University of Namibia, 2011) defines the scope of UNAM Press publications as follows:

UNAM Press will submit its publications to a rigorous peer-review process, to maintain standards of excellence. However, it will aim to balance the pursuit of academic standards with an approach that will allow new publishing voices to develop.

It will consider titles for publication of the following types:

- Scholarly books
- Discussion papers and research reports
- Readers
- Monographs
- Textbooks
- Collections of conference papers
- Scholarly journals, including the Namibia Development Journal and a proposed new journal for postgraduate students/junior academics
- Literary works
- Artistic works
- Biographies and autobiographies
- Publications based on theses and dissertations.

The Namibia Development Journal and any other journals published by UNAM Press will have their own Editorial Boards, responsible for commissioning and collecting articles, with UNAM Press managing the peer-review of articles, copy-editing, the production process, marketing, distribution and sales.

UNAM Press will assist Faculties and Centres of the University to develop appropriate publication strategies to suit their purpose and needs.

It will consider manuscripts in English, and in national and other indigenous languages, including translations.

It will consider works written by people outside the University, within the fields of interest of the University, on topics related to Namibia and the Southern African region.

UNAM Press aims to develop appropriate forms of publications for the different needs of the various University Faculties and Centres. These include print and online publications, books and journals, research reports, conference proceedings, discussion papers, etc. Its core work is in editorial development, peer review, production quality, and maintaining standards of academic scholarship that enhance the work and reputation of the University.

The need for UNAM scholarly communications policy

An overall scholarly communications policy still needs to be developed at UNAM. The UNAM Press Policy document suggests that this be done through a collaborative effort between the UNAM Press Committee and Unit, the Research and Publications Committee and its Office, the Research Coordinator, School of Postgraduate Studies, Faculties, Multidisciplinary Research Centre, Centre for External Studies, Library, and other Centres (University of Namibia, 2011).

The policy would need to cover the different types of publication and scholarly communication at the University, different forms of dissemination, e.g. print and online, and the question of which publications are for sale or for free distribution. It also needs to address current scholarly debates about the sharing of data and open access to at least some University research.

The role of University Presses in society

Gray and Willmers (2009) cite a publication by the Association of American University Presses (AAUP), which identifies 24 ways in which university presses contribute to society, scholarship and their parent university community. Amongst these are the following:

[University presses]

- 'Make available to the broader public the full range and value of research generated by university faculty.'
- 'Contribute to the variety and diversity of cultural expression at a time of global mergers and consolidation in the media industry.'
- 'Add value to scholarly work through rigorous editorial development; professional copyediting and design; and worldwide dissemination.'
- 'Encourage and refine the work of younger scholars through publication of the first books that establish credentials and develop authorial experience.'
- 'Extend the reach and influence of … [its] parent institution, making evident … [its] commitment to knowledge and ideas.'

The formulation of UNAM Press's policy and strategy as discussed above place it firmly within this framework and shows that it aims to make similar contributions to the University of Namibia and the wider Namibian society.

Conclusion

The revival of UNAM Press is an important milestone in the history of the University. The policy statement and strategic focus of UNAM Press show that it is aligned with the strategic profile of the University. The establishment of this scholarly publishing unit will provide a platform for sharing research output and encouraging scholars within and outside UNAM.

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Violation and the inscription of opposites in *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula*

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Abstract
Part of the power of myths and symbols is held to lie in their capacity to encompass opposites. This paper proposes that the mythologem of a male violation of a virginal female victim is inscripted to represent the opposites of fertility and infertility in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, which represent the rape of Persephone by Hades and the vampiric attack on Lucy Westenra by Dracula, respectively. The opposition emerges partly in the fate of the victim. In the *Homeric Hymn*, Persephone is taken from above ground to the underworld by Hades, an allegory of the planting of the corn seed, which further symbolizes the cycle of fertility in which life emerges from death, as indicated by Kerényi (2002a). In *Dracula*, Lucy Westenra does not make this journey. When she dies after Dracula's attack, she is not truly dead, neither above nor below, but trapped in the middle, as one of the Undead. This version of the mythologem may thus be said to represent infertility. This conclusion may be sharpened in the light of a common reading of *Dracula* as reflecting the anxieties of Bram Stoker's Victorian society about women's sexuality. Lucy's transformation into a vampire is accompanied by an increased sexual boldness towards the men around her. This voluptuousness suggests unchastity, the "fate worse than death", represented by the fate of being undead. Unchastity in this light is opposed to, not fertility perse, but to socially sanctioned fertility.

Introduction: The inscription of myth and symbol in literature

At the end of her 1996 Introduction to the Oxford University Press edition of *Dracula*, Maud Ellmann suggests that the multiplicity of meanings ascribed to the figure of Count Dracula "…perversion, menstruation, venereal disease, females sexuality, male homosexuality, feudal aristocracy, monopoly capitalism, the proletariat, the Jew, the primal father, the Antichrist, and the typewriter", (Ellmann, 1996, p. xxviii) may have the ultimate effect of rendering this fictional character meaningless[1]. In a sort of Occam's Razor of literary criticism, for some critics it may seem preferable for a literary figure or work to have a single meaning, or a small, manageable, set of meanings, with other interpretations readily identifiable as wrong. A wild proliferation of meanings, without obvious boundaries, may seem to make a mockery of the entire exercise of literary analysis. If something can be made to stand for anything, then, ultimately, it stands for nothing.

[1] This paper is an expanded version of one presented at the Conference on Myth, Literature, and the Unconscious on September 4, 2010. I am grateful for the comments of the audience which have contributed to its improvement. I am also grateful to the University of Swaziland for making available the resources that have made this paper possible.

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Ellman provides a corrective to this feeling. According to her, *Dracula* "stands for the return of the repressed, the contents of which are forever shifting" (ibid.). From this psychoanalytic angle, Dracula is a symbol from the unconscious, a formation used by the unconscious to manifest itself to the conscious mind. This Freudian/Jungian perspective refreshes the issue. Now, rather than the reductive, objective view implied by the literary Occam's Razor, *Dracula* as a symbol takes on a more subjective role. It becomes unsurprising that the symbolic Dracula attracts a wide range of content, in particular, that it attracts the individual preoccupations of *Dracula's* numerous interpreters, hence the proliferation of topical interpretations linked to sexuality as well as social and economic structure. In a sense, *Dracula* holds a mirror up to every interpreter, whether literary critic and/or consumer of popular culture, in the same way that Jonathan Harker, looking at Dracula in the mirror, sees only himself, as pointed out by Stevenson (1988).

The idea of a symbol attracting content suggests that it is an element of structure, which is also a carrier of content. The figure of *Dracula* as a meaningful symbol should be placed within a structure comprised of other symbols and their relations to each other. Thus, Ellmann's observation about *Dracula's* psychological significance extends to the novel's narrative as well ("an allegory of empire, of monopoly capital, of female emancipation, and of closeted homosexuality, (Ellmann, 1996, p. viii)). Furthermore, at the beginning of the Introduction, she describes the worldwide popular legend inspired by *Dracula* as a myth, with "luminous simplicity", and cites Lévi-Strauss's (1958) insistence that what is really important about a myth is its story (ibid., p. vii). Following this idea, it is not only the figure of Count Dracula which comes to symbolize a wide range of content, but also the narrative in which he plays a leading role.

In this paper, I follow Ellmann and others in assuming that Dracula has a mythological aspect and Lévi-Strauss in assuming that a myth has a structure. In what follows, I will explore one possible mythic structure in *Dracula*. I suggest that *Dracula* inscribes a particular mythologem, the male violation of a virginal female victim. I will refer to this as the violation mythologem. I assume that the violation mythologem represents archetypal material that may be inscripted and reinscripted to incorporate a wide range of symbolic content. In making this assumption, I follow the Jungian idea of myth as a reflection of material from the unconscious (see Walker 2002). As seen earlier, *Dracula* has already provided an allegory of violation for many interpreters.

Historical and literary antecedents of *Dracula*

The idea that *Dracula* reinscribes an archetypal mythologem may shed light on the relationship between the novel and Stoker's folkloric sources and literary antecedents. In folklore, vampires are held to be a nearly universal phenomenon. Nevertheless the details of the stories of supernatural, bloodsucking beings vary considerably across cultures. Stoker's folkloric sources for *Dracula* come from Eastern European vampire folklore (Kirtley 1956). In particular, the character of *Dracula* has been claimed to have been based on the notorious Prince of Wallachia, Vlad Ţepeş (Florescu and McNally 1989). However, the stories of Vlad Ţepeş's career bear little resemblance to the plot of *Dracula*, apart from his portrayal as a murderous figure of terror. On the other hand, the story line of *Dracula* owes more to literary predecessors such as Le Fanu's 2000 (1872) *Carmilla* and Polidori's 1819 *The Vampyre* (Spencer 1990), novels that, like *Dracula*, reinscribe the violation mythologem[2]. *Dracula* as a novel draws much of its richness from its folkloric sources, but I suggest that its enduring popularity has more to do with its use of the violation mythologem.

[2] The violator in *Carmilla* is a lesbian vampire, which represents an inversion of the male assailant represented by Dracula. Carmilla is an inversion of Dracula in the same way that the characters and narrative of *Dracula* are inversions of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, as is discussed below.

Dracula and the rape of Persephone

In the remainder of this paper, I explore a further parallel, between *Dracula* and the ancient Greek myth of the rape of Persephone. This parallel, taken with contemporary interpretations, reinforces the idea that a particular structure, such as the violation mythologem, may support a wide variety of content, and that this variety itself suggests that the mythologem is archetypal. By way of proceeding, I will compare two texts. The first is, of course, *Dracula*. The second is the ancient Greek *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, of unknown authorship, which is the oldest and most complete literary expression of the foundation myth of the 6th century B.C. Eleusinian Mysteries (Lincoln 1979, Alderink 1982, Foley 1994). These two texts are very different in form, provenance and function. The first is a novel, the second a much shorter poem. The first was written for a late Victorian middle class audience, the second for an ancient Greek audience about whom not nearly as much is known. The theological function of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* cannot be matched by Dracula. Still, they both inscribe the violation mythologem, although in different ways and with different effects, as will be described below. The *Homeric Hymn* to Demeter portrays the abduction and forced marriage of Persephone, also referred to as Kore, glossed as "maiden" or "virgin", the daughter of the goddess Demeter, by Hades, the God of the Dead and Lord of the Underworld. A corresponding event occurs in *Dracula*, when the vampire Count Dracula sucks the blood of Lucy Westenra, a young woman on the verge of marriage, in a series of attacks that culminate in her transformation into a vampire herself.

The parallelism between these two events in the *Hymn and* in *Dracula* may be made more specific by equating Hades with *Dracula* (the Lord of the Dead with the Lord of the Undead), Persephone with Lucy, and the abduction by Hades with the blood-drinking by Dracula. Another important contrast is between the crusading goddess Demeter, who raises an instant protest at her daughter's abduction and is willing to see the cosmos destroyed before she will consent to it, and Lucy's weak, ineffectual mother (Spencer 1990), who never fully understands the crisis her daughter is undergoing and who dies before it reaches its climax. Demetrakopoulos (1977) observes that "(t)he Victorian mother was central in defending the innocence of her daughter" (Demetrakopoulos, 1977, p. 109), i.e., she played the role of Demeter, but Mrs. Westenra plays no such role in the novel. The contrast between Demeter and Mrs. Westenra is also noteworthy in light of the comments of Jung (2002), and Kerényi (2002a, 2002b), citing Otto (1955), who emphasize the dual role of Demeter and Persephone in ancient Greek cosmology, who are revealed in the ancient sources as so closely connected that at times they are interchangeable. No such bond exists between Lucy and Mrs. Westenra.

The central event of the violation mythologem initiates other events in the respective stories that have very different outcomes. The eventual outcome of the rape of Persephone is that she is returned to her mother Demeter for part of the year, during which time the earth is fruitful and crops may be grown, and spends the remainder of the year with Hades, when the earth is barren and nothing may be grown, perhaps not the best outcome for either Demeter or Hades, but a balanced compromise that they both can live with, and which keeps the cosmos intact. On the other hand, the attacks on Lucy by *Dracula* result in her death and transformation into a vampire, whose subsequent attacks on children require a second, real death at the hands of her former fiancé, an outcome that produces only relief for the participants in this event and its onlookers, after earlier grief and horror. In other words, two initiating events with the same basic structure result in opposite outcomes. I propose that these opposite outcomes represent the particular opposition of fertility and infertility, and that the story of Lucy in *Dracula* is an inversion of the story of Persephone. In what follows, I will examine Persephone and Lucy in terms of how their stories reflect fertility and infertility in more detail.

The Persephone myth has been interpreted as representing the seasonal cycle (Harrison 1903, Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1932), women's initiation in ancient Greece (Lincoln 1979, citing Jeanmaire 1939), and the agricultural cycle, a reading that dates back at least as far back as Cornford (1913). I will focus on the third reading. This interpretation arises from the functioning of the myth as an account of the origin of the agricultural cycle with alternating growing seasons and barren seasons. The fertility in mind here, then, is the fertility that results in the production of food, the survival of human beings and, as the *Hymn* makes clear, continued sacrifices to the gods. From a broader perspective, it is the fertility that may be associated with social and cosmological order.

This latter interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the *Hymn* repeatedly alludes to the acceptance and approval of Persephone's abduction in the community of gods, apart from Demeter. The abduction is arranged and sanctioned by Zeus (lns. 5-10)[3] and receives the approval of Gaia, who sets the narcissus as a lure for Persephone as a favour to Hades (ibid.). Furthermore, the sun god Helios reproves Demeter for her grief over Persephone, stating that Hades is a good match for her daughter because of his power and wealth, considerations that many mortals would appreciate (lns. 80-90). Finally, Hades himself apparently regards what he has done not as a crude act of kidnapping but as a way of acquiring a socially recognized wife, to whom he will be a good husband (ln. 363). There are also indications that the *Hymn alludes* to more formal rituals of marriage. Lincoln (1979), in developing his thesis that the myth of Persephone is a "Greek scenario of women's initiation" points out that Persephone, in picking flowers with her agemates, enacts a Greek ritual prelude to marriage (Lincoln, 1979, p. 224). In addition, the abduction of brides is fairly commonly attested in the cultures of the world (Barnes 1999), and Hades' abduction of Persephone may reflect such a practice in ancient Greece. All of these factors point to an interpretation of the myth of Persephone as reinforcing social and cosmological order.

In addition, the fertility reading may also be seen as arising from the structure of the violation mythologem itself. Here there are two possibilities. The first is attributed to Cicero by Kerényi (2002, p. 138). It analogizes Persephone and the corn seed. During the abduction, Persephone is swiftly and suddenly taken beneath the surface of the earth and this is what also happens to the corn seed when it is planted. (This analogy may be thrown into doubt by the fact that the corn seed is planted in the earth, Gaia, whereas Persephone is carried to the chthonic underworld, which is not the same thing in the Greek cosmos, as pointed out by Hillman 1979.) Kerényi (ibid.) also alludes to the harvested corn, the mown ear, as representing the separation between Demeter and Persephone. In this analogy, we can see Persephone as also the ear of corn which is suddenly slashed from its stalk. So the figure of Persephone represents fertility in that she stands for the corn. We can go further than this to say that Persephone is both the corn seed and the harvested corn, and thus a figure that unites these opposites in a single mythological symbol. From this perspective, we may see her as both the beginning and the end of the cycle, the alpha and omega, and note in this connection that it has been proposed that the Eleusinian Mysteries influenced later Christianity (Beach 1994).

Bearing in mind the argument that the inscription of the violation mythologem in the myth of Persephone as presented in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* may be taken to represent fertility, and, more specifically, socially sanctioned fertility, I now turn to *Dracula* and the story of Lucy Westenra which forms one of its subnarratives. Lucy, like

[3] Line references are to the 2000 translation by Gregory Nagy.

Persephone, is a young, carefree, unmarried woman who is subjected to a sudden attack by a terrifying male figure. I suggest that Dracula's attack on Lucy is a reinscription of the violation mythologem seen in the myth of Persephone. However, in contrast to the myth of Persephone, I also suggest that the story of Lucy represents infertility, i.e., it is an inversion of Persephone's story[4]. Furthermore, just as Persephone's representation of fertility is socially sanctioned fertility, Lucy's infertility represents a travesty of the social order, reinforcing interpretations of *Dracula* as reflecting Victorian anxieties about social change and decline (see, among others, Arata 1990, Craft 1984, Demetrakopoulos 1977, Griffin 1980, Roth 1977, Senf 1982, Spencer 1990, Stevenson 1988). Persephone's abduction and return are part of a sequence of events that reinforce the social and cosmological order, whereas the attack on Lucy and her subsequent vampirization is perceived as a grave threat to her society, and the plot of the novel revolves around removing this threat.

To continue the comparison between Persephone and Lucy, recall that a key part of the symbolism of the Persephone myth comes from the fact that Persephone is carried underground, into the underworld. In contrast, Lucy does not make this journey. Instead, her transformation into a vampire traps her between worlds. She is neither alive nor truly dead, a state captured in the term Undead used for vampires. If we analogize her situation to Greek mythology, we may say that she is wandering on the banks of the river Styx, unable to go forward or back. The undead, vampiric state is a state of infertility, at least from the human perspective, since it removes a potential mother from the cycle of reproduction. (From the vampire's perspective, on the other hand, reproduction is enhanced; see Stevenson 1988). On the symbolic level, if we extend Persephone's association with the corn seed and the harvested corn ear to Lucy, we see a seed that is not planted, so that no ear of corn can be harvested. Again, just as Persephone represents fertility, Lucy represents infertility.

Lucy's predicament in the middle region between Upperworld and Underworld suggests a further link to the Greek cosmos as portrayed in the Hymn. Kerényi (2002a) suggests that the borderline between maidenhood and motherhood is a region in itself, occupied by murderousness, among other impulses (2002a, p. 124). In particular, this region is inhabited by the goddess Artemis, who "carries death in herself in the form of murder" (Kerényi, 2002a, p. 127). Artemis appears in the *Hymn* as one of Persephone's companions at the time she was abducted (ln. 424) and Kerényi suggests that they are "like two sides of the same reality" (ibid.) Seen in this light, the murderous Artemis, Persephone's darker twin is also Lucy. It is Lucy, not Persephone, who realizes the consequences of being Artemis. Her vampirization entails that she will kill human beings, a process begun with her attacks on children (another sign of infertility). Furthermore, in remaining a virgin, it is Lucy who is aligned to Artemis, not Persephone.

The exact nature of Lucy's infertility bears closer examination. Numerous commentators (see, for example, Arata 1990, Demetrakopoulos 1977, Griffin 1980, Roth 1977, Senf 1982, Spencer 1990, Stevenson 1988) have noted that Lucy's transformation into a vampire is accompanied by an increasing sexual brazenness on Lucy's part. Her sexual precocity as a vampire is part of the horror of the transformation, since it contrasts with her earlier more maidenly modesty. Furthermore, her transformation is foreshadowed in certain suggestions of immodesty, such as her somewhat unseemly pleasure in having received three marriage

[4] The term "inversion" here refers to reversal, not the sexual inversion discussed by Craft (1984). Stevenson (1988) also notes a number of ways in which the horrifying aspects of Count Dracula are vampiric inversions of human behaviour, to the point where vampirism is described as "a parodic mirror" (p. 142).

proposals in one day and her night wanderings which culminate in Dracula's first attack (Spencer 1990). This sexual precocity, so unseemly in the Victorian context, provides another link to infertility. How so? I suggest that it is possible to see Lucy as representing not only infertility but unchastity, that is, sexuality (with the possibility of procreation) that is not contained within the social order. The contrast between Persephone and Lucy, then, is not just an opposition between fertility and infertility, but also between chastity and unchastity, which is not an opposition between virginity and non-virginity, but between socially sanctioned sexuality and non-socially sanctioned sexuality. Lucy's infertility, then, emerges as Victorian unchastity. Unchastity is the clichéd "fate worse than death", and Lucy suffers from this fate by becoming a vampire, one of the Undead, with the clear implication is that undead is worse than death.

So far, I have proposed that both the *Homeric Hymn* to *Demeter* and *Dracula* inscribe the violation mythologem, which represents fertility in the former and infertility/unchastity in the latter. Part of my purpose in this paper has been to indicate how a single mythologem may be used to inscribe the opposite concerns of different cultures, time periods and audiences. In this inscription of opposites, we may see how the same cluster of archetypes interacts with specific cultures to produce different readings. My conclusions so far raise the question of how and why this mythologem inscribes opposite readings in these two texts. Here I propose to examine the different social and cultural contexts in which these texts were composed, on the assumption that the opposite interpretations of the violation mythologem in each text are a result of the particular concerns of the cultures and times in which they were composed.

Social and cultural contexts of *Dracula* and the rape of Persephone

Turning first to the Persephone myth, recall that it is linked in *The Homeric Hymn* to Demeter to the Eleusinian Mysteries. It is a common assumption that so-called primitive or pre-scientific societies, such as the ancient Greece of the Eleusinian Mysteries, use mythology and religion to ensure agricultural productivity (although this is clearly not the only use to which mythology and religion may be put or, for that matter, the only way to ensure agricultural productivity). The symbolism used by the Eleusinian Mysteries as described by Kerényi (2002a) (see above), of the corn seed and the mown ear, suggests that agricultural productivity was among the concerns of this mystery religion. I suggest that the violation mythologem reflects this concern. How so? Here I return to the imagery pointed out by Kerényi (*ibid.*): the violence with which Persephone is rapted beneath the earth has been analogized to the planting of the corn seed. Another way to read this image is that the soil must literally be violated for there to be good harvests. At the same time, Persephone, as the ripened ear of corn, is violently slashed from its stalk. This perspective makes it possible to see the violation mythologem as representing fertility.

Turning now to Dracula, if the *Homeric Hymn* to *Demeter* links the violation mythologem to good harvests, can we say that the inversion of this reading in *Dracula* is linked to poor harvests? All societies share anxieties about poor harvests. We can look for such a reading in *Dracula*, recalling that its Irish author was certainly aware of the Irish Potato Famine earlier in the century. However, I think it is more fruitful to link the infertility interpretation of the violation mythologem in Dracula to late Victorian social anxieties.

Arata (1990) notes that the Great Britain in which *Dracula* was written and published was a society undergoing a crisis of confidence. Among the most worrisome issues inflaming this crisis, he identifies a perception of loss of colonial domination and prestige, including loss of overseas markets, degeneration of the English race, and the erosion of traditional

values concerning the role and place of women. Thematically, these anxieties may be seen as manifestations of a desire to maintain clear boundaries between inside and outside, good and evil. Similar points are made by Craft (1984), Senf (1982), Spencer (1992) and Stevenson (1988). Arata's goal is to "… examin(e) .. how that perception is transformed .. into stories that the culture tells itself …" (Arata, 1990, p. 622). One of these stories is *Dracula* and the story of *Dracula* is built on the violation mythologem. Recall that in the myth of Persephone, fertility comes about through the violence done to the soil and the plant to produce food. On the other hand, in *Dracula*, violence against the female victim turns her into a force for the destruction of the status quo. Lucy becomes a vampire and hence, simultaneously, a racial outsider, a degenerate, and a monstrously unchaste woman. The violence perpetrated against her by Dracula, then, serves as a metaphor for the perceived erosion and destruction of the British Empire and late Victorian society along precisely the fault lines of race, degeneracy and voluptuousness. The violence of production in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is inverted in the violence of destruction in *Dracula*.

I would like now to return to the opposition between socially sanctioned fertility and fertility as unchastity and correlate these opposites with another structural characteristic of the myth of Persephone that is inverted or twisted in Dracula. This characteristic is the crossing and recrossing of boundaries entailed by Persephone's annual journey to the underworld and return to the Upperworld, a cycle that mirrors the agricultural cycle. This cycling is reminiscent of the repetition compulsion which is described by Freud, most prominently in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1990 (1950)), and exemplified by the fort da game. Part of the psychological satisfaction of the Persephone myth may come from its scratching of this particular itch, the urge to repeat.

Now, when we turn to *Dracula*, we may look at this boundary crossing in two ways. First, if we see the agricultural cycle as the archetypal crossing and recrossing of boundaries, part of the tension in *Dracula* may come from the thwarting of this back and forth movement by trapping Lucy between the Upperworld and the Underworld. Second, we can see that *Dracula* himself crosses boundaries that are much less like boundary between the Upperworld and the Underworld but more like, for example, a cell membrane that is invaded by a virus. In other words, in the Persephone myth, boundary crossing represents the growing of food, whereas in *Dracula* it represents invasion and contamination. In this connection, I also note that Spencer (1992) and Arata (1990) interpret *Dracula* not as involving the crossing of boundaries but as the eliminating of them; in other words, as blurring distinctions of gender and race that late Victorians were anxious to maintain.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude with a few comments about *Dracula* as a novel. Critics have been considerably nervous about its literary merit, a squeamishness which I think is misplaced (no one quarrels about the literary quality of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*). Demetrakopoulos (1977) describes *Dracula* as "tedious" but reveals her fascination with it in her subsequent discussion. Ellmann, in a notable quote, states that "…the novel wouldn't be so good if it weren't so very bad" (Ellmann, 1996, p. viii) Still, we don't respond to it as camp, and it's impossible to deny its power and fascination for many. Part of this fascination may come from its inscription of a powerful archetype, or cluster of archetypes reflecting one circumstance of human life, the life change which can propel, suddenly, a young girl into womanhood. This archetype comprised the central, motivating myth of the Eleusinian Mysteries for over two thousand years, and I think it is reasonable to say that the continuing power and fascination of Dracula, in spite of critical trepidation, comes from its reinscription of the myth of Persephone.

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Death and dying: An analysis of the language used in copying with death in the Shona society

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Abstract
This article analyses the language that the Shona speaking people in Zimbabwe use in naming death and dying, describing the dead, and consoling the bereaved. The research derives its linguistic analysis from a Shona socio-cultural-religious perspective. Related to this perspective, is the concept of saving face and easing the tension caused by death and this notion can be understood in the light of the politeness principle that guides human communication. Interviews and participatory observations were employed as data collection techniques in order to establish whether the Shona people use their language ordinarily or they fine-tune it to suit specific situations, particularly the unpalatable social situations like death and dying (language for specific purpose). Undergirded by these theoretical frameworks and methods, the study established that the Shona people have the tendency of creating, packaging and re-packaging their language use in relation to the social dilemma confronting them. Indirect ways of referring to tabooed matters such as death are in tandem with the Shona semantic philosophy in which by 'indirection they find direction.' In this regard, reference to death and dying often take the form of some blunt and euphemistic words or phrases, idiomatic and metaphorical expressions as a way of coping with death and dying. Euphemistic words and expressions allow the Shona people to talk about unpleasant notions and neutralise the unpleasantness, for example, the subjects of death and dying.

Introduction

The Shona speaking people regard subjects relating to death and dying, and illness and sex as taboo. Therefore, language is used to avoid directly saying such matters and prefer to talk about them in roundabout ways. Bakhtiar (2012) argues that, in each culture, taboo domains are subject to varying degrees of constraint and prohibition. In relation to this, the Shona people have traditionally felt uncomfortable to deal with the subject of death using straightforward terms. In this regard, Shona people resort to euphemisms, metaphors and idiomatic expressions for naming death and dying. Banana (1999, p. 27) argues that, the concept of death is unsettling, face threatening, unnatural, shocking and dreaded. Death is a disrupting suspicious phenomenon.

Whether owing to superstition, fear or some form of social respect, the fact still remains that when facing death, Shona language users try to soften the effect of what they really wish to communicate. These indirect expressions play an important role in revealing the Shona people's understanding of death and how they cope with death and dying.

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Fromkin and Rodman (1978, p. 277) observe that "… language use, and the words that are introduced into the language, reflect the views and values of society…". Thus, the vocabulary of the Shona people reflects their thinking and beliefs in relation to death and dying. Language is not used randomly. It is used to fulfill a specific purpose. In funeral contexts, language performs an expressive function, to express the Shona people's emotions, feelings and thoughts in connection with death. It is also important to note that Shona speakers vary their language use in accordance with the social situation in which they find themselves.

Death is taboo subject when it comes to conversation and thus, the thought of dying often times evokes fear and apprehension in people and people are often unprepared for the physical and logistical consequences of dying. Dying happen to everyone, yet people rarely discuss death. People across cultures have a hard time talking about death and dying and when they do, there is discomfort and difficulty speaking about the topic. The Shona people have a death-denying culture and by not being open about death and dying, they leave themselves unprepared to face other people's death and their own. In this regard, society exerts certain constrains on speech that has to do with tabooed matters that arouse fear and uncertainty in people. The type of language used at funerals reinforces the selective perception of speakers when talking about death and dying. Shona speakers possess a communicative competence when it comes to conversations on tabooed matters. They know when to speak or be silent, how to speak on each occasion, how to communicate meanings of sorrow and politeness.

Banana (1991, p. 27) notes that the Shona people have a paradoxical attitude towards death. Although death is viewed as a gateway to the next life, they nevertheless do not readily accept its occurrence. Death is never accepted as inevitable. Thus, despite the reluctance to mention the subject of death, no one can escape death and avoid the notions of death and dying. Grief and copying with loss therefore, require careful selection of vocabulary. In this regard, this article argues that the Shona use euphemistic language as a copying strategy.

Theoretical framework

This study is largely informed by the politeness principle and the conceptual metaphor theory in the interpretation of language use and choices made at funerals in the Shona society. However, before delving into these theories it is important to highlight the Shona concept of death because it is this perception that determines their choice of language.

The Shona concept of death and dying

Among the Shona life is an endless enterprise, a vehicle from the visible beings to the invisible beings. Death is part of life, a gateway to life in the here-after. Thus, according to Banana (1991) the Shona people believe in life-death-Life. Death is not the end of life but the beginning of another life. The language that is used reflects the continuity of life after death. Most Shona funerals stress the close bond that exists between the living and the dead through language use. The Shona believe in life in the form of a spirit after death, during which a dead person can continue to bear influence on the community he /she left. Popenoe (1974, p. 409) argues that:

> Religion provides support and consolation that help to overcome man's fear of the unknown, and his anxiety about the future… Religion provides significant emotional support in helping him to face life's uncertainties. Most religions also offer specific reassurance and hope about the final unknown, death, by defining a super-natural after life.

Thus, religion can help the Shona people during the crisis by taking note of the basic events of a lifetime such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. Funerals therefore, help to ease the strain of the difficult period through employment of euphemistic language that neutralises the unpleasantness of death. Funerals give consolation especially in the case of language that surrounds death and dying.

According to Ogbu Kalu (1978, p. 177), a Senegalese Poet Birago Diop observed that in Africa:

Those who are dead are never gone:
They are there in the thickening shadow,
The dead are not under earth:
They are in the tree that rustles
They are in the forest
They are in the house
The dead are not dead

Death is therefore viewed as a mere passage from the human world to the spirit world. The passage enhances the spiritual powers so that one could now operate in the human environment and especially in the human family as a guardian, protective spirit, and power. This reality of the dead-among-the living for the Shona people attracts so much religious devotion that in many Zimbabwean communities the ancestors occupy more devotional attention than God, the Supreme Being.

It is important to note that an ancestor must have lived a morally worthy life and must have died a good death. This means that the person was not killed by lightning, did not drown or commit suicide. According to Vambe (2008, p. 131) in traditional Shona thought, death evokes a wide range of emotions that are presented as cultural givens; death evokes fear and is not something to wish for, even of one's sworn enemies. In most cases, the dead person is supposed to be revered and is described as the 'ever-good one' (*wafawanaka).*

When the Shona people mourn the dead, they use language that express a sense of loss of a loved one and a sense of mourning themselves as well. Death is viewed as a nuisance, a robber and a form of destructive force that cuts off social ties. Regardless of how strong and comforting religious beliefs maybe, death means the loss of a living being, the absence of a physical presence (*kurasikirwa nehama*). It is a time of sadness and mourning where language with a healing and soothing effect is appropriate.

Though the Shona people fear death, religion is their prime source of strength and hope. Most Shona people say *kuda kwaMwari* (it is God's will), *adanwa nevadzimu* (has been called by the ancestors). The Shona people are scared of death because it evokes several fears such as pain and suffering, and postmortem consequences. Death is the ultimate unknown and no one has survived it to tell others what happens afterward and it is human nature to want to understand and make sense of the world. However, death can never be fully understood while we are all still alive. Thus, people are overwhelmed by fear of non-existence, fear of eternal punishment, and fear of loss of control. These fears are understandable given that death is something that is out of the realm of human control.

Death, as Allan and Burridge (2006) have argued, is a fear-based taboo in which different fears coexist. Therefore, the taboo of death cannot be properly understood without considering the crucial role that traditional religion plays. Religion is generally thought to

provide a reason not only for living, but also for dying. Religious practices and funerary rituals immensely contribute to ease the transition from life to death. Hence, religious beliefs provide some sort of relief in the face of death, particularly the promise of an eternal life beyond physical death. The choices to adopt indirect communication can best be understood from the traditional concept of death in Zimbabwe where the Shona people believe in a future life. Thus, death is rarely expressed sharply as death. Taboo words are less obvious in the Shona society than are euphemisms as a result of 'dressing up' certain areas in life to make them presentable.

Politeness Principle

Indirectness is a communicative strategy by means of which, the Shona speakers avoid being outspoken and attempt to hold a correspondence between their talk and face consideration. By virtue of euphemisms, as part of Shona language's politeness system, one finds it easier to communicate his or her intents without affronting the hearer's face and get rid of unpleasant terms such as death and dying with negative overtones. Barhtiar (2012) argues that, fear; shame and disgust are three principle factors motivating the use of euphemisms.

Euphemism is a face saving mechanism which emphasizes mutual cooperation in a conversation. Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 69) note that;

> A social interaction is generally oriented towards maintaining face and language speakers' substitution of a euphemism for a blunt term is a common strategy for reducing negative face threat.

Thus, euphemisms succeed in saving face because of the distance principle, correlation principle and pleasantness principle that characterize their usage. Euphemisms become alternatives to socially distasteful terms. Contrary to taboo words where the signifier and referent are closely connected, in euphemisms, this distance is much farther and this distance determines the mitigating capacity of euphemistic expressions. Euphemisms are usually relevant to the taboo concepts for which they have been substituted and each euphemism has positive connotations compared to its taboo counterpart or has less negative overtones. Therefore, Allan and Burridge (2006) argue that, taboo language is offensive, dysphemistic, and against politeness standards and in that regard, it is condemned and replaced by euphemisms.

Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 61) define "face" as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself." They aver that human communication is universally guided by the desire to maintain and enhance one's own and other's public self-esteem. Thus, face is something that is emotionally invested, and can be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in interpersonal, social and public interaction. Therefore, when confronted with death, the Shona speakers work towards defending their faces from the threats of death by renaming it and find indirect ways of neutralising the fear associated with using tabooed terms. Through the use of euphemistic language people show their mutual cooperation in maintaining face in funeral interactions. By indirection the Shona people find ways of redressing death in an attempt to counteract the potential face damage associated with use of tabooed terms thereby giving face to the bereaved. This is supported by Mashiri et al (2002, p. 122) who say:

> …a competent speaker of Shona is therefore aware of speaking norms that prohibit verbal references to certain words and/or historical events, whose direct verbalisation could unleash forces of instability or stir grief…

Therefore, the use of euphemisms is highly effective in saving face and makes it possible for speakers to talk about death with little tension and apprehension. Euphemistic language help the Shona speakers to prevent the mentioning of socially distasteful topics of death and dying and ameliorate the most unpleasing connotations of these tabooed terms. Fernandez (2006) argues that, death is a timeless taboo in which psychological, religious and social interdictions coexist and euphemistic language is used in substituting the notions of death and dying in order to save face. The practice of using euphemisms for death in Shona traditional and modern society is likely to have originated with the magical belief that to speak the word '*rufu*' (death) was to invite death, where to draw death's attention is the ultimate bad fortune. Thus, euphemisms are expressions for good omen.

Conceptual metaphor theory

This approach claims that metaphors go beyond pointing to the similarities between entities and stand as means of creating, organising and understanding reality. In order to reify abstract elements, language users tend to relate them to our social and bodily experiences with the help of metaphorical language by means of which we are able to conceptualise those abstract concepts. Lakoff (1993, p. 203) argues that, a metaphor can be defined as "a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system." A metaphor is thus understood as a device with the capacity to structure our conceptual system, providing at the same time, a particular understanding of the world and a way to make sense of our experience. For example, the conceptual metaphor, 'to die is to sleep' (*arere)*.There is a projection from a source domain sleep (*kurara*) onto a target domain die (*kufa)* and the association that constitute this metaphor map our perception about sleep onto our perception about death. It is in this correspondence between the source and the target domain where cognitive conceptualisation fulfills its euphemistic function. The source domain is therefore used to understand structure and in some cases, mitigate the target domain.

Methodology

Findings presented in this article are based on participatory observations carried out in 15 funeral gatherings attended between March 2011 and March 2012. Since death is a tabooed subject which is usually avoided in public day to day conversations, interviews could not be carried at the funeral with the fear of opening the wounds of the bereaved. Thus, additional information was obtained by interviewing 40 informants outside the funeral context. These participants, whose age ranged between 20 and 60 years of age, comprised relatives and friends of the deceased; workmates and students at the University of Zimbabwe. The interviews were recorded and information was fused into the research analysis and findings. Gathered data was analysed from the perspective of politeness principle, conceptual metaphor theory and the Shona concept of death. The responses provided valuable insights into the influence of African traditional worldviews on language selection and use in copying with death and dying.

Findings

The Shona proverbial, idiomatic and metaphorical euphemistic expressions which play an important role in revealing the Shona people's understanding of death and dying are illustrated in the tables below:

SHONA	ENGLISH DESCRIPTION AND IMPLICATION
wazorora	-has rested, is asleep but will reactivate to resume life duties
watorwa	-has been taken away, is therefore somewhere.
waenda	-has gone ahead of us where we will follow.
washaika	-has disappeared but will be recovered.
watungamira	-has gone ahead of us, has proceeded.
watsakatika	-has disappeared, is somewhere.
wapfuura	-has passed on to the next destination ahead of us.
watisiya	has left us, we will catch up with him/her.
warara	-is asleep, will wake up later.
watonhora	-has become cold.
wakotsira	-has gone asleep.
wawoneka	-has bid farewell to us.
wafuratira	-has turned his back on us.
wanyarara	-has become silent.
wadaidzwa	-has been called.
waparadzika	-has perished.
watsanwa	-has been angered and left us.
wapedza rwendo	-has completed his/her journey.
watanga rwake rwendo	-has embarked on a journey ahead of us.
mweya wake waenda	-his/her soul has gone; only the body is left.
watevera vadzimu	-has followed the ancestors.
wapedza pake	-has played his/her part and finished, our part is left.
watsamira churu	-has taken a rest on the anthill.
wapira gotsi	-has turned his/her back on us.
wafuga rake ega	-has been covered in his/her own blanket.
waneta	-has become tired and needs a rest
avete	-has gone asleep and will wake up later.
waputsika	-has fallen down but will rise again.
washaya	-has disappeared to an unknown place.
waenda kwamupfiganebwe	-has gone to a place whose door is closed by a large stone.

Language of consolation	
SHONA	ENGLISH DESCRIPTION
Nematambudziko	-sorry for the difficult time
Atorwa naMwari	-has been taken by God
Atorwa nevadzimu	-has been taken by ancestors
Aiwa azorora	-has rested
Nguva yanga yakwana	-his/her time was due
Kuda kwaMwari	-it is God's will
Ndineurombo nekurasikirwa kwamaita	-I am sorry about the sad loss.
Ndineurombo	-my condolences.
Nedzinoparadza	-sorry for the destructive force the befall you.
Tikubatei maoko	-sorry for sad loss
Nedzataunganira	-sorry for the sad gathering.
Zvatiwana	-sad moment has caught up with us this time.
Masiiwa	-you are left behind, he/she has gone ahead of you.
Ndimi madziona	-you have seen the sad happenings.
Nemakuputswa	-sorry for the destructive force that befall you.

Description of the grave and burying process

SHONA	ENGLISH
Rinda	Grave
Churu	Anthill
Musha	Second home
Mupfiganebwe	A place whose door is closed by a big stone.
Wazorodzwa	Has been put to rest
Waradzikwa	Has been put to sleep
Waperekedzwa	Has been escorted to his/her final destination.
Waraswa	Has been thrown away.
Wadyarwa	Has been planted somewhere.
Wafushirwa	Has been covered underground

Shona euphemisms used at funeral gatherings

Euphemisms help in providing alternatives to dispreferred expressions pertaining death and dying in the Shona society at large. This is possible because of the distance principle, correlation principle and pleasantness principle that guide the operation of a euphemism.

Since death is viewed as taboo subject, the language of death has been avoided at great length by most Shona people. Thus, using the terms death, dying, dead (*rufu, kufa, afa*) is offensive, frightening, dysphemistic and against politeness standards. To neutralise the negative tone of such terms, the Shona people replace them with euphemisms. Death is an area which evokes fear and nervousness amongst the Shona people. In response to such fearful events, most of death language among the Shona people is created by virtue of euphemistic metaphors, idioms, circumlocutions, and expressions with implicature to refer to death in the most pleasant and distant way.

For example, '*aenda'*, (has gone), '*apfuura,'* (has passed on)
In such cases, euphemisms were to avoid threatening mourners' face by hiding the unpleasant aspects of taboo or applying words with more positive connotations to fit in words with their style of use. Thus, various linguistic devices such as remodeling, omission and figurative language are applied to ameliorate the most unpleasing connotations of dysphemistic term,

'*Afa' (*has died), '*rufu*' (death)
From the observations and interviews, the researcher noted that euphemisms are proper means of talking about death and are mainly used to avoid affronting both mourners' and the bereaved's face. Shona speakers always avoid using words and expressions which are unpleasant, inappropriate or embarrassing to them or to whom they are conversing. Interviews with the University of Zimbabwe students, revealed that death is taboo subject because it scares people, it is the end of learning, family, pleasure and all the dreams. Because death instills much uncertainty and horror, it is an unpalatable subject hence the Shona find it extremely difficult to discuss death and cope with bereavement.

Following this, the study notes that, whether we acknowledge death or not, most of us fear death. Death remains a great mystery, one of the central issues with which religion and philosophy and science have wrestled since the beginning of human history.

Euphemistic language also gives the Shona people distance from their discomfort with death. People who die are (no longer with us) '*watisiya*', (has gone ahead of us) '*watungamira*'. Some of the discomfort with the death and dying process has come about because death has been removed from common experience. This lack of personal experience with death and dying only adds to our sense of trepidation and fear.

Death in Shona society is understood in roundabout ways. Metaphors are used euphemistically to allow people to talk about unpleasant notions of death and dying and neutralise the unpleasantness. From the data gathered from Shona elders, the study notes that euphemisms are used to fill in the gaps of the abandoned taboo terms that refer to death in a crude and direct way. This avoidance of calling a spade a spade helps in stripping the taboo of its unsettling undertones. This manner of language use is in agreement with Allan and Burridge (2006) view that language users resort to euphemisms to avoid taboo terms that might cause distress for themselves and the receivers.

Wardhough (1998) argues that, taboo words and expressions are less obvious in our society than are euphemisms, as a result of 'dressing up' certain areas in life to make them more presentable. Thus, death and dying is still a heavily tabooed area in Shona society and the Shona people have indirect ways of referring to tabooed matters.

Death is understood in terms of a journey with a spiritual destination. Bultnick (1998) points out; human mortality is conceptualised as a departure from this world in which a basic domain of experience like death is understood in terms of a different and more concrete domain, as a journey, an association which provides the basis for the verbal mitigation of the taboo. The act of dying corresponds to the act of leaving, the destination of the journey is an encounter with the ancestors and the dying person is the one that embarks on the journey.

The vast majority of the metaphorical substitutes focus on the act of leaving, on the journey itself. In the journey-metaphor, the deceased '*mufi*' corresponds to the person

that is capable of embarking on the journey and considered to be somewhere alive. The frequent use of verbs of motion such as: '*atisiya*' (has departed); '*aenda*' (has gone); '*apfuura*' (has passed on); '*atungamira*' (has gone ahead of us, has proceeded); '*atanga rwake rwendo*' (has embarked on a journey); link death to a journey and denies the total cessation of bodily movement as an intrinsic attribute of death. Thus, these metaphors do imply the Shona people's negation of death. It is in this view of the deceased '*mufi*' as a living being that these metaphors fulfills their euphemistic function. This conceptualization has its basis on the traditional belief of an afterlife beyond death were the soul will live forever with the ancestors.

In Shona society death is a rest. Death is viewed in terms of a peaceful rest after an earthly existence. In this way, death is viewed as a desirable condition, a positive judgment. The following words saliently capture this:

'Azorora' (has eternal rest), '*awana zororo*' (has found rest),'*zorora murugare*' (rest in peace),'*zorora maari*' (rest in Him), '*nzvimbo yekuzorora*' (resting place, the grave).

A rest or a sleep emphasises a transient state and thus, death is conceptualized as a temporary event. This leads to the ultimate denial of death as the deceased is assumed to be somewhere resting or sleeping especially when death is a result of terminal illness. In that way, death is transformed to a happening that is less threatening and temporary. The metaphorical expressions focus on life more than death thereby mitigates the taboo. Euphemisms mask the unpleasantness that comes with death and dying and function as consolation strategy to the bereaved.

Death involves cessation of bodily function and speech which are also present in a peaceful sleep. The conceptualisation which relates death to a rest or a sleep provides an effective euphemistic reference to the taboo mainly because this association ultimately leads to the denial of death as such. The dying person is no longer dead, but sunk in a comforting sleep. Thus, death provides some relief for the dying person. It is important to note that this association of death with rest is usually done during the death of old age because death of old age is expected and inevitable, the conclusion of a natural process.

Death is also viewed as a reward or an achievement. Far from being fearful or harmful, death involves a sort of liberation to which the deceased (*mufi*) and his/her survivors (*vanosara*) the bereaved will find some hope and consolation. The following phrases saliently capture this:

Apedza pake (has played his/her part to completion)

Arwupedza rwendo (has completed his/her journey)

Death is viewed as the end. Since life is understood as a process with a starting and end point with a time span, death is conceptualised as the final stage of that lifespan by means of the image of death as the end. Such expressions as:

Mazuva ake ekupedzisira (last struggling moments of existence)

*Afema kekupedzisira (*breath one's last breath)

Izwi rake rekupedzisira (his/her last word)

The adjective (last), *'kupedzisira'* signal the end of the process.

Death is also conceived as a means by which God calls back his creation.

Kufa murawu waMwari (death is God's ruling)

Rufu kuda kwaMwari (death is God's will)

Rufu kutonga kwaMwari (death is the rule of God)

There is also a sense in which death is viewed as a beginning of a new existence. Death ushers someone into the world of spirits, referred to by the Shona as *'Nyikadzimu'.* Alternatively, they say *'Adanwa nevadzimu',* meaning he or she has been called by the ancestors. Even the vice President Mrs. Joyce T Mujuru alluded to the existence of ancestors at the burial of her husband when she said, *"VaMujuru vatove mudzimu wekwaMwendamberi"* (Mujuru is now an ancestor of the Mujuru family) (Sunday Mail 21 August 2012), as a way of acknowledging that death has come at the rightful time. Thus, while the departed person is remembered by name, he/she is not really dead, but alive and such a person is what is referred to as a living-timeless. According to the Shona people, while the dead (*vafi)* have no physical force, their power-force is greater and is a graduation into a new and higher life. The spirit is immortal and this is aptly expressed in the Shona phrase '*chinoora inyama mweya hauori*', meaning what perishes is the flesh but the spirit is immortal. This belief is evident in death and burial rituals in Shona society.

Though death has been expressed with a positive effect, it is also understood in terms of loss among the Shona people. The conceptual basis of this lies in the fact that life is perceived as a valuable subject and death is thus seen as the loss of this possession, Bultnick (1998, p. 44-45)

Death is an event that human beings cannot control, leaving them powerless in the face of the unavoidable event. Death is conceptualized as a loss; those who are left alive will regret and lament the loss. In this way, death does not provide any form of consolation or relief. This is demonstrated by the following statements;

Ndine urombo nekurasikirwa nababa (sorry for the sad loss of your father)

Arasikirwa namai (has lost a mother)

Thus, Banana (1991, p. 27), argues that, "death is a disrupting, suspicious phenomenon, unnatural, shocking and dreaded." Regardless of how strong and comforting traditional beliefs may be , to the Shona people death means the loss of a living being, the absence of a physical presence and a time of sadness and mourning. Mourning is therefore the recognition of a deeply felt loss. Aschwanden (1987, p. 211) posits that, "death indubitably remains one of humanity's basic problems, a problem people can only answer with symbols." Thus, death remains a fear based taboo among the Shona speakers which is usually talked about with care and euphemistically.

It is important to note that, from this study, the researcher realised that death has become a casual event or happening due to the HIV and AIDS pandemic that has sky-rocketed the death rate in Zimbabwe. People are dying every minute and society now experience these

sad moments quite often such that the tension that used to be associated with death has been relaxed. People in some circles refer to death and dying in a jocular and very casual way. As such, the Shona people also adopt slang as a linguistic tool to name death and dying. This casual reference to death serves a euphemistic function in that it neutralises the discomfort faced by people when confronted by death and dying. By making use of slang, people come to terms with death. Such vocabulary includes:

SHONA SLANG	ENGLISH DESCRIPTION
Ashuzula	-has gone ahead of us
Atila	-has died
Ashamla	-has gone
Anyura	-has sunk/drown
Akushta	-has fallen asleep
Arova pasi	-has gone ahead of us
Agemuka	-has perished
Akita	-has died
Afriza	-has gone cold
Avhaya	-has gone ahead of us
Akoromoka	-has fallen down
Awoma	-has dried up
Abaya	-has gone
Masofa panze	-has died and people need space to mourn and furniture has been placed outside.

Conclusion

Shona speakers make use of euphemistic language to conceptualise and verbalise the taboo of death and dying. Idiomatic and metaphorical expressions fit the purpose of euphemisms. In Shona context, people pass over, pass on, pass away, they are carried to rest, they rest, they fall asleep and do not die. These euphemisms rely on the Shona Traditional religious beliefs and the politeness principle that guide human communication on matters to do with death. However, in some instances people resort to direct references to the taboo, the words death and dying '*rufu', 'kufa'.* The implication behind the direct use of taboo terms is that death belongs to human life and everybody has to die. In that way, everyone should come to terms with death and its implications. Thus, feelings, fears, and hopes help to cope better with the subject of death and dying.

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A first Namibian portfolio for languages: From concept to context

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Abstract

Since its early beginnings in the 1970's, the communicative approach has established itself as the preferred approach in the teaching and learning of French as a Foreign Language. It has significantly changed teaching and learning methods by introducing innovative concepts, notions and material – such as communicative and intercultural competence, needs analysis, authentic material, and learner-centred practices. The assessment dimension had its share of transformation especially with the introduction of learners' self-assessment and self-awareness skills. To operationalise these new self-assessment skills, innovative tools have been developed and tested.

The *Portfolio for Languages* (a document produced by the European Council after the publication of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* in 2001, which is now used in more than 38 countries in Europe) has proven its usefulness (for the learner as well as for the teacher) in the development of self-assessment skills, and in the monitoring an individual's language development and of understanding learning objectives.

To date no African portfolio for languages is in existence. In 2010, a team of five Namibian teachers of French conceived the first Namibian Portfolio for Languages that will be implemented in 2013 for all Grade 8 learners taking French as a Foreign Language in Namibian secondary schools. This pilot project will be carried out until 2017. The project is aimed at testing the effectiveness of the portfolio as an instrument if considered as a complementary tool to provide in the communicative approach needs in the Namibian context. [1]

Introduction

Shortly after independence in 1990, the Namibian government through the Ministry of Education in partnership with the French Embassy in Namibia, made provision for the teaching of French as a Foreign Language as a subject in various secondary schools. Mweshipandeka Secondary School in Ongwediva was the first public school to offer French as a Foreign Language (FFL) and it paved the way for five other public schools and several private schools in Windhoek. To also eventually offer the subject as a result of an increase in international contact with the Francophone community, the number of secondary schools offering FFL as a subject has increased significantly in Namibia.

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After more than two decades of implementation, the review on the FFL in Namibia shows a stable increase in learner enrolment, with a gross total of 1600 learners (from Grade 8 to 12) in 2012, and an average of 500 new learners registering for FFL in Grade 8 annually. The increase in the number of learners choosing FFL as part of their studies since the introduction of FFL in Grade 8 is testament to the demands and interest of FFL in Namibia. Nevertheless, the challenge emerges from the Grade 10 results at the Junior Secondary Certificate (JSC) examinations which recorded a disconcerting rate of failure, as in most of the other school subjects (DNEA, 2008). This in return prevents many learners from continuing with FFL at tertiary level. As a direct consequence, the main population of FFL learners at the University of Namibia (UNAM) is comprised of beginner level learners; the Polytechnic of Namibia offers a year course for two classes (about 30 learners in total studying FFL as a year course), whereas the UNAM registers approximately 80 learners following a three year course in French as a minor subject.

The team of teachers of French in Namibia is evolving in proportion and in quality due to the fact that French is offered as a school subject to prospective teachers in the Faculty of Education at UNAM. Today, Namibia has around 35 FFL teachers spread across public and private schools and tertiary institutions mainly in Windhoek. The interest in learning and teaching FFL in Namibia is increasing, but it necessitates continuous efforts to maintain the teaching quality and to appropriately define the target language in a Namibian context.

With this scenario, the various partners involved in the promotion and development of FFL in Namibia (namely the Namibian Ministry of Education, Secondary Schools, the French Cooperation in Namibia for the Development and Promotion of French Language and Culture, UNAM, the Polytechnic of Namibia and the Association of Teachers of French in Namibia (ATFN) are challenged to create and maintain an efficient and constant network to monitor and improve the status of FFL in Namibia. To engage in this long term task, the first author initiated a research project in 2009 pursuing the elaboration of in-service professional development programmes for teachers of FFL in state secondary schools. The research project was centred on methodology and teaching practice which among other objectives focuses on the capitalisation and exchange of knowledge and experience among Namibian education practitioners. One of the key research factors identified by Zannier's study is the production of pedagogical materials suitable for the needs of FFL in Namibia.

In 2010, the ATFN submitted a project proposal application to the International Federation of Teachers of French (FIPF)'s call for "Innovative Pedagogical Tools Proposals", and successfully obtained a sponsorship to create the first Namibian Portfolio for Languages (NPL).

This article follows the evolution of this project: starting with an analysis of the validity of a portfolio for languages in the framework of the communicative approach (CA) of language teaching; and finally with a presentation of the modifications made by the Namibian Portfolio research team to the NPL, in an attempt to adapt the concept to the country's particular realities.

The portfolio: a pedagogical tool positively meeting the principles of the communicative approach

The CA which is used for teaching Foreign Languages (FL), and was groomed in the 1970s and then implemented in the early 1980s, broke away from traditional teaching methods

by prioritising the notions of *needs orientated* and *learner centred* language teaching. This reoriented teaching focalisation, according to Bérard (1991), stood as a direct response to tackle the weakness of the preceding language teaching methods (such as the Structuro Global Method- SGM) which was accused of underestimating the learner's characteristics, needs and roles impact on the learning process (*Dictionnaire de Didactique du Français*, 2003, p. 39). The CA also criticized the SGM for not adequately using the communicative language in the class (Porcher as cited by Bérard, 1991, p. 14). Moreover, critics of the SGM argue that the teaching/learning progression is sometimes too rigid as it always follows the same order of the lesson plan. Bérard further explains that the passage to the CA has drastically changed aspects of FL didactics affecting methodology, practice, pedagogical material and assessment, by firstly putting an emphasis on communicative language use in context (Bérard states that teaching the communicative competence implies taking into consideration all its components; the linguistic, socio-linguistic, referential and strategic sub-competencies, providing authentic material such as authentic documents and real communicative situations, privileging a certain coherence between public target, target objectives, and syntax vs. meaning) and secondly applying a global learner centred teaching approach.

The learner centred teaching concept means, positioning the learner both at the heart and as the vector of the teaching process. The new attribution implied a recalibration of the didactical triangle: teacher, subject/teaching material, and learner. Hence, the learner, placed at the core of the teaching process requires the teacher to take on new roles and attitudes towards learners (as knowledge transmitter, teaching facilitator, technician, stimulating resource and advisor) (*Dictionnaire de Didactique du Français*, 2003, p. 83). Secondly, the learner's needs dictate the selection of the teaching content, of the target language and of the pedagogical material and precise teaching-learning strategies. Finally, the learner becomes a proactive and autonomous participant in the learning process. Creating new tools and pedagogical materials responding to these transformations grew as an imperative necessity: the portfolio for languages stood as a potential solution to more communicative methods of learner assessment.

The portfolio for language application found a huge audience in the United States and Canada from the 1980's and was developed in Europe ten years later. In 2001, the Council of Europe launched the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), - a result of the European Council's efforts to research and harmonise FL didactics and practice in Europe- and the European Portfolio for Languages. The European Portfolio for Language (EPL) experiment is now utilised in 38 countries at all education levels from pre-primary level to university level. This large scale application provides a valuable analysis basis for language portfolios; therefore it will constitute the main point of reference for this analysis. Noël-Jothy & Sampsonis (2006, pp. 22-23) define the EPL as a personal document belonging to the learner that is used throughout a learner's schooling in a language. The EPL is a booklet which allows learners to evaluate their competencies in languages, to valorise their experience in using languages and cultures.

By studying the principles, characteristics, and multi functionalities of the portfolio for languages, we aim at measuring to what extent the proposed educational tool adequately fits into the *learner centred* concept (in line with the CA) and therefore endorses its legitimacy in a language programme. This will be done by addressing the following relevant characteristics of a learner-centred methodology:

A tool defining learners' personal profiles
A record of learners' language acquisition
A instrument promoting multilingualism
A stimulus for learner's autonomy: "Learning to Learn"

A tool defining learners' personal profiles

An instrument identifying learners' identity

Depending on its format and its authors' vision, the EPL gives variable feedback on the learner's personal identity, environment and interests. Some types of portfolios for languages, such as e-portfolios face the problems of individual copyrights, and therefore cautiously include this content in their digital material. Instead, hard copy portfolios, as the learners' properties, generally record learners' personal data obtaining valuable information about the learner's close surrounding later exploitable for defining the themes studied in class, and/or for selecting appropriate authentic documents.[2]

The EPL concentrates on the learner's linguistic identity. It dedicates an important section, entitled "The Language Biography", to question the learner's appreciation and use of languages. The CEFR indeed reiterates the importance of the public needs analysis in any educational language program but also insists on the fact that the learner's awareness of their language environment impacts their performance quality in languages (CEFR, 2001, p. 5). In multilingual contexts, because the FL acquisition is affected by the other languages, knowing the learner's linguistic environment is a valuable asset for the teacher as well as for the learner. The more conscious teachers and learners are aware of influences of other languages on the target language, and thus attempt to prevent predictable transfers from one linguistic system to another. With the increasing diversity of learners' linguistic identities, most recent pedagogical materials such as textbooks for FFL succeed to include intercultural activities but are written without taking foreign learners' linguistic identities (with the exceptions of the English mother tongue) into consideration. Linguistic identities if not easily defined can remain a handicap (Courtillon, 2007, p. 27) and in this perspective, the language portfolio could be seen as a complementary tool. FFL prescribed textbooks in Namibian state secondary schools (*Champion* for Grades 8, 9 and 10, and *Métro* for Grades 11 and 12) are indeed conceived in respect with the CA main concepts in terms of learning progression, lesson plan and implicit grammar but poorly provide learners with themes and activities that are close to the Namibian social and linguistic context (e.g. chapters about European transports or European leisure activities).

Defining learners' needs in a communicative way

Richterich and Porcher, from Switzerland and France respectively, stand as the early experts of the *needs orientated* approach to FFL teaching. Through a long collection of publications started in the mid-70s both authors helped improve our understanding of the importance and the implications proceeding from this approach on the teaching method and practice. Richterich (Boyer, Butzbach, & Pendanx, 1990, pp. 58-59) explains that the

[2] Definition from the Dictionnaire de Didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde, Clé International, 2003. « Renvoie à un foisonnement de genres bien typés et à un ensemble très divers de situations de communication et de messages écrits, oraux, iconiques et audiovisuels, qui couvrent toute la panoplie des productions de la vie quotidienne, administrative, médiatique, culturelle, professionnelle, etc. »
"Refers to a panel of defined genders and to a collection of diverse situations of communication and written, oral, iconic and audio visual documents, which cover the diversity of everyday life, administrative life, media, culture, professional world, etc." (translation)

identification of the learners' needs is a necessity to be addressed with the best possible accuracy and to be conducted at many levels: the language needs, the specific needs, the institutional needs, the learning needs. Porcher (1995: pp. 23-25), moreover, emphasises that this data collection must occur before and during the language teaching and learning evolution.

Collecting learner's needs data through questionnaires, as suggested by Chancerel and Richterich (1977), remains a restrictive static operation. In contrast, in a portfolio, the learner's data collection is conducted in an interactive way (a constant dual transmission streamed between teacher and learners, and eventually the parents), potentially during the entire progress of the language acquisition, and that can be implemented as pedagogical class activities. Unlike a questionnaire, the learner is given the possibility to actively and frequently participate in the process of the needs analysis and he/she is allowed to select the information they found relevant to define their objectives. A report compiled by Little(www.coe.int/t/DG4/Portfolio/documents/Exploitation%20du%20PEL.pdf) presents nine European case studies of the EPL which show how teachers used the portfolio for languages in their class activities; some of them opted to use the EPL as a weekly activity in class while others used it as a six months project. Unanimously, teachers privileged an interactive mode of delivery by investing in learner peer review and interaction, thereby permitting leaners to negotiate meaning in the target language.

Setting learners' motivations

Motivational strategies in education are a complex problem emanating from a variety of reasons and conditions. Investigating the learner's close environment in order to orientate the pedagogical material selection (as mentioned above) is a first step in increasing the learner's motivation to participate in class, to feel confident and knowledgeable (CEFR, 2001, p. 123).

Moreover, creating an individual communication platform between teachers and learners also facilitates the learner's motivation by desacralizing the rigid poles Teacher vs. Learners (Bérard, 1991, p.58). The privileged exchange condition operated in this process is a contributing factor in increasing the learner's confidence. Including the learner in the whole process is definitely an asset in his/her motivation to progress in his/her language acquisition. The reflexive practice helps the learner to link up his needs, objectives and strategies.

Finally, most portfolios for languages directly ask the learner to assess his/her motivational reasons to learn the FL. The pedagogical stream carried by Carl Rogers defends that motivation is mainly dependant on the learner's intrinsic needs and that the teacher's predominant role relies in driving the learner to be conscious about his/her intrinsic motivations rather than just stimulating them. The EPL chose to directly question the learner about his motivation to acquire the FL. The interesting input of the portfolio is that it allows a long term monitoring of these motivations as they are often evolving with time.

A record of learners' language acquisition

Covering duration of the portfolio

The advantageous particularity of a language portfolio lies in the duration it covers. Unlike most of the other pedagogical tools or materials, a portfolio is generally drafted to follow a complete cycle of learning (covering the learner's entire schooling - primary, secondary,

tertiary-, or extended to the learner's ending less lifelong learning) to picture the learner's evolution in his/her linguistic knowledge and skills acquisition. This length of the follow up allows an exclusive traceability of the learner's progress in the language learning process. The teacher's monitoring task should therefore be facilitated and more efficient.

The definition of learning content

A portfolio for languages is aimed at assessing and monitoring the language acquisition of learners. The pedagogical tool needs to be fed by content of acquisition in order to define learning objectives and to assess them through the learner's progression.

The "Warning" section introducing the fundamental principles grounding the CEFR reasserts the needs orientated pedagogy to define a curriculum. However, in order to clarify the language objectives in the learning progression, the European Council harmonized on a common teaching content that arises from ten years of European research on the subject (Dictionnaire de didactique du Français, 2003, p.52-53). The chapter three of the CEFR describes in detail the progressive FL acquisition and scales it into 6 different levels. Therefore, the flexibility of the learner's decision into defining his learning content is limited or framed. The EPL defined content is based on this classification and progression. Of course, many other portfolios for languages divert the content adapting their own national syllabuses or private programs as linguistic objectives.

Brushing aside the disillusion of elaborating a complete individual content based learning program directed by the learner, the portfolio for languages has the benefit of providing a platform for the teacher and the learner to discuss the language learning objectives. This step echoes what the CA suggests with the introduction of a "pedagogical contract" between the teacher and the learner. Pallotti (2002) explains that the "teaching-learning contract [between the instructor and the learner] fixes negotiated, shared and accepted rules". In other words, teachers and learners agree on the learning objectives and express their respective contributions to achieve the defined learning goals. The strategies need to be identified and discussed to inform and make learners more responsible.

Individual learning styles

The CA reiterates that individuals' learning styles are part of the heterogeneity problem that teachers need to address in their classes. The remediation of these different ways of learning is to propose diversified ways of teaching so that any type of learner can have an opportunity to perform at his/her best. But the issue rather lies in how to identify these individual learning profiles.

In that perspective, the portfolio for languages is a valuable option. To have a detailed picture of each learner's learning style is a major challenge for teachers. Firstly because of the number of learners they teach to, secondly because each learner accumulates different learning styles so that an individual cartography is necessary.[3] As the portfolio collects activities, self-assessments, productions of each learner, the teacher's task to identity the learner's individual learning profile is more transparent. Moreover, we also know that these learning styles can change during the learning process as they are linked to the learning environment; whether the teacher consciously tries to direct/redirect them or the learner naturally transforms them. Therefore, the duration of the portfolio monitoring can allow a traceability of the learner's learning style evolution.

[3] See the description of learning styles proposed in the book by Bertocchini, P. and Costanzo, E. (2008) Manuel de formation pratique, Cle International, pages 40-42.

Multilingualism as a worldwide reality

Bilingualism is a well-researched linguistic profile because it has been a worldwide reality for a while; it is estimated that 60 % of the world population is bilingual (*Dictionnaire de didactique du français*, pp. 35-36). In some countries such as India, the multi linguistic approach poses huge issues for effective implementation since hundreds of languages co-exist on the same territory. The global statistics prove that an average country has a bi or multilingual context. In Europe, where the slightly reduced variety of languages per country remains more manageable, multilingualism is retained as a priority orientation. Political ministers from the European Council recommended in the preamble of the *Recommendation* R (82) 18 that the linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe is a common resource that needs to be saved and developed, and that countries should consider it as a source of enrichment and mutual comprehension rather than a communication obstacle (CERF, 2001, p.10). They strongly encourage that European countries work on common language educational projects, methods, materials in line with the promotion of multilingualism.

The multilingualism concept as defined by the common European framework of reference for languages

The European Council explains that the multilingualism perspective in teaching FL crosses beyond the simple recognisance of diverse languages' presence and their influences on each other during the learning process. They assert that the learner does not only accumulate languages side by side when learning them, but thanks to his/her individual linguistic identity he/she develops a more general communicative skill based on the use of all he/she knows and experienced from the other languages. The process of learning languages is then a global skill and not a compartmentalised skill (CEFR, 2001, p.105-106).

The EPL gives a formal transcription of these different linguistic and cultural experiences. To assess this global communicative skill, the EPL proposes crossed languages activities such as translating a passage into another language, participating to a multilingual conversation, or interpreting a cultural phenomenon according to another culture (CEFR, 2001, p.133). If not all portfolios for languages are identical, most of them are at least bilingual and stimulate this multilingual reflection. If one believes in the 'multilingual global skill', a portfolio for languages can help in valorising multi-disciplinary practice – at least between languages- and can thereby facilitate language teachers' capitalisation of knowledge in a more formal way. We can then assess that the didactic benefice for FL teachers thanks to the portfolio is definitely an added advantage.

Methodology towards learners' accountability

The second Summit of Heads of States in Europe proclaimed the necessity to: "Promote teaching methods for FL that consolidate the thinking, judging, acting freedoms, combined with a sense of responsibility and social know-how" (CEFR, 2001, p.11). According to the CEFR, political ministers from the European Council guaranteed that their European language framework methodology favours the notion of "democratic citizenship" which is identified as a main challenge for the Europe of tomorrow. The EPL also aims at valorising this linguistic political notion. The process of accountability transmitted to learners and the multilingualism promoted in the portfolio should enforce the feeling and understanding of the European identity.

The learning accountability is a process that can be reached in many different ways. As already discussed, the act of asking the learner to identify his/her own linguistic profile and needs in languages is a first stone cast towards his/her independence and responsibility in

the language acquisition process. Same applies to the on-going reflection on the learning objectives where learners are totally involved and has to formulate goals that learners will try to respect (CEFR, 2001, p.145).

Self-assessment

Accepting that the main way of assessing language proposed in the portfolio for languages is the concept of learner self-assessment which does not necessarily mean that the learner is doing assessments alone. Firstly, self-assessment is a skill that learners need to be taught. Secondly, the teacher's reflection on the learner's self-evaluation is compulsory. More than a summative assessment evaluation, the portfolio opens the path for a formative evaluation – meaning that the focus of the assessment even though in connection with a linguistic defined content is aimed at helping in the identification of learners' strengths and weaknesses in order to make instructional adjustments.

As mentioned earlier, the self-assessment process is a foundation of the portfolio for languages. It appears in the general self-reflection that the portfolio for languages encourages the learner to do, about his/her linguistic and personal identity, needs, objectives and learning strategies, and it appears again in the section of self-assessment as compared to the defined content objective. There, the learner needs to evaluate his performances and acquisitions in the FL at different moments of his/her language learning process.

The question of the accreditation of the portfolio's assessment

The problem of the ratio allocated between formative and summative assessments remains a debatable topic between practitioners and theoreticians. In any case, both tend to agree that evaluating the learners' skills and progression in a FL should be conducted in different ways. Therefore, portfolios for languages can be at least considered as complementary assessment tools without necessarily targeting a summative finality. For instance, the EPL affirms that it is not a "substitute of the evaluation proposed by the education system of a country" (EPL, 2006).

Learning to learn

The "learning to learn" process is vital in the CA. Porcher explains, as early as 1995, that the notion of learning to learn is a "decisive education competence" and that 'to learn' is in itself a competence (Porcher, 1995, p.27). The teachers' task is to develop as many strategies to reinforce the learning to learn competence to ensure that the point of focalisation is centred on the learner. Furthermore, Porcher adds: "The goal of teaching is not to explain [...] but to make understand" (*Ibid.*). Therefore, all strategies teaching "learning how to learn" to learners teach an essential skill which learners will keep on developing to get closer to autonomy in their language learning process. As Porcher precises, a language is made to be practical and to put learners in situations that require them to negotiate meaning. A learner basically needs to know 'how to learn' from the beginning of his/her acquisition of the language: how to learn to read, to speak, to answer, to behave...'.

The 'Learning to learn' skill developed in the EPL includes different areas. The section dedicated to draft the learner's linguistic identity and environment could answer the skill 'Learning to learn what is my linguistic surrounding'. The other part proposing the self-assessment based on objectives rather addresses the learning content and learning strategies (learner's needs, objectives, learning profile, strategies) (EPL, 2006, p.7 & 14).

Perspective

Through this short analysis of the concept of a portfolio for languages, it is clear that the pedagogical tool answers most aspects of the CA, especially the notion of *learner centred* material, learning strategies and practice.

At a macro scale, the European Council felt the stake of harmonising language policies, content, methods and objectives among its 'assembled' territory and therefore implemented different projects and material to unify people and communication. At a micro scale, a portfolio for languages can contribute to harmonising the teaching-learning practice at gradual levels: the learner, the class, the school, with parents, between institutions. The portfolio gives the possibility to link up all persons involved in the learning-teaching process. This conversation can be extended to the language teachers from a school, and can stimulate multi-disciplinary activities, or at least a common reflection on the learner's acquisition in a multi-linguistic competencies perspective.

Contextualisation

The preceding section demonstrated the increasing interest in the use of the portfolio tool worldwide. The EPL and e-portfolios are increasingly being accepted as communicative teaching materials. The portfolio provides opportunities for the exploitation of authenticity and realia in language teaching.

In Namibia, the portfolio is a relatively unfamiliar tool. Although teacher training programmes incorporate the pedagogical use of the portfolio tool in teaching, the portfolio remains a theory. The non-existence of a Namibian or African portfolio for languages was always going to make the portfolio a theoretical concept in Namibia, a country faced with insufficient teaching materials, even so with regard to FL, even more so with regard to FFL.

Today, the EPL is used all over the world in FL teaching. While the EPL provides relevant opportunities for FL teaching using contemporary teaching methods, a portfolio that fits the Namibian context is more appropriate. The Namibian Portfolio for Languages (NPL) draws a lot from the EPL, with specific modifications to adapt to both the curricula and educational needs of Namibia. This part explores the relevancy of the NPL, highlighting the differences between the EPL and the NPL.

The multilingual scenario of Namibia

Namibia has more than 13 national languages, each with its unique cultural background. Mono-lingual communities of different Namibian language speakers exist in many parts of Namibia, especially in rural areas. Tötemeyer (2001) argues that the language scene in Namibia is so diverse that it calls for interventions to allow Namibian citizens to communicate with each other and allow children of different ethnicities and mother-tongues to learn effectively in a highly competitive world. Cultural diversity in Namibia continues to grow as more and more different languages are incorporated into the Namibian society. While promoting national multilingual diversity, the Namibian government promotes the teaching of FL such as French and Portuguese in an effort to allow Namibians access to the international community.

Schmied (1991) points out that in Africa the process of nation building is crucial, but there is a need to strengthen ties with other countries for the purpose of economic strengthening. Therefore, the teaching of FL is vital. As countries continue to co-operate and trade in economic and diplomatic areas, the world appears more increasingly a 'global village'. It is said that to equip learners with European language literacy skills would be to enable them

access to international literature. FL, such as French, are increasingly becoming important to the Namibian tourism sector which is drastically expanding.

The Namibian language policy for schools [4]

The Namibian language policy was adapted on the Constitution of Namibia.

Article 3 of the Constitution of Namibia (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1990, p.3) states:

"The official language of Namibia shall be English. Nothing contained in this Constitution shall prohibit the use of any other language as medium of instruction in private schools or schools financed or subsidized by the state, subject to compliance with such requirements as may be by law, to ensure proficiency in the official language, and for pedagogical reasons".

Article 3 clause 2 paved the way for the language policy formulation in education as it implies that there is no default relationship between the official language, medium of instruction, and languages taught in schools (Trewby Fitchat, 2000). In the foreword of the language policy (1998) by the then Minister of Education and Culture, Nahas Angula says that the policy:

"Embodies the twin goals of establishing English as the official language, as the official medium of instruction and promoting the equal development of the main Namibian and other languages. As we move towards achieving these goals, ideally all learners should become proficient in at least two languages: their Home Language or Mother tongue, and English. Thus, there can be an appropriate balance between consolidation of the learners' own culture and background, and acquisition of language, offering wider communication and opportunity. No one should feel that their Home Language is threatened in any way, or that its use should be curtailed. Indeed, we look to the encouragement of a multilingual rather than a monolingual society, but one which uses the official language to unity in diversity "(Ministry of Education and Culture, 1991(b), p.4)."

According to the Minister, the goals of the National Language Policy were to promote English as the official language and for the local and other languages, including FL, to have the same status in education in order to serve the multilingual society of Namibia. A key objective of the language policy is therefore the promotion of multilingualism.

Multilingual education materials in Namibia

The national language policy for schools in Namibia prescribes that education should promote multilingualism and reject monolingualism. It is expected that by the end of their schooling, children should be proficient in a minimum of two languages. The school curriculum hence prescribes that children be taught two language subjects: *English* and '*other*' language, with the aim of promoting multilingualism. It is therefore logical that teaching and learning materials permit multilingualism.

Likewise, any assessment, and teaching and learning process that is in line with the objectives of the Namibian education curricula should have provisions for multilingualism. The use of a single culture in pedagogical materials at the expense of others can be seen as promoting tribalism at a time where a country such as Namibia is recovering from the disunity caused by the apartheid era. Nevertheless, there is a number of secondary

[4] The Namibian Language Policy for schools – Document written by the Namibian government, through the Ministry of Education to serve as legal document prescribing the use of languages in Namibian schools. The Language Policy was first written in 1990 and revised in 2002.

school textbooks published in Namibia which contains some background of a multilingual Namibia. However, the same cannot be said about FFL materials in Namibia.

The NPL provides opportunities for learners to develop awareness of how multilingual they are, at the same time relate to the diverse cultures. The language and cultural diversity of Namibia distinguishes the Namibian learners from other learners. A European learner, for example, may only encounter three or four cultures, while the Namibian learner might encounter seven or eight. It is thus important that schools promote multilingualism and multiculturalism, with materials responsive to the realities outside the classroom.

In spite of the emphasised significance of the portfolio, there exists no African portfolio for languages whereas Africa has a unique diverse multicultural and multilingual profile. Since the EPL does not encompass African cultures and experiences, and specific needs of the African learner, it is thus not adapted to the educational learning goals and outcomes prescribed by the Namibian [and African] education system which favours country specific pedagogical materials. The differing education goals of countries dictate a difference in school curricula and syllabi structures. The EPL, designed in accordance to the education goals of European countries, might not necessarily be responsive to the education goals of an African country such as Namibia. For instance, the EPL follows the CERF six levels of acquisition which are accepted as common grading in many European education systems, while the Namibian education system refers to specific syllabi.

The NPL is bilingual. Presented in two languages, English and French, the NPL conforms to the objectives of the Namibian Language Policy for schools. The use of English permits teachers of other language subjects to use it. Although some French cultural aspects were incorporated, particular interest was placed on the culture of the learner's environment.

Self-assessment (opportunities for auto-evaluation)

Evaluating languages and understanding connections between a learner and his/her language acquisition is not always easy. Unlike skills in subjects such as history or geography, a learner's mastery of skills in language is not always assessable in a single test or examination. Agustina (2011) argues that traditional assessments have been used to obtain learners' grades, which decide a learner's achievement or performance. The fact that emphasis is placed on the learning product rather than on the learning process is a weakness of traditional assessments. Assessing the learning process, however, requires more than a written test or examination.

The learning product entails an ability to perform a particular skill, the processes that an individual goes through are not considered. There are two commonly used types of assessment: formative assessment and summative assessment. Garrison and Ehringhaus (2008) define formative assessment as a part of the instructional process which provides necessary information to adjust teaching and learning while they are happening, while summative assessments are given at a particular time to determine what learners know and do not know.

Savignon (2012) found that contemporary teaching methods such as the CA call for active learner involvement at all levels of teaching and learning. Whether it is in the lesson presentation phase or the assessment, proponents of learner-centred teaching approaches support active learner involvement. More recent moves propose the exploration of notions such as self-assessment and auto-evaluation as means to make learners more reflective of

their learning. In the absence of materials that permit learner self-assessment, traditional assessment tools will continue to be the only option for many teachers.

The Ministry of Education in Namibia remains silent on the forms of formative assessment used in schools, while summative assessment is the most recognized. The NPL might provide opportunities for teachers to have a better understanding of formative assessment at different levels and times of the year.

The EPL, however, is based on the CERF. For the portfolio to be effective, it is necessary that it conforms firstly to the curricula specifications but also to the internationally accepted assessment norms. The combination of the Namibian school curricula assessment guidelines and the CERFL in the NPL provides both a Namibian relevant tool, as well as a tool that can be referred to under the CERFL framework.

Similar to the EPL, the NPL has opportunities for learner self-assessment at the end of each Grade. The NPL is designed for learner use for a period of five (5) years, from Grade 8 through to Grade 12. At various stages of each Grade, learners can reflect on their learning with the help of icons. At the end of the Grade/year, learners are given the opportunity to take stock of the different language competencies they have learned throughout the year. Learners can also see the course content outline for each Grade, and the curriculum requirements. These are central for learner-centred assessment as it guides learners into self-assessment through reflection.

The learner-centred concept has received a lot of attention in Namibia. The government requires that teachers use the learner-centred and learner friendly teaching approaches and methods (NIED, 2003). While the methodology used in lesson delivering is usually learner-centred, teachers do not have much support in the use of learner-centred assessment tools. There exists no directive on learner-centred assessment and / or self-assessment in Namibia. The NPL provides a new sphere of exploitation of the latter concepts by providing guidance in the Teacher's Guide (discussed in the next section).

In Namibia, as in many other African countries, schools are faced with a lack of adequate teaching and learning materials. The available materials do not always provide enough support on assessment of learnt content. Textbooks also do not always contain sufficient learner-centred activities to complement the teacher's activities.

The Namibian portfolio for languages

To many Namibian teachers, the portfolio remains a theoretical concept. Many teachers would perceive the portfolio as a mere document collecting and storage tool. The TG published with the NPL provides guidance to teachers on how to incorporate the portfolio in the classroom. Although many teachers received theoretical training on the use of portfolio in classrooms, many have never seen a printed portfolio. The TG is thus relevant.

The main objective of the TG is to guide teachers on the adaptation of the NPL into their teaching. From the onset, the authors of the NPL remind teachers that the portfolio is essentially the learner's document. It is expected that learners will take ownership of the portfolio and keep it as a personal document which they have to maintain.

Namibian learners sometimes change schools and teachers due to various reasons (e.g. parent migration, teacher resignation). It becomes a challenge for the teacher to trace the learner's learning journey, identifying weaknesses and strengths. The NPL serves as a

language passport encompassing the language learning journey and providing a platform for the assessment of the learning process. Chapter two of the NPL is especially aimed at tracing the linguistic development of the learner.

Textbooks are usually designed, written and published in countries other than those they are used in. This raises concerns over adaptability and contextual relevancy. The NPL was designed especially to suit the Namibian and African context which is different from the European context. Cultural and learner background, for example, were not considered relevant in the EPL, but these feature on the NPL.

The NPL is a unique portfolio in a form of a booklet that posits itself into an African context, and distinguishes itself from the EPL. The NPL comprises of three chapters with three different purposes. The first chapter is centred on the learner's identity: the second is on the learner's linguistic journey; while the third chapter is a dossier. The first chapter presents the learner's biographical data. The linguistic journey is a recollection of the learner's language learning processes. The dossier is a repository of documents that the learner feels proud of. As in the EPL, the learner has control over what goes into his/her NPL.

A tool defining the learner's profile

The NPL has four sections in the first Chapter dedicated to collecting data on the learner's identity, interests, environment and background. The learner's daily experiences, hence background, are overlooked in the EPL. The NPL considers these as defining the learner's identity and character. By putting focus on the learner, the NPL subscribes to the communicative language teaching norms. Because of the diverse multicultural make-up of Namibia, it is impractical to generalise learner identity. It is thus interesting that the NPL treats each learner as a unique being with a unique background and unique experiences, consequently unique interests. The four sections in Chapter 1 of the portfolio are:

My identity
My environment
My school
My location

Namibian classrooms are sometimes characterised by large classrooms with learner sizes of up to 40 or more learners. It gets challenging for teachers to know the individual likes, needs and interests of learners. The four sections enable the teacher to better understand the background and environment of the learner. Information from these sections can assist the teacher in stirring activities in the direction of the interest of learners, keeping the focus on learners.

My identity includes information on the learner's identity, origin and background. Because of the geographical make-up of Namibia, which was divided into language regions during the colonial era, different parts of Namibia have different experiences and backgrounds. For one to fully understand the identity and background of the learner, one needs understand where the learner comes from. The 'My identity' section therefore includes a map requiring learners to show their region of origin. This part also provides information on the languages spoken and learned by the learner, and the reasons the learner chose to learn or to use these languages. This gives the NPL it's 'language passport' credibility.

Immediately after the 'My identity section' is the 'My Environment' section which collects data on the nature of the learner's environment. The learner's environment comprises mainly of relatives and friends. Family and friends as important entities in the learner's

environment are given the focus in this section. Information of the family tree and favourite personalities enables the learners to better understand the people in their environment, while at the same time allowing the learners to express their likes and interests.

As part of developing on the learners' interests, the third section of Chapter 1 centres on the data on the school. This complements the preceding section as it also collects data on the learner's environment. Schools, just like homes, are an integral component in the learner's growth. The learner's association to friends at the school and the learner's activities at the school describe the character of the learner. In the NPL, particular focus is placed on collecting data on the school, the principal, and the different register and language teachers of the learner while at the school.

Finally, data on the learner's location concludes the first Chapter. The location is an extension of the learner's environment. Who the learner mingles with in the location can influence the learner's character. Sometimes children can take pride in their locations. Allowing learners to write about their locations not only makes the learning less formal, but it also attracts the learner's interests.

The linguistic journey

As in the EPL, the second Chapter of the NPL is focused on more technical matters. The different learning competencies and syllabus components are captured in this chapter. With the assistance of icons, learners evaluate their mastery of language competencies. Each of the four language competencies (e.g. listening, speaking, reading, and writing) has the syllabus objective presented; the learner simply shades the icon that best suits their mastery level.

Self-assessment is especially central in this chapter. Learners are required to reflect on what they have learnt in each month, in each school term. If used at the beginning of the 8th Grade, the NPL follows the learner's progression throughout the year, and throughout the secondary school years. Learners then finally reflect on skills they can perform, using the syllabus competency specifications. This provides for the first time in the history of Namibian education, a tool that allows learners to view the outline of their study programme and assess themselves on where they fare on the programme. In brief, learners take a more active participation in their learning, thereby understanding the learning processes they go through. Although 'my linguistic journey' is a more technical chapter, it posits itself in the communicative language teaching approach and the learner-centred requirements.

As part of guidance and support to teachers, activities are provided in the NPL and the TG. The activities are based on the Grade level of the learners and conform to the specific syllabus requirements. In addition, samples of lesson plans on the incorporation of the activities into lessons are provided in the TG. This makes the NPL not only learner user friendly, but the first tool that provides maximum support to teachers.

The NPL is designed for use for a period of over five years, over five different Grades. The longitudinal data collection nature of the NPL provides an interesting perspective on the evolution and growth of the learner, throughout his/her schooling. Considering the economic situations around the world, in Africa in particular, the use of one NPL per learner for a period of five years can be viewed as way of preserving the already limited resources.

As in the EPL, the last chapter of the NPL is a repository of relevant documents. It is a collection of tests, assignments, evaluation activities that the learner is most proud of. It is

also a platform where learners can store important subject documents such as classroom handouts and notes.

Conclusion

It is a well-known fact that developed countries had enough time and resources to put into practice the language teaching theories that they developed in the 1970s and the opportunity to create tools fitting these concepts. Among these innovative tools, the Portfolio for Languages has garnered a lot of interest from educators all over the world, particularly proponents of the Communicative Language Teaching approach.

Indeed, moving from theory to practice remains a challenge in language education. The African continent is constrained to putting resources and knowledge together to adapt the theory to their education practice. At a time when some parts of the world are already using e-portfolios, the NPL presents itself as an important step in this fast evolution that is hard to keep up with.

The NPL will be implemented in early 2013 on all 500 Grade 8 learners taking FFL as a school subject in Namibian secondary schools. Before implementation, the NPL work team will provide initial training sessions to FFL teachers to create a better understanding of the exploitation of the NPL. However, the expected constraints in implementation are the frequency of use of the NPL in the classroom without disturbing the normal class proceedings. Therefore, consultations with the teachers of FFL will be done before implementation.

This pilot project will be monitored over a period of five years with regular meetings with the teachers to get consistent feedback. One Grade 8 class will be selected as a control group to get a more accurate trace.

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Conflict resolution mechanisms between postgraduate mentors and their mentees

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Abstract
This paper examines different supervisory approaches. The discussion has been limited to two approaches, namely the master/apprentice approach and the laissez-faire approach. This is followed by a documentation of the typical problems that arise between supervisors and research students. These problems include: conflicting or unrealistic expectations of each other, poor feedback, tensions or conflicting perspectives from within the supervision panel, supervisor's lack of knowledge and experience in research and supervision. Each problem is followed by a discussion of possible conflict resolution mechanisms.

Introduction

The relationship between supervisors and students is an important one. It is important for both the final success of the student as well as for the success of the lecturer. Although the relation between supervisor and student can be rewarding, it can also be complex and difficult at times. The complexity and difficulty of the relationship are caused by the fact or possibility that students have never been in supervisory positions, and usually are unaware of the pressures of the University lecturer's job. Moreover, the lecturer has not been a student for a number of years, and that period of time may result in the lecturer forgetting the pressures on the student. These are situations which can easily result in the misunderstanding in the relationship between the student and the lecturer (Olivier, 2004).

There are large variations in this relationship because of differences between disciplines and academic departments, and differences of style amongst supervisors. An added element that determines the nature of the relationship between supervisor and student is the fact that students themselves differ so much. They differ in terms of their degree of independence and expertise in research, maturity, motivation and commitment to postgraduate studies (Mouton, 2001).

Some students are able to articulate their needs and expectations clearly from the beginning, which may assist the supervisor in meeting the student's supervision needs, while other students are less clear about the direction of their studies, what they require and how to articulate their needs.The latter usually need more guidance and support and they are only able to work independently much later in the research process (Olivier, 2004).

This paper starts with an examination of supervisory approaches. I decided to limit the discussion to the master/apprentice approach and the laissez-faire approach, and then carry the theme through a discussion of typical problems that lead to conflict between supervisors and research students. Thereafter, the focus narrows more specifically to conflict resolution mechanisms.

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Supervisory Approaches

To supervise literally means to "oversee". In the case of academic supervision, it means to oversee the successful completion of the postgraduate thesis (Mouton, 2001). Different approaches can be followed when overseeing the research process, and these approaches can also contribute to conflict.

A particular set of values and beliefs is used by the supervisor which governs the approach adopted. It is important to note that neither of the supervisor's belief sets is perfect in themselves. Each has significant advantages and disadvantages. A supervisor for example, might believe that a certain approach could work well for a specific student, however, due to the student's educational background or other factors, that approach could have negative implications on the student. It is important for the student to have a good grasp of the advantages and disadvantages of each particular type of supervisor belief sets in order to cope with the inevitable problems that will arise. Toncich (2006), has suggested the following advantages and disadvantages of the two approaches: "The masters/ apprentice approach to supervision provides a more systematic approach to imparting the rigours of research to the student. The key disadvantages are that the student becomes dependent upon the supervisor and inherits both positive and negative research traits. Overall the potential for high creativity is reduced by the process" (p. 66). Not only does a supervisor who is too controlling prevent students from becoming independent,but he or she also inhibits their capacity to judge critically and to use new information astutely (Nias, 1993; Cryer, 1996).Supervisors are advised to encourage students to greater independence by offering them some insight on the process of self-criticism.Likewise they should share how they, as academic and supervisors, have learned to evaluate and take responsibility for their own work.

"In the Laissez-faire approach the obvious advantage is that what the student learns through experiential self-learning may be far more powerful as a research tool than rote learning derived from drilled research procedures" (Toncich, 2006, p. 67). The student could achieve a greater depth of knowledge in their specific field of study (Grant & Graham, 1994). The disadvantages are that the overall risk of presenting research, which is unacceptable to peers, for the research may be of poor quality, and that the student may develop incorrect research practices without sufficient supervision.

Research students that may have concerns about one particular value set or any other set are well advised to have discussions with potential supervisors prior to the commencement of a research programme in order to avoid potential conflicts during the course of research. Students and supervisors that are brought together, despite misaligned belief sets, tend to endure a more difficult relationship than those who see eye-to-eye on the research learning process. Given that it is unlikely that supervisors will change their beliefs sets, it is important that research students understand their potential supervisor's perspectives and decide whether or not they will be able to cope with these once research is underway (Mouton, 2001; Bak, 2004; Toncich, 2006).Clearly, the alliance between the research student and the supervisor needs to be a two-way relationship. It also needs to be based on the based on an alignment of beliefs or, at least, a genuine respect for one another's belief set.

Problems between supervisors and research students and possible solutions

In this section the objective is to document the typical sorts of problems that may arise between supervisors and research students. Perhaps, by understanding the nature of these problems and recognizing that they are relatively common in many research projects,

research students may come to recognize that most can be resolved through a self-disciplined-approach to professional practice. In many instances simply recognizing that supervisor versus student problems are natural consequences of two- to three year one to one relationships between individuals, cast together through technical circumstances, and assists in developing a more mature approach to tackling the solution (Toncich, 2006). Many of the problems between supervisors and students tend to arise because of the misalignments that naturally occur between supervisors and students. Students and supervisors are frequently brought together through the machinations of university departments and common research fields, rather than through factors that may create a good working relationship. It is thus important that both parties need to understand the circumstances under which these relationships are formed and recognize the limitations of such relationships.

Conflicting or unrealistic expectations of each other

Students face problems when there is poor communication with their supervisors about what each person expects from the other. The consequences include misunderstandings between parties, time wasting, and frustration of one or more parties (Olivier, 2004).

The common problem produced by a mismatch of expectations about the appropriate degree of direction is not easy to solve; however, one thing is clear that expectations need to be articulated before they can be reconciled. Students new to research may not realize that this form of learning is quite different from course work and that it requires more independence and much less certainty about knowledge (James & Baldwin, 1999). The answer does not lie in a one-way explanation of the supervisor's expectations of the student. Of course the supervisor has more experience and more understanding of the nature of the research, but the relationship is a partnership which requires a sharing of perspectives and views continually throughout the supervision process.

It is important to provide a structured opportunity for such an exchange of views about how the partnership is going to work. This might start with relatively straightforward matters such as how frequently students should submit something in writing and how often meetings should be held (Rau, 2004). The supervisor should also be explicit about what he or she is able to provide for the student, such as advice on the literature search, the selection of a method, practical help, assistance with securing funding, the loan of equipment such as a tape-recorder, gaining permission to access certain sites, and honest and timely feedback. The supervisor may have very clear views about what is desirable, but will also need to take into account the student's circumstances and preferred working habits. At the same time the student need to be clear about what the supervisor cannot provide for him or her, for instance language editing (correction of grammar and spelling), advice on how to use certain software, literature advice on a certain aspect of the topic, and so on. If a student, for example need help with statistical analysis which his or her supervisor cannot provide, the student could arrange to meet with someone who can assist, or enroll for a statistics course. It is important that the student take the initiative for many aspects of the thesis and his or her own academic development. Relying on your supervisor to provide it all will lead to frustration and a probable breakdown in the supervision relationship. It is a matter of negotiation, although the supervisor obviously has greater experience (Wisker, 2001; Bak, 2004; Olivier, 2004).

Some of the areas in which expectations need to be articulated and negotiated are: the extend and nature of direction from the supervisor; the degree of independence of

the student, procedures for consultation, the submission of written work, the nature and timing of response from the supervisor, the appropriate role of the supervisor in editing and how ideological differences are going to be handled (Bak, 2004; Olivier, 2004).

Poor feedback

Feedback which conflicts with previous feedback given, too little feedback, delayed and infrequent feedback and too much negative feedback relative to encouraging and positive comments are all problematic to students. Because of the very personal one-to-one nature of the student versus supervisor relationship, students are extremely reluctant to speak out even when subjected to poor supervision. Once this unique relationship is damaged, repair is usually impossible and the professional future of the student may be jeopardized. Part of the difficulty in providing feedback is that there is often a mismatch between the student's and supervisor's expectations. For this reason, good supervision requires that supervisors provide students with realistic times for the provision of feedback and then ensure that they adhere to the timetable that has been agreed. Students should be encouraged to provide written material in a way that allows relatively rapid feedback.

Timely feedback is important in maintaining the momentum of the project and helping it stay on course. The means by which feedback is provided is more of a personal matter for individual supervisors- formal sessions, chats over lunch, email, phone, fax – but the nature of the feedback is not. Postgraduate students may be understandably sensitive about their development of ideas and draft work can conceal a mass of insecurity and doubt. Not surprisingly, students react adversely to criticism that is delivered unsympathetically or without suggestions for how they can improve their work (Kumar & Stracke, 2006).

What students value in feedback is confirmation of their success (it's easy to overlook the things that are going well), unambiguous identification of problem areas, and suggestions for how to tackle them (James & Baldwin, 1999). Feedback should help students to become more aware of what they are doing and how they are doing it. Receiving feedback gives students an opportunity to change and modify their work in order to become more effective. To be more helpful, feedback needs to be given in a concerned and supportive way and to include both positive and negative observations.

Tensions or conflicting perspectives from within the supervision panel

If there are disagreements among supervisors, students can receive conflicting advice. Having to manage the relationship between supervisors who do not get along with each other is a substantial problem for students. This could result in student's being delayed or in some instances drop out of the program. In order to prevent the supervisor and co-supervisor from giving conflicting feedback, it is a good idea for a list of division of tasks to be drawn up. The student, supervisor and co-supervisor must be clear about who will be responsible for what. In cases where the supervisor and co-supervisor disagree, a discussion needs to take place and a decision needs to be made about how the student should progress. Supervisors and co-supervisors should maintain frequent contact and should copy each other on all e-mails going to the student. In this way, the risk conflicting advice is minimized (Bak, 2004).

It may sometimes happen that, halfway through thesis, the supervisor leaves for another job or go on sabbatical. If the supervisor goes on sabbatical, he or she should try to arrange for contact via e-mail with a clear work agenda drawn up before departure. It is also important for the student to keep a record of the work agenda in cases where the

supervisor has to go on sabbatical or where a new supervisor is appointed. If, however, the supervisor leaves to take up a position elsewhere and is unable to see through the completion of the thesis, a new supervisor may need to be appointed. It is the faculty's responsibility to make its best efforts to attempt to secure alternative supervision for the student, and to help the student complete the program in as timely a fashion as possible. The change of supervisors also increases the risk of different advice and a different thrust to the development of the thesis. Depending on how far the student has progressed, a new supervisor may suggest radical changes. In such cases, it is imperative that open and honest communication be maintained. Without open and honest communication it is very difficult to identify the nature of and reasons for shortfalls perceived by the student. Both parties should be open to criticism, and willing to listen to each other and to talk openly.

Supervisor's lack of knowledge and experience in research and or supervision

The old assumption that "if a person can do research, then of course they know how to supervise is not true. In fact good supervision requires special talents which not all researchers display" (Rudd, 1985, pp. 79-80). However, poor supervision often comes from a lack of awareness of details of which are seldom discussed with colleagues. There is thus a need to train supervisors. Firstly,training alerts supervisors to the issues that they must address and suggests which they may use. Secondly, it initiates networking between staff, which results in an exchange of ideas about techniques and procedures. It is also imperative that independent training sessions on supervision be presented at various levels throughout the year for potential and new-to-supervision supervisors. Experienced supervisors should be encouraged to also attend the training so that using interactive activities, their experiences can be shared with others (Robins & Reeves, 1996).

The problem of supervisors not being up to date with the field means supervisors will be unable to help solve problems and advice students. This is particularly problematic for students who also lack access to those who do maintain a current knowledge of the literature. If supervisors have no expertise in the field surrounding the student's research, student's morale drops and supervisor interest in the research diminishes, thereby creating a downward spiral. The likelihood of a student achieving a positive outcome is dramatically reduced (Toncich, 2006).

In some areas, being out-of-date with the field means supervisors are ignorant of the optimal techniques and theories that exist (James & Baldwin, 1999). This has implications for the quality of research that can be performed.

In all disciplinary areas it is important that the topic selected or suggested fall within the area of the supervisor's expertise,and that it is suited to the background and aspirations of the students (Donald, Saroyan & Denison, 1995). In line with the above Brown and Atkins (1988) suggested that supervisors are expected not only to have a knowledge of the subject area , but also to be able to reflect on research practices and analyze the knowledge, techniques and methods that make them effective. It may also be at times that the supervisor has no adequate depth of understanding in both subject area and the methodology to be followed. The supervisor may be an expert on the subject matter, but the student may have selected a methodology which the supervisor is only partially familiar with. Co-supervisors are usually appointed when the content and /or research method calls for specific expertise that warrants the appointment of a specialist in that area. It is important that as a whole, the supervisory team possess the knowledge and skills to advise the student on all aspects of the research (Mouton, 2001).

In order to ensure this, the supervisory team will normally be subjected to a form of vetting procedure by the university to ensure that collectively they have the appropriate background to support the student's research. The system of vetting the supervisory team may be part of the approval process for the student's research proposal. Typically, the supervisors may have to submit details of their qualifications, research expertise and the number of theses which they have successfully supervised (Olivier, 2004).

Conclusion

In the examples described above, the main emphasis has been on managing conflict constructively, and not on trying to reach a utopian state where no conflict exists. The solutions proposed, imply that there is joint participation of parties in reaching the outcome. There is also the assumption that the outcome is at least to some extent satisfactory for all the parties involved. The most straightforward way of viewing the issue of dispute resolution , therefore, is by considering one's professional onus. Ultimately, the research student has a responsibility for achieving the required outcome in a postgraduate programme. The supervisors, peers and university governance bodies are only there to assist in the process. The research student ultimately carries the burden for a failed attempt at a postgraduate research qualification. Hence, when considering the principal source from which the solution to a dispute will arise, one can only look to oneself.

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Grappling with a post-colonial challenge: A critical analysis of Shona writers' vision of the HIV and Aids epidemic

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Abstract
The post-colonial era has witnessed many African writers embarking on, among many activities, decolonisation, cultural regeneration and nation-building through their works of art. Whilst they have striven to reclaim the African's dignity, integrity and humanity that s/he has lost through colonialism, the post-colonial era has again presented to the same writer, new challenges posed by life, among them; the HIV and Aids epidemic. Whilst many writers have been quite eloquent in conveying the experiences and effects of HIV and AIDS on the affected, what has remained elusive is the root causes of its transmission as well as ways of dealing with the epidemic. Blame has largely been shouldered on patriarchy, men and 'their' promiscuous behaviour on one hand, and Shona traditional customs on the other, both of which are largely victims of a new socio-economic order. The paper thus is an exposition of the social vision of selected Shona writers concerning the HIV and Aids epidemic. It seeks to establish if they have moved away from the popular yet mythical victim-blame to accord the epidemic a more holistic and informative gaze. It also seeks to ascertain whether the writers have suggested realistic and humane solutions in their works of art or they have adopted the popular but less realistic defeatist stance. The paper uses the socio-historical approach to ground its observations and arguments.

Introduction

This paper discusses selected Shona writers' representations of the HIV and AIDS epidemic as well as the suggested ways of dealing with it. Although focus is on writers of Shona fiction, the researchers feel that the observations made can still apply to other genres of literature. To be analysed are Mukwazhi's *Zvibaye Woga* (1996), Chitsike's *Minisita Munhuwo* (1999) and the female writers' short story collection, *Totanga Patsva* (2005). HIV and AIDS are serious disabling factors in national development. Society is robbed of robust, able-bodied, experienced and knowledgeable personnel. As sensitive points of society, writers have joined the group of teachers on this burning issue, disseminating information on how society can shrug off the challenge of this epidemic. The paper discusses whether the

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writers satisfactorily identify the root causes of the spread of the HIV epidemic as well as whether they suggest practical ways of empowering people against it.

Theoretical framework

The paper employs the socio-historical approach in its analysis of the given texts. The approach allows for the analysis of popular myths about human behaviour as well as other common points of view like victim-blame which are prevalent in many post-colonial works of art on the HIV and Aids epidemic. It situates people's problems, in this case, their behaviour which leads to the spread of the HIV and AIDS virus in the correct social and historical contexts.

Causes of the spread of the HIV virus

Shona writers view different reasons for the spread of the HIV and AIDS virus. Whilst some blame circumstances as the cause, others see individual weaknesses in people, or Shona traditional customs as the reason for the spread of the virus. In *Zvibaye Woga* (1996), unemployment is shown as one of the root causes. In a soliloquy, the main character, Cephas testifies that, despite the prevalence of HIV and AIDS, prostitution is rampant, "*Izvi pfambi dzinozviziva asizve ndiwo munda wadzo wadzinowana upfu nokudaro neavo vasina mhosva vave kutsvairwa nacho chirwere cheshuramatongo*" (Mukwazhi, 1996, p. 13) (Prostitutes know this very well but this is their way of earning a living and hence even innocent people are perishing through HIV and AIDS).

The writer links the spread of the HIV and AIDS virus to prostitution and immorality that have also come because of innocent citizens trying to earn a living in an environment where they have failed to find employment. He feels there is great need to create employment opportunities for people as a way of reducing prostitution which is largely behind the spread of the HIV and AIDS virus. This way, the writer absolves the individuals of any blame. He presents circumstances as weakening people's resistance against the spread of the HIV virus.

At a school where he is employed as a teacher, Cephas also discovers that even the headmaster is in love with female students. As the writer's eye and mouth-piece, he does not blame the headmaster for what many would largely label as a very punishable offence, "*Asi chete anenge ane meso meso, kuda imhosva yokuti munhu anogara oga mudzimai ari Harare kwaanosevenzera … asiwo dzimwe nguva haisi mhosva yake nokuti pane vana vakanaka kunyange mutaundishipi macho hazvibviri* (Mukwazhi, 1996, p. 25) (He seems to be immoral; maybe it is not his fault because he stays alone whilst his wife is in Harare where she works … Maybe it is not his fault because there are very beautiful girls, both at school and in the townships).

Here the author blames modern life where men are forced to stay away from their wives by circumstances. Out of the need to fend for their families in the trying economy, husbands and wives find themselves separated from each other, creating crisis to which they fall prey. As one cross-border woman remarked, "Staying together is a luxury enjoyed by those who have a secure job and salary at the end of the day" (1997, p. 5). Thus, despite having been brought up in a moral way, husbands who work away from their wives find themselves denied of the emotional gratification they are entitled to. Coupled with this, the situation is such that there are other female beings who may be in the same situation, some quite beautiful and who can act as immediate substitutes. This comes out clearly through Cephas who works in Kadoma whilst his beloved wife, Florina works in Gokwe. Cephas testifies that at first he visited her every weekend, then thereafter it became

intermittent until at last he hardly visited her (Mukwazhi, 1996, pp.71-2). Ultimately, he started flirting around with other available women, impregnating some of them in the process. The narrator shows that no matter how responsible and chaste individuals may strive to be, economic situations always tie them down. Cephas is firstly separated from his wife by the need to work for the family. Then he is unable to regularly visit her owing to the harsh economic environment. This is despite his love and commitment to the well being of the family. Owing to the great need to address his emotional needs, he finds alternative women close-by. Hence, it is unfair to blame him for not only failing to look after his family, but also for indulging in extra marital affairs whose ultimate effect is the spreading of the HIV and AIDS virus.

The same is true with his other affair with Miriro, who works as a temporary teacher at Romorehoto in Buhera whilst Cephas is in Gokwe. Owing to the great distance that separates the two, they are unable to visit each other regularly, resulting in Miriro falling in love, and engaging with another man whilst Cephas also falls in love with Florina who works in Gokwe. In agreement, Jackson states that, "many men and some women, are forced to travel because of their work, and many married couples are apart for the bulk of their lives. This provides ample opportunity and the need for other sexual partners" (Jackson, 1992, p. 61; UNICEF et al, 2001, p. 13). When Cephas ultimately visits Miriro and discovers the new reality, he does not only terminate his affair with her, but her other affair with her new lover also ends. Miriro relocates to Harare but fails to get another job and she struggles to pay her accommodation rentals and to buy food. Out of frustration and anxiety, she turns into full time prostitution and ultimately gets infected by the HIV virus. This confirms Moses and Plummer's observation, that scarce opportunities for employment for women means that they must sell sex as a means for their livelihood (1995, p. 2). Hence, urban residence, low socio-economic status, mobile and transient partnership, forced segregation of sexes and alienation all point to the social and economic circumstances that underlie risky behaviour (Moses & Plummer, 1995). These factors avail platforms for behaviour that results in the transmission of the HIV virus. The author shows that people and African families are victims of the new economic set-up.

The author successfully shows that although prostitution and immorality are the chief causes of the spread of the virus, neither men nor women are necessarily to blame. Both are disempowered by circumstances. They will simply be trying to live in accordance with the dictates of the new way of life. This contradicts Chiota's thinking that men are the ones who cause prostitution because they are the ones who leave their wives at home, when they come to work in towns (as cited in Barnes & Win, 1992, p. 132). Rather, men are powerless victims of the new socio-economic order. Similarly, in *Minisita Munhuwo* (1999), Chitsike shows that immorality is chiefly responsible for the transmission of the virus. However, he shows that immorality is a result of both pull and push factors. Minister Mwaita, out of poor socialisation, is so irresponsible that he is pushed by both money and power into acts of immorality. As Palmer (1972, p. 73) notes, power corrupts. At the same time, the girls Mwaita sleeps around with are the unemployed, and are pulled by his money. They would be trying to earn some more money with which to sustain life and ultimately, the HIV virus infects the characters. As Tonhodzai rightly observes, where poverty is, AIDS is likely to be there too (2006, p. 10). This way, Chitsike (1999) blames neither of the characters for it is futile to blame individuals when they are all creations of society. He further demonstrates that, that society fails to socialise its citizens into the expected ways of conduct and also fails to avail opportunities for them to demonstrate their potentials and earn a living. Hence, he also does not blame individual characters for the spread of the HIV virus.

Such a perception and representation is different from that espoused by some female writers. In the women's collection of short stories, *Totanga Patsva* (2005), men, individual weaknesses and traditional practices are blamed as the causes for the spread of the deadly virus. Among the stories that blame men are "Ndofirei kunge ndini ndakajururuja?" (pp, 1-3) (Why should I suffer as if I am the one who looked for it?) by Gumbodete and "Munhu munhu" (pp, 4-8) (A human being is a human) by Ndlovu. "Ndofirei senge ndini ndakajuruja?" (pp, 1-3) blames the spread of the HIV virus on men who are presented indulging in extra marital liaisons without even taking any protective measures. Hence, having multiple partners is shown as a good breeding ground for the transmission of the virus, because "the more sexual partners, the greater the chance that one or more has of contracting HIV" (Jackson, 2002, p. 117). By demanding unprotected sex, men are shown as unsympathetic, uncaring, assertive and cruel beings whose sole desire is to satisfy their selfish but wicked ends. The prevailing power relationships in African societies makes it difficult for women to say no to unprotected sex (Moses & Plummer, 1995, p. 2). Women are therefore shown as victims of men's selfish chauvinistic tendencies. In this case, men's individual weaknesses are presented as weakening women's efforts against the spread of the HIV virus.

That men are the causes of the transmission of the virus is expected if it comes from female writers who are understandably representing members of their gender (Phiri, 2009). It also stems from the fact that men are the dominant partners in most social interactions and the main initiators of sexual activity (Jackson, 2002, p. 88). In addition most men hold the philosophy that, "A real man is not satisfied by one woman" (Jackson, 1992, p. 65). Although all this is true, the reasons for men's indulgence in such extra marital affairs are not alluded to. Recognising the role that men play in the spread of HIV should not justify their being blamed. Men are trapped in social expectations of gender roles and behaviour just as women are (Jackson, 1992, p. 89). In interviews with people in Masvingo and Harare, most men argued that they are usually pushed into extra-marital relationships due to being separated from their wives by great distances. Some cited lack of sexual gratification in their marriages and others stated failure to have children in their marriages as push factors. For some, it is also a requisite by their religious sectors to have more than one wife, while few conceded to the view that they are enticed by wealthy women. In all these cases, it becomes important to ascertain the push factors behind men's atrocious behaviour. In many cases, it is a result of poor socialisation. Failure to satisfy the other partner's sexual desire stems from poor socialisation that modern society accords its people. Again, the desire to have children stems from societal expectation on married people, which usually results in restlessness on the part of the childless couple. Society looks down upon childless marriages and this makes both the man and woman victims of expectation. In addition, numerically, women outnumber men, yet everyone unmarried is still looked down upon. Despite their numerical advantage, most of these women need men to satisfy their sexual needs. As such, it becomes unavoidable for men to be enticed by those who seek emotional gratification (Great Zimbabwe University HIV and AIDS Coordinator, 2009). To cap it all, Zimbabwean society has no tolerance for lesbianism, forcing many women to look for, and have men. This almost makes it practically impossible for all men to be in single-partner relationships suppose they had wanted. Therefore, contrary to what is presented by these female writers, society is largely to blame for such dangerous liaisons since people try to live in accordance with the its dictates.

Individual characters' promiscuous behaviour is also regarded as detrimental to the war against the HIV epidemic. Some stories blame such behaviour, together with seeking a life of sexual and materialistic pleasure as the main setbacks in the fight against the

transmission of the HIV virus. Such stories include "Kuna sahwira Chipo" (p. 9) (To my dear friend Chipo) by Elizabeth Makasi, "Chakandidya" (pp. 19-20) (What ate me) by Dream Sithole and "Chaita musoro uteme" (pp. 21-9) (What has caused the headache) by Ruby Magosvongwe. The others are "Pfira mate pasi" (pp. 33-4) (Spit on the ground) by Snodia Mufukari, "Zvakatanga nekupindwa nechando" (pp. 40-4) (It all started with a cold) by Carona Chikwereveshe, "Dzinoruma" (pp. 53-7) (They bite) by Ellen Chiramba and "Tikaramba takadaro tinokunda" (pp. 58-65) (If we keep on like that we will succeed) by Pelagia Kaseke. As Moses and Plummer (1995, p. 2) note, men and women with rapid changes in sexual partners acquire and transmit the infection and sustain the pandemic. In all these short stories, individual weaknesses are shown as responsible for the transmission of the virus. Some characters are shown failing to control their sexual desires while others are presented as keen to live a life of pleasure and materialism.

These short stories however succeed in showing the behaviour that exacerbates the transmission of the virus without satisfactorily examining the root causes of such behaviour. As Moses and Plummer (1995, p. 2) note, the behaviours which cause the transmission of HIV, also have causes; which are social, economic and biological as well. They are a result of poverty, social inequity, employment practices and development policies rather than chosen by an individual. Prostitution is an attempt to solve the problem of poverty (Jackson, 1992, p. 61; Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003, p. 52). A more successful short story is "Ndichiyeuka vabereki vangu"(pp. 10-13) (In remembrance of my parents) by Josephine Muganhiwa where the causes of promiscuity are shown as the people's desire to eke out a living on one hand and to satisfy sexual desire on the other. Seeking a life of perceived happiness and materialism together with having multiple sexual partners undoubtedly heighten the transmission but are themselves not the causes. The reasons why characters opt to crave for a materialistic lifestyle are not explored. Yet it is an undoubted fact that modern life has largely become materialistic without being matched by the necessary morality or spiritualism to curb asocial behaviour. The writers do not dwell upon the fact that these characters are victims of reality. The reasons for men and women engaging in or having multiple partners is not explored. Yet promiscuity is a result of both push and pull factors. Moralising, condemning prostitutes and repression all ignore the root causes of prostitution and have little effect on reducing it (Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003, p. 52). What is recommended is to move beyond emotional and moralistic consideration exuded by most of the female writers.

Again, the fact that some of the characters testify that they were warned as in "Chakandidya" (pp. 19-20), "Pfira mate pasi" (p. 33-34) and "Hazviitwe zviya vasikana" (pp. 36-9) but ignored the advice shows that there is something left unsaid by the writers. A closer analysis shows that their behaviour is shaped more by economic and social necessity than by individual choices. Despite the nobility of other people's advice, socially and economically stranded people always find themselves indulging in anti-social activities. Hence despite the pleas by the authors and individual characters for people to desist from and resist immoral behaviour if the causes of such actions are themselves not satisfactorily attended to it becomes naïve to believe that people will refrain from them. Such will be an attempt to address the symptoms of a more complex system. Writers who fail to get to the root causes of problems often end up blaming characters whose behaviour is just an outward manifestation of an internally decadent social system.

In some cases, writers blame Shona traditional customs for causing the spread of the virus. Customs such as payment of *lobola*, inheritance and the *chiramu* (banter) relationship are castigated. In "Ndofirei senge ndini ndakajuruja" (pp. 1-3), the practice of paying *lobola*

is condemned for bonding and binding women to men's demands. This is in line with the view that a man who marries a woman and pays *lobola* develops the feeling that he owns not only the woman but also her reproductive organs which must be available as and when he demands their use (Gokova, 1996, p. 10). It means married women have very little sexual resistance to offer to their husbands. In "Mukore uno here?" (pp. 14-18) (In this era?), Kesia Chateuka is bitter about people who cling to the so-called backward and also dangerous custom of *kugara nhaka* (wife inheritance). The same custom is also an object of attack from Valeria Chaukura in another short story collection, *Masimba* (2004) where it is shown as the ultimate cause of Mai Maidei's immoral behaviour. The writers openly castigate the practice by presenting it as not only risky to the two who would have been intimate but also to the male's other innocent wife. They view the custom as obsolete and as serving no purpose at all except to cripple society. This is a case where it is believed that those infected by the HIV virus should not indulge in sex as this might heighten the spread of the virus (Motope, 2006, p. 3). Although such observations are valid, the continued existence of the custom shows that there is something noble in it that modern society fails to acknowledge. Here is another case whereby society blames tradition for being anti-developmental. Inheritance is believed to exacerbate the spread of the HIV virus and so it is believed if the custom is abolished the spreading of the virus would be limited. Superficially, this appears true.

However, the nobility of the customs even in contemporary society is downplayed. Traditionally, the inheritance custom guaranteed emotional, biological and socio-economic gratifications to either the deceased's wife or husband. Through this custom, society acknowledged that death could sometimes rob one of his or her partner in the nascent or prime stages of marriage. Being a young man or woman, the person still had human feelings that badly needed attention from a member of the opposite sex. The individual also desired to be helped economically, including having some domestic and other social chores done for them. This custom thus bound either a man or woman to a new partner for the rest of their lives and such a man or woman had rights to the body of the other. Unfortunately HIV and AIDS have ravaged modern life and so, society warns against inheritance showing it as one of the wicked customs that result in transmission of the virus. Although this sounds true, it simply shows that society tries to address superficially a more complex situation. At one level, society is no longer worried about widowed young men and women. They cannot be inherited, and cannot easily have their biological desires and their economic challenges attended to. The young man or woman is cursed twice. Apart from enduring the pain of losing a beloved and hence being denied emotional and sexual gratification, he or she is also stigmatised and branded as a hazard to society. Even though he or she may have great desires or feelings, cursed as he or she is, the feelings do not deserve anyone's attention. Again, being single exposes the widow to worse economic challenges should she have children to look after. This might ultimately lead her to prostitution. It is true that society can never win the war at this level and it is the reason why in "Mukore uno here?" Chengetai and his brother's wife become intimate, "*Chenge aimunetsa achiti mukoma vakarwara kwenguva refu saka uri kupona nei*?" (pp. 17) (Chenge was troubling her saying his brother had been ill for long and so how was she managing sexually?).

As shown through the above case, it is by nature that people need a member of the opposite sex satisfy emotional and physical gratification. Yeukai gives in to the call for sexual intimacy by Chenge despite the fact that she is a member of the Home Based Care, an organisation that teaches people on the spread, symptoms and care to be accorded to the victims of AIDS. Despite the fact that she is well aware of the dangers of such intimacy, she does not resist much to the surprise of other family members. This simply shows

the naivety of trying to do away with human feelings which are just natural. No one can completely control or suppress human feelings through legislation. Instead, we live in a society in which the law carries little moral status (Rurevo & Bourdillon, 2003, p. 56).

Legislating against inheritance helps free a woman or man from being intimate with a member of their husband or wife's family but does not stamp out their sexual desires. This gives the individuals the 'freedom' to associate with multiple partners in search of sexual gratification. In fact, conversely, abolishing inheritance exposes society and individuals to greater risks of the spreading of HIV as people will be at liberty to associate with whomever they so wish. It actually makes the partner-less individual more marketable and easily accessible to all and sundry. Instead of condemning the custom as one of the chief culprits in the spread of HIV, it can actually be adapted to become a source of control of the virus. This is so since its abolishment makes the widowed prone to infection or re-infection since they will seek gratification from a variety of clients (Great Zimbabwe University HIV and AIDS Coordinator, 2009). It is therefore mythical for modernity to hope to solve such problems by condemning such cultural practices which could help curb disaster by binding individuals to definite partners. In fact, the so-called risky cultural practices like inheritance arise out of important traditions which are often very caring (Jackson, 2002, p. 135). What is important today is not to abolish the custom but to modify it so that it suits contemporary times. There could be need for people to have their blood tested so that should they be found positive they practice safe methods that limit the transmission of the virus. Again in cases where women do not wish to be inherited it would just be prudent to guarantee them legal and human rights support and make sure they have continued economic security (Jackson, 2002, pp. 137-8). The attempt by modernity to try and limit the transmission of the virus from mother to child shows that society is failing to totally do away with intimacy between infected people. Hence, some writers seem unable to identify the underlying factors that incapacitate society and individuals against the HIV virus.

Solutions offered by writers

With the exception of "Dzinoruma", "Tikaramba takadaro tinokunda", "Mhindo, mhindo, mhindo", "Goremucheche" and "Taemurwa", all short stories in *Totanga Patsva* end pessimistically as the writers present characters in hopeless situations. It appears the writers see no hope for those infected by the HIV virus. In "Kuna sahwira Chipo", "Chakandidya", and "Neniwo, ndinokudawo futi", the narrators, who are themselves dead characters (in the graveyard) write to the living regretting what they did. In "Hazviitwe zviya vasikana" and "Zvakatanga nekupindwa nechando", the infected characters pathetically wait for their death, viewing it as inevitable and unavoidable. Such is also the ending adopted by Chitsike in *Minisita Munhuwo* (1999) where Mwaita painfully waits for his death upon hearing that he is HIV positive. This stems from the conclusion that the wages of sin is death; a philosophy also popularised by Matavire in his song AIDS (Tonhodzai, 2006, p. 10). Such a defeatist vision, although it serves to warn society about the dangers of infection does not help give it the hope it badly deserves and needs. This way, the writers stigmatise the characters' HIV status. They disempower people against the virus, showing it as invincible. Yet it is no use to sit and mope (Moyana, 1996, p. 55). As Hove observes, writers should "be able to say to the depressed: the sun will rise again even if it seems the night is long" (n.d., p. 2). In agreement, Ngugi remarks that a writer is, and should be a pathfinder (1987, p. 85), meaning s/he must help society find ways out of existing problems and challenges. Since life is a struggle, one must gather courage and push on in whatever way possible. In reality, "HIV is not the end of life" (Mazodze, 2006, p. 7). Although it will be scary to learn that one is HIV positive, but it is not a death sentence (Chimedza, 2006, p. 10). That being

HIV positive is synonymous with dying was a popular myth of the early 90s. Although it reflected popular opinion and reality then, it is a weakness on the part of a writer whose duty is to help society find solutions to a crisis. The writers should have striven to show that being HIV positive is not really an end but the beginning of a new life which has its own challenges and expectations. They should have given people the hope that doctors might find a cure soon and those infected might still live longer through positive living. In fact today one can actually live positively with HIV. The given short stories thus go against the title of the book '*Totanga Patsva*' (We start afresh), whose pre-occupation is to show that being infected by the virus is not at all an end, but a beginning of a new life with its own challenges and expectations.

On the contrary, stories like "Dzinoruma" (pp. 53-7) (They bite), "Tikaramba takadaro tinokunda" (pp. 58-65) (If we keep on like that we will succeed), "Taemurwa" (pp. 30-2) (We have been admired), "Goremucheche" (Ever young) and "Mhindo, mhindo, mhindo) (pp. 80-94) (Darkness, darkness, darkness) together with Mukwazhi's *Zvibaye Woga* (1996) strive to show that though the epidemic is causing many deaths, there is still hope for the future.

In "Ndichiyeuka vabereki vangu" (pp. 10-13) (In remembrance of my parents) and "Mhindo, mhindo, mhindo", the writers see the future as lying in the union between men and women. In "Ndichiyeuka vabereki vangu", the narrator, Sarudzai says she chose to be a doctor so as to help society with knowledge and medicine to fight the HIV virus. In doing so, she does not lose sight of her male partner and the role he can, and should play, "*Murume wangu achandibetsera sezvo atova chiremba*" (My husband will help me since he is already a practicing medical doctor). In "Mhindo, mhindo, mhindo" both men and women accept the reality that AIDS is real and so they agree to join hands to fight the darkness, which is a symbol of the gloom brought by the epidemic. Unlike other female writers who see and consider men as enemies who need to be fought and defeated, if not exterminated, these writers see men as important allies in waging a successful war against the epidemic. As Jackson observes, men need to be actively involved in the fight against the pandemic (2002, p. 91). Men therefore cease to be the causes of women's problems but become part of the solution. A careful analysis shows that not only do we find good men in society, but that we indeed also find good in men. Such is a crucial step towards empowering society against HIV and AIDS. As these writers show, fighting men is not a solution at all. Instead, the whole society, men and women together need to be educated so that they are fully aware of the causes, symptoms and ways of dealing with the HIV virus. Although in "Mhindo, mhindo, mhindo" Hwede advocates for unified efforts between men and women, she is silent on what form those collaborative efforts should take. Muganhiwa urges these joint ventures to focus on research into traditional medicine as a way of minimising the effects of the epidemic. This is quite handy, especially owing to the accessibility and affordability of this medicine compared to western form of medicine. In agreement, Nyazema (2001, p. 8) remarks that there is a lot we can learn from traditional medicine and it is time we started to talk about it publicly. Whilst this is plausible, it seeks to help the infected only but what then remains as mystery is what society should do to prevent any further infections. As a matter of fact, prevention has always been better than cure.

In Mukwazhi's *Zvibaye Woga*, the main character, Cephas, highlights a number of things that people can do to surmount the HIV challenge. Firstly, it is important for them to have their blood tested so that they know their HIV status (p. 129). In agreement, Tonhodzai

remarks that if AIDS is real, then people must also be real and get tested (2006, p. 10). In his dialogue with a doctor, Cephas also comes to the realisation that HIV positive people are just as human as any other and that these people need the support of their relatives. They need to be well-looked after, and to get the necessary and recommended foods. They can also use antiretroviral drugs to limit the effects of the infection. This way these people still have the hope to live longer. It emerges that being faithful to a partner is the best way to deal with the epidemic. As such Cephas reconciles with his wife and condemns multiple affairs. He offers to build a rural home and makes sure his wife goes there to help his mother work on the fields whilst he remains in Kwekwe.

Mukwazhi raises many issues meant to empower people against the epidemic. Firstly, his call for people to have their HIV status confirmed is quite in line with modern thinking as it helps people to know how they should live. Once tested, they also receive the necessary counselling depending on their HIV status. This is because, "the more you know about your situation, the more you can do about it" (Jackson, 2002, p. 179). It also helps society to be informed about the kind of assistance it can offer to the infected. Faithfulness to a partner is also quite handy in curbing the spread of the virus (Jackson, 2002, p. 105), especially taking into account that the virus is spread mainly through sexual intercourse with infected people. In fact, it is essential that people have, not only fewer partners, but safer partners to reduce the risk (Jackson, 1992, p. 58). This becomes the best preventive measure. The author also explains that it is not enough to condemn polygamous marriage of the traditional type but shows that having multiple partners even under the banner of modernity, whether in or outside marriage is quite risky. This way, he shows the futility of condemning polygamous marriage as bad yet modernity has several instances of people who have artificial polygamous marriages. It is therefore prudent that Cephas reconciles with his wife so that he does not engage in multiple sexual affairs as had been the case. Mukwazhi does well to show that to win the war against HIV and AIDS, the preventive programme must make use of many approaches known to be effective, rather than just implementing one or a few select actions in isolation (Chimedza, 2006, p. 10). The multiple actions can minimise the spread of the epidemic. This empowers society and gives it a glimmer of hope.

Although the above seem plausible, there is also a limit as to their authenticity as solutions to the HIV and AIDS epidemic. Being faithful to one's partner is deemed the best way to limit the spread of the virus. However, the reason why people fail to be faithful remains unscathed. One main reason is the separation of husband and wife owing to the nature of employment in modern society. This separation is worsened by the harsh socio-economic environment, which many contemporary Zimbabweans find themselves in which makes frequent visits between couples very expensive and unsustainable. As such, the challenges of forced separation which the author had successfully shown to be the reason behind infidelity, remains unresolved. To call for fidelity is to appeal for individual reformation in an environment that is more powerful than the individuals (Sikipa, 1997, p. 4). The HIV and AIDS coordinator at Great Zimbabwe University admitted that they face great challenges in trying to persuade distanced couples to abstain from sex until they meet their spouse because many of them complained that they could not go for two days without sexual gratification. As Jackson rightly observes, although avoiding sexual activity would help curb the epidemic, it is unrealistic to expect the majority of young, healthy, sexually mature males and females to live long without any sexual release (2002, p. 120). This is a clear indication that separation in a costly environment will make it difficult to curb the transmission of the virus. The other reason for the cause of the transmission is the

desperate desire by the unemployed to earn a living. People find themselves condemned to immorality for them to survive. Hence, until the unemployed find jobs that reward well, the problem of prostitution will not end. Thus solving the underlying causes of the transmission will do much more than the best educational and counselling programmes (Moses & Plummer, 1995, p. 2). Therefore a better understanding of these underlying causes is needed; they must be recognised and addressed at national, regional, and global levels (Moses & Plummer, 1995). Again, that Cephas reconciles with his wife and promises to build a rural home where his wife would stay; helping his mother with domestic chores is not a lasting solution. This is not a satisfactory way of curbing multiple sexual partners. Such a solution fails to get to the root cause of the problem. It calls for another husband-wife separation which makes the problem cyclic. Such literature fits into a kind of literature, which Osundare regards as one that "builds bridges where there are no rivers, and the type which feeds starving people with dreams of absent harvests" (1996, p. 34). It is totally unrealistic to advocate that everyone remain faithful to one partner in situations where partners never live together for more than a week at a time (Jackson, 1992, p. 91). Complete abstinence, or avoiding any sexual activity is obviously a safe option although it is not a realistic, practical solution for most married people, nor indeed, for most adults whether married or single (Jackson, 1992). Instead, the demand for commercial sex may be reduced if husbands are not separated from their wives, if migrant labour is reduced, if sex within marriage is more fulfilling and if women have better access to education and employment and stronger inheritance rights so that they are not forced into prostitution to survive (Jackson, p. 103).

Conclusion

It generally emerges that Shona writers' vision of the HIV and AIDS epidemic is quite different. Whereas some castigate men, individual characters and traditional customs, others demonstrate a better understanding of the factors that disempower society against the spread of the HIV virus. Again, some writers present no life beyond infection. They portray being infected as synonymous to a death sentence. In this way they do not satisfactorily undertake their responsibilities as writers who must help society surmount the challenges it encounters. Others suggest solutions. However, there is still need for writers to offer practical, wide-range and meaningful solutions. The tendency currently is to suggest solutions that act as painkillers; which temporarily silence people's pain. The solutions ought to centre more on how to prevent further infections and how to limit the viral effect in infected people.

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Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere[1] *as an African rewriter*: The case of Kiswahili creative translations and rewritings

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Abstract
Rewriting, in the narrow sense, is the presentation of works of literature to suit various ideological and poetological ends; it refers to the written process of changing genres. In the broader sense, it includes all forms of transforming a text from one culture or text type to another. In that sense, rewriting places the production and reception of literature within the wider framework of culture and history. Translation is one form of rewriting; it transforms a text written in one source language into another target language. States or their leaders can use rewritings for cultural, political, economical and ideological purposes. J.K. Nyerere used rewriting as a tool for ideological, social and Cultural Revolution. Moreover, he used rewriting as a technique of mobilizing and influencing his society towards appreciating religious doctrine and African socialism. This paper examines some of J.K. Nyerere's rewriting contributions into Kiswahili since his country's independence.

Introduction

Translation as a form of rewriting has a significant contribution to the target language community. As an academic discipline, translation helps us to better understand the unique contribution of translation practices to the development of cultural, political, economical and intellectual life. Although it can serve a multiplicity of purposes, translation has always been shaped by a certain force, power, or reason. Aksoy (2001) argues that translation is closely related to progress. All the awakening periods in the history of nations start with translations. As a meeting point of different cultures and civilizations, translation introduces nations to various perspectives on their path to change and development. A deliberate selection of the texts to be translated can guide the nation on the most desirable direction of changes and developments. After independence, the African leaders used various means to make sure that their citizens had proper guidelines in dealing with and appreciating the new changes. Sometimes they acted as teachers, using selected writings to educate their society. In order to expose the evils of capitalism and colonialism, they also translated into local languages some writings that had been used by colonizers to fool the people.

[1] *Mwalimu* is a Swahili word which simply means a teacher. J.K. Nyerere was known as Mwalimu - his profession prior to politics. When Nyerere completed his higher education, he immediately returned to Tanganyika and continued to work as a teacher. He was teaching History, English and Kiswahili. In 1953 Nyerere joined politics and he was elected as president of TAA. Nyerere also served as Tanzania's first president from 1961 to 1985, which has resulted into calling hime *Baba* wa *Taifa* (Father of the Nation) in appreciation of his contribution to leading the nation admirably. Mwalimu gave his country fame and respect by leading national and international struggles to liberate the countries of southern Africa and making efforts to resolve political and military conflicts in independent neighbouring states.

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Rewriting is all about wholesale changing the form and style completely although the message remains the same or also slightly changed. It involves harmonizing, rearranging and expansion. Some scholars like Collins (2011) and Baker (2005) see a spectrum, which ranges from minor editorial changes in the received text, to changes so extensive that they are deemed to constitute independent works. Such kinds of transformed texts would be considered different compositions because their forms have changed radically. It is also worth pointing out that there are other different texts which are closely based on the original text, but are generally recognized as distinct compositions in their own right. These texts are often categorized as "Rewritten texts" (Collins, 2011; Smith, 1993). In whatever form, rewriting has been used as a tool for expressing or promoting social, political or economical stance.

J.K. Nyerere used both forms to promote ideological, political, cultural and social changes. Noss and Renju (2007) argue that both his public life and his personal life were guided by the highest ethical standards, while humility governed his actions throughout the time that he held political power as well as afterwards in retirement. Mwalimu Nyerere's long and distinguished political career was framed by his two major literary contributions to the Swahili language which he championed as the language of the nation. These publications were his translations of William Shakespeare and of Holy Scripture into Kiswahili. In 1963, shortly after he became President, Oxford University Press published *Juliasi Kaizari*, his translation of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in Kiswahili. Six years later in 1969 it published *Mabepari wa Venisi*, his translation of *The Merchant of Venice*. In 1996, a decade after he left office, a Benedictine publishing house in Tanzania published five volumes of Swahili poetry under the name of Julius K. Nyerere. These poems were his rewritings of the New Testament Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the form of Swahili epic poems (*tenzi*)[2]. It is the aim of this paper to appreciate Nyerere's efforts in translating and using rewriting techniques to achieve his purposes. Noss and Renju (2007) argue that the works of Shakespeare and the King James Bible are widely recognized as the two greatest influences in the formation of the English language. Nyerere as a rewriter, both of Shakespeare and of biblical texts, may have anticipated that these works could similarly serve him in his quest to achieve literary recognition and stature for his own beloved Kiswahili and the African society.

The significance of all forms of rewriting

The choice of the works to be translated, and the guidelines and goals of the translation activity are set by certain forces. Since it is performed under certain constraints and for certain purposes, translation takes the form of rewriting an original text. The original text is chosen for a certain purpose and the guidelines of translation are defined to serve this purpose from the translator and/or those who initiate the translation activity. In this case, rewriting in order to fit that purpose, along with fidelity to the original, become the main

[2] The *tenzi* are narrative and didactic poems that were traditionally composed for singing or declaiming by men and women. The themes of the poems during the era of Lamu ascendancy were predominantly religious and historical. Ever popular in Swahili culture today, they are generally serious and informative poems that proclaim religious teachings, recount events of historical import, offer praise of famous people, and pronounce warnings and exhortations. Certain tenzi are considered to be epics, such as the well-known *Utendi wa Liyongo* that recounts the heroic life and tragic death of Liyongo, a seventeenth or eighteenth century warrior of Pate, a neighboring island to Lamu. The published volumes of the translations by Mwalimu Nyerere of the Gospels and Acts all use the key word *utenzi* in their titles, for example, *Utenzi wa Enjili Kadiri ya Utungo wa Yohanna*. The second key word in the title is Enjili which in Arabic usage may refer to the entire New Testament. Here it refers to the story of Jesus as told in the four Gospels. Through a striking collocation, the titles of these Gospel volumes evoke the traditional *tenzi* form of Swahili poetry as a "poem of exploits or deeds" and those deeds are *Enjili*, an Arabic religious term that refers to "Good News" or "Gospel." Thus, the title may be translated, "The Epic of the Gospel according to the Composition of John." The fifth volume in Nyerere's series of Scripture translations is "The Epic of the Deeds of the Apostles." (Noss and Renju, 2007).

issues for the translator. Venuti (1998) argues that most translation projects are initiated by an actor of the domestic culture such as state ideology, cultural climate, the expectations of the target audience, political, economic and social reasons, and foreign texts are selected not only by the translators themselves but also by the actors, who manipulate the whole process. The very function of translation thus becomes the rewriting of the foreign text into the domestic culture in compliance with the domestic cultural norms and resources that make up the overall system of the society. In instances where translations are governed by the state or a similar institution, the identity-forming process initiated by a translated text has the potential to affect social mores by providing a sense of what is true, good, and possible.

In addition, rewriting has been used as a source of literary texts. That means, rewriting has resulted in the production and reproduction of various literary text in the language systems. Carr (2005) demonstrates that rewriting or reconfiguration is and was a normal mode of literary production since the ancient world (Kraft, 2007; Devitt, 2004). While Carr makes a valuable point here in highlighting the pervasiveness in the ancient world of literary reuses of earlier materials, it seems that real differences also exist in the extent, nature and purpose of literary reuse and that it is necessary to take these differences seriously. Rewriters have varied reasons of rewriting, apart from regenerating literary texts. As noted earlier, rewriting can be used as a tool for expressing and influencing ideological, cultural and political considerations of the rewriter (Zahn, 2010a/2010b; Falk, 2007).

When rewriting is done from prose or narrative to poetry it can serve the purpose of influencing decision and help to create significant impact. Poetry is the best and most effective way of conveying a message with an impact. When the message is sung or recited through poetry it is easily retained in the memory of the people. Noss and Renju (2007) contend that it is very common in the Old Testament of the Bible to find scriptures written in the poetic form. There is no doubt that some of the motivations for such literary rendering were emotive. That means it was done for the creation of impact. Mwalimu Nyerere, seeking to accomplish similar purposes among his people, recognized that poetry is the most effective means of reaching people with the best message of all. In the poetic form the message of the Bible could be recited, sung and retained in the memory.

J.K. Nyerere's rewritings

Nyerere used various ways to sensitize his society about their independence, African socialism and cultural revolution as well as the evils of all forms of colonialism. Among other means, he used rewriting through translations and rewriting to poetological ends. Nyerere's use of these forms of rewriting was intended to establish and validate Tanzanian nationhood in terms of culture and political ideology. By using these means, he succeeded to portray the sophistication of Kiswahili, cultural traditions and politics (See the discussion in § 3.1 and 3.2). These efforts were necessary for establishing cultural validation and acted as pre-requites for the purpose of nation building, especially in the wake of nationalist struggles and independence of African countries from their former colonial masters.

Rewriting through translation

Translation activity takes the form of rewriting with respect to the idea that society is a constituent of a system which comprises categories and norms which influence the translation process with the intention of influencing the audience according to the ideology and poetics of that society. Within this framework, in the early years of the Tanzania's independence, extensive translation activities were systematically pioneered

by the head of the state, J.K.Nyerere, done from English into Kiswahili. The translations were performed through rewriting with the aim of creating a national literature and promoting African socialism and culture that was abused for centuries. Translating into Kiswahili the most famous drama, such as the plays by Shakespeare, was one of the steps towards freedom and total independence from colonialism and promoting African culture. In the introduction to the second edition of *Juliasi Kaizari*, the translator criticizes those who believe that Kiswahili is a language that does not have the capability of expressing profound thoughts or great eloquence without extensive borrowing of new foreign words. His translations indisputably refuted this belief. In this translation there are also features of rewriting. Nyerere (1969a) in his introduction acknowledges that:

> *Toleo hili lina mabadiliko na masahihisho mbalimbali. Badiliko Kubwa ni la majina … nimejitahidi kuyabadili majina yote ili matamshi yafanane na matamshi ya kibantu. Kwa hiyo tangu sasa mchezo huu si 'Julius Caezar' bali ni 'Juliasi Kaizari'! (Nyerere, 1969a: vi)*
>
> *This version has various changes and corrections. The major changes are the names … I have tried to change the names so that they can match the Bantu phonology. Therefore, this play will no longer be called 'Julius Caezar' but rather 'Juliasi Kaizari' (Author's translation)*

The translator here acknowledges that he indulged in poetic license in using the spelling *Antonio* in some places and *Antoni* in others because of the rhyming of lines. But he says that he did not exercise this 'freedom' often. Nyerere didn't want to imitate even the structure of the source language as a symbol of promoting African culture (i.e. Bantu languages). Wardhaugh (1986) and Lefevere (1999) argue that the structure of a given language determines the way in which the speakers of that language view the world. Usually languages reflect different values and cultures. That means, in an attempt to mediate different languages (i.e. values or cultures) translators normally attempt to naturalize the source language culture to make it conform to the culture of the target language readers. Consequently, translations are rarely equivalent to the original but just rewriting through imitating a certain source language text.

With the translation of *Mabepari wa Venisi* from *The Merchant of Venice* we can observe apparent deviations from the source language text. The reason for such deviation is largely caused by ideological differences (Malangwa, 2005). It seems significant that Nyerere's radical policy of Ujamaa (i.e. familyhood) was preceded by this highly acclaimed translation that involves significant rewriting. The translation is marked by the use of language in a manner that reflects relations of social interactions in the socialist and capitalist societies. *Mabepari wa Venisi* is more than a translation. It is an interpretation of the original text in a different context. The Merchant in the title refers specifically to Antonio. He is a Christian Merchant from Venice who owns a fleet of merchant ships (argosies) that sail to far away places such as Tripolis, Indies, Mexico, England and the Barbary Coast. In the translation, there is a shift from *innocence* of the word *merchant - Mfanya biashara* to the ideologically loaded hostile, pluralised, capitalists (*Mabepari)*. A translation like this constitutes itself as a site of resistance. This means, literary texts, as Paz (1992) argues, historically functioned as a principal means of colonial acculturation and inscription, a way of socializing the colonized into their proper place in relation to European colonizers and the power of such texts could not be underestimated. Nyerere here is trying to reject the parochial viewpoint of the original which sees the source of the Jew's problem as lying rooted in his character rather than in the pious Christian capitalist society he lives in. The translation offers a more sympathetic approach to the Jew's problem by pinpointing the society of capitalists and

the system of capitalism which underlie the story. The following examples also verify this argument:

SL Text
How like you the young German, the Duke of Saxony's nephew? (Pp.69)

TL Text
Na kijana **Jerumani wampendaje**, yule mpwa wa Sultani wa Saksoni? (Pp.9)

SL Text
What say you then to Falconbridge, the young baron of England? (Pp.68)

TL Text
Wasemaje, basi juu ya Falikani Kivuko, yule kijana **kabaila wa kiingereza?** (Pp.8)

In these examples and in the highlighted phrases there is shift from animate to inanimate of the persons involved (i.e. *Jerumani* and *kabaila* instead of, for instance, *Mjerumani or Mwingereza*). This is purely an ideological attitude of the target language society or translator towards the source language ideology. Influences, such as this, occur in works which were produced and then translated in the societies that have different ideologies. Mwansoko (2005) maintains that Nyerere had a substantial reason for translating William Shakespeares works. He translated and used his artistic creativity to condemn all the evils of colonialism and exploitation. Being determined to build a democratic and socialist society, Nyerere translated the two plays so as to express his feelings towards capitalists and the capitalism system. Translating the *Merchant* as *Mabepari* (plural) not even *Bepari* symbolizes that he disliked all the merchants, not only Shylock.

Lefevere (1992) asserts that translation is produced on the basis of an original text with the intention of adapting the original to a certain ideology or poetics of a different audience, and it is an activity performed under constraints of patronage, poetics and ideology initiated by the target systems. As such it is an act of *rewriting* of an original text to conform to certain purposes instituted by the receiving system. He also points out that the different forms of adaptations that writers commonly engage in, including: translation, criticism, commentary, historiography and anthologies, translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting that is influential in projecting and disseminating the image of original writers and their works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin. Moreover, ideology functions as a tremendous constraint in the acts of translation. It is not limited to the political sphere, it is the grillwork of form, convention and belief which orders our actions. When reviewing Nyerere's translation some deviations from the original are observed in religious terms like Jew-Yahudi instead of Myahudi. In these translations, the target text is downgraded or downplayed through rank-shifting or dehumanizing.

Rewriting the scripture to poetological ends

The general tendency regarding sacred and a uthoritative writings is that they are immutable. In other words, such texts are claimed to be unchangeable. However, as noted above, different attempts have been made to generate various text types from sacred and authoritative texts by means of rewriting. This means that the ideal of immutability has been challenged and as such scriptures have been changed from narrative to poetry for varied reasons. The five publications by Nyerere (1996a-e) are among the evidences of such changes from prose to poetry. Nyerere had rewritten the Biblical four gospels including Acts of Apostles from narrative style to poetic style (i.e. epic poems). Observed the following comparison of the Swahili translation of the Bible and Nyerere's creative rewriting:

Kiswahili Bible – Narrative (Acts of Apostles/ Matendo ya Mitume 1:1-2)	**Epic Poetry (Utenzi)**
1Kitabu kile cha kwanza nalikiandika, theofilo, katika habari za mambo yote aliyoanza Yesu kufanya na kufundisha, **2**hata siku ile alipochukuliwa juu, alipokuwa amekwisha kuaagiza kwa Roho Mtakatifu wale mitume aliowachagua; … Source: *Biblia Maandiko Matakatifu*, 1997	*(1) Ewe ndugu Thiofile, Kitabu cha kwanza kile Niliandika kuhusu Matendo ya Bwana Yesu, Na Mafunzo yake pia, Alofundisha Jamia*, *(2) Tangu awali mwanzoni, Hadi kutwawa mbinguni, Baada ya kuwatuma, Mitume wake rasua Alokwisha wateua, …* (Source: Nyerere, 1996e:5).

By reading these works one would acknowledge that Nyerere is not just a scriber but rather an independent and theological creative author. He is a potential interpreter and creative writer (i.e. poet). Nyerere is referred to as a poet whose interest was always to compose poems. This is also among the reasons why he was interested to translate Shakespeare's plays which are also presented in poetic style in the original text (Mwansoko, 2005). Nyerere, therefore, used his talent to rewrite the scriptures in poetological form so as to motivate and influence the target language audience to read the word of God. Noss and Renju (2007) argue that Nyerere wanted to engage the readers with biblical truths. Polycarp Pengo, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dar es Salaam, in his preface to the five publications, argues that by using poetry Nyerere draws attention to the nation's youth for whom these *tenzi* may offer a source of hope as they face the future. Polycap Pengo encourages this spirit because it helps to preach the mission to poets who do not want to read the scriptures in their prose form (i.e. the Bible). It is argued that sometime rewriting presents the stories in ways that render them more interesting. It is reported that even in Jewish literature they treated the scriptures as sources for their literary imagination. It is believed that when these texts are presented in new style it helps to reach as many people as possible (Collins, 2011 and Bannerjee, 2010).

However, with Nyerere there could be something more than just preaching the word using a different style. It could be a symbolic struggle from all forms of colonialism. In fact this is a revolutionary movement ever experienced in all Kiswahili scripture translations and rewritings. Translators and rewriters of scriptures into Kiswahili had been always observing the source language form and style. Nyerere wanted, not only to influence Kiswahili, but also to influence his Swahili-speaking audience in respect to religious style of maintaining peace and love in the socialist society. Ludwing (2001) asserts that from the new beginning of his term as the President, Nyerere attempted to involve the church in promoting cooperation. From independence Nyerere has been composing nationalist and revolutionary songs and poems, including Tanzania, Tanzania. Nyerere involved himself with the church in promoting cooperation and socialism.

Moreover, Noss and Renju (2007) argue that Julius Nyerere was a renowned political leader as well as an accomplished and dedicated poet, teacher, and translator. Having translated Shakespeare into his beloved Kiswahili before becoming President, he took up Bible translation in his retirement. In the Bible translation, instead of the usual prose of the Gospels and Acts, he adopted the ancient but still popular poetic form of the *tenzi* as the most effective means of conveying his message. In the Bible rewritings his goal was not simply to communicate his message faithfully and clearly, as any Bible translator would

do, but also used vocabulary that was familiar to his audience and political terminology that they associated with him while he was their national leader. He, further, added extra information or words that are not found in the other Bible translations for the aim of observing rhyme patterns. This also justify that the epics are rewritings which try closely to imitate certain original texts of the Bible as in the following examples from Luke 24:50 and John 2:15 respectively:

Akawaongoza njia
Wakaenda Bethania:
Mikono akainua
Akabariki Rasua. (Nyerere, 1996c:123)

[Akawaongoza mpaka Bethania, akainua mikono yake akawabariki. Source: Biblia Maandiko Matakatifu, 1997]
Akafanya mjeledi
Wa ukambaa jadidi,
Akanza kuwafukuza
Na wanyama walouza,
Ng'ombe na kondoo wao;
Akamwaga fedha zao,
Meza akizipindua,
Na watu kuwatimua. (Nyerere, 1996d:14)

[*Akafanya kikoto cha kambaa, akawatoa wote katika hekalu, na kondoo na ng'ombe; akamwaga fedha za wenye kuvunja fedha, akazipindua meza zao*. Source: *Biblia Maandiko Matakatifu*, 1997]

There is no question in these writings of replacing the original scriptures. These are new compositions that draw their source material from the traditional scriptures. As it can be observed here the form of epic is syllabic verse with line final rhyme. There is a pattern of paring the final rhyme and which could vary from one stanza to the next. This was the poetic form that was the most appropriate for Nyerere and which was a familiar form that was suitable for the development of long and serious themes. Nevertheless, the poet-translator Nyerere found himself obliged to stretch the limits both of poetic form and of translation accuracy. He maintained the biblical format of verses and chapters and sections. In the above examples there are extra words like *njia*, *Rasua* and *jadidi* which are not found in other translations. The function of these additional words and sometimes phrases is primarily to serve rhyme patterns (i.e. to make the verses in the stanza to rhyme with other verses).

Conclusion

In view of the discussion above, the message that Nyerere was trying to convey has not been grasped by most of the African states, including Tanzania. The message was that the process of true liberation will be completed only when African languages have been empowered to say with ease what has already been said in the great literatures of the West. For most states, however, the preference is to use the colonizers' languages and other cultural practices as a symbol of civilization. Although there are notable voices trying to foster and further Nyerere's efforts, these are silenced by the powerful elites who have a stake in the promotion of the colonial languages as symbols of civilized living. This is indeed a perpetuation of neo-colonialism in an independent state. Furthermore, despite Neyerere's efforts to domesticate foreign works, the translated texts have remained inaccessible to the common man. There have been few reprints and there are no efforts

to produce more reprints and circulate them to the intended community. Low readership has also undermined the whole purpose of rewriting these texts. One could further argue that since the rewriter is renown, even if there are few socio-economic benefits realized from the publications, these publications should be reprinted as a symbol of appreciating these efforts and accelerating same spirit to other Africans. The relevance of literatures that shield, challenge and promote African culture and political stance is unquestionable. Rewriting into indigenous languages is one way of proving to the world the elasticity of local languages and promoting their respectability.

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Sociolinguistic meaning of Bantu place names: The case of Ruhaya in north-western Tanzania

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Abstract
This paper examines the sociolinguistic meaning behind the adoption of place names in Ruhaya, the language spoken in north-western Tanzania. The paper based on the assumption that place names are not arbitrary labels but are connected with particular social-cultural phenomena such as community heroes or persons who made notable contributions to the society or people who had achieved particular notoriety or events that had come to be considered unique. These would be reflected in what the name was derived from in the appropriate time and place (appropriate context). The paper reveals that Ruhaya place names have meanings which tend to be derived from phenomena such as names of unique people, events, fauna, flora, crops raised, habitation information, natural terrain and activities carried out in the area to which the name is given. Also, place names in Ruhaya have meanings relating to parts of the human body such as hip, nape, tongue, breast and heart. As language advance, it was necessary to explore such sociolinguistic elements as an important contribution to the growing body of sociolinguistics and linguistics knowledge relating to languages spoken in Tanzania and Africa in general.

Introduction

Ruhaya is a Bantu language spoken in one of the Tanzania mainland regions namely Kagera. The region is situated in north-western Tanzania to the west of Lake Victoria, bordering Uganda to the North and Rwanda and Burundi to the West. It covers a total area of almost 40,838sqkm with 28,953sqkm being land masses and 11,885sqkm being water bodies like lakes and rivers (Mutembei, 2001). In pre-colonial times the region was politically divided into eight chiefdoms which were *Karagwe*, *Bugufi*, *Bushubi*, *Bugabo*, *Ihangiro*, *Kiziba*, *Kihanja* and *Kyamutwala.* This was before the coming of the agents of colonialism (Mutembei, ibid). The coming of colonial agents, especially missionaries and traders, affected the medium of interaction among the Bahaya as before their arrival, Ruhaya was the only language used by Bahaya in all aspects of life. The term Ruhaya originated from the term Buhaya, the name of the area that previously belonged to the group of fisherman who lived along the north-western shore of the Lake Victoria. These people were called *Abahaya*. According to Mulokozi (1986) and Kilaini (1990), the term Abahaya was used interchangeably with the names of the eight northern chiefdoms referred to earlier. The language varieties spoken by the people belonging to those chiefdoms tended to be viewed as dialects of a single language family called *Ruhaya*.

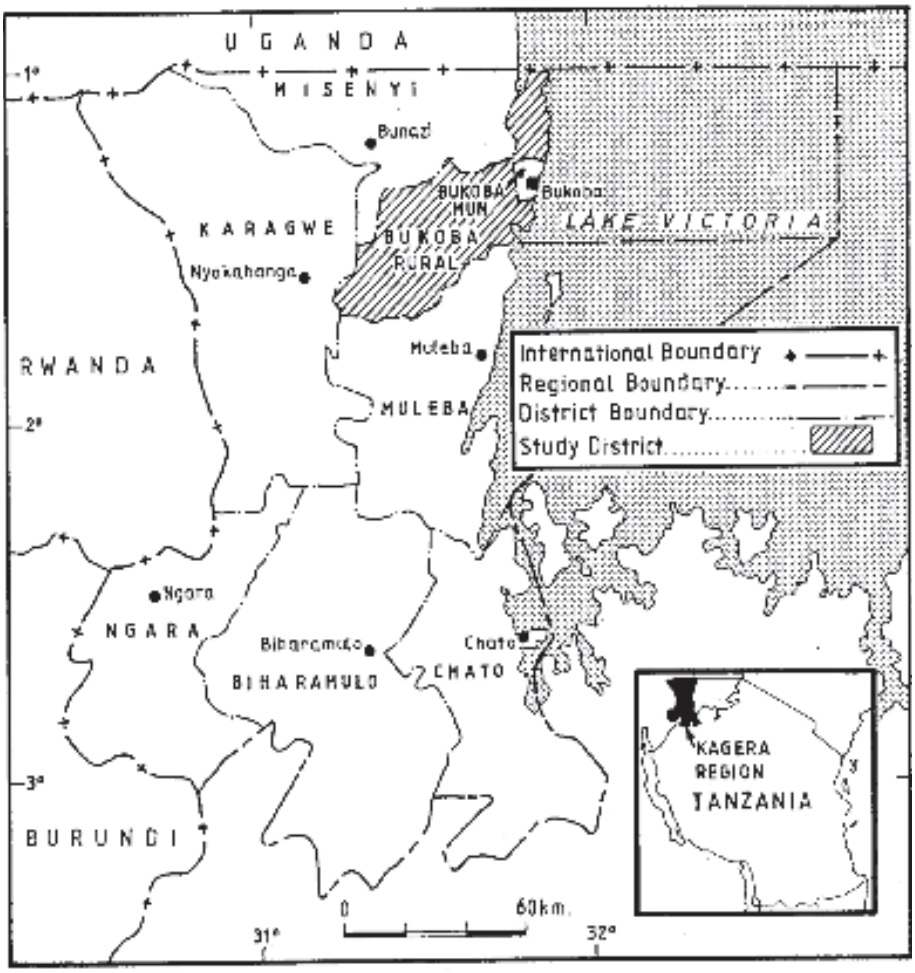
Kagera region is divided into eight districts which are Bukoba-Urban, Bukoba-Rural, Karagwe, Muleba, Misenyi, Chato, Biharamulo, and Ngara - see the map bellow (Language of Tanzania Project, 2009, p. 25). The geographical areas covered by these eight administrative districts in some respects coincide with the pre-colonial chiefdoms

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mentioned earlier: Bukoba (Urban and Rural) coinciding with the pre-colonial chiefdoms of *Bugabo* and *Kihanja)*; Karagwe coinciding with the pre-colonial chiefdom known by the same name Karagwe; Muleba coinciding with the pre-colonial chiefdom of *Ihangiro*; Misenyi coinciding with the pre-colonial chiefdom of *Kiziba*; Chato and Biharamulo coinciding with the pre-colonial chiefdom of *Bushubi* and Ngara coinciding with the pre-colonial chiefdom of *Bugufi* (Lwamgira, 1949; Katoke, 1975; Cahoon, 2000). This paper limits itself to the administrative and geographical area of Bukoba-Rural District, specifically investigating the meanings of village names found in the area known by its pre-colonial chiefdom name of Kihanja, where the Ruhamba dialect of Ruhaya is spoken.

Map1: Kagera Region Showing its Current Districts



The concept of Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is defined as the study of the effect of all aspects of society including cultural norms, expectations and context on the way language is used (Romaine, 2000). It focuses on the effect of the society on language. It also studies individual and social variation of language. According to Trudgill (1983), sociolinguistics is a study that investigates the relationship between language and society. Thus, it deals with language in relation to its socio-cultural context. Msanjila et al (2009, p. 2) adds that, the relationship between language and society is like two sides of the same coin. This means that without society there is no language and without language there is no society. Therefore it is assumed that place names in Ruhaya could not be abstract objects which could be accounted for without reference to the social life of their speakers.

The concept of meaning

Defining the term 'meaning' has been an issue debated by different philosophers for over 2000 years (Lyons, 1984). Lyons (op.cit, p. 136) defines the term meaning as:

> "..... the ideas or concepts which can be transmitted from the mind of the speaker to the mind of the hearer".

This suggests that**,** *meaning* depends on the minds of the speaker and the hearer.

On the other hand, Katz (1985) defines the term as a set of senses. In explaining the concept of meaning, he goes on by stating that, these senses are carried by signs which are used by a given society to refer to places or events. Hymes (1964, p. 33) points out that language signs involve three factors which are: the user of the sign, the sign itself and what the sign refers to. Hymes maintains that the meaning of the sign is well known by the native speaker of the language and it depends upon different social phenomena of a particular community where the language concerned is spoken. Closer to Hymes, Malinowski (1923) asserted that language must be conceptualized as a mode of practical actions which are meaningful within an indigenous system of action. The findings of this paper seem to support this view of meaning. One can not, for example, understand the meanings of Ruhaya place names without having knowledge about the social circumstances behind them. Good examples of such place names include: *Kyelima* (the name of the village which *means it cultivates itself* and *Kyebyara* (the name of the village) which means *it plants itself*. Without knowledge from the indigenous people of the relevant community, one may remain wondering whether the land can cultivate or plant itself. In fact these place names mean *the land is fertile* (good for cultivation or planting something). Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) in their Speech Act Theory refer to this kind of meaning as language meaning complexity. Thus, the direct meanings of these names correspond to the normal use of language while indirect meanings are referred as parasitic ones.

Meaning in context

The study which deals with meaning in context is known as pragmatics. According to Wisniewski (2006), pragmatics refers to language use, i.e. the text in a given setting. This perspective was originally founded by Charles Morris in 1938. Pragmatics studies people's use of language as a form of behaviour or social action. It links language and human life in general (Verschueren, 1999). The linguistic phenomena to be studied from the point of view of their usage can be situated at any level of structure. So there are definitely no linguistic phenomena at any level of structure that a pragmatic perspective can afford to ignore.

On the other hand, Malinowski (1923) reveals that, a word without linguistic context is a mere figment and stands for nothing by itself. This implies that an utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation. The context of situation however, is not a setting but a theoretical construct for explaining how a text relates to the social processes within which it is located (Halliday, 1998). In relation to our study, Ruhaya place names ought to be meaningful within their contexts because they would probably reflect various social circumstances within the Bahaya community.

Giles and Coupland (1991) reveal the relationship between language and social context by showing how speakers choose language forms to suit their circumstances, perceptions and social phenomena. The study states that language is build upon the context in which it is encoded in order to have meaningful communication. Moreover, Kress (1990) asserts that different linguistic features which come about as a result of social processes are not arbitrary since they reflect ideological organization of a particular area of a social life.

However, Carter (1993, p. 23) argues that, in pragmatics, circumstances are not explainable at the grammatical level. Context is significant. Thus, place names in Ruhaya can not be understood out of context because in order to know that a particular name refers to phenomena like trees, mountains, body parts or a place, one needs to consult the context as suggested by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). This is based on the assumption that, a word, spoken or written is meaningful in some context of use; and the quality and effect of communication among people depends on contexts.

General review on sociolinguistic meaning of place names

Levitt (1959, p. 94) explaining about England's place naming systems reveal that every field, parish, hamlet, village, town, city and county in England has a name of its own. The study states that place names show details of the life of ancestors. As regards the study of the origins of place names in England, Levitt (op.cit) adds that names of trees are often used to form place names. Some of relevant examples cited are as follows:

Oakamoor (in Staffordshire) 'oak tree that produces small nuts called acorns often eaten by animals'
Birch anger (in Essex) 'birch tree, with smooth bark and thin branches'
Beech Hill (in Berkshire) 'a tall forest tree with smooth grey bark, shiny leaves and small nuts'

Moreover, other things which can be learnt from England place names as stated by Levitt (op.cit), involve the features of the countryside, the areas of forest, the areas which were swampland, crops which were raised and even religious beliefs of the people who lived in a given area. These sociolinguistic observations are interesting and very useful in this paper because similar observations could be made regarding village names in Ruhaya. The following examples illustrate the situation in Ruhaya.

Trees which grew: **Mishasha** 'trees known as e-mishasha'.
Crops which were raised: **Kemyongu** 'of /having pumpkins'
Kabira 'small bush'.
Religious beliefs: **Kasalabani** 'on the small cross'.

As regards the types of place names in Yuwaalaraay, Yuwaaliyaay and Gamilaraay languages of north-west New South Wale, Ash (forthcoming) identifies three types of

place-names that are *flora*, *fauna* and *topography*. Commenting on the meaning of place names in this language Ash says that many place names refer to vegetation, fauna, and types of soil and rocks of the country. However, this categorization fails to cope with the argument she made to the effect that some place names relate to body parts as the following examples cited verify:

Place name	**Meaning**
Yangledool	Small vagina
Terewah	Narrow leg
Nullawa	Narrow forehead/face

From that point of view, Ash (forthcoming) states that she is not certain whether such names are metaphorical or they refer to ancestral beings.

Schotsman (2003) investigated the socio-geographical aspects of the transportation system in modern Tanzania. His main attention was on the socio-geographical aspects of the naming of bus stops, wards and hamlets (*vitongoji*) in Dar es Salaam. The major concern was determining where place names are located and how are they named. Discussing place names in Kiswahili, Schotsman pointed out that, place names may refer to tangible objects, occupations, well known persons, natural features, earlier vegetation and pioneering habitants. Schotsman's study suggested that there is need to investigate the meanings and sociolinguistic factors behind place names construction focusing on selected names of places in one Tanzanian language, in this case is Ruhaya language.

Kihore, et al. (2008, pp. 88-89) categorises place names in Kiswahili as proper nouns and some examples sighted were Musoma, Kigoma, Arusha, and Mtwara. It is asserted that place names, as one category of proper nouns, are distinctive compared to other categories of nouns. Thus, the names refer to things, concepts, and other living things that are different. In this case, place names would tend to have a high level of distinctiveness (presence or absence of the feature) whereby one place name is distinguished from other place names. It seemed interesting to find out the extent to which the process of naming places in Ruhaya was based on the distinctive features of a particular place which rely on powerfulness, dominancy and influence of the phenomena used in naming the place.

Socialinguistic meaning of Ruhaya place names

Ruhaya place names can be categorized according to the meanings they refer to. These include names relating to fauna and flora that existed in a given place, names relating to names of people or parts of human body, names relating to natural phenomena, belongingness, social-cultural behaviours/ mannerism and experienced events. In addition to that, the data discussed has shown that other names have been adopted from other languages due to migratory movements which may have taken place or because of associations.

Place names which refer to fauna

Some Ruhaya place names refer to animals that lived in a particular area in the past. Place names relating to animals were selected basing on the population size of such particular animals. The quantity prompted people from neighbouring villages to use names of animal species found in a given area to refer to the place. See the following examples of Ruhaya place names:

Example 1	
Place Names	**Meaning**
Kyenjubu	of hippopotamus
Kyebikobe	of big monkeys
Kakajoju	of small elephant
Kankende	of monkey'

Basing on the observations of the data presented above, it is revealed that some Ruhaya place names refer to fauna.

Place names which refer to flora

These are the names which are said to be derived from flora names found in an area. Place names under this category relate to names of trees, shrubs and grass. However various species of grass, plants and trees are (were) found in more than one place but there was no duplication of place names derived from those flora. Names were selected because of quantity (of tree, grass or plants) while some names were prompted by the size of trees i.e. big in size. Examples numbered (i) to (iv) illustrate the fact that some Ruhaya place names refer to flora.

Example 2	
Place Name	**Meaning**
i) **Kishebe**	a type of grasses which are mostly found around water (many)
ii) **Mishasha**	a type of trees known as *e-mishasha (many)*
iii) **Kisheka**	a big tree known as *o-musheka*
iv) **Kyangohye**	of many plants known as *e-ngohye*

The fact that place names reflect various floras as described above, was also asserted by various scholars aforementioned in section 2.0 (see Levitt, 1959). From the examples presented above it was noted that Ruhaya place names also refer to significant flora which existed in the area.

Names relating to food crops grown in an area

Some Ruhaya place names refer to the food crops raised in a particular locality. However it is important to point out that even though the mentioned food crops are found in many places the names for those places are not the same because the selection of names of different places base on quantitative factor. Thus, place names are derived from the names of food crops which were produced in large or enormous than at other places. Observe the following examples:

Example 3	
Place Names	**Meaning**
i) **Kyaitoke**	having bananas
ii) Nyakigando	having cassava
iii) **Kemyongu**	having pumpkins

However it should be noted that in Kagera region bananas are found everywhere but what prompted the name *Kyaitoke* was the presence of plenty of bananas in a given village due to soil fertility. Other names of food crops like pumpkins and cassava were assigned to villages or ward since those crops were produced in large quantity in those areas. From the discussion presented above, it is evident that places in Ruhaya were not named after

just any crop. They were derived from the names of crops that were cultivated in large quantity in a given place.

Names relating to habitation information

Ruhaya place names under this category refer to the names of persons or a group of people who settled in the area. The names can be categorized into (i) *Individual Names* and (ii) *Nationality/Clan Names*. Individual names involve individuals who were considered by the community as notorious or famous for having done some peculiar things. Good example is the village name **Karugambwa** which means *belongs to a person whose name is Rugambwa* - a famous person who killed a buffalo. The selection and adoption of nationality or clan names base on the availability of a large number of people belonging to a clan or nation whereby the places where those people lived were named after the names of their clans or nationality. The names under this category are as follows:

Example 4

Place Names	**Meaning**
i) **Buyango**	belongs to Bayango clan
ii) **Kabajumba**	belongs to Bajumba clan
iii) **Kabasingo**	belongs to Basingo clan
iv) **Rwabangereza**	belong to the British

From the fact described in example 4 above, it has been revealed that Ruhaya place names depict some clans or nations where people living in those places belong. However, the selection of place names base on the number of people who first settled in a place which was named after their clans or nations.

Names Relating to Significant Events

Ruhaya place names under this category refer to significant events that took place in a given area. The examples below illustrate the argument:

Example 5

Place Names	**Meaning**
i) **Irango**	'announcement' - the coming of the shortest people from Congo carrying local flutes (*e-nkuli*) which were used to call people when they had fallen down as they were not able to stand up on their own.
ii) **Kifamutima**	'the dead heart' - people had lost their humanity (the son of the ruler was killed in that village).
iii) **Kyeleta**	'it came itself' - no one knew how the river came up.

The events reflected from these place names are well understood by the speech community of Ruhaya. This is because each community experiences various important events from which its place names were derived. That event becomes an identity of a particular society, community or a nation which experienced the phenomena (Msanjila et.al, 2009, p. 55). The kind of events which qualify for the status of being selected as names include events relating to death of an important person like a ruler or his children (see for example the name *Kifamutima*), events which were causing extreme surprise (see for example the names *Irango* and *Kyeleta*) and events relating to the violation of some traditions and customs were of great concern. All in all, the examples discussed above reveal that some Ruhaya place names refer to some events which were experienced in a given area.

Names which reflect social behaviours

Collective behaviour of individuals in the society was another factor for selection of some Ruhaya place names. Behaviour is a person's action or reaction to some situation basing on past experience or belief system. Human behaviour is an important factor in human society and each human has a different behaviour (Ardrey, 1970). Ruhaya place names reflect social behaviours of the people who lived in a given place too. The selection of some Ruhaya place names was based on the social behaviour especially when the behaviour of the society became the identity of the society. Thus, sometimes the society's behaviour dominated and attracted others irrespective of its positive or negative implication. This drew people's attention and that is when one comes across Ruhaya place names such as:

Example 6

Place Names	**Meaning**
i) **Bunywambele**	where people drink first (drunkard)
ii) **Kamwaga**	having disturbances (people who disturb others)
iii) **Butakya**	it won't become day light -an oath like word' (people who are not tired of fighting).

3.7 Names relating to natural terrain of the place

Some Ruhaya place names refer to natural features such as rocks, stones, mountains, sand, forest, valley and streams as described in the following examples:

Example 7

Place Names	**Meaning**
i) **Rubale**	small stones/pebbles.
ii) **Mishenye**	a lot of sand
iii) **Kasha**	a valley
iv) **Omwizinga**	in the island (means the village is surrounded by water during rainy season)

The examples described above can be cemented by the view pointed out by Msanjila (op cit) that each speech community inhabits some unique physical space that is not found in other communities. He adds that these features are used as an identification of a particular speech community where they are found. However, the selection of those names was based on the factors like the quantity of the particular features (e.g. the name *Mishenye*) and the physical characteristics of the natural features themselves (e.g. the names *Kasha* and *Omwizinga*). Therefore, the names of some natural features in Ruhaya were used to name the village where that phenomenon was found as the examples above verify.

Names relating to human body parts

Ruhaya place names under this category relates to different names of human body parts such as napes, breasts, hips, and tongues as revealed in the following examples:

Example 8

Place Name	**Meaning**
(i) **Kyamabele**	of breasts
(ii) **Itako**	hip
(iii) **Omukikombo**	in the big nape
(iv) **Ichwandimi**	off the tongues

The names above depict the fact that some villages are named after the names of human body parts. This point of view was noticed by Ash (forthcoming), in her study which dealt with place names in Yuwaalaraay, Yuwaaliyaay and Gamilaraay languages of north-west New South Wale as revealed in section 2.0. In Ruhaya naming after some human body parts was not intended to inform us about the real human body parts rather it resulted from semantic associations between the place itself and the events which took place in the past, the location of the place or physical appearance of the place. Thus, some place names are metaphorical. However, some refer to the physical characteristics of individuals who lived in the place. This can be proved by using for example the name *Kyamabele*. Thus, the name *Kyamabele* was referring to a particular woman who had big breasts, who lived in that village. All in all, the examples described above depict the fact that naming is not only significant linguistically, in being metaphorical for example, but socially as well, in preserving the memories of the people concerned some socially significant happening.

Place names adopted from other languages

This category refers to place names adopted from other languages apart from Ruhaya. However, the adopted names are generally reshaped to fit Ruhaya phonological patterns by inserting sounds to make words fit into its phonological system. Therefore, we come across village names such as:

Example 9

Place Name	**Meaning**
(i) **Nyabushozi**	many small mountains/hills (from Runyambo vocabulary *busozi*)
(ii) **Bagidadi**	from the name of the capital of Iraq' (from Persian language)
(iii) **Kasalabani** [kasalabani]	on the cross (from Swahili language)

The examples above depict that some Ruhaya place names were named after the names from other languages and the names adopted were modified to fit Ruhaya phonological inventory. However, the adoption of some names from other languages was caused by either migration (e.g. the name *Nyabushozi*) or the influential events which took place (e.g. the name *Bagidadi*). It was also noted that even new beliefs which became popular motivated naming places by using names which were connected with such beliefs (see the name *Kasalabani*). From this point of view, it was evident that the adoption of some Ruhaya village names from other languages was motivated by some social contacts or associations with various social aspects.

Conclusion

From the analysed and discussed data, the paper reveals that Ruhaya place names do have sociolinguistically peculiar meanings. Ruhaya place names do therefore have a referential semantic value whereby some refer to fauna, flora, crops raised, personal names, tribe and people's nationality. Also, they refer to social cultural beliefs, social behaviors, different events, human body parts and occupational information. Generally, Ruhaya place names reflect what Ruhaya speech community see, hear, believe and experience. Indeed place names in Ruhaya are selected or constructed basing on sociolinguistic circumstances or phenomena that influenced the society. Since the paper was limited to Ruhaya names of villages, one can conduct a similar study on other names of administrative units such as the names of districts, divisions and even regions in the same language or in other Bantu languages.

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The accounting role of regional councillors in financial management for regional councils in Namibia: The cases of Oshana and Caprivi regional councils

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Abstract
Although decisions to acquire and expend financial resources in regional councils are a domain of regional councillors, officials appointed by regional councils and those serving the Ministry of Regional Local Government and Rural Development in Namibia view this as quixotic. This paragonistic perception of appointed officials towards councillors gives rise to synthetic practices that continue to override the efficacy of regional councillors in their role as financiers at regional level in Namibia. Like other regional councils in Namibia, Oshana and Caprivi regional councils are grappling with challenges in financial management. Reflecting on the anecdote of experiences of these two regional councils, this paper makes the call for politicians, technocrats at central and regional government levels and academics to abandon, or at least more vigorously challenge the somewhat archaic, paragonistic methodologies that are very often inappropriate to democratic and corporate governance compliant financial management at sub national level. It argues that there is need to grow legislation based, innovative and creative methodological responses to separate the roles of regional councillors and technocrats appointed by regional councils in financial management. Citing the ideological and methodological shifts made in the Decentralisation process in Namibia, it is argued that it is indeed possible to create unique and exciting processes. Processes that move beyond the rhetoric of "the normative separation of the roles of councilors and officials" to one that in very real terms makes regional councillors the focus of financial planning, budgeting and budgetary control and monitoring the financial activities of regional councils.

Financial management and decision making: An introduction

Financial management in regional governance is about acquisition and allocation of financial resources and the tracking down of expenses to ensure organisational compliance to approved estimates of revenue and expenditure. Accounting on the other hand, can be defined to mean a system of principles, methods and techniques, to record and organise financial data about an organization, to generate and provide information to internal and external users on the economic rationality of decisions taken.

As Steiss (1989, p. 3), observes, "effective financial management requires appropriate mechanisms for recording and disseminating information about revenues and expenditures, procedures for allocation of resources and management of costs, and techniques for

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financial planning and resource acquisition". Based on this premise, it is clear that among the different hats a councillor is expected to wear is that of being a financier. As a result of that, a regional councillor makes allocation decisions in council chambers and is therefore held responsible by the enabling legislation to ensure that voted amounts are controlled.

According to UN-HABITAT (2005, p.5), "financing as one the key competencies associated with responsibilities of an elected leader of local government organisation as an operating institution".[1] Taking queue from the foregoing, it is virtually axiomatic to note that financial management has an impact on all segments of an operating regional council. Like any form of management, financial management requires of regional councillors to set objectives and prioritise programmes and projects aimed at achieving its objectives. Indeed, this proposition serves as an assertion to confirm the focus of financial management on decision making principles.

An enabling legislative framework: a necessary but not sufficient condition for change

The Regional Councils Act of 1992, Act 22 of 1992 lays a foundation for separation of decision making powers between regional councillors and technocrats at regional councils in Namibia. Since the establishment of regional governance in Namibia, legislation clearly separates the roles of the central government, regional councillors and technocrats in financial management.[2] The legislative mindset shift, together with the understanding of the role of regional councillors as financiers at regional governments-rather than passive recipients of techno centric decisions of the appointed officials, has been widely accepted by regional councillors and technocrats alike. What is questionable however is the extent to which this legislation framework has been translated into a robust, implementable financial management methodology that successfully translates the intent of the legislation into a workable process that can fulfill the corporate governance aims of regional government institutions.

It is argued that whilst the Regional Councils Act of 1992 provides guidelines for implementation of financial management and separation of duties and functions of regional councillors and technocrats at regional level, the relevance and appropriateness of the legislation provisions concerned at Oshana and Caprivi regional councils is questionable. Members of the management committee who are regional councillors tasked with the duties, powers and functions pertaining to financial management at these regional councils have set aside the provisions of Section 22 (c) (d) of the Regional Councils Act of 1992, Act 22of 1992 as amended which articulate the role of councillors in financial management in a methodical way, in favour of a more home grown and techno driven approach.[3]

Section 22 (1) (c) (d) of the Regional Councils Act of 1992, Act 22 of 1992 as amended empowers members of management committee who are also regional councillors, to prepare and compile for the approval of the regional council the estimates and supplementary estimates of revenue and expenditure of the regional council, and also to control the expenditure of moneys voted by the regional council in its approved estimates and additional estimates and all other moneys or funds made available to the regional council.[4]

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1 Key competencies for improving local governance: a quick guide to the specifics. Published by UN-HABITAT and local government and public service reform initiative of the open society institute.(2005)

2 See Regional councils Act of 1992, Sections 22, 34,37 and 40

3 Note that the views expressed here are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the respondents from Caprivi and Oshana region

4 See the Regional Councils Act of 1992, Act 22 of 1992, Section 22 (1) (c) (d)

As can be seen from the responses of the interviewed councillors listed here below, the foregoing assertion amplifies the vitiation of this legislation provision by synthetic practices at the two regional councils. The setting aside of section 22 of the Regional Councils Act of 1992, Act 22 of 1992 as amended by regional councillors of Caprivi and Oshana regions in this connection, in no way suggests inherent weaknesses in this legislative provision *per se.* Instead, this paper contends that synthetic practices adopted by Caprivi and Oshana regional councils as shall be seen later from the responses of the regional councillors interviewed, continue to stifle the efficacy of councillors in financial management.

Research findings

In this author's analysis of the state of financial management at the two regional councils from the views of regional councillors and one chief regional officer interviewed, he will look at all aspects of financial management namely, resource acquisition, budgeting, and budgetary control.

Caprivi Regional Council

With regard to budget formulation, all (5) councillors interviewed stated that they do not directly participate in the preparation and compilation of the budget. They asserted that their degree of involvement is limited to mere submission of the budget proposals from their respective constituents whereas the actual compilation and preparation of the estimates and supplementary estimates of revenue and expenditure is often carried out by the technocrats. When asked whether there was a mechanism for community involvement in the budgetary process, the majority (4) of the five councillors interviewed from Caprivi regional council responded in the affirmative while one stated that there was none. The (4) who indicated that community members are involved in the budgetary process confirmed that community involvement in this process is limited to members of the Constituency Development Committees (CDCs) who together with the constituency councillors draft the budget proposals at constituency level and later forward the same to the Chief Regional Officer for consideration. I would like to point out here that regional councillors at Caprivi regional council are not all involved in the preparation and compilation of the budget at their respective council. Instead, the technocrats under the leadership of the Chief Regional Officer (CRO) receive such needs and grapple with the allocation of resources, compile the estimates and supplementary estimates of revenue and expenditures on behalf of the members of the management committee, who are also regional councillors. Although the management committee later presents the proposed budget to council for approval, they are not directly involved in the actual compilation and preparation of the proposed budget.

I would further like to point out that the mechanisms used for community participation in the budgetary process at the four constituencies whose councillors responded in the affirmative, are in my opinion inadequate and is because such mechanisms do not accord opportunities to all community members to participate as they limit such participation to members of the CDCs only. There is no guarantee that all members of the CDCs are in turn disseminating the same information to the various groups they represent.

On the other hand, the minority (1) councillor who indicated that there was no community participation in the budgetary process stated that this was due to: (i) the long distances between the constituency and various villages comprising his constituency; and (ii) lack of transport.

With regards to budgetary control, the majority (5) of the councillors interviewed at

Caprivi regional council indicated that they were not fully involved in budgetary control at their regional council. They further asserted that budgetary control was a domain the technocrats, and in the same vein, (3) of the councillors interviewed, who are members of the management committee further contended that they often receive financial reports on quarterly basis from technocrats instead of financial statements. It is interesting to note here that this confirms among other practices, synthetic practices that override the efficacy of councillors in financial management. As a result of this, regional councillors and particularly members of the management committee are stripped of their powers and duties in a subtle manner. Practices of this nature override principles of good governance, accountability and openness and can give rise to a common formula for corruption namely, Mandate + Discretion-Accountability=Corruption (M+D-A=C).

When asked whether there were other sources of revenue besides the grants from central government to their regional council, the majority (3) councilors interviewed indicated that there was none, while one indicated that there was an amount payable to the regional council as royalty from the sale of electricity to the regional inhabitants by the Northern Regional Electricity Distribution Company (NORED) and one other councillor stated that he did not know. The three councillors who indicated that there was none, further attested that council has no capacity to diversify its revenue and further confirmed that the MRLGHRD does not allow regional councils to invest unexpended funds of the regional council over any given fiscal year. This assertion suggests some weaknesses in the MRLGHRD directives to regional councils. Instead, investment of unexpended funds of regional councils is a given to regional councils in terms of section 33 (1) (d) of the regional councils Act. [5]

Furthermore, the majority (4) of the councillors interviewed echoed the sentiments of the Chief Regional Officer who attested that council has not even received 5% of the rates and taxes levied and collected on its behalf as funds of the regional council by the town council of Katima Mulilo for the past three financial years (2005/2006, 2006/2007, and 2007/2008). Both the four councillors and the CRO expressed hope for other sources of revenue from Bukalo and Chinchimane that were due to be proclaimed as town and settlement areas in the near future. The altruistic attitude of both the four regional councillors and the CRO who indicated that there was a perceived lack of capacity from the side of Katima Mulilo town council and unwillingness to pay over the 5% contribution to the regional council is evidence that suggests inherent weakness in the decision making powers of Caprivi regional council.

When asked for suggestions to enhance the role of councillors in financial management at their respective regional council, the majority (4) of the councillors interviewed recommended capacity building initiatives for example, training of both regional councillors and technocrats at regional level on financial management. They collectively contend that there is a lack of capacity from both regional councillors and the senior management in the area of financial management. Failure to regularly present appropriate financial statements to members of the regional council by technocrats and inability of regional councillors to regularly take the financial pulse of the regional council are among the key challenges that militate against effective financial management at Caprivi regional council.[6]

[5] See section 33 (1) (d) of the Regional Councils Act of 1992, Act 22 of 1992
[6] As established during interviews with regional councillors (2008)

Oshana Regional Council

At Oshana regional council, the majority (4) of the four councillors interviewed stated that they were not directly involved in the preparation and compilation of the estimates and supplementary estimates of revenue and expenditure in that they delegated such responsibility to senior management who carry out the compilation and preparation of the estimates and supplementary estimates of revenue and expenditure on their behalf and submit that to the management committee members who later submit the same to the regional council for approval. This practice in my opinion is questionable. Members of the management committee of the Oshana regional council are in terms of section 22 (1) (c) (d) of the Regional Councils Act of 1992, Act 22 of 1992 the custodians of budgeting and budgetary control. Note here that compilation and preparation of the estimates and supplementary estimates of revenue and expenditure could include determination of rates, charges, fees and moneys that may be levied under any provision of the law governing regional councils in Namibia. Therefore, a decree by Oshana regional council that led to delegation of responsibility to technocrats to carry out the provisions of section 22 (1) (c) (d) is not just attracting very serious governance risks to the regional council, as it is also *ultra vires*.

With regard to community participation, four councillors interviewed indicated that community members at their various constituents are involved in the budgetary process through their Constituency Development Committees (CDCs). They further asserted that effective communication mechanisms are in place at Oshana regional council and that such mechanisms include continuous feedback by councillors to their respective constituencies on the projects evaluated and recommended to council for prioritisation and approval by the Regional Development Consultative Committee (RDDC). Although the majority of the community members are not directly participating in the budgetary process at Oshana regional council, the feedback provided by the councillors to their constituents can partially ensure insertion of the electorate in the information loop of the regional council and depict some kind of consultation.

When asked whether the Oshana regional council has other sources of revenue other than the government grants, four members of the regional council interviewed indicated in the affirmative and pointed out the other sources of revenue that include among others, the 5% contribution from the three local authorities of Oshakati, Ongwendiva and Ondangwa. However, one out of the three members of the management committee interviewed indicated that the collection of the 5% referred hereto has not been smoothly carried out by the regional council. To justify this, he alleged that most often than not, local authorities demonstrate luke warm approach to the paying over of this legally defined contribution to the Oshana regional council. As a result of this, Oshana regional council has in the past notified these local authorities of its intent to take legal action in order to recover this contribution from respective local authorities within their area of jurisdiction. Paradoxically, legislation framework governing local authorities in Namibia, the Local Authorities Act of 1992, Act 23 of 1992 and its amendments provides for 5% levy for the benefit of the regional council of the rates levied on all ratable property situated in the local authority areas.[7]

The majority (3) of the four members interviewed also expressed their preparedness as regional councillors to assist local authorities within their area of jurisdiction through funding of development projects in local authority areas using the same source of income.

[7] See the Local Authorities Act of 1992, section 77 (1)

This assertion in my opinion lays a strong foundation for implementation of section 28 (1) (f) of the Regional Councils Act of 1992 and its amendments.[8]

Echoing the sentiment of the one councillor at Caprivi regional council who identified royalties from NORED payable in respect of the supply of electricity in the region as the other source of revenue for Caprivi region, (3) of the four councillors of Oshana region interviewed indicated that Oshana regional council often receives royalties from NORED in respect of electricity supply to the Region.

Regarding budgetary control, (3) members of the management committee out of the four councillors interviewed, indicated that they do not directly control the expenditure of moneys voted by the regional council in its approved estimates and additional estimates and all other moneys or funds made available to the regional council. In this connection, they further contended that financial reports indicating how money was spent are often presented to the management committee of Oshana by the technocrats on a quarterly basis. Other than that, councillors confirmed that budgetary control takes place administratively. One of the three members interviewed revealed that among the reasons accounting for the lack of direct involvement of regional councillors in financial management at Oshana regional council are: (i) lack of capacity, (ii) lack of financial management skills, and (iii) low education levels of councillors.

Regarding investments, the majority (4) councillors interviewed at Oshana regional council shared the same sentiments with the five councillors interviewed at Caprivi regional council. They asserted that no room exists for investment of unexpected funds of the regional council subject to the strict control measures (directives) by the MRLGHRD over regional councils. As indicated earlier in my analysis, this central government directive of this ministry over regional councils is not just counterproductive, as it is equally *ultra vires.*[9]

Again, note here that the strategic intent of the ministry carried by the directive cited in the foregoing in my opinion does not only negate the very basis of self local government, autonomy, as it also proliferates fiscal dependence of regional councils to the central government, a situation that helps to frustrate local initiative aimed at diversification of the regional council's revenue base.

When asked for their views on ways to enhance the role of regional councillors in financial management, four councillors interviewed recommended training of councillors in the field of financial management. One out the four councillors interviewed further recommended that there should be separate budgets earmarked for the separate development of each constituency. Two other councillors of the four interviewed at Oshana regional council suggested that the electoral system for regional councillors should be revisited to make provision for education entry requirement for becoming a regional councillor to at least a Diploma, an assertion that is directed towards attraction of qualified decision makers at sub national level.[10]

Traditional financial management methodologies and paradigms: a critique

Anecdotes emanating from the synthetic practices based on the experiences of Caprivi and Oshana regional councils cited in this paper serve as a starting point to learn from the past

[8] See the Regional Councils Act of 1992, section 28 (1) (f)

[9] See the Regional Councils Act, section 33 (1) (d)

[10] Note that the views expressed in this section of this paper are the views of the interviewees and do not necessarily represent the views of the author

experiences. Whilst drawing on some of the positive aspects of the traditional financial management system implemented by Caprivi and Oshana regional councils, this author consciously attempts to break with the traditional financial management methodologies that each of these regional councils have followed.

This move away from the current traditional financial management approaches is based on the realisation that the impact of such approaches to enhancement of the role of councillors in financial management at regional councils in Namibia is not as initially anticipated particularly when regional councils were created. It is important to note here that this realisation has gained in relevance as can be seen from documented assessments by the MRLGHRD.[11]

It is virtually axiomatic at this juncture to perhaps pause briefly and reflect critically at the way financial management methodologies enshrined in the enabling legislation governing regional councils in Namibia (Regional Councils Act of 1992 as amended) have been designed and implemented by regional councils of Caprivi and Oshana. Whilst this paper is not intended to critically critique the financial management methodologies and their implementation elsewhere in Namibia, it is argued that this is very necessary-as part of the solution to creating more effective ways and implementable processes that lie in the deep understanding of what needs to change from the status quo.

My analysis highlights four critical areas that provide clues to understanding reasons for the limited impact of the traditional financial management practices at the two regional councils that are subjects of this study. These are based on the common complaints and incidents that serve as sources of frustration for the electorate, technocrats, regional councillors and staff members at the MRRLGRD headquarter since the establishment of regional councils in Namibia. These include but not limited to the following: the MRLGHRD's unlimited powers over regional councils, oblivious state of councillors in their role as financiers, short comings of attempting to exclude regional councillors from the financial management processes due to lack of capacity, and low levels of education from the side of regional councillors. Each of these will be examined briefly.

MRLGHRD's unlimited powers over regional councils

The assertion that corporate governance principles are overridden in the relationship between the MRLGHRD and regional councils in Namibia is a reasonable one. Ideally, this relationship should be strongly embedded in a set of rules that guide relations between these two levels of government. For instance, any interest or dividends derived from investments made by the regional council with the approved institutions in terms of section 33 (3) of the regional councils Act of 1992 as amended, is provided by legislation as an approved source of revenue as it constitutes part of the funds of the regional council. A directive by the MRLGHRD to override regional councils' initiatives towards investment of unexpended funds in terms of the enabling legislation governing regional councils is unlawful. Apart from its illegality, this directive stifles efforts towards self local government (autonomy) and diversification of revenue bases of regional councils. What is clearly problematic however is the debatable assertion of control as opposed to supervisory responsibilities of the MRLGHRD over regional councils.

Oblivious state of councillors in their role as financiers

As can be seen from attestations of councillors interviewed at the two regional councils, both appear to be iffy about their role in financial management. It is not surprising therefore

[11] See Decentralisation Enabling Act of 2000, Section 4 (a) (b)

that there had been growing frustration and hesitancy from technocrats at the two regional councils to engage councillors in the preparation and compilation of the estimates and supplementary estimates of revenue directly. Perhaps some of the disillusionment cited above can be attributed to the lower levels of education of some regional councillors and their inherent lack of financial management skills.

That question that is often not asked is whether training all regional councillors in financial management is possible at all or whether it is desirable in the first instance. If one accepts that the level of education influences the degree of conceptualisation and response to any training intervention, then the whole notion of artificially attempting to design training programmes in response to challenges of lack of capacity in the field of financial management will have to be challenged.

Short comings of attempting to exclude regional councillors from the financial management processes due to lack of capacity

Members of the management committee at Oshana and Caprivi regional councils tend to view financial management as an executive or administrative function than that of a policy nature. Yet, regional councillors as decision makers make decisions about raising, allocating and expending public funds. Further, they (regional councillors) are also responsible for evaluating the financial condition of their respective regional councils, prepare the budget and control the expenditure of voted amounts from approved estimates and to carryout investment planning for regional councils.[12]

The actual role of the technocrats complementing the foregoing is limited to provision of reliable information to regional councillors to foster good decisions in that the output of financial management is reliable information. Whereas in the assessment of the status quo, this paper reveals that regional councillors are subtly excluded either by design or by default from financial management processes, the regional councils Act of 1992 clearly separates the roles of regional councillors from those of the technocrats.

What is perhaps more problematic for the councillors and technocrats alike at the two regions that are subjects of this study in my opinion, is the interpretation of the provisions of section 22 (1) (c) (d) of the Regional Councils Act of 1992, Act 22 of 1992 that goes beyond analysis to strategy development. The result is an attempt to exclude councillors in the financial management process. Again what is not clear is whether the delegation of responsibility to compile and prepare estimates and the control of the voted amounts is done formally by council resolution or technocrats merely usurp such responsibilities in the view of the lack of capacity from the side of councillors. Though laborious, development of a tangible strategy to practically separate the roles of councillors and officials in this process is part of the solution.

Low education levels of regional councillors

Although this may be vexing, there is need to conceptualise with circumspection the context in which this area receives attention in this paper. Perhaps the disillusionment and the paradox that led to *delegatus delegare non potes* of section 22 (1) (c) (d) of the Regional Councils Act, Act 22 of 1992 at Caprivi and Oshana regional Councils can be attributed the low levels of education from the side of councillors. It not surprising therefore that there

[12] See Regional Councils Act of 1992, sections 22 (c) (d) and 33 (3)

had been a growing desire from the MRLGRD headquarter officials to impose *ultra vires* directives such as the one that prohibits regional councils from investing unexpended funds of the regional council, a directive that was unchallenged by regional councils that are subjects of this study.[13]

Towards a new financial management paradigm: from techno centric financial management to strategic financial management

If we accept the assertions that separation of roles of regional councillors and technocrats in financial management and compliance to legislation lie at the heart of the problem, then the challenge is moving beyond a mere critique, towards the creation of a robust strategy and more implementable view. This, it is argued is perhaps the first critical (unrecorded and unannounced) methodological challenge that faces the MRLGHRD in its thrust to implement fiscal decentralisation to regional and local authorities.

The tangible strategy to move the financial management paradigm from a techno centric to strategic financial management encompasses the following objectives:

- ✓ To entrust members of the management committee with the responsibility to prepare and compile for approval of the regional council the estimates and supplementary estimates of revenue and expenditure.
  This should not be controversially construed to mean striping technocrats of their administrative and executive responsibilities. As indicated elsewhere in this paper, their responsibility in respect of this objective is to collect data and provide reliable information to members of the management committee aimed at enhancing quality and good decisions.[14]
- ✓ The management committee should regularly control the expenditure of moneys voted by the regional council in its approved estimates and additional estimates and all other moneys or funds made available to the regional council. Pragmatically, this objective can be achieved only if technocrats have to regularly submit appropriate financial statements to members of the management committee that include, statement of income and expenditure (income statement) and the balance sheet. Furthermore, technocrats should also compile and regularly submit budget variance reports to the management committee that are supposed to be analysed in conjunction with the financial statements.

  In an attempt to interpret financial statements referred here to, members of the management committee should be guided by the following:

  - ❖ Concentrate on the financial healthiness of the regional council for instance, are overall revenues meeting the projections made at budget time?
  - ❖ Track the expenditure to ascertain as to whether or not they are maintained within limits set by the total annual budget.
  - ❖ Look at the revenue sources to ascertain the cost of collecting such revenue with an idea to either eliminate or increase their potential.
  - ❖ Expenditures, whether there are expenses higher than others for no reason, if so, question the accounting officer for convincing explanation.
  - ❖ Cash flow, whether you are generating periodic or ongoing surplus to determine your chances of investing idle funds.

[13] See the Regional Councils Act of 1992, section 29 (c)
[14] See Regional Councils Act of 1992, section 22 (1) (c) (d)

Concluding comments

The anecdote based on experiences of Caprivi and Oshana regional councils in the assessment of the role of councillors as financiers at sub national level is academically exciting in that it offers room for development of alternative strategies for effective financial management at regional and local levels in Namibia. More importantly, they give hope to the government of the Republic of Namibia and inspire technocrats from various regional councils to engage regional councillors in the financial management process.

At the time of writing this paper, the regional councils of Caprivi and Oshana were gearing themselves to meet the challenges of formulating their management action plans and implementation of their five year strategic plans. Clearly, if the regional councils of Oshana and Caprivi are to implement the strategy recommended in this paper, then commitment from the side of both councillors and technocrats is critical.

In conclusion, it is perhaps worth noting that documentation of the experiences of Caprivi and Oshana is important not just academically, but because of the learning potential it offers to other regional councils in Namibia and elsewhere in southern Africa. It is important for us as academics, councillors and practioners of regional and local government to draw from these lessons in our quest to improve the level of financial management at regional government level.

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The impact of effective communication within the family

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Abstract
Most verbal communication is done between one individual and another, be it in a family, social, or work setting. Any one-to-one verbal communication requires as much precision as possible, so that an individual can have immediate feedback as to whether he/she was understood accurately. Communicating effectively however involves more than just accuracy. The purpose of most communication is to influence the attitudes and behaviors of those being addressed. Since individuals have different ways of behaving and responding, it is important for people to learn to express themselves accurately and in a way that will accomplish their purpose of communication. This paper shows that developing good communication skills is critical for successful relationships. The paper reveals that good communication skills keep the family strong and better able to withstand every family issue and pitfall, and that effective communication is a key to family happiness. The paper also brings out the fact that effective communication within a family circle enables the family to handle stressors that arise, resolve daily conflicts, and raise children who are able to communicate well for the rest of their lives.

Introduction

Communication is at the heart of everything we do. It is the foundation for interaction among human beings. Communication has to do with meanings, understandings, feelings, desires, needs and ideas. Communication enables us to live together, work together, get along with each other, and make this earth the best possible place.

Communication is the exchange or flow of information and ideas between one person and another. In principle, it involves a sender passing on an idea to a receiver. Effective communication occurs when the receiver comprehends the information or idea that the sender intends to convey. The ability to communicate with precision has a tremendous impact on the message that is communicated and its intended meaning. Most problems that people have arise because they are unable to sustain effective communication. Peter Drucker, for instance, claims that more than 60% of all management problems result from breakdowns in communications. A major study by the Rockefeller Foundation found that 68% of the customers who quit buying from their regular suppliers do so because employees fail to communicate effectively with those customers.

Efficiency experts claim that at least 40% of the average worker's time is spent doing tasks that are either unnecessary or have to be done over because they were not done

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according to instructions. This implies that the success of the transmission of a message depends on two factors—content and context. Content is the actual words or symbols that constitutes a part of the message, known as language. It could be either spoken or written. People interpret words in their own ways, so much so that even simple messages could be understood differently. Context on the other hand is the way the message is delivered using extra linguistic features - the tone, expression in the sender's eyes, body language, hand gestures, and state of emotion (anger, fear, uncertainty, confidence and so on). Since people believe what they see more than what they hear, they trust the accuracy of nonverbal behavior more than verbal behavior. So when they communicate, the other person notices two things: What they say and how they say it.

People generally think that communication is complete once they have conveyed the message. This is however not the case. There are high chances that messages are not perceived properly and when this happens, different reactions are given as feedback. This happens even within family communication and often leads to misunderstanding and conflict/dispute. A message can not be said to have been communicated successfully unless the receiver understands it accurately.

Family communication refers to the way verbal and non-verbal information is exchanged between family members (Epstein, Bishop, Ryan, Miller, & Keitner, (1993). Communication within the family is extremely important because it enables members to express their needs, wants, and concerns to each other. Open and honest communication creates an atmosphere that allows family members to express their differences as well as love and admiration for one another.

Data collection

The data for this study was collected by means of a questionnaire that was distributed to 50 married staff (25 men and 25 women) of the National University of Lesotho. The informants targeted were those who have children between the ages of 1 to 25 years. The questionnaire was divided into two parts. Part 1 focused on communication between husbands and wife while part two focused on communication between parents and their children. The questions simply targeted the communication relationship between husbands and wives and parents and their children. The questions were designed to cover social issues, family matters and education. All in all, there were five semi-closed questions and one open question in the first part, and four semi-closed questions in part two. The semi-closed questions had an open part where informants could give their own experiences, while the open question was designed to get the participant's view point on the importance of effective communication within a family setting.

Developing good communication skills

Every human is born with a desire to communicate, and that desire enables him/her to pick up words quickly and to enlarge his/her vocabulary continuously. That same kind of desire can enable one to enlarge his/her stock of words and improve his/her skill in employing them. Generally speaking, communication consists of sending and receiving messages through the use of language. Language is the primary conveyer of thoughts and ideas. It turns abstract concepts into words that symbolize those thoughts. Those words take the form of spoken sounds or written symbols.

Some people think that the first requisite for good communication is an exhaustive vocabulary. However, as much as words and good grammar are important, it is important to know and use the words that the person you are communicating with will understand. The vocabulary that people use in everyday speech is most probably the words that they understand. Taking the case of a family for instance, the words that parents use are most likely what the children know and understand better, even if they learn more in school and from friends. Thus, if parents try to use words beyond the vocabularies of the household they are trying to communicate with, communication can not be effective as they may use words which the rest of the household does not understand.

The finesse of an individual as a communicator grows as he or she learns to identify and overcome the obstacles to communication. However, to be truly accomplished communicators, people must also cultivate the art of listening. It is easy to think of communication as a process of sending messages. But sending a message is only half the process; receiving it is the other half. So, at the appropriate time, people have to stop sending messages and prepare to receive by listening.

Listening is an important element in every conversation. In a family setting, conflicts could be avoiding if each individual listens at an appointed time. As much as parents would always want their children to listen to them, they too should listen to their children and to each other. Listening should not only be done with the ears. Communicators should keep their eyes open so as not to miss out on much of the message conveyed through body language, as people usually convey feelings through paralinguistic features. The face for instance is an eloquent communication medium, so people should learn to read its messages because while a speaker may be delivering a verbal message, the face can be saying something more or something else. Some non-verbal signals can give a better idea of what is going on in the minds of others.

Creating effective communication

Communication is a process that involves various phases. There is more to communication than just speaking. In other to be able to communicate with precision and effectiveness one has to understand the basic process of communication. According to Needleman (2004), there are four major elements to consider if one has to create an effective communication. First of all, there is the speaker who conceives a message and looks for suitable words through which the message could be transmitted. Secondly, the message has to be transmitted to the listener. Thirdly, the listener is expected to understand and decode the message. Finally, the listener has to respond to the message by reacting according to the intended meaning of the message. If any of these four is not done correctly, communication can not be effective.

In the first case, a speaker has to consider the intention of his/her message before choosing the words that will best convey such an intended meaning. Generally, people believe that speaking is such a simple thing simply because they know what their thoughts are, and how to translate them into words. However, communicating one's thoughts is not as simple as it might seem because one has to take into consideration how the listener would understand such thoughts. For a listener to understand your thoughts as you do, you have to take into consideration not only your own mental dialect but most importantly that of your listener. Our mental dialect as Needleman (op. cit.) puts it, is the common language of the culture in which we are exposed to, and which is usually modified by the unique experiences of our lives. The experiences in our lives add color and shades of meaning to

the different words we know. Therefore, when people speak, they have to think of the mental dialect of the listener because the words might acquire different colors when they pass through the ears of the listener. In other words, a speaker has to convey the message in such a way that there are no opportunities for misunderstandings.

As Child (2004) puts it, to create an atmosphere of effective communication an individual should pass on the message using simple grammatical structures with the most appropriate language. The speaker should avoid padding language thereby making the message brief and appealing to the listener. The main points should be passed on early unless building up and the speaker should use analogy and metaphor (note that this can conflict with avoiding padding) only where necessary. From time to time, the speaker can make use of repetition to show emphasize or emphasize and pause to make sure the listener gets the most important part of the message. Above all, the speaker has to be fluent so that the ideas can flow and thus avoid a break in communication. When all these elements are observed from the part of the speaker or even writer, communication is bound to be successful. There will therefore be no misunderstandings in terms of the intended meaning and response from the listener.

Effective communication can only be done if a speaker takes into account all the features/elements that will make the message to be received and understood as intended. Communication can be said to be effective only when a communicator has conveyed a meaning and that meaning has been received by the other person exactly as it was sent. To know if a message has been conveyed effectively, one can test by asking questions and making observations. This will give an individual an opportunity to make sure that the real meaning that he/she wanted to convey has passed through the filters and has been received and understood as intended.

Finally, the purpose of any communication is to obtain a desired response. People want to communicate correctly because they want the listener to understand the meaning they have in their mental dictionary and react exactly as the message is intended. By reacting to a particular message, the listener is responding to the intended meaning of that message and this can be done only if the listener understands the message as it was intended. Once a message has been delivered, received and responded to, both communicators (speaker and listener) are able to assess what has been communicated. The communication cycle can be said to be complete only when there is a clearer understanding between the communicators. Although people may not always agree with one another, it is however important that communicators understand each other and it is only at this level that we can talk of effective communication.

Family communication

The term family has been traditionally viewed in relation to blood ties, and marital or conjugal ties. This is supported by Liang (1972, p.3) when he says that we identify as families 'networks of people who live together over periods of time, who have ties of marriage and kinship to one another'. Terkelsen (1980, p. 23) on his part suggest that a family is a 'small social system made up of individuals related to each other by reason of strong reciprocal affections and loyalties, and comprising a permanent household (or cluster of households) that persist over years and decades'. The term 'family' is used in this paper to refer to the natural family which consists of two parents and their children. Thus, this is typically characterized by blood ties and the original marriage ties.

According to Galvin and Brommel (1982) communication plays a central role in the growth of a family. Despite the rough times and differences that might exist in a family, communication holds a family together. Intimacy in a family depends largely on shared unique communication behavior. This implies that communication patterns may affect family relationships and vice versa. As Galvin and Brommel (1982) put it, within the framework of common cultural communication patterns, each family has the capacity to develop its own communication code based on the experiences of individual members and the collective family experience. Thus, communication not only serves as a simple transmission between two people, but alters and shapes the structure of the interpersonal system and the individual within it.

Communication between spouses

Communication is a key element in marital stability as marital adjustments are positively correlated with the capacity to communicate. Researchers have discovered a strong link between communication patterns and satisfaction with family relationships (Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1990). In fact, one researcher discovered that the more positively couples rated their communication, the more satisfied they were with their relationship five and a half years later (Markman, 1981). Marital and family researchers have discovered that unhappy family relationships are often the result of negative communication patterns (e.g., criticism, contempt, defensiveness). In fact, Gottman and his colleagues have found that satisfied married couples had five positive interactions to every one negative interaction (Gottman, 1994). Couples who are very dissatisfied with their relationships typically engage in more negative interactions than positive. It is very important for family members to verbally compliment and encourage one another.

In other to understand the role played by communication in marriage, some questions were given to the population mentioned earlier. The first question was to know the type of topics that couples discuss daily. To this question, 80% of the informants said they talk about pleasant things that happened during the day; discuss things that are of shared interest; and talk to each other about personal as well as family problems. The remaining 20% acknowledged that they scarcely have time to discuss. While the men of this group said it is because their schedules are different and so they come home at different times and hardly sit together to talk and also that their wives usually complain of being tired when they bring up a topic of discussion at night, the women explained that they only get to see their husbands in the morning because they usually come home at night while everyone else is sleeping. This explains why communication between them is difficult. One of the most difficult challenges facing families today is finding time to spend together. According to a recent Wall Street Journal survey, 40% of the respondents stated that lack of time was a greater problem for them than lack of money (Graham & Crossan, 1996). Couples are thus encouraged to spend as more time together as possible, and engage in positive interactions.

The next question was to find out if couples enjoy marital stability and what could be the possible reason(s). To this question, 70% of our informants acknowledged that they do enjoy marital stability and gave as the main reason the fact that they feel so free to discuss whatever issues with their partners. This group of informants actually indicated that communication is very important for the success of any relationship. In as much as couples have to love and respect each other, if they do not communicate their thoughts and feelings, there is bound to be misunderstanding among them which can inevitably lead to conflict and instability in the home. Interestingly, the respondents mentioned the

fact that although communication is vital, if not done properly, it may rather strain the relationship between couples. Some of the informants made it clear that it is not good to interrupt one another while talking. According to them, each person has a time to speak and a time to listen. Thus, when it is time for one person to speak, the other person has to do the listening until it is his/her turn. It is important to note that the 70% is among the 80% who admitted that they discuss various topics with their spouses. The other 30% of our informants said they do not have stable marriages. Among the reasons given as the root cause to this problem is the fact that they hardly have time to talk about family as well as personal issues with their spouses. Some women mentioned the fact that even when they try to talk, their husbands would monopolize the talking and impose their ideas on them, while rejecting what ever they say. In fact, some went to the extent of saying that they would rather not have a discussion with their husbands because each time they do and they say anything contrary to their husband's view or once they reject their ideas, it ends up in violence and physical abuse.

The third question was to know how couples communicate. Again, the same 70% mentioned above explained that while talking they make use of words that have private meaning to them so as to spice up their conversation and make it lovely. They also mentioned that because they generally talk most things over together, they have become sensitive to each other's feelings and therefore make adjustments accordingly when speaking. This is important because being sensitive to each other's feelings will enable couples to be freer to discuss intimate issues without restraint or embarrassment and thus live in a healthier and more stable environment. About 40% of the 70% said they also communicate nonverbally, to an extent, with the exchange of glances especially when they are with other people whom they do not want to share the information with. One of the respondents said 'in a social gathering for instance, when my wife looks at me in a particular way, I am able to know what she implies. Sometimes it could be that she does not want me to continue in a particular discussion; sometimes it could be that she wants us to take our leave; sometimes it could be that she wants me not to drink anything more; etc'.

The next question was to find out if our informants think their relationship with their spouses can be considered as intimate. To this question, some informants acknowledged that they have intimate relationship with their spouse because they are open to each other and are free to talk to each other about any issues. Others said they are far from being intimate partners because of total lack of communication. This is true because intimacy is developed through specific communication behaviors within a family. Some of these communication behaviors include: self-disclosure, confirmation and sexual communication. Confirmation behavior gives value to an individual as a person and may be found in recognition, dialogue, acceptance and personal treatment. A couple that does not dialogue will obviously fail to recognize one another's potentials, refuse to accept one another's view and will certainly not treat each other well. With such a couple, intimacy can be far fetched. Self-disclosure on the other hand involves communication about the self and provides a vehicle for deep sharing and personal growth within a relationship characterized by self-esteem, confirmation and commitment. Healthy self-disclosure is critical to the development of intimacy within family relationships and for this to take place, couples have to be free to dialogue on any subject concerning them. Another important factor that leads to intimacy is sexual communication which involves sexual behavior as a form of marital communication and a contributing factor to overall marital satisfaction. Each family socializes its members into certain sexual beliefs and attitudes within the

context of the family rules. Sexual encounters have the potential for conveying messages of intimacy or conflict. So, couples need to communicate effectively on sexual matters in other to remain intimate.

Question five was intended for participants to say how they handle stressors in the family. Most of our informants responded to this question by stating clearly that communication is the key to solving any problems within a family. Some informants added that even where a problem can not be solved in a family, good communication can enable members to cope with such a problem. Hence, a family that communicates well will obviously be able to handle any stressful situation/problem even if there is no solution to such a situation/ problem.

Finally, informants were asked to give their own views about the importance of communication within the family setting. Some of the informants (precisely those among the 20% mentioned earlier) simply neglected this question, while a few said they think it is important as it may help in clarifying some issues that would otherwise lead to conflict but added that they however not enjoy this advantage since they scarcely communicate with their spouses. A majority of the informants however acknowledged the importance of communication in a family. They said that communication is not only important but a very vital element in a family as it enables the family to stay united, stable and healthy.

Communication between parents and children

Parent versus children communication is a very important element in the growth of a child. It does not only enable a child to adapt to the environment in which s/he is growing, but also enables him/her to develop an open and an informative mind and provides a base for social and educational stability. Like the case for spouses, in other to know the relationship between parents and their children in terms of communication, a number of questions were addressed to the parents.

The first question was to know if parents have specific topics they discuss with their children. To this question, 60% of our informants responded that they do not have specific topics. Rather, they involve their children in any conversation of the day, where necessary, irrespective of the topic. To them, communication on all aspects of life is important between children and their parents because it enables them to know the world in which they are and thus adjust according. Some added that when children are blank of certain realities, they become embarrassed when they meet such situations and obviously become misfit in society. It is thus the role of parents to furnish their children with information they need to know in order to cope with the challenges awaiting them, and this can be done only through open and free communication with them. The remaining 40% said they have specific topics they discuss with their children. Some of them said it is not wise to discuss certain things, such as sexual matters, with children. They are expected to know that such topics are taboos and so can not be discussed publicly, and especially not with children. They went further to say that conversation between children and parents should center on things that have to do with their education, respect for elders, politeness and housekeeping.

The next question was intended to find out if there are any rules of talking when discussing with children. Most of our informants' (85%) response to this question was that children are expected to know when to talk and when to listen. As such, they agreed that there are rules of talking although some of them went further to say that such rules must not

necessarily be laid down in writing. Through constant communication with your children, they tend to adapt to the norms following corrections from the parents from time to time. Hence, a well brought-up child will know that children do not talk back at their parents, or know when he/she has to respond to the parents, and when not to. The remaining 15% of our informants said there are no rules of talking when discussing with their children. To this category of informants, children should be made to feel free to communicate with their parents. Laying down rules will scare them from wanting to talk to their parents and this will lead them to keeping certain information which may in turn be detrimental to healthy growth.

Although it is necessary that children should feel free to talk to their parents, there are some standard norms of conversations that need to be respected. Thus, in order for children not to get embarrassed in the society in which they live, parents should not only make them feel free to communicate, but also make them to know the norms of communication. For instance, children have to be made aware of the fact that it is not good to interrupt someone while that person is speaking, or that they must not speak all the time but must also learn to listen, etc.

The third question was to know how parents handle the problems created by their children. Almost all the informants (90%) said they begin by asking the child what lead to that situation. They all said that it is not usually good to take certain actions on children without giving them the opportunity to explain what went wrong. To them, parents should engage in a dialogue with children no matter how grievous a situation may look. After dialoguing with a child, a parent can then decide on what to do. If the action of the child warrants any punishment, the parent can then go ahead to punish the child after making the child understand through communication that what he/she did was wrong. In that way, the child learns from the action committed and becomes part of the decision making of the effect of his/her action. The other 10% said once a child creates a problem, he/she is punished accordingly. To them, children should be punished once it is clear that they have done something wrong. However, although it is good to correct children accordingly, it is also good to hear their own side of the story before taking any action. By giving the child an opportunity to explain what he/she did, it does not necessarily mean one is shying away from punishing the child. Rather, it will even go a long way to make the child understand why he/she has to be punished and thus avoid doing such things in future.

The last question focused on whether our informant's children feel free to have a conversation with them. 80% of the informants responded by saying that their children are made to feel free to talk to them at all times. Of this group, 20% added that they however know the type of topics they are not expected to bring up in a conversation. As such, although children of these parents feel free to talk to them, they do not have the liberty to discuss everything. They are thus forced to limit their conversations to non-conflicting topics. The other 60% believe that children should be allowed to express what is in their minds. Limiting children on what and when to talk may make them not to grow in a very healthy environment in terms of self expression and interactions and may go a long way to making them not to have open, independent and clear minds. To these parents, when children are made to feel free to discuss any topic with their parents, they end up having open, clear and nurturing conversations with their peers, teachers, etc. These kind of children, they added, are flexible and have intimate relationship with their parents through communication and shared believes. The remaining 20% of informants said their children find it difficult to engage in a conversation with them. 10% of this number (precisely men)

said they do not actually have time for any discussion with children and added that if a child has something that is troubling him/her, he/she could tell the mother who in turn could tell him. To them, issues concerning children should be handled by mothers and they can only come in if the matter is above the mother to handle. The other 10% said they are so strict by their nature and because of this, their children get scared most often and will only talk to them when they really have to. They also added that they are so busy and hardly have time to sit with their children for any discussion. Some of them admitted that this is not a healthy way of bringing up children as it may affect their social interactions at school and elsewhere. One of the informants even said she regrets the fact that she does not talk with her children because she once had a call from a teacher who said her child is always quiet in class, is actually very timid and does not respond to any question not because he does not know the answers but because he does not know how to communicate them. Parents are thus encouraged to engage their children into conversations of all type, provided they are healthy for the children, so that they can become good communicators in their societies.

Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the role of communication within a family. To get a better understanding of the role of communication, I began by looking at what it means to be a good communicator and how one can communicate effectively. The study shows that to become effective in communication, people have to practice the art of communicating. The techniques of communication have to become part of the daily activities of each individual so as to be able to become a natural good communicator. When people practice the art of communication, they improve on their communicative patterns. Therefore, the more the techniques of communication are practiced, the easier it will become to connect with others through communication, at both individual and group levels. This implies that effective communication is achieved through time and consequently patience. There is no one who can claim to be a well polished, professional communicator from the very beginning. It takes much patience to become an effective communicator. Through practice over time, people gain experience and can thus polish their communicative competence especially when used purposely.

Whatever communication task an individual undertakes, his/her objective is to connect with people. Family communication is the same. A family that communicates effectively stays together. Sometimes it is not only lack of communication that keeps certain family members separated but also lack of effective communication. For instance, a child whose one parent is not a good/effective communicator, or who always avoids one parent by communicating all his/her desires or concerns through the other parent will remain very distant from the former but very close to the later. Good communication between parents and their children is the very best way to keep children safe. When parents communicate well with their children, the later will always feel secure to turn to the former for advice on any issues. But children whose parents do not communicate with them will not go to their parents for advice when need arise but will rather turn to friends and non family members who may advice them wrongly. Also, children who are victims of physical and mental abuse by their parents will hardly have good communication relationship with their parents.

Family communication patterns serve to bring members together or to separate them as the family moves through its developmental stages. Certain communication patterns and behaviors are more predictable at particular periods of life. Good communication within the family is hoped to enhance movement through life's developmental stages making life richer as members grow closer together. Through family communication children, for

instance, are able to learn how to socialize with others; learn issues concerning sexual identity; learn about kinship relations, housekeeping, conflicts, power, decision making; learn to be respectful at all times, to tell the truth at all times, be polite at all times; know when to talk and when not to; etc.

Family systems encounter external stress from crisis situation as well as from developmental change. The ability of a family to cope effectively with stress depends on a number of factors among which is communication. As has been seen in this paper, a family that communicates well is more likely to work through its crisis because communication serves to facilitate coping process in a stressful situation. Open and supportive discussions help the family to go through the different stages of stress and adapt to various challenges.

Conflicts always occur in families. However, instead of looking at conflict negatively, it can be a creative learning process for all family members if they effectively observe and analyze the conflict rather than becoming overwhelmed by it. By communicating their views and being open to listen to others, members can use constructive and fair fighting techniques within a supportive atmosphere in the family to overcome any such conflict. Also, families can use constructive conflict to resolve differences and bring back family intimacy since effective communication, as seen in this paper, leads to intimacy. Communication rules often provide parameters for conflict. So, families should avoid setting rules except where really necessary.

Achieving intimacy as well as maintaining it involves great effort and risk. Communication is usually at the core of any intimate relationship. Families that remain healthy are families that recognize the interdependence of all members and try to promote the growth of the family as well as that of individuals through open, clear and nurturing communication. In other words, a healthy family is one that grows in an atmosphere of openness, flexibility and intimacy through communication and shared believes.

I would like to conclude this paper by saying that people should learn to understand that family issues center around communication and compromise. While one member of a family may need one thing, others may have very different priorities. A compromise can however be arrived at through open communication, by letting everyone get some of what they want, even if no one is completely satisfied all the time. Family members should know that poor communication leads to misunderstandings and unhappiness. They should therefore avoid keeping quiet about things that border them, avoid saying one thing and doing the other, and avoid being on the offensive all the time. For those parents who are so busy and scarcely have time to engage in family communication, they could make up for this by calling regular family meetings when ever they are free. By doing so, they are not only enhancing the quality of communication in their family but will also be able to avoid the common pitfalls in the family and society. Such meetings could be from time to time and the agenda could be anything that a family member wants to bring up, so that issues get aired before they can lead to a crisis. In so doing, everyone has a chance to speak without being interrupted, criticized, or belittled and to be heard, and the family can thus make decisions that are safe and healthy for all.

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"To live in the hearts of those we left behind is not do die": Continuity and conformity in vernacular architecture at Genadendal Mission Station, South Africa

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Abstract
This paper discusses the issues that are conveyed by settlement lay-out and the meaning of space at the first mission station in South Africa, Genadendal. A historical archaeology approach was used to collect data and analyse the remains building structures, materials and settlement lay-out that have survived at Genadendal in an attempt to make a case for a "Genadendal identity" and explain the cause for its continuity. The paper argues that the study of architectural structures and settlement lay-out from an archaeological perspective can be viewed as an exercise in studying metaphors since the functional aspect of architecture is a result of " conscious reactions to physical needs" at a given time as Gribble (1998) writes. Such reactions are inevitably and subtly encoded in buildings and use of space. In addition, the paper demonstrates that the inhabitants of Genadendal mission station developed and exhibited a "Genadendal identity" through employing unique architectural techniques and conforming to a set of rules that the missionaries prescribed.

Background of the Mission Station

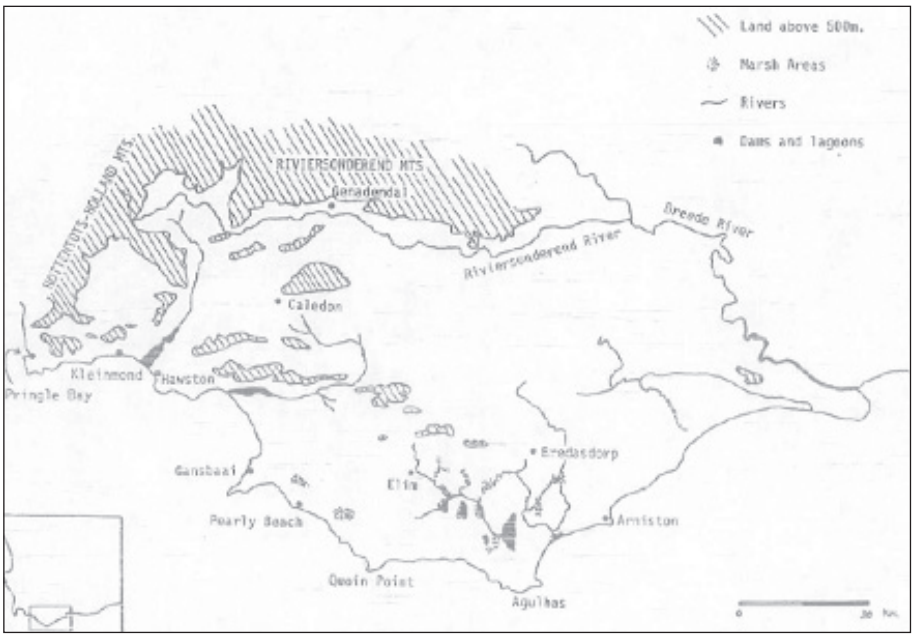
Genadendal mission station is located in the present day Caledon district of the Western Cape. It is the first mission station in South Africa (Humphreys, 1989). It dates back to 1737, when a Moravian missionary, Georg Schmidt established himself among the Khoi of the Overberg. Schmidt was responding to the spiritual starvation of the Khoi that had been noted by two messengers that had passed by the Cape on their way to India who "... witnessed the miserable state of the Hottentots and summoned the faithful in Europe to their aid" (Gribble, 1988, p.3). The Khoi had by then been displaced by the colonists as they expanded their farming interests in the area. They had either been incorporated into the work force or pushed off from their grazing lands. Thus, Schmidt found a ready audience among a community that was economically marginalised and on the verge of extinction. Elizabeth Elbourne (1995, p. 65) aptly explains why perhaps it was relatively easy for Schmidt to be accepted among the Khoe when she wrote:

"Societies in a state of profound crisis-dissolution even- are far more prone to seek explanation and meaning systems than are stable, well-functioning communities".

By 1806, the mission station which until then had been called Baviaanskloof (after the Baviaans River that runs to the east of the church centre) was already flourishing to such an extent that the Governor of the Cape was so impressed upon visiting it, that he decided to call it Genadendal, meaning a 'valley of grace' (Balie, 1987). The name was adopted later to refer to the official residence of the post-apartheid South African President in Cape Town.

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Location map of Genadendal Mission Station (After Humphreys, 1989, p.2)

Diaries of missionaries, travelogues and maps of the mission station reveal a wealth of information that Historical Archaeologists can use in conjunction with the artefacts to trace the development of a Genadendal identity. A study of maps and plans of the early 19th Century Genadendal reveals that there have not been considerable changes to the original plan of the settlement except for expansion. The centre of the mission station is situated at the northern end of the valley. The dry slopes on the east and west of the valley were reserved for residential purposes for other inhabitants of the mission station than the missionaries. A few indigenous converts who were not missionaries but had a higher status, for example teachers, resided at the centre of the mission station together with the missionaries. From such a configuration within the landscape archaeologists can infer patterns of social stratification. This division of land into family plot indicates a response to the 19th Century world view of a shift in to what Deetz and Winer referred to as "oppositional mediation" from public to the private. Thus the Khoi who used to live in groups had to adopt an individualistic way of life once they joined the mission station. They were at the same time considered as the underclass and hence the location of their houses far from the elite.

The planning of sight lines ensured easy access to gardens and other facilities that were provided at the centre of the station. Houses were built along streets that ran parallel along the contours of the mountain. This set up, with buildings on the dry slopes and reserving wet fertile valley for cultivation suggests that the missionaries had not only strategically and symbolically located the *werf*[1] but also responded to the physical constraints that the landscape posed.

[1] The term werf is used in the South African context to refer to a space around a homestead of farm yard

The valley is viewed as a sustainer of physical life for the inhabitants. It can be argued that the location of the centre in the fertile valley is symbolic. Symbolism is revealed when the idea that buildings and town plans can be read as metaphors is taken into account (Hall, 1991, Gwasira, 2001). All the houses in the village (on the dry slopes) at Genadendal face the church and the valley as if it was a continual reminder of the sense of community that the religious centre provided. The location of the centre in the valley can be interpreted as symbolising the part played by religion in sustaining spiritual life of the mission station. In addition the placement of buildings at the centre demonstrated that topography can influence the meaning of space. The water mill is a point in case whereby for its effective functioning it had to be situated as near to the base of mountain as possible so that the wheel could be turned by the gravitation of water. On the other had the *werf* itself illustrates that the European concepts of building combined with the African landscapes and resources to create a unique cultural landscape. The idea of the *werf* is associated with the German idea of the 'Angerdorf[2] (Le Grange, 1990). It is argued by Le grange (ibid) that the irregularity of buildings that is common at the werf with their gables facing an open central area could have been influenced by the Western Cape farm *werf* or the German Angerdorf. The emphasis on furrows at the werf also points to European concepts of town planning. The earliest recorded furrow at Genadendal was dug by Georg Schmidt (Kruger, 1966). The furrows were dug to supply water for the gardens and the water mill and to demarcate the boundaries of the church centre. A comparative study of Dutch colonial towns of South America and South Africa by Hall (1991) shows that early Dutch towns were built around water. In cases where towns could not be designed around water furrows were made to channel water from the mountains as was the case in Cape Town where water was channelled from table Mountain. At Genadendal water was channelled from the Sonderend Mountain. The desire to build around water even to an extent of channelling it from the mountain through furrows indicates the role nostalgia played in the creation of the mission station. The early missionaries relied on memories of their home villages and tried to remodel the African landscape based on memory and nostalgia. The naming of some mission stations such as Wuppertal for instance reveals such nostalgia since it is named after the North Rhein Westphalia town in German which was the centre of the Rhenish Missionary Society.

Historical archaeology

Historical archaeology as a sub-discipline of archaeology has its roots in Europe and America. It has, however, been practised in Africa since the Second World War (Ponsansky and Decorse, 1986). The definitions of historical archaeology that were posited in the infant stages of the discipline appear to be limited. What seems inescapable in the earlier definitions such as that of Deetz (1977) and Schyuler (1978) if their reference to the impact of European material culture on indigenous people. James Deetz (1977, p. 5) defines it as "… the study of the spread of European material culture throughout the world since the fifteenth century and its impact on indigenous people." Schuyler (1978, p. 28) takes a similar view that presents historical archaeology as "… the study of the material manifestation of the expansion of European culture into the non-European world starting with the 15th century and ending with industrialization or the present depending on local conditions." Both definitions are challenged by the results of the very discipline that they define. Historical archaeology does not only study the impact of European culture on indigenous people. More often it has worked to reveal that cultures have had an influence on each other. In the case of Genadendal mission station a new identity was

[2] An Angerdorf is a village that has been planned and built around a communal open space.

created through the admixture of European building practices and locally available raw materials. Both definitions ignore the fact that there were adaptations that can be read in the archaeological record. Stressing the impact of European material culture on the rest of the world ignores that fact that material culture was not "transplanted" and that there was "acculturation" as Ponsansky and Decorse (1986, p.1) argue. Other scholars such as Beaudry (1995) have suggested a definition of historical archaeology that is site specific, arguing that definitions such as that of Schuyler (1978) do not take into account the diversity of sites and material culture. The definition preferred in this study is that of Martin Hall (1996, p. 255) "… a branch of archaeology in which material culture is studied in conjunction with documentary sources." This definition does not assume that the society being studied was literate and neither does it assume a cut-off date for the advent and terminal date for historical archaeology. Instead it recognizes that where documentary evidence exists it can be combined with material culture to study the values of past societies. In the study presented here dairies of missionaries, sites maps, plans, diagrams, paintings and published literature such as journals articles and novels were used in conjunction with building structures to establish the reasons behind the apparent continuity and conformity in vernacular architectural style at Genadendal.

What makes vernacular architecture useful in studying the values of past societies is that building structures are ".. immediate products of their users," Gribble (1988, p.3). Change happens at a slow rate which results in information being preserved. Therefore we can learn a lot about the values of the people who used the buildings.

The development of a Genadendal architectural style reveals that there was a process of alienation from familiar architectural designs on the side of both the missionaries and the indigenous people. When the Khoi and the ex-slaves where incorporated into the life of the mission station they had to adopt new building styles such as rectangular shapes of houses and not circular huts. The European missionaries on the other hand had to rely on their memories of the built environment in Europe because they were physically alienated from the building processes that were taking place in Europe[3]. The isolation led to the emergence of a style of architecture that is synonymous with the western Cape – Cape Dutch architecture.

Data collection

The main aim of the field work was to record the building materials that were used at Genadendal. The field work was done in three phases. The first visit confirmed the need for detailed documentation of some disused private houses. Houses that were documented were selected due to the fact that they were dilapidated and no longer inhabited. Despite being dilapidated the selection criteria was also influenced by accessibility and the state of preservation- for a house to be considered in the study it had to exhibit original architectural features.

Four methods of documentation were employed in the field work. Slide and print photographs of buildings and other structures were taken. Some video footage was recorded and it proved to be very useful because some features that had to been captured on photographs during the second field trip were recognised in the footage and documented during the third and final field trip. Scale drawings of building foundations were made and a site documentation form was designed and used. Finally material culture

[3] See also Greig (1971), Winer and Deetz (1990) for a discussion on the alienation processes

that was found in the Genadendal museum was documented as well. Information was collected from the seventy-six graves that were in missionaries' cemetery. This information was used to test Campbell's (1816) assertation that missionaries had a particular way of burying the dead which was gender and age based. The data was analysed using the Excel spread sheet programme.

Description of material culture

This section describes some of the distinctive and common building materials and other features that were documented during the field work. Only one of the dilapidated buildings is described in detail below, however, the structure of this building is the most common among the houses that are found on the eastern slopes of the valley. It is representative of other buildings that were documented; therefore the data drawn from it will be used to reach some generalisations about the building culture among the indigenous converts at Genadendal.

Building structure

The original building was a single rectangular structure to which partitions were added at a later stage. The walls that divide the kitchen from the sitting room and the sitting room from the bedroom had collapsed probably due to the fact that it was not reinforced by the original walls. The fact that the section where the partition was attached to the original was white washed indicates that the partition was added after the original wall was completed. There is no evidence of the wall having been keyed in or reinforced into the original wall, which would suggest that both walls date to the same period of construction. The appearance of the white wash under the partition wall forms part of the stratigraphy of the building because all the inside wall of the building were painted orange at the time of the research. However, only the original wall had a white wash coat under the orange paint since the area of the original wall that was exposed by the collapse of the partitioning wall was not painted orange, it points to a later addition of both the partitioning walls and the orange paint.

Window construction

The houses on the eastern slope have three windows each, two on the front façade and one at the back. The front windows give the building a symmetrical façade, which is one of the main characteristics of the Cape vernacular architecture. The windowsills are narrower on the outside than they are on the inside and this had an effect of illuminating the rooms during the day as the day light was captured through the smaller "entrance" angle at the outer end of the windowsill and distributed in the rooms through the larger angles on the inner end of the windowsill. The windowsills for the houses have similar oblique angles to those of public buildings such as the church. The only difference was observed in the size. While the windowsills of houses in the village measured 300mm deep the church ones were 500mm. The window frames were made out of wood and were joined by using the mortise & tenon joint and the mitre joint which were further reinforced by wooden dowels. Wooden lintels were used above the windowsills and then some plaster moulding of 50mm thickness was constructed around the window frame. Finally an iron window stay was fixed on the outer edge of the window and it was used to prop the window when it was open.

Door construction

The door frames of the houses in the village were also constructed out of wood using the mortise and tenon joint. An inner frame that was constructed using the mitre joint was attached to the outer frame using wooden dowels and iron nails. Iron hinges were then

used to fasten the door to the frame. A wooden latch was fixed on the inner side of the door and was used for locking it. It is possible that the iron nails and hinges were made at Genadendal since documentary sources such as Kruger (1966) mention that the mission station had a thriving black smith project.

Roof construction

The rafters of the roof were constructed using gum poles that were strengthened by using wooded dowels. The triangular construction of the rafters gave the buildings a pitched roof which is one of the distinctive features of the Cape vernacular architecture. Purlins were constructed out of reeds. Different types of grass were used for thatching the buildings at Genadendal. Important buildings that are found at the *werf* were thatched using *Vleiriet* which was brought from Mamre and Elim and this type of grass can be used without replacement for between seventy and ninety years (Balie personal communication, 1996). Buildings in the village were thatched with *Rogstrooi* which is commonly found around Genadendal and has a thatch life span of seven years. The houses in the village had ceilings that were constructed of Spanish reed (*Arundo donax*). The upper side of the ceiling was plastered with cow dung mixed with mud and that provided the floor for the loft.

Gables

One of the distinctive features of the Genadendal architecture is the presence of gables. Archival research revealed that three types of gables were used since the establishment of the mission station but currently only two still exist. The first chapel that was constructed by Marsveld, Schwin and Khünell in 1793 had stepped end gables (Gateway, 1991, p. 62). This type of gable is no longer present in the settlement. No building that possesses such a gable could be found during the survey. The second type is the 'hol-bol' or "leg-of-mutton" gable that was common in the 19th century at Genadendal but it is now less common. It was built above the door and thatched and the most prominent building that still possesses this type of gable is the Herrnhut house that is located at the centre of the mission station, which, is now part of the mission museum. The third type, triangular gable, was mainly used on private building in the village. A common feature of the triangular gable on houses in the village is that it was constructed at the two ends of the house and on one end it supported the chimney.



Leg-of mutton gable at the entrance to the Genadendal mission museum (photo: G. Gwasira)

Paint

Although houses in the village are now painted in different colours there is documentary evidence that they were all once uniformly white-washed[4]. The diaries of W.J. Burchel (1822) and J Campbell (1816) both note that the cottages were white washed as described above. At one of the dilapidated houses it was confirmed that under the orange interior paint it was white washed. A second test was done during the cleaning of a foundation of another dilapidated building and once more some collapsed plastered white washed wall was encountered at a depth of 15 cm from the current ground level. The use of white wash extended to the cemetery where all graves dating to between 1801 and 1939 are white washed except for the seven recent graves (dating from 1940-1983) where granite slabs have been used instead of the traditional brick construction. The earliest grave dates to 1801. A cemetery is a very important source of information for archaeologists and historians. It is a miniature representation of ideologies and as A.J. Christopher (1995, p. 38) has argued cemeteries "…reflect the historical experience of the population." At the Genadendal cemetery one can gain information such as mortality rates among the children of missionaries, epidemics, gender and age based division in the society and links to patterns of construction[5].

Bricks

Only sun-baked bricks were used for constructing buildings in the village and for earlier graves in the missionary cemetery (1801-1939). The bricks were moulded with clay that was not kneaded and this was evident on buildings where the plaster had eroded exposing some pebbles in the bricks. Some bricks were on display in the mission museum, which were collected for preservation purposes after the demolition of part of the mission tea room exhibit the same traits. The bricks used for construction had a volume of 1840 cubic centimetres each.

Mortar and plaster

There was no evidence of the use of cement for the construction of the village houses. The mortar used was made out of clay. The clay was of a special kind that, according to oral tradition, was collected from the Khoi grazing lands that were situated near the eastern compound of the mission station (Balie personal communication, 1996). The same type of clay was used for plastering the houses; however the plaster was made out of kneaded clay since it is smooth and has no pebbles in it. According to Balie (personal communication, 1996) horses and cattle were used for kneading the clay.

Discussion

The similarity that is exhibited in the physical attributes of buildings at Genadendal suggests that there were some "rules" that had to be adhered to during planning and construction. Some level of uniformity had to be achieved. Architectural remains of settlements and their lay-outs encode information about the thought processes that went into the fashioning of such settlements and even rules that were followed. "If we [can] decipher the grammar, metaphors and the symbolism that is embedded in the large artefacts then we can understand their meaning" (Gwasira, 2001, p. 88).This section discusses the patterns that can be deciphered from the Genadendal building culture and illustrates how such patterns helped to model the landscape that confronts us today.

The use of the same type of building materials and following the same building plans described above points to a creation of an identity that was based on uniformity. There is conformity in the use of building materials such as sun baked-bricks and lime white wash

[4] For a description of the houses at Genadendal see also Gateway magazine October 1991, p.61

[5] The first part of the title for this paper is drawn from an epitaph on one of the earliest graves at Genadendal

for painting the walls. The conformity suggests that there were some rules and regulations at the mission station. The use of rules coupled with the availability and the affordability of buildings allowed the missionaries to create and maintain order and regularity. Order and regularity were maintained through strict prescription of and adherence to architectural designs (Japha et al., 1993). On the other hand the missionaries were involved in the trade of raw materials such as timber. According to Lichtenstein (1812) the missionaries had permission from the British government to cut down company woods. They ensured the conformity to the use of specific building material by giving the money and other incentives for buying the building materials. Trade in building materials was also between the missionaries and the local farmers in commodities such as wheat straw which was used for thatching some of the houses (Japha, 1993). When the missionaries Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnell resumed Georg Schmidt's work in 1792 there were already thirteen farms established around Genadendal (Bredekamp and Pludemann, 1993) so there was easy access to wheat straw.

The mission station was designed to be a self-sufficient and self-contained entity. The residents were taught agricultural production and had vocational training in woodwork and smithing. Such skills were necessary for survival at the mission station and to a greater extent for establishing a building culture that is unique to Genadendal. The development of a Genadendal building tradition was dictated by the availability of raw materials and the processing of building material such as wood and iron nails. The missionaries controlled the availably of such material thus making sure that residents conformed to the building tradition. Making the mission self-contained and self-reliant enforced conformity. In "orderly" way of life was thus established and this extends beyond the geometric arrangement and architectural design prescription to include other forms of social symbols such as the dress code as revealed in earlier paintings of the inhabitants. The quest for order was enforced in such a way that at gatherings the residents were expected to gather according to gender as noted by Lichtenstein during his visit in 1803 (Lichtenstein, 1812) that females occupied the right hand side of the church while males were on the left. The same arrangement can be observed in the missionary cemetery. Burchell (1822) observed too that gender division was practiced even at religious gatherings. During the field work for this study it was confirmed that gender division was practiced during church services still continued. The female congregants sat on the right had side of the isle while their male counterparts sat on the left hand side. The same order is continued on in the cemetery as well. An aspect that this research did not focus on but which might be interesting to investigate is whether or not the gender division extended to private dwellings.

The results of this research supported Gribble's observation that the functional aspect of architecture is a result of "… conscious reactions to physical needs…" (Gribble, 1998, p. 6). Architectural landscapes should not be taken at face value because they encode valuable information which can reveal the "… dialectics of power, dominion and resistance…" that characterize the period in which they were fashioned (Gwasira, 2001, p. 88). Therefore, the study of architectural structures and landscape can be viewed as a study of metaphors. In the process the researcher is constantly reminded of the problem of the gap between the overt that is expressed by buildings and the underlying meaning which has to be "dug" out. One can successfully search for the underlying meaning by analysing the materials that were used in construction of buildings and couple that with examining the power relations between the building commissioners, the builders and the users of the buildings. The interplay of these actors leaves a signature on the buildings and the cultural landscape that a historical archaeologist can investigate in an effort to understand the meaning of buildings and space.

This study demonstrated that the uniformity that is apparent in the buildings of Genadendal was influenced by the commercial interaction between the missionaries

and the "underclass"[6] and the application of strict regulations. The enforcement of rules created a structured society at Genadendal. Missionaries had direct control of the form of settlement and housing. For a person to settle permanently at the mission station they had to be a baptized member of the congregation and that was the criteria used for allocating residential and gardening plots. The Khoi had to undergo a period of probation and then confession before they could be baptized (Kruger, 1966). When a plot was allocated to a congregant only a rectangular house was to be built within a prescribed period of one year and the rectangular houses distinguished converts from the unconverted who continued to live in hemispherical structures until baptised (Balie, 1987, Japha et al., 1993). In 1828 the missionaries prescribed that the houses were to be 6.0 x 3.6 metres in size which was later revised in 1847 to 13.0 x 8.0 metres (Japha et. al, 1993). The houses form the village that were included in this study conform to the building measurement regulation of 1828 and that is evidence for continuity. Therefore missionaries controlled the construction of both the public and the private space. Applicants for plots had to sign an agreement as proof of their commitment to the prescribed regulations (Japha et al., 1993). A "western" landscape was created by arranging the houses along streets that were planned in a grid form.

This study led to a couple of conclusions and highlighted some of the problems and advantages that are associated with practising historical archaeology. The study demonstrates that there is a great potential for historical archaeological research at Genadendal. There is a need for the documentation of the early buildings which are rapidly being lost either due to construction of "modern" structures or deterioration. Much emphasis has in the past been placed on rehabilitating important buildings that are found at the *werf* (Le Grange, 1990, Le Grange, 1991, Japha et al., 1993). Focusing on important buildings means conserving the history of the elites while the history of the ordinary people will be lost. It is therefore important that more archaeological research is conducted in the village.

One problem that may be faced by historical archaeologists who wish to work on slave material culture in the Cape is that it is difficult to identify slave material culture because slaves in South Africa did not have their own dwellings that were apart from those of their masters. They did not own property and therefore it is impossible to define specific material culture as belonging to the slaves. However work at sites such as Vergelegen by Markel (1993) has shown that there is a possibility for finding slave quarters in the rural cape. The case of Genadendal on the other hand indicates that there is a possibility of engaging with the material culture of emancipated slaves since some of them were incorporated into mission stations after the emancipation (Gwasira, 2004).

Conclusion

This study established that a Genadendal style of architecture existed and it was characterised by stepped gables that were later replaced by the "domer" gables at the werf and triangular end gables with parapets in the village. The other distinctive feature of the Genadendal architecture is the window construction whereby windows frames were constructed out of wood and placed on the outer surface which created a symmetrical façade The windowsills were large and constructed with skewed angles and finally a 50mm clay mould was constructed around the outer surface of the windows.

It is safe to conclude that the uniformity in the building style of Genadendal did not only occur because of the inhabitants' adherence to prescribed designs. The availability of buildings materials locally and through trade with the missionaries worked to create

[6] The underclass at Genadendal consisted of slaves that were freed after the emancipation of slaves at the cape

a distinctive cultural landscape. The emphasis on vocational training by the missionaries ensured the accessibility to affordable processed building materials such as window stays, door hinges, iron nail and wooden dowels. This allowed continuity in the building materials in both the private and public buildings. The combination of the availability of raw and processed materials, rules and regulations coupled with a community that was prepared to accept the conditions of living at the mission station led to the evolution of a distinctive Genadendal architectural tradition and identity.

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Does mass media communication support HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns among the youth in Oshana Region, northern Namibia?

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Abstract
HIV/AIDS is a global health and social problem, and has affected people of diverse backgrounds and all walks of life. Since it was detected in Namibia in 1986, many people have become hospitalised and died due to the disease. However, many organisations have used mass media campaigns to communicate health messages in an effort to bring change in people's lifestyles and sexual behaviours. This paper explores the impact of mass media communication aimed at HIV/AIDS prevention among the youth in Oshana region, northern Namibia. In this paper both quantitative and qualitative research approaches were employed. Survey research was conducted among the In-school youth (ISY) and Out-of-school youth (OOSY). Participants were drawn from nine secondary and 26 combined schools and six youth organizations in the region. Respondents revealed that mass media campaigns are available in the region disseminating information to the youth using the conventional health education model. Data also revealed that the majority in both sets of youth groups are sexually active, have sexual partners and received behaviour change information mainly through mass media (radio, television and printed materials) regularly. Study results further revealed that in addition to knowledge, youth require understanding and dialogue to be able to manage change in their social and sexual behaviours.

Introduction

This paper explores the perceived impact of mass media campaigns in communicating information on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) prevention to in-school youth (ISY) and out-of-school youth (OOSY) in Oshana Region, northern Namibia. Globally HIV/AIDS has affected many countries in the world. In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Namibia, HIV/AIDS has become a major cause of hospitalisation and death (UNAIDS, 2008). Namibia is not an exception, being near the HIV/AIDS epicentre. The consequences of HIV infection affect individuals, families, communities and the country at large in all its development endeavours. Since the first case of HIV infection was recorded in the country in 1986, HIV/AIDS has become the principal public health and social problem in Namibia (MoHSS, 2008).

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Oshana Region

This study was conducted in Oshana Region, one of the thirteen political regions in the country, situated at the northern part of the country. It has diverse cultural and ethnic groups. Currently, rural and urban lifestyles coexist in the region. The region is mainly rural with the second highest population density in the country concentrated in the towns of Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa (NPC, 2003). These towns are stopovers for national and international migrants searching for educational, health services and economic opportunities. Oshana Region has experienced dramatic urban growth in recent years and forms an important commercial and industrial focus with urbanization as one of its challenges (MoHSS and Macro, 2008). The Oshana region has one of the highest HIV/AIDS infection rate in the country , thus it is important to find out how effective the current prevention strategies are in addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Namibia.

Youth and HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)

According to the Global Report on the AIDS epidemic, the disease has continued to proliferate from 1981 since the first case was diagnosed (UNAIDS, 2008). Africa as a continent is the most affected by HIV/AIDS. The UNAIDS (2008) report indicates that the epidemic in SSA is not homogeneous in all countries within the region; some countries are more affected than others (*ibid*.). HIV/AIDS affects all ages of both sexes. One can describe the situation of HIV/AIDS among the youth as a catastrophe that needs to be prevented. Today's young population could be considered to be the AIDS generation, because they have not known a world without AIDS (Parker, Rau, Peppa, 2007). Moreover, according to the UNAIDS (2008, p. 33) annual report young people aged 15-24 years account for an estimated 45 percent of all new HIV infections worldwide.

Young people are assumed to be vulnerable to HIV/AIDS in SSA and elsewhere in the world. Some of the reasons which place young people at the centre of HIV vulnerability are lack of HIV information, lack of educational programmes with relevant youth-friendly services and the risks that accompany adolescents' experimentation and curiosity. Parker, Rau and Peppa (2007) claim that the future of the epidemic maybe partly shaped by the actions of the youth, when they have knowledge, understanding and skills on how to avoid HIV infection when they became sexually active.

Literature indicates that it is a challenge to maintain the HIV negative status among the youth because they are living in societies with many contributing factors to HIV infection. Worldwide people in the reproductive age of 15–49 years are also the most sexually active and affected by HIV/AIDS. Hence, it is vital to know what can be done to facilitate lifestyle and sexual behavioural changes to reduce the infection and death rates among the youth in Namibia in general and in Oshana Region in particular (MoHSS and Macro, 2008).

HIV/AIDS and Namibian youth

Since 1986 when the first case of HIV/AIDS was recorded in Namibia, HIV/AIDS has become the number one cause of hospitalization and death in the country.

A young population forms the base of the Namibian population, and youths are mostly threatened by HIV/AIDS pandemic. Namibia had a rate of HIV infection standing at 15.3 percent in 2007/8 (MoHSS and Macro, 2008). Since then, HIV cases have increased among the sexually active population, the age group 15–49 years (*ibid*. 2008). Literature reveals that the Namibia Government has many policies, guidelines and strategies in place helping people to fight HIV/AIDS (GRN, 2004).

Mufune (2003) stated that traditional norms and values are disappearing fast among the youth, because young people are easily influenced by many foreign social systems, which influence their views, thereby contradicting those of their parents and cultures. Mufune (2003) further reported a weakening of the link between community morals and sexual behaviour resulting in more liberal sexual attitudes. Therefore, parents need to guide youths, because guidance and training are vital parental roles to mould youths towards adulthood, including sexual issues. Rew (2005) argues that youths are at high risk for many reasons, including poverty that leads to prostitution, disintegration of the family system because of migration or forced displacement or death of parents, urbanization and inequitable gender relations. However, Adams and Berzonsky (2006) argue that access to information and uses of condoms do not encourage adolescents to start sexual activity earlier or to have more partners. It has been observed that youths need to develop life skills such as decision-making, communication and listening skills, responses to peer pressure for unprotected sex, negotiation and conflict resolution skills related to condom use. It is argued that life skills will empower young people to make constructive decisions and have control over their lives.

Mufune (2003) also argues that there is some notable cultural continuity in northern Namibia, where sex is regarded as a taboo and may not be discussed among people of different ages. He further explains that the lack of open discussion between parents and young people inadvertently blocks the youths' access to much needed information on sexuality and HIV/AIDS prevention. Chanda, Mchombu and Nengomasha (2008) argue that mass media campaigns are instrumental in giving information to the public (individuals and communities) with the aim of influencing people's behaviour to promote lifestyle change.

Adams and Berzonsky (2006) argue that mass media campaigns have a significant influence on young people, but the question is how frequently youths are reached by HIV/AIDS related messages and their effects on youths' needs, lifestyle and sexual behaviour. The literature further indicates that youth do not understand issues in their surrounding environment and lack necessary life skills (such as communication, listening, negotiation and decision making) towards HIV/AIDS prevention methods such as condom use for them to be able to act responsibly as self-directed individuals. Mass media campaigns have been identified as an instrumental tool used to give information on HIV/AIDS prevention, but in Oshana Region they lack participatory approaches between media campaigners and receivers of information in the creation of a positive communication-learning environment. However, youths in Oshana Region like in other African countries have strong cultural and traditional norms that influencing their daily lives (Chanda et al., 2008). Therefore, an option is to educate the youth to have knowledge and understanding to be able to prevent HIV.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical perspectives of various theorists and educational thinkers used in mass media campaigns on HIV/AIDS prevention form the base of this study. A combination of social theories and models of social behaviours change such as Social Cognitive Learning of Bandura (1977), Communication/Diffusion of Innovations of Rogers (1995), Participatory /Empowering of Freire (1985) and Health Belief Model focus on individuals' attitudes, social relationships and structural factors in explaining human behaviours. Theories and models also describe what learning is and how knowledge and understanding influence learning and effect individual and social change.

Bandura Social Learning theory postulates that people / youth learn through modelling the behaviour of the others or by direct experience. The social theory has a premise that one needs to have knowledge (well informed) and motivated (have ability to perceive the danger of HIV/AIDS in his /her surroundings) to be able to adopt change. According to Rogers (1995) people learn by imitating what their role models or opinion leaders / peers are doing. Therefore, media campaigners as strangers can persuade people / youth through the radio (disseminating information) to learn and change behaviours, but no learning will take place. Freire (1985) empowerment theory proposes that people/ youth learn through diagnosing their own needs and find solutions as a team in collaboration with mass media campaigners. Freire believes that people do not learn by mere telling or instructing communities what to do. Youth, as individual, should believe that they are vulnerable or at risk of contracting HIV infection and its severity in their communities (Best, 2003). Best (2003) argues that youth should be aware of barriers that impinge their actions (to learn and change behaviours) such as their attitudes towards condom use, myths, cultural and religious norms.

The theoretical perspectives conclude that theories and models used in this study were designed to guide the implementation and evaluation of media campaigns with the aim of yielding the expected outcomes. These theories and models describe learning as a continuous information-sharing and cyclical process that take place through an interactive approach. In Oshana Region, the community's existing knowledge, culture and holistic environment is not being incorporated or recognised during information awareness campaigns. Information providers are using the conventional method of communication when disseminating information to the youth. This theoretical framework concludes that ideally it is crucial for mass media campaigners to act as facilitators who assist the youth to develop new collective norms and behaviours in the face of the dangers of contracting HIV/AIDS.

Research objectives

The purpose of the study was to explore how mass the mass media communication support HIV/AIDS prevention among the ISY and OOSY in Oshana region, northern Namibia. The specific research objectives were as follows:

To explore and describe how mass media communication is supporting the youth (ISY and OOSY) on HIV/AIDS prevention in Oshana region.

To explore youths' perceptions, views and knowledge on the effects of mass media communication campaigns in Oshana region.

The study focussed on the Namibian youth covering 9 secondary schools, 26 combined schools and 6 youth organizations in Oshana Region. The study was conducted in one region for the purpose of obtaining in-depth information on the youths' perceptions, knowledge and understanding of HIV/AIDS prevention. The study was conducted from June to December 2007, by the researcher as a doctoral student.

Research design and methodology

The research design for this study was quantitative and explorative in nature. A survey method was employed. Babbie and Mouton (2009, p. 232) describe a survey as a "non –experimental research that focusses on obtaining information regarding the status quo of some situation , often via direct questioning of a sample of respondents". The study population were the ISY (grade 10, 11 and 12 learners from combined, junior and senior

and secondary schools) and OOSY (who were members of youth organizations) in Oshana Region. To have a reliable research population, a sample of 920 respondents was selected from 9 secondary schools, 26 combined schools and 6 youth organizations. All youths in this study were of the age group 12- 30 years and lived in Oshana region during the survey period (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2007). Data were gathered based on the probability sampling approach, using simple random and stratified sampling methods (Creswell, 2008). Permissions (written and oral) to conduct research in schools and youth organisations were requested and granted. Ethical aspects of research, including confidentiality and informed consent were adhered to during the research processes. Survey data were collected using self-administered questionnaires. A questionnaire was selected because it covers a large group of the population with less time and offers the possibility of complete anonymity (Oppenheim, 2008). Respondents completed questionnaires as individuals to give their views and express their feelings on mass media campaigns and their messages on HIV/AIDS prevention in an environment free from physical and psychological pressure. Data from closed-ended questions were analysed through the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), whereas data from open-ended questions were analysed using content analysis (Creswell, 2008).

Presentation of the research findings

Demographic information

A total of 825 ISY from schools and 95 OOSY from various youth organizations in Oshana Region participated in the study. Youths were asked to indicate their age group, gender and places of residence. Among the ISY (54.2 percent) and OOSY (33.7 percent) were in the age group 17-21years. Fifty three percent of the ISY were females and 46.9 percent were males, whereas OOSY females were 58.9 percent and 41.1 percent were males.

Youths were also asked to state whether they could in English and understand easily or with difficulty information related to HIV/AIDS prevention in newspapers, magazine, posters and other printed materials.

Table 1: ISY and OOSY who can read and understand information related to HIV/AIDS prevention

	ISY		OOSY	
	Frequencies	**Percentages**	**Frequencies**	**Percentages**
Easily	712	86.5	69	74.2
With difficulty	90	10.9	16	17.2
Not at all	21	2.6	8	8.6
Total	823	100	95	100

Data indicated that the majority (86.5%) of the ISY and most of the OOSY (74.2%) said they could easily read and understand information related to HIV/AIDS prevention. Only 10.9 percent of the ISY and 17.2 percent OOSY said they could read and understand information with difficulty, whereas 2.6 percent and 8.6 percent of ISY and OOSY respectively, could not read nor understand any information at all. This means most of the youth in both youth groups were literate, they had basic reading and writing skills, but a small number had reading difficulties as they did not understand written information clearly.

Respondents' HIV/AIDS background knowledge and information

Respondents were asked whether they had heard about HIV/AIDS. Data revealed that the majority of ISY (98.2%) and OOSY (88.4 %) had heard of HIV/AIDS. Only 0.7 percent ISY and 11.6 percent OOSY respectively, had not heard of HIV/AIDS. Youth who had heard about HIV/AIDS were asked to state where they heard about HIV/AIDS for the first time.

Table 2: Indicates where youths (ISY and OOSY) heard about HIV/AIDS for the first time.

	ISY		OOSY	
	Frequencies	**Percentages**	**Frequencies**	**Percentages**
Home	198	24.2	18	19.1
School	195	23.8	21	22.3
Church	20	2.4	6	6.4
Media (radio, TV, printed materials)	357	43.6	29	30.9
Youth organisation	21	2.6	7	7.4
Health worker	18	2.2	3	3.2
Others	8	1.0	3	3.2
Not applicable	1	0.1	7	7.4
Total	818	100	94	100

ISY (43.6%) and OOSY (30.9%) stated that they had heard about HIV/AIDS for the first time from mass media sources, that is either radio or television or printed materials.

The study results reveal that in actual fact both youth groups have adequate knowledge on HIV/AIDS prevention since that they confirmed three correct causes (blood transfusion, unprotected sex and direct contact with human discharges) and three correct preventive measures such as abstain from sex, have a faithful sex partner, use condom and make informed decision) for HIV/AIDS. They have also dismissed some of the well-known myths as causes of HIV/AIDS such as eating in the same plate with an infected person and sleeping in the same bed with an infected person cause HIV infection.

Sexual activity and self-efficacy of the youth

Respondents were asked if they had sexual partners.

Table 3: Indicates youth who had sexual partners.

	ISY		OOSY	
	Frequencies	**Percentages**	**Frequencies**	**Percentages**
Yes	215	26.3	68	71.6
No	600	73.3	27	28.4
Not applicable	4	0.5	0	0
Total	819	100	95	100

However, 0.7 percent (n = 6) ISY did not respond to this question.

A follow-up question was asked whether youths who had sexual partners had penetrative sex with their boyfriends/girlfriends/partners. Out of 215, 26.3 percent ISY who had sexual partners, 67.4 percent (n=145) had had penetrative sex with their partners and only 32.6 percent (n=70) had not had penetrative sex. Again, out of 68 (71.6%) OOSY who had sexual partners, 54 (79.4%) had penetrative sex with their partners and only 27 individuals (20.6%) did not have penetrative sex. Both youth groups, ISY (67.4%) and OOSY (79.4%) who had first penetrative sexual intercourse had it in the age group of 16–20 years. Data also revealed that some youth are dating at the early age of 13 years.

Respondents who had sex were asked to state whether they had sex with their regular partners or another person (another person here refers to multiple partners). Of the ISY who had penetrative sex, 15.7 percent had it with their regular partners and only 4.8 percent had sex with other persons. Whereas, OOSY (56.5%) who had penetrative sex had it with their regular partners and only 13 percent had sex encounters with other persons. The rest of the youth either did not respond to the question or responded by saying the question is not applicable to them.

Youths were asked to state whether they had used condoms during their last or previous sexual encounters. About 174 (21.3%) ISY and 51 (55.4%) OOSY have used condoms during their previous encounters. Use of condoms is associated with knowledge, understanding of the method of HIV/AIDS prevention and behaviour change.

Table 4: ISY and OOSY who took decisions on condoms use in their sexual relationships (in percentages)

	ISY		OOSY	
	Frequencies	**Percentages**	**Frequencies**	**Percentages**
Respondent	45	5.6	13	14.9
Partner	39	4.8	21	24.1
Joint decision	95	11.8	25	28.7
Cannot remember	26	3.2	5	5.7
Not applicable	598	74.3	23	26.4

Youth were also asked to state who took the decision on condom use in sexual relationships. Data in table 4 indicated both youth groups (ISY–11.8 percent and OOSY–28.7 percent) who took joint decisions on condom use during their previous sex encounters. Youth as respondent and partner refers to male and female youths in their sexual relationships.

In this study, all youths who had not used condoms during their last sexual encounter, stated three main reasons why they did not use condoms (no condom was available, there was no agreement on condom use and it was difficult to negotiate condom use). Difficult to negotiate condom use refers to the process of initiating negotiations. No agreement on condom use refers to the end result of the negotiation process.

Respondents were also given statements measuring their attitudes and self-efficacy skills as individuals in relation to condom use.

For ease of understanding and interpretation of the significance of the results, the responses for "probably could" and "definitely could" are considered as "agreed" and "definitely could not" are considered as "disagreed" and the results of "not sure" and "no response" is considered as "do not know" or uncertainty on condom use. This interpretation and assessment was applied to both youth groups.

Respondents indicated that 71.5% ISY agreed ('probably' and 'definitely could') that they could force their partners to use condoms every time they would like to have sex. Again, ISY (63.6%) who indicated that they 'could definitely refuse' (agreed) to have sex if their partners (55.5% – agreed) did not want to use condoms. Only 42.9% of the respondents 'could definitely not refuse' (agreed) to discuss with their partners condom usage, whereas 40.3 percent of the youths agreed that they 'could probably' and 'definitely refuse' to discuss condom use with their partners every time they had sexual encounters.

ISY (51%) also agreed that they 'could definitely' force partners (means to pressurize a partner to agree on condom use) to use condoms every time they had sexual encounters. Only 23.3 percent could 'definitely refuse' to discuss issues related to condom use with partners. All these information suggests that ISY have high level of self-efficacy beliefs towards condom use. In addition, some ISY did not either respond to questions or had no opinions on statements given. This would seem to indicate that some ISY are uncertain on the issues under exploration.

OOSY were also given statements to assess their level of self-efficacy beliefs toward condom use. OOSY, like ISY, agreed 'probably and definitely could' that they could force their partners to use condoms (64.2%); they agreed that they could refuse to have unprotected sex (61%) and less than a half (37.9%) agreed that they could 'probably and definitely could' refuse to discuss condom use with their sexual partners. Only 33.7 percent OOSY said that they could not refuse 'definitely could not' discuss condom use with their partners. Data revealed that only 40 percent of the OOSY stated that they could "definitely" force their partners to use condoms every time they had sexual encounters.

Youth of both groups (ISY -74.5%, & OOSY – 66.7%) revealed that condom is the best protective measure against HIV infection. Therefore, some youths refused to have sex without condoms. Some youths agreed to negotiate and discuss condom use and took joint decisions, irrespective whether they were males or females. In contrast, some OOSY and ISY did not respond to the statements. Some youths were uncertain on condom use. Information revealed that both youth groups (ISY and OOSY) had high levels of self-efficacy beliefs towards condoms use in relation to HIV/AIDS preventive behaviours. Youth who had unprotected sex are vulnerable and at risk of contracting HIV infection. Again, some youth lack knowledge, understanding and critical thinking, therefore, they were hesitant neither to refuse unprotected sex nor to discuss/negotiate condom use in their sexual relationships.

Media campaigns and youths' exposure to mass media messages

In this section youth were asked whether they had heard of a person who died of HIV/AIDS. Almost all (95.6%) ISY and the majority of the OOSY (83.7%) indicated that they had heard of a person who had died of HV/AIDS. Only 16.3 percent–OOSY and 3.8 percent–ISY had not heard of anybody who died of HIV/AIDS. Only 0.6 percent of ISY did not give any response to this question. Both respondents (ISY and OOSY) agreed that there were HIV/AIDS media campaign organizations in their areas. However, 28.3 percent OOSY said that they were not aware of any media campaigns in their areas.

Radio listening, watching television and reading printed materials

Table 5 indicates the percentages of both youth groups who received information through mass media communication. In contrary, a large group of both youths (a group of youth who say no to the question) did not receive any information through the mass communication. This means that mass media messages did not reach the target audience.

Table 5: Youths who listened to the radio, watched television and read printed materials

		Radio %	Television %	Printed materials %
ISY	Yes	74.6	61.5	64.5
	No	24.3	37.3	32.8
OOSY	Yes	69.9	67.9	80.7
	No	28.9	32.1	19.3

Language use during mass media campaigns

Both youth groups (ISY-59.1% and OOSY - 49.4%) stated that English as the official language in Namibia was used regularly to disseminate information to the Namibian population in general and in Oshana Region in particular through mass media communication. Youths further explained that local languages were not really used in mass media campaigns organizations

Radio spots/messages on HIV/AIDS prevention

Respondents were asked if they had heard any radio spots (short messages given through radios) or messages with regard to HIV/AIDS prevention in the previous three months and how often.

Table 6: ISY and OOSY who had heard radio spots/messages with regards to HIV/AIDS prevention

	ISY		OOSY	
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Yes	695	84.7	66	69.5
No	106	12.9	21	22.1
No response	17	2.4	8	8.4

Data in table 6 shows the number of youth who had heard radio spots daily and weekly respectively. This data confirmed that most youth of both groups had heard radio spots/ messages with regards to HIV/AIDS prevention in the previous three months.

Television spots/messages on HIV/AIDS prevention

Both youth groups were asked to state whether they had seen Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) television spots/ messages with regard to HIV/AIDS prevention in the past three months.

Table 6: ISY and OOSY who received NBC television spots/messages during the previous three months in percentages.

	ISY		OOSY	
	Frequencies	**Percentages**	**Frequencies**	**Percentages**
Yes	526	64.6	58	66.7
No	182	22.4	29	33.3
No response	106	13.0	0	0

Table 6 shows youths who watched NBC television and received spots/messages during the previous three months in Oshana Region. Both youth groups (ISY & OOSY) watched NBC television regularly.

Table 7: ISY and OOSY who watches NBC television and how often they saw the messages

	ISY		OOSY	
	Frequencies	**Percentages**	**Frequencies**	**Percentages**
Number of days	193	23.6	23	28.0
Everyday	210	25.7	14	17.1
Once a week	174	21.3	27	32.9
Never watches TV	192	23.5	13	15.9
No response	49	6.0	5	6.1

Table 7 shows the number and percentages of youth who saw television messages regularly. Some youth did not see anything because they are not watching the television, while some did not respond to the question. Out of those who saw the television message, they saw it for an hour or more (ISY = 43.5% , OOSY = 42.7).

Reading newspapers spots/messages on HIV/AIDS prevention

Respondents were asked to state if they usually read newspapers/magazines and other printed materials.

Table 8: ISY and OOSY who have read the information from printed materials

	ISY		OOSY	
	Frequencies	**Percentages**	**Frequencies**	**Percentages**
Yes	762	92.9	71	80.7
No	53	6.5	17	19.3
No response	5	0.6	0	0

Table 8 shows that both youth groups read printed materials weekly.

Perceived impact of mass media messages on young people

Both youth groups stated that they received information from the NBC radio; television and printed materials which raised awareness on HIV/AIDS prevention. Youth of both sexes and of various ages indicated that they perceived self-efficacy beliefs because some youths could "definitely" refuse to have unprotected sex and "definitely" agree to discuss and negotiate condom use in their sexual relationships.

In general, youth perceived their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS infections and started negotiating and discussing with their sexual partners. Youths after receiving information had reflected on their life style and indicated that they had basic knowledge on negotiation and communication skills that need to be strengthened and translated into practice.

Conclusions and discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the perceived impact of mass media campaigns in communicating information on HIV/AIDS prevention to ISY and OOSY in Oshana Region. The study data were collected using a self-administered questionnaire. Questions were answered by ISY (825) and OOSY (95). Both youth groups were from various socio-demographic backgrounds, lived in different environments with various historical, social, religious and cultural characteristics which influence their socialization in diverse ways. A survey was conducted among the ISY and OOSY in Oshana Region, in Namibia.

The study data indicates that most youth have basic knowledge on the causes and preventive measures of HIV/AIDS. Iipinge, Hofnie and Friedman (2004) supported the finding. Data in table 1 shows that most of the youth have access to information and could read and understand information related to HIV/AIDS prevention in radio, NBC television and printed materials. Mass media communication was identified as the most common source of information (table 2) for the youth in HIV/AIDS awareness prevention campaigns in Oshana Region. Information was provided mainly in the English language as a medium of instruction. The use of English as language is a challenge. Elder, Shults, Sleet, Nicholas, Thompson and Rajab (2004) echoed the finding that a foreign language is not always clearly understood and could mislead youth to misinterpret the meaning of messages.

When youth were given statements to assess their level of self-efficacy beliefs toward condom use, the results indicate that youth have a high level of self-efficacy. In addition, the percentages of youth who have received information spots / messages from radio, television and printed also indicated that media messages did influence some youths to have basic knowledge, moderate self-efficacy abilities and understanding of HIV/AIDS preventive measures. Therefore, in this study some youths could "definitely" discuss and negotiate condom use with their sexual partners. This is a positive attitude towards condom use and safer sex relationships, because youths who could discuss condom use have the ability to think critically, negotiate issues affecting their lives, communicate with their partners and make informed decisions.

However, some youths reacted that they could not force their sexual partners to use condoms and avoid unprotected sex or refuse it. Those youths who could not refuse or negotiate unprotected sex, did not understand the dangers of HIV/AIDS nor did they perceive their vulnerability to HIV infection. The latter action has put youths at risk of HIV infection through their actions and attitudes of their sexual partners. Therefore, some youths mainly males, misused their power to control their partners and slightly dominate their female partners not to use condoms and this made both youths to engage in risky sexual behaviours. Bouare (2009) echoed this finding that some female youths lack power to control issues affecting their lives and make informed decisions.

These youths need communication and negotiation skills that will empower them to become critical thinkers and self-directed individuals as recommended by Freire (1985) in his Empowerment Theory.

No political or traditional leaders were mentioned as a source of information among the youth in the region, despite the fact that the Namibian Governments' high political will in supporting HIV/AIDS prevention plans and campaigns in the country (GRN, 2004). Rogers (1995) communication theory emphasises that youth learn through imitating their opinion leaders. Therefore, the study revealed that youth from Oshana region are not learning from their leaders.

In conclusion, media campaigners in Oshana region continue to use the conventional, one-way educational approach to deliver information to the public, including the youth. The latter approach is a gap in the communication-learning environment that needs to be bridged. Hutchinson, Mahalela and Yukich (2007) have argued that the conventional model was found to increase knowledge acquisition but was ineffective in creating sexual behaviour change among the youth because of its non-interactive approach. Therefore, a dialogical, reciprocal interaction between the youth as receivers and providers of information is required to improve the current situation and ensure the effective mass media communication.

Lessons from this study

Youths as individuals are the focal point in the information-sharing sessions during mass media campaigns. It is suggested that youths need to be recognized by media campaigners as equal partners and unique individuals. Therefore, educational meetings should focus on target audience and communicate in a two-way dialogical manner, to ensure knowledge acquisition, understanding and behaviour change.

At the regional, constituency and community levels, youths as individuals in Oshana Region need to be trained in life skills development (communication and negotiation skills) that will empower them to understand issues affecting their lives and to make constructive decisions. This knowledge may influence youths to become critical thinkers and self-directed individuals who may also be able to change their norms with respect to AIDS education.

It was also learnt that collaboration between youth organizations and regional HIV/AIDS committee in Oshana Region is essential to facilitate peer education and networking approaches during information-sharing meetings. This means that the youth should be addressed by their peers, who are for example HIV positive, as role models to increase their level of perception of risky behaviours, their vulnerability to HIV infection and the importance of using condoms during sexual relationships. The creation of a collaborative networking approach and active involvement of all key stakeholders including peers/youths in the HIV/AIDS campaigns will facilitate the creation of collective social norms that may enhance new knowledge and behavioural change.

Although the Namibian Government in its policies, strategies and coordinated management plans has indicated HIV/AIDS as a national issue that needs a collaborative approach, many of the stakeholders were neither collaborating nor working as a team.

Therefore, it is suggested that regional networking meetings between all media campaign organizations as implementers of health communication be organized in collaboration with the Regional HIV/AIDS Coordinating bodies in Oshana Region to achieve optimum results. It is also suggested that HIV/AIDS prevention messages could be designed and produced in the local languages that are clearly understood and can be easily internalized by all relevant stakeholders in a dialogical and participatory manner.

The study was conducted in Oshana Region and explored sexual behaviours, which is a taboo subject in many African cultures. A key lesson learnt from this study is that use of integrated dialogical health communication model could be replicated and/or adapted in other HIV/AIDS prevention media campaigns with similar situations as the Oshana Region, for other parts of Namibia, and indeed elsewhere in Southern Africa.

The study conclusion is that mass media campaign is an instrument and tool to provide information to the people, but information alone cannot effect change. The information-sharing activities need to be coupled with knowledge, understanding, self-efficacy, dialogue, participation and democratic communication to create behaviour change.

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Views and preferences of parents, teachers and principals on the implementation of the language policy in primary schools in Namibia: An explorative study in the Khomas region

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Abstract

The language policy of schools in Namibia states that from grade 1 to grade 3, learners should receive education in their mother tongues. The mother tongue becomes a subject from grade 4 onwards while English takes over as the medium of instruction. This paper presents the views of parents, teachers and principals and parents on how this policy is implemented in three schools studied in the Khomas region. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews from one urban school, one peri-urban school and one rural school. The findings of the study reflect different language preferences between parents and teachers, the latter favouring English and the former advocating the mother tongue as

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a medium of instruction in the first three grades of formal education. Various reasons were given to support both choices.

Introduction:

In a multilingual situation such as that of Namibia, an important factor for the education of children is the context in which language and literacy acquisition occurs. Baker (2006, p. 331) states that "strategies and advice for developing biliteracy are not universal but context bound." Personal bilingualism and societal multilingualism are inevitable, and are consequences of globalisation which generates the multiple modalities of communication within single languages. According to Cope and Kalantzis (2006, p. 93), the almost total globalisation of the last decade of the twentieth century gives rise "to a homogenizing imperative that threatens to contract linguistic and cultural diversity in a dramatically escalating way and make the multilingualism of modern nations a transitional stage towards a vastly reduced linguistic repertoire."

Elective bilingualism is a characteristic of individuals who choose to learn a language, for example in the classroom. Elective bilinguals typically come from majority language groups. They add another language to their linguistic repertoire without losing their first language. This kind of bilingualism has been termed 'additive bilingualism', and refers to positive cognitive outcomes from an individual being bilingual (Baker, 2006, p. 74). Such language minority members are proficient (or becoming proficient) in both languages and have positive attitudes towards the first and second languages. In an additive situation, a child may acquire literacy through the second language at no cost to literacy in the first language.

In contrast, circumstantial bilinguals learn another language to function effectively because of their circumstances. Their first language is often insufficient to meet the educational, political and employment demands of their society. In the Namibian context, circumstantial bilinguals can be regarded as those groups of individuals who must become bilingual to operate in the official language, English, that surrounds them, although they have very limited exposure to English in their ordinary, daily lives. Consequently, their first language is in danger of being replaced by the second language in a subtractive context. Baker (2006, p. 74) sees subtractive bilingualism as the negative affective and cognitive effects of bilingualism, because, both languages remain underdeveloped.

The importance of the mother tongue in second language achievement has been reported widely and there is strong support that learners who are not taught in their mother tongue at lower grade levels might have more difficulties to master reading skills and to performing well in school (Cummins, 2000; Prinsloo, 2007; Wolfaardt, 2005). A number of researchers emphasise the importance of the mother tongue, not only for second language acquisition but also for general school achievement. They argue that neglect of the mother tongue leads to poor results, high dropout rates and general under achievement of second language learners. If the medium of instruction during the early phases is in the second language, in which the child is not very competent, she or he will also struggle in other content based subjects such as Science and History, resulting in his or her general under achievement (Biseth, 2008; Cummins,2000; Heugh, 2005).

In contrast, some researchers support the maximum exposure hypothesis stating that the longer a person is exposed to the second language, the better the performance in that language will be (Porter, 1997). Some thus argue against the notion of mother tongue instruction and rather opt for the Language of Wider Communication to be

implemented in schools as soon as possible. There are a number of reasons for this. Most African countries are characterised by a multilingual environment, and since more than one language is prevalent in the country, education planners often select a language as medium of instruction in schools that is considered 'neutral' to ensure that no language group will be deemed superior and also to protect national unity (Makalela, 2005). English is often chosen as the neutral language in spite of the fact that native speakers of English might form a negligible percentage of the specific population. The language of wider communication often also has more status than any of the local languages and parents thus perceive this as a more desirable language of instruction for their children (Bamgbose, 1991). Furthermore, it is perceived that this language of wider communication can give the child access to modern education and technology and ensure for rapid economic development (Bamgbose, 1991; Porter, 1997; Ramasamy, 2001; Murray, 2007).

Language policy in Namibia

Namibia is a multilingual and culturally diverse country. All indigenous languages are presently regarded as equal, regardless of the number of speakers or the level of development of a particular language. About 55% of pupils in Namibia speak an Oshiwambo language at home. Other large numbers are Khoekhoegowab speakers (10%), Otjiherero (7%) and Afrikaans (7%). Less than 1% of learners speak English at home (Ministry of Basic Education and Culture, 2007).

The language policy of schools in Namibia states that learners should receive instruction in their mother tongue during the first three years of their primary school education and from grade four, the mother tongue should be offered as a subject when the medium of instruction changes to English (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993). In the language policy discussion document (Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture, 2003), fourteen languages are indicated as languages that could be offered as a first language at school. The ideal situation would be that every learner's mother tongue would be accommodated, but in practice many classes have pupils with different home languages and only one of these can be the medium of instruction during the lower primary phase. The multilingual nature of Namibian schools obviously complicates the task of educators, especially in the first 3 grades and has thus resulted in the ineffective implementation of the mother tongue medium of instruction. There are schools that are unable to provide mother tongue medium of instruction because they lack the necessary material and human resources in order to implement mother tongue medium of instruction. Another issue is where learners with diverse mother tongues are found in one classroom and it becomes difficult in selecting one mother tongue as the medium of instruction. In an attempt to overcome these challenges, some schools have opted for English as medium of instruction from grade one and this may have resulted in the neglect of the mother tongue (Wolfaardt, 2004). Ministry statistics show that the percentage of learners receiving mother tongue instruction varies substantially from one language to the other. The following languages recorded at least 80% in having learners being taught in their mother tongue: For home language speakers of English, German, Oshindonga, Rukwangali, Rumanyo, and Thimbukushu at least 80% of learners are recorded to receive mother tongue instruction during the initial grades. For Oshikwanyama, Silozi, and Afrikaans the percentages are 71%, 67% and 64% respectively. For Otjiherero, Khoekhoegowab and Setswane the number drops to below 50%. For Ju/'hoasi speakers, which actually groups the San languages together, only 7% of learners are taught in their mother tongue (Ministry of Education: EMIS, 2007).

Thus the official discourse, as has been communicated through the Language Policy says children at the elementary level (grade 1-3) of education in Namibia should learn subject

content through the medium of local languages. Policy decisions were made with the input from all stakeholders in children's education. However, within educational circles there is still a conflicting opinion about the best language to use for learners' education. The objective of this study was to do an in-depth exploration of the situation with regard to the language for initial literacy and the language of instruction in the selected schools and to obtain the views and preferences of stakeholders with regard to the implementation of the National policy on languages of education.

Methodology

Research design

An explorative case study was conducted during September 2011 in three schools in the Khomas region. We employed qualitative research methods since we were interested in getting an in-depth understanding of participants' views on the implementation and challenges regarding the language policy in their schools.

Sample

Three primary schools in the Khomas region of Namibia were purposefully selected for the research. Schools were selected in this central region of the country since it was expected that they may have a multi-lingual character. One of the schools was an urban school, one a peri-urban school and the third a rural school. The research sample consisted of the three principals of the selected schools, six grade one and three grade four teachers, four parents of grade one learners and six parents of grade four learners who were selected using convenience sampling with the assistance of the school principals. The criterion sampling technique was employed to identify teachers to be included in the sample. It needs to be noted that for the rural school guardians were interviewed since parents were living far from the school.

Instruments

Semi-structured interview guides were used to interview school principals, teachers and parents. We interviewed the participants about their views regarding the language of initial literacy and the language of instruction in their schools. Although several of the questions were the same for all the three identified groups, some questions were specifically designed for only parents, for only teachers based on their grade level of teaching and for only the principals. In addition to this, classroom observations were done in selected grade one and four classes in order to determine the availability, suitability and quality of learning materials.

Findings

Characteristics of the selected schools, parents and teachers interviewed

In the urban school an option for initial literacy education between English and Afrikaans for grades one to three learners was available. Based on the reports from the parents, teachers and the principal it became clear that the choice for Afrikaans as one of the two languages of initial literacy in the urban school was mainly historically determined. Before Namibia's Independence most persons living close to this school were Afrikaans speaking and although the situation has changed substantially since that time, Afrikaans remained as the alternative to English as the language for the first three grades in this school. It seemed that the option for English was more popular and when the two available English classes for grade one became full, learners had to be placed in the Afrikaans stream where

there were also two classes available. The home languages for the parents interviewed in the urban school were Afrikaans and Oshiwanbo, and teachers reported that their home languages were either Afrikaans, Kheokheogowab or Otjiherero.

In both the peri-urban and rural schools the language for initial literacy was Khoekhoegowab. The home languages for the parents interviewed in these schools were Afrikaans and Kheokheogowab and for all teachers it was Kheokheogowab. In all schools a few of the parents reported that they used English occasionally at home. Parents interviewed from the urban schools were in general more qualified and had higher level occupations than parents from the peri-urban schools and the guardians from the rural schools.

Parents' views

A total of 10 parents were interviewed in order to find out their views regarding the language for initial literacy and the language of instruction as practiced at their school. The parents were aware of the policy as laid down by the Ministry of Education with regard to initial literacy and the language of instruction in the schools. Furthermore, in the urban school, where English could be chosen for initial literacy, the parents were happy with the arrangement. Reasons were that English is the official language. One parent also said she struggled too much in her own life because she cannot speak English. She remarked: "English should be the [medium) of] instruction since it is used every day, it is good. Initially I wanted her (daughter) to be in the English class but there was no room left…" Parents felt it was their duty to teach their children the mother tongue. They said they did not fear that the mother tongue would "fade away" since their children acquired it naturally.

In both the peri-urban and rural schools the language for initial literacy was Khoekhoegowab. Parents and teachers reported that the Ministry, based on the language policy, decides what the language for initial literacy should be. However, teachers as well as parents had opportunities to make inputs as to the choice of language to be offered in the school. In the peri-urban school some parents were not happy with the arrangement. They indicated that the indigenous languages had little value, and since the dominant language was English, this was more valuable for their children to study. One of the parents at the peri-urban school pointed out this view clearly when she said, "Happy, but the dominant language is English. Therefore, we are not happy that English is not the language of instruction at the lower level of education - these others (local languages) are of little value."

In all schools it seemed that parents were in favour of having English for both initial literacy and the language of instruction. The reasons given were that since there are so many languages, English served to unify learners from different language backgrounds. English can be used for communication with any person anywhere and the local languages limit communication. Parents were happy to have the mother tongue as a school subject only so that learners do not lose it as they grow older. One parent emphasised the need to learn in English by noting that, "English should be both the language of instruction and initial literacy since even parents are compelled to learn these basic skills in English. Even in our adult literacy classes we use English. Why is adult literacy not in mother tongue?" This seems to suggest the inferior position of mother tongue for these parents and hence their support for the use of English for initial literacy and as language for instruction. They saw the practical utility of the English language in their lives and felt their children should be exposed to the learning of English at the earliest possible time in their education. They

reasoned that if the mother tongue was that important, it could have been used in adult literacy classes where the adults learned how to read, speak and do arithmetic in English. In fact they viewed the English language as "… the key to the child's future" and as such it needed to be taught and used by the child throughout school beginning from lower grades.

When parents were asked to evaluate the teachers' command of the languages used for initial literacy and for instruction in general they had varied opinions. Some parents felt the teachers' command of English was relatively poor, and said they suspect they may fail the English proficiency test implemented by the Government if they sat for the test, "… the English of teachers is relatively poor. Teachers come from background of another language and this has an effect on their language use. Not very good in general. Need for improvement. I am interested to see results from teachers' proficiency and I think many teachers might fail".

Others were of the view that the teachers were "good" in the use of English, although pronunciations were a problem. For example, teachers would use "gut" for "goat", or "malk" for "milk". The poor teacher pronunciations are most likely to be reflected later in the learners' spoken English in adult life since learners tend to copy their teachers, especially at the tender impressionable ages of learners in grades 1 to 4.

Teachers' and principals' views

Teachers' views of the language policy

A total of nine teachers were interviewed. Contrary to parents' views, it became evidently clear that the majority (seven) of the teachers at the different primary schools were in full support and in favour of the language policy as promulgated by the government, with specific reference to the mother tongue instruction in the first three grades. The views of the majority of the teachers in the urban schools were that the policy was good, but difficult to implement due to the multicultural context of the country. They were also of the opinion that learners struggle to learn concepts in English if they did not have an opportunity to learn these in the mother tongue from grades 1 to 4. They were thus in favour that the child should be taught in the mother tongue from grades 1 to 4. The views of some teachers in the peri- urban school were that the mother tongue should continue up to Grade 6 or 7. Teachers also felt that schools should take responsibility of implementing the Language Policy.

Those in favour of the mother tongue instruction in the early years expressed their views clearly. One teacher was of the opinion that the mother tongue instruction for the first three years of primary education is actually good for the learners. She said: "It is good because it allows the learners to express themselves well and comfortably when telling stories in class." If instructed in English, according to this teacher, "Learners cannot show their abilities well, their full potential do not come to the front." Hence, in this teacher's view, it is better for the learners to receive instruction in their mother tongue (during the first three years of primary education). This teacher has Afrikaans as a mother tongue. She completed a three year education diploma and, at the time of collecting data, she was in the fourth year of a qualification in learner support through the Institute of Open Learning (IOL) at Potchefstroom University.

A fourth grade teacher at the urban primary school, who is Otjiherero speaking and completed the BETD and a B.Tech degree in educational management from the University of Pretoria, expressed the same views as the first grade teacher alluded to above. He

stated that the policy was good and as such, preferred that instruction in the first three years of primary education be conducted in the mother tongue. However, due to the different cultural backgrounds children come from, implementation of the policy is rather a challenge. Another fourth grade Otjiherero speaking teacher at the same primary school also echoed the views of her colleague. She indicated that, "Learners struggle to learn concepts in English if they did not have an opportunity to learn these in the mother tongue from grades 1 to 4." She emphasised that children should be taught in the mother tongue from the first grade to the fourth grade.

A first grade teacher at the rural school, a few kilometres outside of Windhoek, was also of the view that the mother tongue instruction for the first three years of primary education is better. In her opinion, learners experience problems in grade four when they begin instruction in English at lower primary phase. Her preference is that the mother tongue instruction continues. This teacher is Kheokheogowab speaking and completed a Junior Primary Teacher Diploma. Another Kheokheogowab speaking grade one teacher at the same primary school who also earned a Junior Teachers Diploma also prefers the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction, at least for the first three years of primary school. A fourth grade teacher at this school expressed the same sentiments about the language policy. She added that, "It is better if local languages would continue up to grade 6 or 7. Children do not show their real intelligence or real potential with these changes in languages."

First grade teachers at a peri-urban primary school, both of them Kheokheogowab speaking, differed in their views with regard to the language policy. While one stated it clearly that she did not like the language policy (without elaborating why she did not like it), the other one said that it was a good policy and a good start for the learners. However, this teacher lamented that more material was needed (perhaps to facilitate the implementation of the policy).

Thus, only two of the nine teachers interviewed at the urban, rural, and peri-urban schools were not in favour of the language policy. Of the two teachers that did not support the policy, one did not provide any reasons why he or she does not like the policy. However, the other teacher articulated her not supporting the policy very clearly. This was a Grade 1 teacher from the urban primary school who held views contrary to those of her colleagues about mother tongue instruction. Unlike her colleagues, she expressed the view that a language policy requiring that children receive instruction in the mother tongue for the first three years of primary school was not necessary. In her view, the multiplicity of the learners' language backgrounds renders the policy unnecessary and a waste of three years of instruction; rather, it is best to start instruction in English as this is the language in which the learners will be receiving instruction beyond the third grade. She said: "After all, children are quick to learn a new language; therefore, why place a barrier in their learning of a new language by teaching them in their mother tongue. After all, it is better to teach children in English from the very beginning in order to consolidate their skills in the English language as this is the language in which instruction will be conducted after grade three and beyond." However, this teacher was not entirely against learners learning their mother tongue. Her implicit view is that the learners can learn the mother tongue as a subject while instruction proceeds in English. However, she expressed concerns about the teachers' knowledge of, and expertise in, the mother tongue(s). In her opinion, if the teacher is not proficient in the mother tongue, and many of the teachers are not, he or she will create more problems for the learners. According to her, instruction in the mother

tongue works effectively only if the teacher is "well equipped in teaching using the mother tongue." In addition, she reasoned: "Besides, instruction in the mother tongue does not help the learners acquire the necessary English vocabulary that they need for instruction in English after the third grade." She further stated that unlike the learners who receive instruction in the mother tongue, those learners who begin with English as the medium of instruction cope well with English after the third grade because they have had exposure to English vocabulary, spelling, and reading from the onset. The teacher who expressed these views was a teacher of the Khoekhoegowab linguistic background. In her Basic Education Teachers Diploma (BETD) training, she received specialised training in Kheokheogowab, Afrikaans, and English. She also earned a certificate in education with emphasis on learner support. At the time of data collection, she was enrolled in an honours degree program in education at Potchefstroom University.

Principals' views of the language policy

The data collected from the principals of schools show conflicting opinions about personal attitudes towards the language for education policy. Two of the three principals were in favour of the mother tongue instruction in the early years while one did not support this view. The principal of the rural school preferred learners to be taught in English as from grade 1 onwards. He based his view on parents' belief that their children would benefit more from education at upper grade level where English is used as the language of instruction. In his words: "parents feel that the schools should move to English only as learners movement upwards into high schools is limited with Khoekhoegowab; learners do not stand to benefit from Khoekhoegowab …" To the contrary, the principal of the peri-urban school showed a positive attitude towards the language for education policy. His attitude was clearly reflected in his words when he said: "It is correct. The language policy says the child should be taught in the mother tongue from grade 1-3". The principal of the urban school also agreed that learners should be taught in the mother tongue for the first 3 years. She felt the policy should not change but persons who must implement it must rather be empowered. She made the statement that the problem with mother tongue instruction for the first 3 years is that if you enforce that, you will have segregation again. Tribes (language groups) will need to be sorted in schools to enable the implementation of the policy.

About the procedure schools follow for the choice for language(s) used for teaching, all three school principals reported that together, teachers, parents and communities around the schools come together and choose the language(s) used for teaching. The principal of the peri-urban school explained the procedure as follows: "We call a meeting and we decide in a meeting. Teachers, the principal and parents decide together about the medium of instruction and English." Although all three principals reported that all types of stakeholders (parents included) take part in the decision making about the choice of the language of instruction, the principal for the rural school added an explanation that indicated parents' lack of trust in local language to be used as a medium of instruction. After the principal explained the process followed to choose the language for instruction, he further explained: "parents feel across the board that the language of instruction should be English …" The principal of the urban school explained that Afrikaans in addition to English was chosen as one of the two languages for initial literacy due to historical reasons as explained above. Another reason was that they did not have any teachers for other languages because teachers were trained mainly in Afrikaans and English. Practical reasons thus also played a role in the selection of languages taught in school.

When it comes to the attitudes of learners and their competencies in English and other languages offered at school, principals expressed different experiences. The peri-urban school principal's experience was positive. The following were some of the statements he made to express his satisfaction with learners' achievement at his school: "Our learners can speak, read, and write both languages, English and Khoekhoegowab"; "Learners speak English very well through grades 1-7. Very few learners speak Khoekhoegowab language on the school premises and even grade 1 learners speak English." Furthermore "They feel they are privileged to learn and know more languages." The principal for the urban school indicated clear differences in learner performance and said that "only a few learners at her school were very good in the English language while some were very weak." She added that learners are better in speaking than in writing. "If we had oral responses allowed it may be different." The same was found with Afrikaans and she pointed out that the level of Afrikaans spoken at home seemed not to be sufficient either. To the contrary, the principal from the rural school said his school performed the lowest on the Departmental scale for the last couple of years, not only in English but across the curriculum. He said learners were more confident when instructed in Kheokheogowab because of its familiarity and they did not feel threatened. He noted that, however, "Learners feel proud to speak and read in English and those who cannot read well in English feel side-tracked."

Principals were also asked to express their views on the relation between literacy and general school performance. Principals concurred that literacy has a very big influence on the other subjects and that good results in any subjects was not easy if there is a language problem. The principal for the urban school added that behavioral problems are also linked to literacy since those underperforming become disruptive specifically in the later grades. She said there are learners even in grade 7 that still could not read.

All three school principals indicated that they experienced challenges that negatively affect the implementation of languages of initial literacy and instruction at their respective schools. The main challenges mentioned were related to learning materials, teachers' proficiency in local languages and English and also learners' proficiency in English. The principal of the urban school stated: "… lack of teaching aids such as reading books and text books is a problem." In support, the principal of the rural school said: …. "We do not have enough resources in Khoekhoegowab." The limitation of resources was also clearly expressed by the principal of the peri-urban school as he said: "We use no electronic resources, we do not have any."

Unqualified teachers for the languages of instruction and initial literacy were also a challenge. The following were the words of the principal of the urban school: "Teachers are not qualified to teach English." With regard to the mother tongue, she added: "Even those teaching Afrikaans (selected Mother Tongue) as a subject are not very proficient. Required levels expected from teachers in the mother tongue are very low in their training." The rural school principal added: "Some are first language speakers but do not qualify to teach initial literacy." School principals recommended that for learners to learn the languages of instruction and initial literacy teachers (as implementers of the language policy in schools) should be empowered in the English language; and the use of English should be implemented as from the pre-primary education level. One principal put it this way: "It is a drawback for children when teachers do not know the language."

Learners as well were struggling with the English language. This experience was voiced by the principal of the peri-urban school as he said: "Some learners are from farms. They got no pre-primary education. They meet English for the first time at school. They struggle a lot."

Teaching and learning materials

Two grade one classes and two grade four classes in the urban school were visited. Only the basic classroom set-up and materials were observed and no specific lessons were observed. The children in grade one classes sat in groups of 4 to 6. They were well behaved but free and open. Most text books were available for each child. Some books were only enough for 50% of the class and therefore 2 children had to share a book during class. All books remained in the class and learners thus did not have any book to take home. For some lessons and topics teachers make photo copies due to a lack of books. Books were in good condition. Several posters, pictures and other aids were available. Most of these were made by teacher or bought from her own pocket.

Grade four classes were very old and hot in summer and cold in winter since they were prefabricated. Their walls consist of asbestos sheeting and their roofs are made up of iron sheets. In grade four classes, text books were enough for one group of learners. Learners cannot take books home since the next group must also use the books. However, during class they have their own book to use and do not have to share. Teachers evaluated the availability of text books as good. Each class had a reading corner but this was very limited and contained mainly English books. Several learning materials were displayed on the walls. The Ministry of Education provides a list of compulsory materials to be displayed and these are checked (e.g. months of the year, numbers, conversion table etc). These materials are also mostly made by teachers or bought from their own resources. These resources were found to be in good condition, interesting and creative.

Discussion, conclusion and recommendations

Most teachers were in favour of instruction in the mother tongue during the first three grades and some even suggested this to continue up to grade 6 or 7. However, the research revealed that parents in general prefer that their children have initial literacy education in English. This places the controversies at the forefront of the crises facing education today. Not only do the data indicate contradictory (and maybe uninformed) beliefs among various stakeholders in education, there is also insufficient common ground among stakeholders about the importance of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction at the initial stage of teaching and learning in schools. It is therefore recommended that parents be informed about the benefits of instruction in the mother tongue during the first grades to ensure a strong foundation for reading and concept development.

Some school heads were concerned about the language proficiency of teachers. The Ministry of Education is presently in the process of investigating this issue and has plans to upgrade the English proficiency of teachers. In addition, the proficiency in the language used for initial literacy should be of high quality. In our view, this matter should also be evaluated and improved upon.

Teaching materials are important for the development of the language in schools. If these resources (e.g. text books, technological resources, any print materials) are lacking at schools, there is no doubt that the learning of any subject (whether language or content) becomes difficult if not impossible to learners. However, it should also be noted that it is not only through such resources that understanding and mastery of the language is shaped. The language of face-to-face human interaction, the physical environment of the classrooms, and nonverbal human messages (such as gestures, body language) are crucial as well for the successful implementation of any language learning.

The low status and value assigned to and the ideas of neglecting local language because learners know it already are not in line with Vygotsky's conception of the Zone of Proximal

development which introduces the concept of mastery of skills through scaffolding from experts (more experienced others), thus positing the primary of social interaction, and the importance of creating an environment where the skills, concepts, and language valued in the community to be available for appropriation by the learner through interaction with those more fluent. The learner thus should encounter and receive scaffolding to appropriate the next level of knowledge and skills, whatever the current stage of language development might be.

In a subtractive educational environment (e.g. 'weak' forms of bilingual education), the transfer of literacy skills between the two languages may be impeded. In such subtractive situations, literacy may more efficiently be acquired through the home, minority language. Literacy can be built up via the higher level of language skills in the home language rather than through the weaker majority language, in the case of Namibia, English. According to Baker (2006), when literacy is attempted through the second, majority language the child's oracy skills in English may be insufficiently developed for such literacy acquisition to occur.

Cummins (2006, p. 37) is adamant that continued development of both languages into literate domains (additive bilingualism) is a precondition for cognitive, academic and linguistic growth. He continues that, by contrast, when bilingual students develop low or minimal literacy in L1 and L2 as a result of inadequate educational support, their ability to understand increasingly complex instruction in the L2 and benefit from schooling will decline. The causal factors here, according to Cummins (ibid) are instructional and socio-political, but students' L1 and L2 academic proficiency acts as a mediating or intervening variable which influences the quality and quantity of their classroom participation, and hence academic growth.

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Writers and teachers as agents of social change

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Abstract
Despite idealistic intentions, teachers at all levels and in most subjects are often accused of fostering Western hegemony and linguistic imperialism. However, a unique writing project in the southern African country of Namibia demonstrates that teachers can become agents of social change. One part of this project is an anthology of writings by indigenous women about their struggles with HIV and AIDS. Because AIDS has become a pandemic, now afflicting more than 35 million people worldwide, this anthology from Namibia, produced by the Women's Leadership Centre, provides both a local and global (or "glocal") orientation to the problem. It demonstrates the value of English in promoting health and human rights issues and more generally of empowering marginalized populations. It is also a supreme example of auto-ethnography, an account of one's own experiences as grounded in and reflecting a culture, which has become a cutting-edge form of qualitative research. This paper explains how this "grass roots" writing project works and how to replicate it and develop relevant curriculum in other settings. A Reading Guide and high school curriculum have already been created, providing authentic, contextualized, and culturally appropriate materials for consciousness-raising activities focusing on reader response to social concerns, as well as for a typical language lesson.

Introduction

Despite their idealistic intentions to promote "international understanding", teachers are often accused of fostering Western hegemony and linguistic imperialism, particularly in developing countries (Canagarajah, 2002). Because the ruling elite in such countries usually speaks English, teachers of English are seen as supporting the status quo and pressuring disenfranchised people to give up their native languages and cultures in an effort to "better" themselves. However, a unique writing project in the southern African country of Namibia demonstrates that teachers of all kinds can become agents of social change. One part of this project is an anthology of writings by indigenous women about their struggles with HIV and AIDS. Because AIDS has become a pandemic, now afflicting more than 35 million people worldwide ("Namibia", 2009), this anthology from Namibia provides both a local and global (or "glocal") orientation to the problem. It provides sorely needed consciousness-raising for this dread disease and more generally empowers marginalized populations. At the same time it also demonstrates the value of English in publicizing health and human rights issues and how teachers can assist in this process.

Social and political contexts

The sociopolitical context of Namibia is a paradox because on the one hand, it has national legislation protecting women's rights in its Constitution of 1990, including statements that Namibia is a "democratic… State securing to all our citizens justice, liberty, equality and

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fraternity," and that "women in Namibia have traditionally suffered special discrimination and… need [now] to play a full, equal role in the life of the nation" (Preamble, Article 6). On the other hand, however, Namibia remains one of the most violent and unequal societies in the world, with an "apparent increase in violence since Independence," according to the Deputy Minister of Education, Becky Ndjoze-Ojo (qtd. in /Khaxas, 2005, p. xiii). This view is confirmed by an NGO report in 2006 of the "continuous and shocking escalation of violence against women and girls in Namibian society" (/Khaxas, p. 37).

The country is plagued with high rates of HIV/AIDS, abusive cultural practices, great poverty, social exclusion, poor health care, corruption, and political hegemony. One writer has lamented Namibia's "triple C legacy:" Custom, which includes bride purchasing, forced marriage, genital mutilation, multiple concurrent sex partners and wives, and frequent rape of females of all ages; Colonialism, which institutionalized inequality based not only on gender, but also race, ethnicity, and wealth; and Capitalism, which treats everything, including women, as commodities (/Khaxas, 2005, p. ix-x). All such abuses are documented in the Centre's recently published *Violence is not our culture* (2011), focusing on the impoverished Caprivi region in northeast Namibia.

Namibia is hardly alone, however, in this egregious reputation among developing countries. Strong evidence supports the existence of similar abuses of women and girls all across Africa in "pernicious continuities between colonial, nationalist, and postcolonial systems," according to feminist researcher Amina Mama (2001, p. 265). The Southern African Medical Research Council has reported that "rape has become normalized as a feature of masculine identity in a society that has emerged from years of oppression," with 42% of surveyed males confessing to violence with an intimate partner, and 9 % confessing to gang rape" ("Africa", February 2, 2009). A recent news report claims 48 women in the Congo are raped every hour! ("Congo's Rate", May 12, 2011, p. A2). The current bestseller, *Half the sky*, focuses on the oppression of women throughout the world, particularly in developing countries (Kristof & WuDunn, 2010).

Unsurprisingly, in such contexts, HIV/AIDS has reached epidemic proportions, with a 20% infection rate for most of southern Africa, and nearly 47% in the Caprivi region in northeast Namibia, with little change in numbers despite billions of dollars for education and treatment from organisations such as PEPFAR, Project Hope, and the Millennium Challenge. From these grim statistics one can only conclude that such programs have been a resounding failure. Surprising, perhaps, is the gender distribution for HIV/AIDS: 62% for women vs. 38% for men. Thus the disease overwhelmingly victimizes women. One Namibian writer has poignantly written: "Why do you accuse me?/ i am not the virus/ why are you fighting me? /I am not the disease/ can't you see me? /I am your mother, your daughter… / don't you recognize me?" (/Khaxas, 2005, p. 304).

Women's Leadership Centre

To temper this dangerously oppressive climate in Namibia, the non-profit Women's Leadership Centre (WLC) was founded in 2004 with the primary purpose of fostering women's writings as a means of female consciousness-raising, empowerment, creative expression, and resistance to male-dominated culture. It focuses on the most marginalized Namibian women, such as those affected by HIV/AIDS, young women and girls, sex workers, rural women, disabled women, lesbians, and the impoverished. The premise of the WLC is that when women write about their lives, their writing becomes a uniquely political expression of resistance, transformation, and celebration.

To date the Centre has published two books, a third is in press, and a fourth is in the planning stages. Its first book, *Between yesterday and tomorrow* (/Khaxas, 2005), written by Namibian women, is an anthology of poems, stories, and essays about gender inequality, which still exists just as much today as when the Namibia gained its independence more than twenty years ago. The third volume, *Moments of courage* (in press), highlights courageous acts in the context of women's oppression, whether the threat is physical or psychological, showing many ways of "braving hyenas and lions in order to take care of oneself and one's family." The fourth anthology will deal with the role of Christianity in the oppression of Namibian women.

The focus of this report is the second anthology, *We must choose life: Writings by Namibian women on culture, violence, HIV and AIDS* (/Khaxas, 2008) which puts faces into the bleak AIDS landscape in Namibia, providing a human dimension to the bureaucratic facts and figures. It is now available through Amazon Books and comprises 17 overlapping sections about the impact of AIDS on Namibian women, reactions to AIDS diagnoses, cultural issues and sexual violence, poverty and AIDS, and ignorance and HIV/AIDS. The anthology is complemented by book of photographs snapped mostly by the women themselves with disposable cameras.

The anthology also gives an epiphany of the root cause of the AIDS pandemic: not lack of education, but the presence of male-dominated culture, which *BOTH* genders are programmed to accept, both believing that "a respected woman is quiet, obedient, hard-working, and married" (/Khaxas, 2008, p. xix). Traditional cultural practices in Namibia impact people's behavior far more than educational leaflets or even Constitutional "guarantees" of human rights and gender equality. As one poet puts it, "Infidelity is rooted in culture/ know that dead people have no culture/ therefore a culture has no meaning/ if it drives people to death…" (/Khaxas, 2008, p. 299). Apparently, "if one part of society is sick, the whole society is sick, and if one half of the society is treated without respect and freedom, the whole society remains oppressed and disempowered," according to Namibia's Deputy Minister of Education (qtd. in /Khaxas, 2008, p. xv).

The Women's Leadership Centre anthologies have been created through the following six steps: advertising, leader training, writing workshops, submissions and editing, publication, and dissemination.

To explain in more detail, submissions for the two published books were solicited through 20,000 flyers distributed throughout the country, including the major newspapers, *The Namibian, New Era,* and *Republikein*, followed by four writing-training workshops in the capital city of Windhoek for 150 participants, who then conducted more than fifty regional workshops. Workshops were part group therapy and part writing instruction. As the U.S. State Department's English Language Fellow to Namibia for 2008, I had the privilege of participating in several of these. Submissions could also be sent directly to the Centre. From nearly 500 submissions for each volume, 89 were published in *Between yesterday and tomorrow,* and nearly 150 in *We must choose life*, many by first-time writers. Some submissions were translated for non-English speakers, and some were also transcribed for illiterate women.

Many women had to be coached to overcome their objections that writing requires computers and printers, library access, education, and social mobility, and that it interferes with family responsibilities and cultural expectations for women to be shy and quiet. Finally, though, the women came to see writing as a top priority because "through writing

we are standing up for our rights and making a case against the abuse of women," and "we are writing for our daughters, and to bring about changes in our cultures and traditions" (/Khaxas, 2005, p. xxiii-xxiv). One poet claims in "My Friend, My Pen" that "writing is the most important thing…." Another eloquently states (/Khaxas, 2008, p. 53):

> In the word of Aids/ men and women are equal/ Wake up women/ the old days of total obedience are gone/ forget about your culture/ focus on saving yourself/ Your life counts!/ Women, there are goals to achieve/ dreams to turn into reality/writing is our first priority/ We must choose life/ reject the belief that men/ decide on our fate/ In the world of Aids/ men and women are equal/ Choose yourself/ Choose life!"
> The title for the anthology was taken from this poem.

Writers as agents of social change

The broader benefits of this type of indigenous writing project are several. From a sociopolitical standpoint, the unique contribution of the Centre's publications is that they empower marginalized people to tell their story and advocate for social justice by using "writing as resistance" to reject the status quo and thereby change their world. In so doing, the books can become important agents of social change for writer and reader alike. They provide new perspective on the "plurality of discourses" and "writing from the periphery" (Canagarajah's terms, 2002), helping achieve cultural appropriation and transformation. Unlike academic writers, these women are using English to write within their culture and for their culture in order to resist and transform it—not to join some hegemonic "center".

Although some have challenged the Centre's work, saying that it is not relevant for African women or that economic development and legal reform are more important, a strong case can be made that the process of empowering women through creative literature and its ability to highlight crucial social problems while envisioning better ways of living is just as necessary to Namibia's overall development as roads and wells and health care. The same could surely be said of other developing countries. In the words of Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary General (cited in Project Inspire, 2011), "No other policy is as likely to raise economic productivity as the empowerment of women", who then become victors, not just victims, and solutions, not just problems.

In addition to advocating, the Women's Leadership Centre publications also profoundly educate—both writers and readers. They are supreme examples of auto-ethnography, an account of one's own experiences as grounded in and reflecting a culture, which has become a cutting-edge form of qualitative research—on AIDS or any other topic As such, they enable marginalized people to "become writers" in their own right, realizing that writing is not something that only white or educated people do. This is a radical insight, given that African women have been the objects of study and scrutiny mainly by others, rarely seeing the outcomes of the information they provided. Of course the anthologies are also gold mines of qualitative data for outside researchers and other readers. Additionally, the penned products in these anthologies may be profoundly shattering, but they are also surprisingly eloquent and stingingly heartfelt, thus rising to the level of literary art. Most of all, they educate about the resiliency of the human spirit, for along with the pain, the reader also experiences the optimism, the energy, and the power of Namibian women.

A recent example of both the advocacy and education that may have been fostered in part by the Women's Leadership Centre work is the controversy surrounding the Olufuko bridal initiation ceremony in the northern region of the country ("Namibia", August 24, 2012, p. A1), in which girls in their mid-teens undergo seven "steps" to become

"prospective brides." The controversy over whether this ceremony, now revived for the first time in eighty years, demeans or promotes young women has been covered in all the major Namibian newspapers. Some groups, such as Namrights, charge that the ceremony is "discriminatory and degrading against girls" ("Namibia", August 24, 2012, p. A1). The Lutheran Church and other religious groups say it is uhristian. However, the sponsoring Owambo tribes and others argue that because the girls are not coerced to participate, and they are no longer tested for virginity, the ceremony reflects modern, more respectful cultural norms. Namibian Founding President Sam Nujoma himself opened the Olufuko Festival, of which the ceremony was part. Perhaps some of the participants in this controversy are writers and readers of the Women's Leadership anthologies. As members of the fourth estate, the newspapers themselves also deserve credit for raising consciousness of this and other human rights issues in Namibia.

Curriculum

From a teaching perspective, the two published books provide scarce but desperately needed authentic, contextualized, and culturally appropriate materials that can be used in settings lacking computers or even textbooks, as is the case in much of Africa. One curriculum, already used in schools and women's groups throughout Namibia, is the *Women's voices: Reading guide* (2009), which provides step-by-step instructions for group facilitators with no teaching experience. The steps are:

1) Choose a story of interest,
2) Read the story to yourself (to try to understand it),
3) Reflect on your first impressions of words and images,
4) Consider the context, structure, and author of the story,
5) Relate story to your own lives, community, town, and country,
6) Look for deeper meaning about gender roles,
7) Consider how a man might interpret the story,
8) Practise reading the story to your group (for illiterate group members),

Group discussion guidelines include sequential steps in reading the story or poem for comprehension, feeling the emotional content, understanding the cultural issues, relating them to one's own life, and deciding on some kind of advocacy or action. The five themes covered in both published anthologies include violence against women, wife inheritance, poverty and child raising, forced marriage, and ignorance and HIV. Each theme is represented by at least one main selection (a story, poem, or drama) and by two other selections with different perspectives. The approach of this Reading Guide thus pivots on reader response.

Inside the classroom, the Women's Leadership anthologies provide invaluable authentic materials for courses in current affairs, cultural history, women's studies, English language, and even literature. With classroom contexts in mind, a twenty-hour curriculum has been developed for ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) high school and adult students with two sets of goals (Broekhoff, 2009), focusing on reader response as well as on language development. Both sets of goals have cognitive and affective components. The first goals are to motivate students to seek gender equality and AIDS prevention through exposure to authentic creative expressions of Namibian women, while at the same time encouraging them to become more empathetic towards AIDS sufferers and more analytical about cultural issues. Major themes for the curriculum based on *We must choose life* revolve around the impact of HIV/AIDS on Namibian society, reactions to HIV/AIDS in oneself and others, cultural issues, and choices and solutions.

The second goal set is to promote "best practices" language teaching, particularly as embodied in the U.S. State Department's *Shaping the way we teach English* (Opp-Beckman & Klinghammer, 2006), now used worldwide, including integrated practice of all four language skills (reading, writing, speaking, and listening), multiple learning modalities (visual, auditory, kinesthetic), use of drama techniques, task-based small and large group work, and various learner assessments.

Teachers as agents of social change

As these descriptions of the anthologies and teaching curricula suggest, teachers can function as social reformers when they promote human rights among marginalized populations. This reformer role provides a powerful counter-argument to the all-too-frequent claim that most teachers merely defend the social status quo or promote linguistic imperialism. Instead, with projects such as this one, teachers can become agents of social change by encouraging the disempowered to speak from the periphery and thereby gain strength both there and within the dominant centers of power (Canagarajah, 2002).

There are two ways that teachers can become social change agents, as gleaned from my experience with the Women's Leadership Centre. First, they can assist with the creation and dissemination of "writing from the periphery" by participating in pre- and post-publication publicity, in facilitating the writing workshops themselves, and in selecting and editing submissions. Regarding publicity, teachers can make presentations both nationally and internationally about the work of the Women's Leadership Centre, as I have done. They also can arrange for digital publication, so the books can reach a wider audience. *We must choose life* has been available as a Kindle e-book for more than a year through Amazon.com.

In writing workshops, teachers from a variety of disciplines can help create a sense of voice and community and thereby educate both the writers themselves and their readers. A few caveats are in order, however. Because the oppression of women or of any other group is a sensitive topic, a bond of trust between writer and teacher is vital here. In fact, "facilitator" is probably a better word than "teacher" for a writing workshop leader. Trust can usually be better created by local leadership than by "do-gooders" from outside; in any case, local support is essential. In my own situation, I was welcomed to participate and even lead writing workshops in Namibia's capital of Windhoek, the only major city, but I was not asked to attend the workshops in the rural north of the country because most of these women have never met someone from outside their villages.

The second way teachers can function as social reformers is by using writing from the periphery in their ESOL lesson plans for adults or high school students. Such writing, as stated previously, is authentic, contextualized, and culturally appropriate, and as such, it is far more relevant to the lives of Namibians than for example, a history of Bismarck's conquests or Shakespeare's *King Lear,* a recent selection for the country's high school juniors by the Namibian Ministry of Education (N.E.T.A., 2008). The poems, stories, and essays in the Women's Leadership anthologies lend themselves not only to thematic, consciousness-raising activities focusing on reader response to social concerns, but also to the structural and language activities of a typical English lesson.

Although the WLC publications focus on the oppression of women in Namibia, this kind of "grass roots" writing project can be replicated in a variety of settings involving marginalized people worldwide. Issues can be diverse, pivoting on religion, ethnicity, politics, racism, and poverty, as well as women's oppression and AIDS. Materials produced

from such projects can be used in a variety of educational settings, as illustrated by the two teaching units described above. Course content can also be diverse, using a wealth of primary materials.

Conclusion

The work of the Women's Leadership Centre in Namibia demonstrates that social and cultural change can be created within a society, non-violently, by those most needing the change, illustrating the old adage, "The pen is mightier than the sword". Much in the indigenous Namibian cultures is a tribute to their humanity and achievements, but there is also a persistent undercurrent that has traditionally brutalized women. The Centre publication, *Violence is not our culture* (2011) tries to isolate and expose these harmful cultural practices, particularly in the Caprivi region, but also throughout Namibia. Social change cannot come from executive fiat or even from the inspiring rhetoric of the Namibian Constitution (1990), which guarantees full gender equality while acknowledging that women have been victims of discrimination in the past. The WLC's first anthology, Between yesterday and tomorrow *(/Khaxas,* 2005), glaringly reveals the discrepancy between this rhetoric and the reality for nearly all Namibian women, more than twenty years after the Constitution was written. Social change also cannot come from information alone, as witnessed by the copious AIDS education programs throughout Namibia contrasted with the devastation from AIDS described in We must choose life *(/Khaxas*, 2008).

Social change instead must come from consciousness-raising and a reorientation of emotional perspective, crystallized in the new anthology, *Moments of courage* (in press), which describes individual women's resistance to incidents of male domination. Thus the anthologies of the Women's Leadership Centre, written both by and about the women themselves, are the perfects catalysts for the social and cultural change that Namibia still so desperately needs. By writing about their experiences living in a male-dominated society, marginalized Namibian women are not only raising cognitive and emotional awareness among themselves and their readers. They are also finding a community voice that empowers them and creates respect throughout society. The very recent controversy over the Olufuko bridal initiation ceremony ("Namibia", August 24, 2012, p. A) attests to heightened awareness of this cultural misogyny. Such awareness may be attributed in part to the work of the Women's Leadership Centre.

In addition to social change created by the writers themselves, the second major point of this paper regards the pivotal role of teachers in accelerating change by helping to create and disseminate these auto-ethnographies. Teachers can conduct workshops for any group of people to assist them in finding their "voice" and creating authentic materials. Many educators complain about the dearth of relevant African literature for teaching purposes. The WLC books help fill this gap. Teachers can publicize the auto-ethnographies online and at teacher conferences. Lastly, they can use these materials in their curricula and lesson plans for social studies, women's studies, cultural history, English language, or literature courses and seminars.

Through the kind of project described here, embodied in the work of the Women's Leadership Centre, both writers and teachers of all types can function as agents of social change, not perpetrators of the status quo.

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Information Literacy Programme at the University of Namibia

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Abstract
The research was done to investigate the information seeking behaviour among students at the University of Namibia. The study was conducted to find out the reasons why students do not attend the information literacy training offered by the University of Namibia library and to recommend ways in which information literacy can be integrated into the curriculum. The study used both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods by employing self-administered questionnaires distributed to participants and using focus group interviews with library staff to ensure validity of the results. The findings showed varied reasons for low turnout by the students for training and chief among these are poor communication of information to students concerning the days of training and lack of information on the part of students concerning the significance of training in information literacy. The findings also revealed that many students had the competence to use the internet, although they lacked knowledge of particular websites and databases which were relevant to their studies. The majority of students suggested more training as measures that can be taken to improve information literacy at the university and pointed out that students must be informed properly about training sessions. It was observed that the training did not have a written curriculum and it was recommended that a curriculum be developed to meet the needs of different students. It was also recommended that critical databases must be made available to students through distribution of pamphlets and wall posters so that those students who are capable of using computers can access these databases that are critical to their studies.

Introduction

This paper reports on a recent study that was conducted at the University of Namibia in 2010 to establish corrective measures towards the improvement of the information literacy program offered by the library. The library staff are trying to extend their services and resources to students via information literacy training for the purpose of supporting the mission of the university that is of teaching, learning, and development. The author believes that teaching people how to access academic, health, socioeconomic information and others is the key to making a contribution to the achievement of the Namibian vision 2030. Students need to be information literate to be successful in their studies and become proactive to effectively contribute to the development of the country. In this manner they will also have acquired the skills that will enable them to remain lifelong learners.

This article is a result of the empirical study on Information Literacy at the University of Namibia conducted in 2010.

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Information literacy concept

Information literacy is commonly described as the ability to recognize when information is needed and to have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use information effectively (Feather & Sturges 2003). In the last decade information literacy has become a global issue and many information literacy initiatives have been documented throughout the world that address many concerns relative to technology and information skills. In education, teachers, librarians and others are working to integrate information skills instruction within the curricula to achieve relevant learning outcomes. Employers and policy makers are encouraging workers to develop appropriate technology and information skills to handle their jobs effectively. Martin & Rader (2006) defined information literacy as a set of abilities to: Determine the extent of information needed; locate and evaluate information; incorporate selected information into one's knowledge base; and use information ethically, legally and with an understanding of economic and social issues. Information literacy includes library literacy, media literacy, computer literacy, internet literacy, research literacy and critical thinking skills.

Background to the problem

At the University of Namibia, Information literacy started in 2000 as part of the University library program to educate students on the resources and the services of the library, to teach them how to search online the public access catalogue (OPAC). Due to the changes in information infrastructure, the library started subscribing to e-resources and also digitized part of its collection such as past examination papers, the institutional repository for academic research and some local databases. All those resources are searchable through the library web page. The library has had about 140 computers with internet since 2008. Library management introduced the programme of Information Literacy to teach students on how to use the library and how to access these resources. Students need to effectively assess and analyze the relevancy, quality, quantity, and sources of the information they retrieve (Cooney & Hiris, 2004). Information literacy is a combination of skills which are vital in all disciplines to support effective teaching and learning in any institution and it is high time that it be integrated across the curriculum in all universities for students to become information literate in the 21st century information society (Cooney & Hiris, 2004).

The university has an estimated number of about 12 000 students registered for 2010, sharing 140 computers in the library computer work station. Each student is given one hour to use the computer for internet and word processing. The library has one training laboratory with 20 computers, that is used for information literacy training. One-on-one training is also given to library users by subject librarians in their offices. The trainers of the Information Literacy Program are subject librarians. Each librarian trains their respective faculties by requesting academic lecturers to bring students to the library for the training, or by putting notices about the training on the notice board at the respective faculty and the library. Since the library only has one training room with twenty computers, academic lecturers with big classes have to divide students into groups to be able to share the computers. Each group is given two sessions of one hour each.

The first session covers the following

Students are introduced to the library by touring different sections of the library such as; open shelves, short loan, references, periodicals, wireless rooms, circulation desk, special collection, archive section, reference desk, and explaining different library terms to students.

Students are explained the importance of using library resources for learning and educational purposes.

Students are given practical training in searching the library catalogue- the Online Public Access Catalogue (OPAC), to be able to find the location of materials in the library.

Students are taught about referencing and plagiarism.

The second session covers the following

An overview of the library web pages http://library.unam.na

Practical teaching in searching different databases for academic research purposes, including the use of Boolean operators.

(EbscoHost Research databases: Business Source Premier, Master File Premier, Academic Search Premier, Health Source, Medline CREDO (Reference http://wwwxreferplus.com,) Selected title in Oxford Journals online in full text http://www.oxfordjournals.org/, Full-text electronic, searchable collection of full-text electronic South African Journals http://www.sabinet.co.za, 1100 Springer Journals: Full text http://www.springerlink.com/home/main.mpx, American Educational Research Association Journalshttp://www.nisc.co.za,

Open and free access databases

Archives of journal articles http://www.jstor.org, Directory of Open Access Journals: http://www.doaj.org Database of articles harvested from Open Access sites http://www.oaister.org, American Educational Research Association: http://aera-crasu.edu/ejournals/, Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems: The Largest On-line Encyclopedia A virtual dynamic library equivalent to 200 volumes: http://www.eolss.net/, Provides a simple way to broadly search for scholarly literature: http://scholar.google.com/

Health InterNetwork Access to Research Initiative

Free access to health information: http://www.who.int/hinari/en/, AGORAAccess to Global Online Research in Agriculture, http://www.aginternetwork.org/en/ Online Access to Research in the Environment (OARE), an international public-private consortium coordinated by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)... http://www.oaresciences.org/en/ BioMed Central: Publisher of more than 160 peer-reviewed open access journals http://www.biomedcentral.com/ PubMed Central (PMC) is the U.S. National Institutes of Health (NIH free digital archive of biomedical and life sciences journal literature http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/, World Bank: WDI and GDF Online http://devdata.worldbank.org/elibrary/

It is from this background that this study was conducted to investigate the information seeking behaviour of students in order to better determine ways and means of integrating the program into the university curriculum. Since most students do not attend information literacy training, the research intended to find reasons for poor attendance of information literacy classes at UNAM. The library spends millions of dollars in subscribing to scholarly electronic journals, purchasing books, and CD ROM which are not fully utilized. With the great resources available, librarians want them to be used so that the university can produce useful and productive graduates. Students should not only rely on "Google.com" as their only research tool as these sources are not all peer reviewed and students do not know that "part of the information on the internet is not academic or research related; and with addresses changing frequently and sites disappearing it is unreliable" (Hart, 2001).

Problem statement

Students of the University of Namibia lack the skills to search and use information optimally for lifelong learning. They have most of the resources at their disposal with rich information,

but they do not know how to use them. They seem to prefer to use the internet mainly for Facebook or social networking instead of using it for scholarly purposes. This has been observed from the way 3rd and 4th year students search for information in the library. Students in their 3rd and 4th years of study may not know where the periodical section is in the library, for example. Furthermore, even though the library offers an information literacy programme outlined in 1.2 above, librarians are faced with the challenge of few students attending the programme.

Purpose and objectives

The purpose of the study was to determine the information seeking behaviour of students of the University of Namibia in order to determine ways of improving the Information Literacy programme at the University of Namibia Library. The study aims at achieving the following specifically:

To assess students information skills.

To find out why students do not attend the information literacy training provided by the library.

3. To determine the effectiveness of the program for information literacy offered by the library.
4. To find out what methods are used by librarians to teach information literacy.
5. To explore the views of students and staff towards the integration of the information literacy program into the university curriculum.
6. To suggest what needs to be done to improve information literacy at the University of Namibia.

The assumptions of this study are that: Students do not use computers optimally for lifelong learning; student's use of computers in research will lead to better performances and assist them to become lifelong learners; and students lack the necessary skills to be able to find information in both print and electronic resources.

Review of literature

Information literacy was first mentioned in 1974 by Paul Zurkowski, president of the Information Industry Association, in a proposal submitted to the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) in the United State of America (USA). The proposal recommended that a national program be established to achieve universal information literacy within the next decade. People need to be trained in the application of information resources for them to become information literate (Eisenberg, Lowe, & Spitzer, 2004). Burchinal (1976) added that to be information literate requires a new set of skills, which include how to locate and use information needed for problem-solving and decision–making efficiently and effectively.

During the same year of 1976, Owens (1976) contributed by stating that beyond information literacy for greater work effectiveness and efficiency, information literacy is needed to guarantee the survival of democratic institutions. All men are created equal but voters with information resources are in a position to make more intelligent decisions than citizens who are information illiterates. In 1989, the American Library Association Presidential Committee on Information literacy came up with the definition of information literacy in terms of requisite skills: "to be information literate, a person must be able to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the needed information" (Eisenberg, Lowe, & Spitzer, 2004).

Several countries have developed standards for teaching and even assessing information skills. Information Literacy Competency Standards for Higher Education document was issued by the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL 2000). The document describes five standards, 22 performances indicators and 87 outcome measures. The ACRL Information Literacy Competency Standards for higher education (ACRL, 2000) have been adopted for use in a number of countries such as Mexico, Spain, Australia, Europe, and South Africa. (Marten & Rader, 2006). The five standards are:

- The information literate student determines the nature and extent of the information needed.
- The information literate student assesses needed information effectively and efficiently.
- The information literate student evaluates information and its sources critically and incorporates selected information into his or her knowledge base and value system.
- The information literate student, individually or as a member of a group, uses information effectively to accomplish a specific purpose.
- The information –literate student understands many of the economic, legal and social issues surrounding the use of information, and accesses and uses information ethically and legally.

With those standards librarians and faculty can collaborate to integrate the teaching of information skills into the undergraduate and graduate curricular of the university. Faculty and librarians can plan teaching modules together, both for classroom use and online. Then the criteria for outcome measurements provided in the ACRL document can be used to measure whether or not the students have learned the appropriate information skills (Marten & Rader, 2006). Information literacy education in university settings has been introduced in countries such as Australia, China, South Africa, England, Sweden, Botswana and Mexico to enable students to assume responsibility for their own learning and prepare themselves for the information society. The California State Universities issued a report entitled information competence in the CSU which recommends policy guidelines for the effective use of learning resources and instructional technology. Among many possibilities considered are co-operative ventures between the universities, community colleges, primary and secondary schools to help all students become information literate and encourage the close collaboration between faculty and librarians (Marten & Rader, 2006).

The Namibian vision 2030 theme 7 perceives knowledge as the key determinant in human development in the twenty-first century. The current wave which has been described as a third wave has been characterized by many terms such as Information Revolution, the Knowledge Economy or the Global Village. This wave is sweeping the globe and has been ignited by the developments in Information and Communication Technology (ICT), and also by developments in biotechnology, health, medicine, new materials and other traditional fields. The vision 2030 document observes that "sustained economic growth is largely enabled by increased productivity of labour, which in turn is enabled by the development of the knowledge base or intellectual capital of a nation"(Namibia Office of the President, 2002).

Namibia seeks to construct a vision that embodies the development of a truly knowledge based economy. The vision seeks to transform the country of Namibia into a knowledge society, with a high living standard derived from an economy based on knowledge,

industries and innovation and the creation of new technologies driven by a responsive and flexible education and training system. All these innovations are expected to be supported by an enabling regulatory and institutional framework (Namibia Office of the President, 2002).

The present situation of information literacy in Namibia

The Namibian Ministry of Education had recently implemented Basic Information Science Syllabus for the grade 8 – 10. The aim is to:

- Foster effective communication through speech and writing.
- Develop competence in language communication skills.
- Develop critical thinking and problem solving attitudes
- Develop self-confidence, self-learning through classroom tasks and assignments.
- Enhance a lifelong learning attitude through reading.
- Provide awareness of HIV and AIDS, democratic principles, population growth, ecological sustainability, ICT and improvement of quality of life for all Namibians.
- Enhance integration of ICT in teaching and learning.
- Promote a reading culture in our learners.

Information is a major requirement for development, whether the development is personal, social, spiritual, economic, political or educational. Learners must be encouraged to generate their own relevant information in order to facilitate the production of the country's own publications. Information skills form the foundation for all learning and development; it is an indispensable element of learner-centered education; and the key to a life-long attitude of learning and personal growth (National Institute for Educational Development, 2007).

Students' information seeking behaviour and learning style

From the moment of our birth we are prompted by our environment and our motivations to seek out information that will help us meet our needs (Case, 2002). A need is defined as an inner motivational state that brings about thought and action. Others inner states may include for example; wanting, believing, doubting, fearing, or expecting (Case, 2002). Students begin to perceive information needs that make them search for information. According to Roberts and Bhatt (2007) students are highly predisposed to search for information through sources that have worked for them in the past, usually Google and other sources on the free web. Students are not aware of online databases and electronic book collections that contain information they might need. Students are said to have different information needs and they need to use appropriate sources to meet those needs. Eisenberg, Lowe, and Spitzer (2004) stated that Information literate students are competent, independent learners, they know their information needs and actively engage in the world of ideas. They manage technology tools to access information and to communicate. They operate comfortably in situations where there are multiple answers, as well as those with no answers. When teaching information literacy, students must be taught to sort, to discriminate, to select, and to analyze the array of messages that are presented.

All students do not learn the same way. They have different learning styles at different stages of their cognitive development. Therefore a multitude of approaches in teaching information skills are needed to address these different learning styles (Burge & Snow, 2000). As identified by Fleming & Mills (1992) there are four basic types of learners; visual learners who prefer images, including charts and diagrams; oral / auditory learners who

prefer heard information, including lecturers, conversation, and online chats; read / write learners who prefer text as both input (reading) and output (writing); and kinesthetic learners who prefer to learn by doing and by relating subject's to concrete examples. As Information literacy is a core skill that is important for all students, librarians and faculty need to provide instruction that reaches all types of learner.

Effects of teaching information skills

Accredited agencies in the USA have recognized the importance of information literacy in the curricula of colleges and universities and the important role libraries should assume in the teaching-learning environment, by including appropriate criteria for outcome measures with regards to information literacy in the accreditation requirements. The need to find, organize, assess and apply information to problem solving is an international concern and it is advisable that librarians and educators cooperate and share their expertise and experiences. To prepare both librarians and teachers for educating students in the information age, the following should be considered (Marten & Rader, 2006):

- Information changes continually.
- Learning and teaching must be interactive and recognize diversity in learning styles.
- Teaching and training must be a process of facilitating and sharing rather than dispensing information.
- Information work is becoming more and more competitive.
- Librarians and teachers must market themselves aggressively as information experts.
- Information is a commodity and must be handled like a valuable product.
- Teachers and trainers must be committed to learning everyday.
- Effective teaching utilizes learning outcomes and behavioural goals.
- Good teaching is based on student's needs.
- Information skills must be integrated in the curriculum and taught incrementally.
- Teachers and librarians must work with accrediting and education agencies and curriculum planners to ensure that skills become a required component of the curriculum.

Marten and Rader (2006) further stated that academic librarians around the globe have been actively involved in designing library and information skills instructional programs for the students. IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations), which meets in a different country each year, has focused its concerns on the teaching of library and information skills through the establishment of a Roundtable on User Instruction, recently changed to the User Instruction Section.

At the University of Botswana librarians have integrated the information skills instruction throughout the curriculum. In South Africa information literacy instruction has been used as part of the preparation for lifelong learning. Other countries / continents like China, Australia New Zealand, UK, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, Canada, Mexico, and South America have supported and encouraged the teaching of library and information skills in academic institutions, Some of the countries have been actively involved in developing theories and programmes related to user instruction and information literacy (Marten & Rader, 2006, Kuhlthau, 2004).

Teaching information literacy is also one of the approaches used by academic librarians to market the library resources and activities to the user's community. Helinsky (2008) stated that the library needs to be marketed for the people to know its activities that they

exist, that they contribute to the development of the country just like other industries. Even though students might have basic computer access skills before they come to the library, an information seeker in a digital library environment needs a lot of initial training and constant hand-holding (Du Toit & Selematsela, 2006). Students need to learn to look for the scope of the resources available to them, and also to understand the differences between web-based databases and the public web. Students also need to be trained on the requisite equipment needed for accessing digital collections (Kajinara & Liu, 2001).

Research methodology

The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. Self-administered structured questionnaires were used as techniques for collecting of data. Questionnaires were distributed to students, librarians and academic lecturers at four campuses of the University of Namibia. Focus group interviews were also conducted with the librarians to give in depth detailed information on information literacy programs. Descriptive statistics and inferential statistics were used to organize, summarize and visualize quantitative data. Qualitative data was generated by an in-depth inquiry that gives us detailed descriptions. It focused on meaning, experience and understanding, and also gave the researcher an opportunity to interact with the individuals or groups whose experiences the researcher wanted to understand.

Sampling

The student population of the University of Namibia is estimated at 12 000 for 2010, academic staff are estimated at 558. The researcher studied a representative sample because she could not study the whole population of the university students and staff. A sample size of ninety-five including students, librarians, and academic lecturers was used to collect data from the four campuses of the university. The study used accidental non-probability sampling and snowball sampling techniques.

The sample was selected to ensure that each faculty was represented in the study. The University is comprised of nine faculties [(School of Medicine (main campus), Nursing (Oshakati campus), Science (main campus), Economics and Management (main campus), Humanities and Social Sciences (main campus), Law (main campus), Engineering, and Information Technologies (Ongwediva campus), Education (main campus), and the Faculty of Agriculture and Natural Sciences at (Ogongo campus)]. Using accidental sampling techniques, the researcher went to each specific faculty to distribute the questionnaires to students and academics that turned up for classes on the days of the data collection.

Snowball sampling technique was used in some faculties whereby the researcher approached students and gave them questionnaires to give to other students in their faculty who were willing to take part in the study. The sampling was used because it was hard for the researcher to find subjects from certain specific faculties since the researcher did not find any academic staff from the faculties to provide her with the time table of students. Ultimately she met two students from those faculties that were willing to identify other students who could take part in the study.

Findings and discussion

Students, librarians, and members of academic staff were asked to complete a questionnaire and a focus group interview was carried out with three members of the library staff who are involved in the training of students in information literacy skills. This research organized the findings and data around the research objectives.

Characteristics of respondents

The profile of respondents is summarized by gender, qualifications of academic staff and the centre from which they came.

The gender distribution of members of staff who participated in the research is shown in the table below:

Table 1. Gender distribution member of academic staff respondents

male	female
11	9

The qualifications of members of staff varied from two staff members with first Bachelor's or undergraduate degree, ten members with Masters degrees, and eight members of staff with PhDs

A total of twenty members of staff and fifty-one students from six faculties participated in the research. The proposed sample size of 95 could not be reached since some participants failed to return the questionnaires. Only seventy-one responses out of the actual sample size of 95 have returned questionnaires.

Table 2. Gender distribution of students respondents

Male students	Female students
20	31

Students' information seeking behaviour

The findings from the questionnaires distributed showed that more than 50% of the respondents indicated that they use the text book and lecture notes as a source of information for assignments. Twenty-nine percent of the students indicated that they use both print and electronic sources for assignments. When the students were asked to state the other sources of information which they use for information the majority of them stated that they use the internet. This was true for both the students who attended the information literacy and for those who did not attend.

Causes of non-attendance of Information Literacy programmes offered by the library

Five percent of the students indicated that they were not able to attend the training because they were not aware of the time when the training took place. In an interview with the library staff it was also indicated that the staff relied on students to come to the library for training during their course periods. Another reason given for not attending the training was that students believed that the program is another course module that they need to register for, and in fact they could not register for more than they already have. It appears there is no direct communication between the students and the course facilitator where the former can motivate the students by stressing the advantages of attending the course. Details of the training programmes must be communicated to the learners properly so that they are aware of the days of the training. Only 38% of students had attended the training for information literacy. The remaining 62% had not attended the information literacy training. The majority of those learners who attended the information literacy training found the training very useful.

Methods used by librarians to teach information literacy

The training methods used by library staff are the PowerPoint presentation and lecture methods. On occasion students take the initiative and approach the library staff requesting training. Those students who take the initiative are those students who may have heard of the training either informally or came across a training programme accidentally. The students are taught about ways of accessing different databases and about different sources of information available in the library.

Students and Staff Support for integration of the information literacy program into the curriculum.

Twenty percent of the students indicated unwillingness to attend the information literacy training. The majority of students on the contrary expressed appreciation that the introduction of information literacy would benefit students in their respective courses.

When the students were asked to elaborate on the reasons why they did not want information literacy to be taught in the university many of them expressed concern that the course might take up time needed for their regular curriculum resulting in their being overburdened with work. They also feared an increase in tuition fees.

Eighteen percent of the members of staff were against the integration of information literacy into the university curriculum and 82% were in favour of the integration of information literacy into the curriculum. The members of staff who were in favour of the integration of information literacy into the university curriculum offered the following reasons:

- Students fail to access journal articles on the various databases.
- They think that students lack the skills required to find information.

They feel that the level of argument and the way students approach their work lacks the depth of insight which comes through study and researching widely making use of various sources of information.

Other staff members felt that students are generally not using the available information.

Members of staff also advocated for the use of workshops to teach information literacy and other strategies such as production of pamphlets and manuals.

Degree of effectiveness of information literacy programme offered by the University

The responses of students to the questionnaire indicated that the literacy training programme is quite effective. However, the interview with the library academic staff showed that there is no definite curriculum in place that information literacy training was expected to follow. The interview showed that there is a partially developed programme which reflects objectives, suggests some approaches to be used when training, but there is lack of a detailed course outline and of assessment criteria. The responses from the academic staff show that the current information literacy classes may not be very effective in helping students to access information on the various databases to which the university library subscribes. However, students who attend the training workshop seem to have benefitted significantly from the training.

Ways forward to improve the information literacy at the University of Namibia

Members of staff suggested the use of workshops in order to raise the level of information literacy among the students. When the students were asked the measures that can be taken to improve information literacy at the university the majority of them suggested that more training must be conducted and students must be informed properly about these training sessions.

Most of the students showed an imprecise appreciation of the term information literacy. Some of the responses students gave to the question which required them to explain what information literacy are listed below:

- Is the ability to be able to write his or her own information?
- Information that is given to educate, inform, persuade someone on a topic that is being discussed.

Some of the more precise definitions that came from students were:

- It is a way of teaching people how to access information whenever necessary.
- How to get hold of academic information and how to make use of it for academic purposes.

It was interesting to note that the definition by students did not link information literacy to the concept of lifelong learning.

When the library focus group was asked to indicate the size of the group that attends training, it emerged the group can be as big as thirty-five students. The average group is normally twenty students, and in some instances it was also revealed that students had to share computers, a factor that may affect motivation of students and prevent them from attending the training sessions.

When students were asked if they were aware of the library electronic resources 24% indicated that they were aware of these resources and the other 76% were not aware of these resources. Among the students who were aware of the electronic resources 10% had attended library training conducted for their faculty. 10% of students had learnt about the electronic resources through their peers. 4% had become aware of the electronic resources through individual training by librarians.

The data seems to indicate that students appreciate the integration of information literacy into the university curriculum. The majority of the students indicated that they were able to use the internet to read newspapers, research assignments and to search for information. What seems to be lacking is the knowledge about specific websites where students can access academic information. Some of the students indicated that they access the internet at home, at the internet café and on their cell phones. Some of the issues raised by students in the study are inadequate time allocated to them on the internet to do research, inadequate computers, the internet that is slow, lack of relevant books, an internet that is frequently out of order.

The students were asked if they were aware of the wireless internet room in the library and 20% were aware of the wireless interconnection room and 47% indicated that they were not aware of this room and the rest abstained from answering the question. The lack of knowledge of the internet wireless connection may be linked to lack of laptop computers on the part of students.

The research set out to find out the way information literacy was being conducted at the University of Namibia. The findings of the research seem to suggest that students are not developing information literacy skills to develop life-long learning. This is supported by tentative data obtained from the teaching staff. The data obtained from the focus group interviews seems to suggest that the majority of learners have the necessary skills to use the internet. Actually most of the students indicated that they have the ability to use the internet on their cell phones, computers at home and in the various university centres. However, the majority of these learners were not aware of the existence of a number of databases which could furnish information for study and for assignments.

The findings also seem to suggest that many of the students were not aware of the university electronic sources. The majority of students are in favor of the integration of information literacy into the university curriculum. The academic staffs also share the sentiments that information literacy must be integrated into the university curriculum.

Conclusions and recommendations

The conclusions that may be drawn from the findings are that many students are missing information literacy classes because they are not aware of them and those who are aware believe that the programme is another course module that they need to register for, and in fact they cannot register for more than they already have. It appears there is no direct communication between the students and the course facilitator where the former can motivate the students by stressing the advantages of attending the course. Evidence also seems to suggest that the few students who attended the classes seemed to find these classes very beneficial. The research seems to point out that the training is done without a properly written curriculum which may compromise effectiveness.

To address this situation, the study recommends a more rigorous approach to the information literacy programme. Firstly, the University library staff have to come up with a well written course outline for information literacy training among the university students. The course outline should state the objectives, the contents, methods of instruction and forms of assessment for the course. Secondly, it is further recommended that students be informed about the objectives of the training in advance as a way of seeking to motivate them to attend the training sessions. Thirdly, the information literacy training course must be carefully designed to cater for the individual needs of different students. Some students have prior exposure to the internet, while others do have this background information. There are students who prefer to work on their own, whilst others prefer to work in small groups. There are also those students who feel too shy to pose questions in a big group, but who may be willing to participate actively in an individual training session. All these have to be taken into account. Fourthly, materials on information literacy must also be produced in a way which is easy to understand and disseminated in order to help those students who prefer to work on their own to access information. Fifthly, it is imperative that the University of Namibia library design an on-line tutorial which can be used by those students who are already computer literate and who prefer to work on their own. Sixthly, pamphlets, posters and handouts may also be designed in order to help students know the vital sources of information. These can mounted in the different faculties so that students become familiar with the critical websites as well as in the library. Last but not least, the library staff must ensure that the size of each group undergoing training does not exceed the number of computers available. Asking students to share computers may discourage them from attending training sessions. It is also important to ensure that the size of the group being trained is small to allow students who may not be familiar with

the use of internet to receive adequate assistance. And more importantly as suggested by participants librarians should conduct more training to ensure that resources that the library has invested in are being utilized to develop the knowledgeable society.

There is still room for further research to find out how information literacy training may be made relevant and meaningful to students. Research may for example be carried out at individual faculty level and it is hoped that future research of that nature may yield more valuable information.

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Assessing virtual culture exchanges: Internet social networks and global interactions among Windhoek youth

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Abstract
The rapidly growing presence of old and new media in postcolonial Namibia, particularly from the decade after the turn of the Millennium, has significance for cultural and lifestyle transformations in the country. Formerly entrenched social identities, shaped by restrictive colonialism and indigenous traditions, appear to be under pressure as shifts become apparent in the face of cultural globalisation. This article examines the characteristics of change from the perspective of young Windhoek adults' experiences of Internet social networks. The research constitutes a cultural study that addresses the current knowledge gap regarding how the Internet is increasingly situated in youth identity and cultural lifestyle spaces. Social networks appear to be changing the cultural landscapes of Namibia, if the evidence is accepted, and youth are at the cutting edge of cultural transformations wrought by new media such as the Internet.

Introduction

This article focuses on youth interactions made possible through Internet communication, and considers the sociological consequences of new media in terms of cultural shifts within Namibian contexts. It provides recent evidence on youth linkages and electronic sociability with 'others' in distant external international settings. It asks: "what are youth doing" with electronic media, while at the same time wishing to know how youth are changing themselves and their identities in terms of social and cognitive outlooks. In cultural terms, is this new-found and novel means of communication impacting on the outlooks of young people? Is the Internet changing Namibian culture? If the answer is 'yes', then through what specific practices is this occurring? The present discussion is based on extensive qualitative fieldwork utilising grounded theory methodology undertaken among young users of media in Windhoek in 2011, although the primary focus here is specifically on youth encounters with the Internet. The evidence indicates that social change is in-process, being noticeably centred on and through youth culture in the city from within recently constituted communication processes of new media.[1]

From 2007, the possibilities for connecting with the global 'outside' through Internet connectivity became markedly enhanced with the introduction in Namibia of 3G

[1] A total of 62 participants between the ages of 18 and 26 years were interviewed in-depth for a total of 80 hours using grounded theory methodology as a basis for establishing a theory of media in Windhoek. The fieldwork was part of doctoral research undertaken through the University of Stellenbosch.

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communication networks (Larsen, 2007). This has taken a further step forward with the launch of 4G technology among Namibia's relatively narrow base of service providers from May 2012. Internet has expanded exponentially in terms of access, with Namibians gaining rapid entry and considerably enhanced improvements in data-access speeds through desktop computers, laptops and, substantively, through cell phones. Cell phones have emerged as the cheaper prime platform for poorer citizens to use the Internet (Campbell & Park, 2008; Van Binsbergen & Van Dijk, 2004).

Internet practices have come to represent considerably more than a technical activity, emerging to signify profound novelty, and to occupy a new practical space in the lives of younger Namibians. Related to this, the phenomenal rise of social network sites such as Facebook, MySpace and 'chat and comment' destinations such as Skype, Twitter and a plethora of online news publication sites, have established virtual communication inroads into societies and cultures beyond Namibia and Africa, entrenching opportunities for unique forms of instant, globalised social interaction. Such mediated contacts and actions provide the means to transcend the narrow knowledge and opinion base of people's immediate cultural locale. The consequences of these new social media practices are as yet poorly understood (Boyd, 2008a), and barely researched in Namibia. What therefore are the practices and more importantly, the sociological consequences of these mediated forms of interaction in the electronic global social meeting places provided by the Internet?

Virtual global connections: Rise of the Internet in Namibia

What is the media background to the communication shifts that appear to be impacting on youth lifestyles in Windhoek? In Namibia, the Internet has grown in significance in little more than ten years with the bulk of this access expanding exponentially in less than half that time. The Internet remained a minority medium up to the early 2000s. From less than 1% of Namibians connected in 1999, there were estimated to be 148,414 Internet users, or 6.9% of the population by December 2011 (www.internetworldstats.com). Access and intensity of use has been retarded by high prices for bandwidth and ungenerous data capping, but this may change from mid-2012 as Namibia's first direct submarine cable link with the rest of the world is operationalised. Prices are then forecast to fall, assuming market trends experienced in most other countries operate in similar ways within the Namibian economy (Totel 2010).[2] There is a danger that the narrow cartel of Namibian service providers and a history of weak competition in the sector, may limit the full cost-saving potential of this development.

The Internet and cell phones are experiencing what has been termed *media convergence*, a recent media trend, whereby technological change concentrates different media into fewer spaces, meaning the combining of media technologies and mediated practices into fewer digital devices (Kung, Picard, & Towse, 2008; Jenkins 2006). For example, cell phones are now used to search the Internet and listen to radio, rather than just for speaking to people; while laptops provide online television, downloadable movies and music, or a means to communicate globally with others with considerable immediacy or even in real-time on social networks or Skype. This media convergence eliminates or reduces reliance on older conventional media, and significantly changes personal strategies to access entertainment and practical or educational content. The Internet outdoes traditional media which have represented more passive consumer practices, by allowing interactive, participatory, and even reflexive involvement. In Namibia, cell phones are a significant part of the trend for

[2] Internet connections in the country before 2012 were always indirect, either via South Africa or Botswana which adds significantly to usage cost.

ever-closer contact nationally, and with the global beyond. From just 20,000 cell phone users in 1998, there was over 1.5 million in 2011 (Economy Watch, 2011). Mobile telephony has resulted in a revolution in personal media communication, in that multi-tasking phones allow for broader communication potential than was previously possible, including public debate and civic exchanges that bypass restrictive official state media (Sarrazin 2011; Tyson 2007). Given the pace of these changes in Internet access and the devices used to attain it, the 2012 6.9% official national figure may be a serious under-estimate of people with a working Internet connection. Internet use tends to be chiefly urban-based, and is likely to be significantly higher in Windhoek anyway, compared to other parts of the country.

Specific uses of Internet in Namibia have received little attention, although the research presented here draws on what seems to be widespread engagement with Internet social network sites (Fox, 2012). Social networks can be defined as media forums found on the Web that allow for contact, sociability and virtual interaction with others who are distant and not physically co-present. They are meeting places where views and opinion on lifestyle and fashion, relationships, social, political and more general interests, can be shared and debated online. Many Namibian social network users tended to be in contact with people in other parts of Namibia, other African countries or, just as commonly, in Asia, Europe or the Americas. Moderately well-off and, more obviously, affluent young people in Windhoek have a Facebook account, while knowledge of YouTube, Twitter and other social network sites was high. There proved to be surprising interest and even some participation in social networks by lower-income individuals; for example, a car guard had a Facebook account which he exclusively accessed on his cell phone. All experienced a general fascination in other options that the Internet provided such as film and music downloads and access to news and entertainment (Fox, 2012).

Many youth who were interviewed regarded 3G cell phones as a desirable means of accessing the Internet than a conventional computer, although a majority used both. Facebook was demonstrated to be the most favoured social network site, although others mentioned were Skype,[3] Twitter and various personal commenting or blogging platforms. All interviewees had joined Facebook after 2007, most from 2009. Its sudden popularity represent, as will be established, sharp and significant cultural change in individual media actions in Windhoek. Skype usage seemed to be not far behind, although problems with connection speed meant that audio rather than audio-video communication proved the only possibility for most interviewees. The rise of Facebook and similar sites owed much to improvements in Namibian telecommunications from 2007/8 in line with reduced tariffs, and the introduction of 3G connections (Larsen, 2007). MySpace was barely mentioned, an indication of how such sites can rapidly decline and be superseded: a fate that Facebook itself could eventually experience. Facebook was the most popular social network site among Windhoek participants, and this is borne out by recent statistics, Namibia had 6.2% penetration or 134,140 Facebook users as at 31 December 2011. Globally, Facebook reports that it has 799 million users with its largest growth sectors being in the developing world (*www.internetworldstats.com*). Only one participant in the Windhoek research used an alternative site, this being a Russian social network called *Aska* [4], being chiefly preferred because the individual had studied in Russia for several years, and had friends there.

How did Windhoek youth utilise social network sites? Participants variously commented on the means provided by social networks not just to talk to people who were complete

[3] Skype is not strictly a social network, although many consider it as such. It has video conferencing and voice communication capability, but also allows texting.

[4] Aska being derived from a slang word in Russian meaning 'let's get together'.

strangers that they might never meet offline; often they kept in contact with family and friends, but also felt the need to display their personality, self-image and personal and social identities. Self presentation, and even the pursuit of some degree of celebrity, was a major attraction of sites such as Facebook. The following sections offer a practical representation of social network practices, often in the words of the research participants themselves regarding what they did, and represents both the attractions as well as their negative experiences in mediated virtual worlds.

Self-celebrity: Presentations of self online: "They don't want to see the real you" (Diane) One of the chief attractions of Facebook for participants was the opportunity to engage with a type of media that allowed the self and self-identities to be publicly displayed. Couldry (2003, p. 107) has written of the emergence of modern self-celebrity, first created out of reality show formats such as the heavily-exported *Big Brother* franchise. He argues that these shows combine "ordinariness and celebrity" in similar ways to social network sites. Members of the public are able to present themselves as a personality to everyone else. Social networks extend the reality television premise that anyone can be a celebrity, be visible 'out there' before large audiences, establishing platforms for public self-presentation.

Goffman's 1959 thesis that people in their daily public relationships 'present' themselves in the dramaturgical manner of an actor on a stage, takes on a new dimension in social networks. Goffman (1998 [1959], p. 77-78) believed that individuals socially presented idealised versions of themselves to others through self-managed performances that carefully concealed defects of character or imperfection that might spoil public identities. He states that

contrived performances we tend to see as something painstakingly pasted together, one false item on another, since there is no reality to which the items of behaviour could be a direct response … If a performance is to come off, the witness by and large must be able to believe that the performers are sincere … Some performances are carried off successfully with complete dishonesty, others with complete honesty; but for performances in general neither of these extremes is essential and neither, perhaps, is dramaturgically advisable.

The best of ourselves is displayed while the worst is hidden in a performance that is always a contrived social drama. We are never entirely honest or dishonest in our presentations, and a certain degree of veiling of ourselves, Goffman says, is essential for self-security and goal success. He used the metaphor of 'masks' as a way to describe concealment of real identities, with presentational strategies in public determining success or failure of actual performance, manipulation of others being never far away. Such strategies of Windhoek youth to present idealised selves and unspoiled identities were apparent in their Facebook interactions. Twama said that self-display was one of the obvious purposes of Facebook and social sites. She liked this aspect, stating that "I like Facebook for the displaying of yourself. I change the picture each month if I have time, and I update my status according to the things that have happened to me. My life is out there, and I share it with those other people."

Diane valued it also for identity displays with online friends, stating candidly "it's not about being in touch with relatives for me. For me it's more about popularity, being popular and seen. You can only do that on Facebook. It's presenting your photo and lifestyle to the world. We like to upload pictures of ourselves and say 'here we are'. It's showing off really, but it's fun. People want to be popular."

Diana confirmed that for many young people 'presenting yourself' was a primary motivation to use Facebook. Idealisation of the self and flawless identity management was essential. She said the thing I find really interesting is how perfect people want to appear on Facebook. They wouldn't want any old picture, but they want you to see this perfect picture; no mole, no freckle, they wouldn't want a normal face. Like, I have no makeup at the moment, and I wouldn't want them to see this. They don't want to see the real you.

She added an eccentric example of one of her online friends from South Africa who liked to present herself as though she was in one country one day and another the next. She had got the idea from a French film called *Amelie*.

I know this girl who puts fake pictures on [Facebook]. The other day, she had this photo of her standing by the Eiffel Tower, and she said she was there. The next day the photo was of her in New York. But she wasn't. She just edits the picture and puts her face there. I don't know how she does it.

Sonny, a noticeably conservative, even traditionalist participant in Focus Group Four, disliked this type of exposure and openness of self-identity. It was not 'cultural' to do that, but 'a new Western thing'. He said:

These social networks like this Facebook, I just don't like them. I just don't want everything about myself to be exposed out there for all to see. I am private, a bit reserved. Why expose myself so publicly like that? I don't like my things to be known.

Grace had a different concern regarding negative presentation she had encountered. She discussed the problem of male displays that sometimes occurred. Speaking about Skype, she said that:

[men sometimes] strip off their tops when you are speaking and show themselves and I say you cannot do that in our culture. Men like to show themselves, their physique to you. Some men only use Skype for sexual reasons. So I cut them off. There was this old man on Skype who once said to me that he wanted to see my ass [is embarrassed], so I cut him off. Women also show themselves more on Facebook where they show their bodies in mini-skirts and brief clothing. But it's hard to avoid that.

Some sought fame through online display. Mumba said that she sent sound files of herself singing through Facebook. She hoped that a record producer would hear and see her so that she could 'become famous'. She said that she had heard it had happened. Diana critically commented at the lack of pragmatic use of the Internet, saying that: "many don't use it that practically. They mainly show themselves off and think they'll be famous."

These represent examples of how social network participants expropriate global media for their own ends. While power is being directed at them from institutions of Western media, we should not underestimate the degree to which youth capture and use media for shaping their own cultural practices and identities, irrespective of the power processes from media institutions which they also undeniably encounter (Rantanen, 2005; Van Binsbergen & Van Dijk, 2004).

Sharing cultures and global lives

Social network interactivity was a window into other people's worlds, lives and cultures. Making contacts in other parts of Africa, Europe, the United States or China proved to be a significant attraction to the Windhoek research participants. They provided a great deal of discussion on the cultural possibilities of sites such as Facebook. Miller's (2011) study of Facebook in Trinidad also reported this culturally attractive side to people in that country.

A small Caribbean island was effectively linked to people in various nations in some sense, either to connect to families who had immigrated to the United States or Europe, or to be part of the greater global community in the culture sharing possibilities the Internet provided.

The opportunities for these intense interactions frequently gave insights into how people lived elsewhere in the world. The participants became temporary roving anthropologists or ethnographers discovering ways of life that were sometimes a revelation to them. They frequently compared other unfamiliar lifestyles with their own.

Diane mentioned how surprised she was in discovering facts about India through her Indian Facebook friend. She heard about caste discrimination, the low status of women, the intense situationality of Hindu religious beliefs in the lives of many, and about social problems such as intense poverty for many Indians. She had also become aware that India was now a major emerging economy. She admitted that she 'knew nothing' about these things before her Facebook contact: "I used to know only Namibia. I didn't have any knowledge of elsewhere. Now I know about India, the US, places like that. It has opened me up."

In their joint interview, Charlotte and Rushida, both chemistry students, stated that the culture sharing aspects of social networks interested them most. They 'loved' having worldwide friends who told them the following things:

Rashida: I do it [Facebook] with friends all over the world. There are friends and relatives and people I have not met. I like talking to people in America and China to see what people do that side. I like to see their side of their lives.

Charlotte: We are learning a lot, for example from people in the USA who I speak to a lot. They tell us things like 'we are going to town shopping', things like that. They talk about how they dance when they go out at night. We compare our lives and their lives, their style and ours. They are not really different from us, but it sounds a bit more fun. They show you their pictures and you see their clothes and how they look, and you realise that side is a little cheaper than this side. They show the scenery of their cities or their towns. I would love to go there.

Interviewer: Do you tell them about Namibia?
Charlotte: We tell them about Namibia and show them pictures of our ocean, our sea and coastline. They say that they would love to come and see it here, how it is. They know of these [film] stars that have come here and films that have been made here and they ask if we know these places. They want to know which places here the movies are shot, where the stars are staying.[5]

Discovery of other matters, such as insights into economic catastrophes in rich Western nations following the crash of Lehmann Brothers in the United States, emerged from social network communication. Talia, an Afrikaner, gave a picture of the reality of the global economic crisis or 'credit crunch' that first hit the United States economy in September 2008, quickly spreading to other parts of the globe.

[5] Namibia has become a frequent location for making Hollywood films. Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt came for three months in 2006 for the birth of their child which was widely reported globally. She had previously starred in a film that had been made outside Swakopmund in 2003.

She said:

my US friends have told me a lot about the economic problems. It really comes across when you talk with them. They say the economy is really bad there. They're so depressed sometimes. One person's dad recently lost his family business, and he says they are struggling financially now, where they were very well off before. It was tough for them, and I can relate to that, as my own family depend on a business.

Grace gave some specifics on cultural differences which were the topic of conversation. She said of social networks as being a means to 'culture share':

I do it to find out about other parts of Africa. Like the weather: I ask is it raining, snowing, things like that. I ask about their cultures also. How do they dress, what do they eat. I know this Chinese guy who tells me about these disgusting fish they eat, I don't know what they are called. He shows me pictures of it and I say 'I can't eat that'! I see that they eat with those [chop]sticks, and I say 'do you really eat with those'. They also ask a lot about Namibia. What is here, how do we look, what are the beautiful places if we come to visit, and I tell them. As you might say, we are culture sharing.

While Miller (2011) confirms this desire of participants to gaze into other societies and share global cultural options potentially generating cultural change, other studies are sceptical about the far-reaching effects of this. Kung, Picard and Towse (2008, p.94) state that "there is no overwhelming proof that globalisation or cultural change is taking place because of people getting online and using Internet", adding that domestic websites remain the most popular in many countries. These writers do not, however, address or examine the impact of social networking, which seems a different order of cultural possibility altogether.

Family interconnectedness through social media: resolving diaspora

The research established a powerful connection between the Internet and modern international migratory patterns. Several participants used social networks to make connections with family members who had moved to other parts of the world. 'Keeping in contact' was an important ontological [6] and emotional need for Windhoek participants. Social networks and the Internet were found to be a means to overcome diasporic displacement and dispersal of family members through emigration, a means to reconnect and to establish interconnectivity with relatives thousands of miles away. According to the International Organisation for Migration (2010), emigration out of continents such as Africa achieved historic proportions from 2000 onward.

Many Windhoek participants now had friends or family living permanently or for long periods abroad. Most used the strategic opportunity of social networks to re-establish or maintain contact. In these senses, Happy explained the advantages for him quite well, speaking of the rediscovery of lost family.

I have found lost relatives in other parts of the world by looking for people with my name. I found a lady who I discovered to be a relative in the USA. I talk a lot to my brother who lives in Canada on Skype, and you no longer have to write letters to keep in touch. Very few write now since social networks. I think it's a very good thing. It allows us to live as a family even though we are scattered and not seeing each other. It helps with a sense of belonging.

[6] Ontology is a philosophical and sociological concept referring to the study of the conditions of existence of an individual or a society. It is frequently applied to matters of culture and the existential foundations of belief systems.

Strong evidence presented itself that participants used social media as a counter-diaspora strategy. The term 'diaspora' refers to people-dispersal, originally derived from the Old Testament in relation to the scattering of the Jews from ancient Israel following the Persian conquest of the seventh century B.C., but widely applied today to all groups, nations or communities who through oppression or by choice move from their homeland. This well explains why Facebook is experiencing a greater expansion of take-up in the developing world compared to the developed (*The Financial Times*, 15 June 2011). Mass migration to other areas, primarily Europe and North America, over the last 15 years has fragmented African families, scattering kin members globally (United Nations Development Programme 2009). Facebook represents a strategic resource to locate, contact and maintain interaction with relatives across this global diaspora landscape (Tsagarousianou, 2004). Crispin described how contact was established with his own dispersed kin, explaining:

[On Facebook] you find lost family members, family who have moved, even gone out to Europe. Some are in England, four cousins and an aunt are there. There was no communication from her for four years. Then she saw my name on Facebook and contacted me thinking it was my dad. But my dad had died, so I said no, he is deceased, but she kept contact with me. Most of my family, uncles and aunts, contacted me through Facebook. I didn't contact them, they just found me. It's so useful for that. It brings our dispersed family together. It's really changed everything.

In their joint interview, Guido and Julia, girlfriend and boyfriend from a white Afrikaans background, differed in their Facebook connectivity. Julia contacted her 'white' diaspora, while he solely used it to keep his Windhoek friendship network active. She said

I joined [Facebook] in 2008. It's a good way to stay in touch with friends and family overseas. We have German and Swedish family on my grandparents' side and we can talk regularly and share stories easily. It's better than email. The broad international side of my family makes it stretch between here and Europe. We are speaking to each other nearly every other day or at least on a weekly basis.

It follows that an important function of Facebook is to bring the diasporic global family 'virtually' together. Adeyanju and Oriola (2011, p.22) state that the 'insatiable desire' of Africans for a new life in Western countries, and subsequent large-scale migration, has created a fragmentation of the African family. Sites like Facebook establish an online space to maintain regular family contact and share news. Presentational matters, in Goffman's sense, are vital to the migrant. Diasporic Africans use social sites to communicate legitimising performance impressions of their 'successful' lives abroad, while needing at the same time to suggest they maintain 'culturally appropriate' lives away from home. This ensures that parents, friends and peers culturally approve of their new existence. Such aspects were present in Windhoek in communications with friends and family who had emigrated elsewhere, exhibiting achievement symbols while avoiding displays of excessive distance from Namibian customs and tradition.

Miller's (2011) Trinidad Facebook study expressed similar diasporic and presentational patterns. Fuchs's (2009, p.108-109) quantitative Austrian survey, which included immigrant Africans, found that social networks were predominantly used to keep in touch with existing friends and family at home and abroad (59.1%), and less than one third (30%) used them for establishing casual online friendships in other parts of the world with people they were unlikely ever to meet. Fuchs (2009) and Miller (2011) emphasise the importance of this global means of instant interactive familial communication. Both writers regard social

networks as positive and educational beyond mere entertainment. However, both also stress the harsher side of online contact, which Windhoek participants strongly noted.

Abrasive media in online encounters

An area of cultural conflict on social networks arises from how people address each other, converse or generally interact on them. Namibia is a country where formality is mostly carefully maintained in social encounters. However, online communication often displays a raw approach in discussion, frequently resorting to harsh criticism and unrestrained language or prose, including abusive (*The Guardian*, 24 July 2011). Other cultures may find such discourse hard to accept. This type of encounter with media can be described as *abrasive media*, which typified how Windhoek participants experienced certain individuals on the Internet.

Andrew was a participant who had an interest in conspiracy theories which he debated with others online. He liked to comment and blog on conspiracy matters on the Internet, but showed some unease at the reactions his online points of view sometimes led to. He found these encounters sometimes severe, and at times hard to take. He provided an example based on a significant news event, which had occurred a few weeks before his interview:

After the alleged assassination of bin Laden, I commented on this. I said how much I thought it was a staged event, that he was killed to raise Obama's ratings. Gradually, it went on to a war of words [with other commentators]. Then it got personal, insulting each other. It got to abuse and swearing with some guy from the [United] States. He was saying 'what do you fucking know? Excuse me, you're from a fucking third world country'. That sort of comment. I would say that bin Laden has been dead for years already. The situation was invented to increase Obama's ratings. I told this to the American guy but he was quite rough.

Andrew expected discussion to be confined to 'reasonable bounds' that excluded insult and swearing, while admitting that it was difficult to meet those expectations out on the Web. He said that "if you met some of those people in real life, you would be fighting them."

Bertha enjoyed rough Internet characters who were sometimes interactively 'amusing'. She mentioned a Windhoek man who she said was widely known among friends and acquaintances on Facebook for being aggressive and outrageous.

There is this person's wall I always read, and that person is always, always swearing! He's in Windhoek, but he is not my friend, I didn't request him, he's just appeared on my page. But he knows everything, what's going on where, everything! He's always the one to know people's weakness, always the one to know who did what, always the one to publish what's going on in Windhoek. He's just not polite. If you criticise him, he comes back at you and is very nasty. That's why I would rather read him than reply! People are afraid of him, but also there are a lot who support him. He is quite popular.

Lebius, a more conservative participant, liked Facebook but reported that he restricted contact with people outside the country because they were 'always too rude'. He mentioned past abrasive encounters as an unpleasant downside of the Internet, but also people that 'reveal your secrets', presumably people who knew him. He explained: "some bad experiences have happened. People try to irritate you with their comments. They can

be very direct. They talk about people in a bad way. That I don't like. Things like Facebook can often be culturally inappropriate. I may stop it soon."

Social media were widely perceived in Windhoek to breach culturally-accepted standards, being criticised on several occasions on cultural grounds. Over-expressive language displayed publically on the Facebook 'wall' or through close friends via the inbox, shocked some Namibian users. Mumba said she believed that such language contradicted the behaviours and expectations of her own culture. People did not swear in public according to her Kwanyama tradition, unless they were drunk or 'not responsible' for themselves. She said: "in some ways, things like Facebook are creating a culture clash, we are changing. The language is also bad, and really hard comments. They get angry about something and swear endlessly. Many of my friends do that, and I complain. But they say it's not my business. It was culturally difficult for participants to overcome these reservations and fall into this spirit of fierce, even aggressive debate. It was just 'not Namibian'. Yet in other ways the participants could transcend such conservative coyness in surprising ways when it came to the internet strangers they encountered.

Talking to strangers on social networks

The stranger is close to us, insofar as we feel between him and ourselves features of a national, social, occupational, and generally human, nature. He is far from us insofar as these common features extend beyond him and us, and connect us, only because they connect a great number of people (Simmel 1950 [1908], p. 98).

Windhoek participants were often reserved individuals, yet they had the courage (even foolhardiness) to be questioned in depth online by a stranger about their lifestyles, and were able to engage with unfamiliars in the global outside. Simmel regarded the stranger as a fact of modern life which had replaced 'community'. In large-scale societies where impersonal social relations had become the norm, so too had strangers. They were people we meet or usually only see in passing that come and go in our lives, or are glimpsed from a distance. They are those we never entirely comprehend. They represent what Simmel labels 'the larger unknowable' or greater society beyond the immediate locales of 'familiars' such as family, friends and work colleagues. Simmel says we are curious and wonder about them, because they are also 'us', and to others we too are strangers. Maybe the Internet is changing this social configuration, as the unknowable 'other' is increasingly integrated, often unpredictably, into our evermore mediated lives.

Talking to strangers on social networks fascinated Windhoek youth. It represented novelty, but also a vital connection to 'out there'. Many of them sometimes deliberately chose to maintain contacts with people as far away as possible from their own nation and culture. While intimate contact with family and friends was desired and valued, so too were remote encounters with 'exotic', but sometimes alarming, strangers of the global outside. They had online friends 'who were not quite known' to them from India, China, the United States, Sweden, Britain, Kenya, Angola and South Africa, to name the most cited homes of these strangers. Social networks brought the strangers to their laptops or their cell phones from great distances. As Simmel said, strangers are close to us and far from us. The Internet offers the option to bring them intimately, frequently uncomfortably, closer. Hilma said:

Maybe they are strangers, yes, but I feel I know them well. They share my interests such as music or fashion. One of them is quite religious, so I write to him about the Bible and share religious views. He's quite nice. He's an American. I chat about anything with them: music, my problems, anything big that has happened. They like to hear a lot about my life

here. They tell me what their lives are like. They live in United States, but one is a girl from Brazil, another from Japan.

Mumba said that she tried to use Facebook and the Internet to obtain information on fashion and lifestyle issues. People or friends that could provide this were favoured, but she said that she did not now want to become as intimate with them as in the past. There was a reason for this, as will be seen. She kept discussion strictly to her topics of favoured conversation, because strangers could be deceptively more than the way they presented themselves. They materialise as another side of *abrasive media*, even representing an occasional predatory threat.

Several female participants mentioned uncomfortable experiences on Facebook involving implicit or explicit sexual suggestions from people they had never met. The term for this in the United States and Britain is 'cyberstalking', and it has been cited as a major Internet problem in the perceptions of many (*The Guardian*, 8 April 2011). Diana complained that Facebook was unable to keep predators off its site.

They latch on to you. I got a message from a guy in Angola, and he was writing that I like your face, you are so beautiful. He said he was coming down to Namibia to see me, and he wanted to meet me. This sometimes causes a problem, because if my boyfriend happens to see these messages, he gets the wrong idea and he thinks I am using Facebook to get in touch with men. He thinks I am encouraging it. There is nothing that I can do about it, except ignore them.

Rianna, a Focus Group participant, also reported being contacted by 'weird' individuals.

I get these strange guys. They say [exaggerated tone] that they like your hair, they like your eyes. Some will even inbox you with messages saying that 'I have just seen your profile picture. Oh, you are so beautiful, I want to meet you! I'd like to marry you'. Sometimes they are Namibians; they say that they don't care what my tribe is. They just pop up. I sometimes reply and say I am a married woman, and they don't care. They are saying these things to hundreds of other people, one day telling this person they love them, the next day they love another. It is just going on and on [smiles wryly]. These characters have proposed to a thousand others before!

Most participant experiences did not result in a face-to-face meeting: in the case of Mumba, it did. As just mentioned, an incident had led to her trusting no one of social networks, and had made her reserved. She explained a disturbing encounter with a male Facebook contact she had included in her list of friends:

I had one unpleasant experience on Facebook. It was awful. It was a request from a stranger. He said he liked me, wanted to know me, to date me, things like that. 'Can you be my girlfriend', things like that. He would keep checking my profile and writing, a bit like a stalker. He was always there when I went into my page. It went wrong when he wanted to meet me and I stupidly did so. When I met him, it was really an awful experience [becomes uncomfortable]. I don't want to talk about it. It was very bad. I cut him out all together after that. Since then, I am very careful about new strangers, as I don't want that to happen again. Apart from that, I like Facebook, but I don't want contact with such people.

This account points to the dangers and personal security risks that social network users confront, of which Livingstone and Brake (2010) have warned for children and young adult social network users. Elsewhere, Livingstone (2008) argues that better media literacy is

needed to raise awareness of the perils of predatory online encounters in relation to social and physical dangers, including developing defensive learning strategies. In Mumba's case, as a female she was clearly not fully cognisant of the inherent dangers.

Boyd (2008b) has written of the radical implications of social network sites for previously held social norms and codes of behaviour. Lines between openness, and former practices of concealment of personal information, have blurred and broken down online. The private becomes a domain open to all, with Internet participants imagining greater degrees of anonymity and protection than they actually have. Friendship loses its generic meaning, as those with profile accounts on social networks tend to have fifty, five hundred or sometimes a thousand or more 'friends' with whom they imagine they can share intimate secrets and discuss deeply private information.

Boyd (2008b, p. 14) argues that many young people are now aware of and experience trepidation at this disintegration of private space, stating that social networks "rupture people's sense of public and private by altering previously understood social norms". A sense of exposure and invasion has set into people's attitudes, leading to demands that sites like Facebook provide better architectures of privacy to curb the free flow of private information. This particularly relates to its News Feed system, effectively engaging in surveillance and exposure of account users to the stage where it becomes very difficult for them to control personal online zones. Use of pseudonyms and better concealment of identity perhaps needs to be learned by youth, alongside acquirement of greater media literacy skills (Zhao, Grasmuck & Martin 2008).

Youth, media and the Internet

How can the Windhoek research presented above be equated with and contextualised within wider international studies of youth and media? The qualitative insights into media practices among youth in Windhoek raise the necessity of examining issues of youth culture, and the social and ontological imperatives that drive youth to engage with the Internet and media generally. The character of 'youth' itself should also be articulated. Social science treats youth as a flexibly active category that is socially assembled, and based on acquired lifestyles. Buckingham (2008) regards youth as a social and historical construct determined by time and place, and where commercial and mediated worlds shape its definition. Melucci (1992, p. 56) echoes this, arguing that 'youth' is a cultural process where age measures have little bearing on what sociologically defines youth. He says:

People are not young because, or only because, they have a certain age, but because they follow certain styles of consumption, or certain codes of behaviour and dress.

Young people shape youth identities fundamentally through modes of consumption, out of which a bricollage of identity and lifestyles are moulded. Much of this is increasingly symbolic in character in addition to being material. Miles (2000, p.70) writes of the omnipresent positioning of media in the consuming character of contemporary youth, stating that no viable studies of youth can today ignore this. He adds that the mass media have emerged as important for the young, and they have shown remarkable abilities in mastering each new communication innovation. Youth tend to show strong reflexive skills of utilisation, while revealing uneven degrees of resistance or submission to its commercial pressures. Miles (2000: p. 84) says that media represent a world where youth can be largely free of adults, although they may be vulnerable to entertainment and advertising which has a vested interest in maintaining a certain type of consuming consciousness and identity among them; but this is not to say they are automatically manipulated dupes.

On how youth sociologically engage with media, Willett (2008) says that young people use media as a symbolic resource to build their own centres of sociability and youth identities. Television and music have arguably done this for some time in African and other contexts. Rushkoff (1997, p. 13), in his United States study, refers to the young as 'natives of chaos' who in an individuated and complex age are better adapted to the demands of the shifting contours of modernity than most adults. Their immersion in modern popular culture has prepared them to cope with and manage the social changes occurring around them. Media provides the paradigm and the practical means for their negotiation through contemporary worlds.

Mediated youth abilities do not automatically shield them from the powerful capitalistic commercial pressures they daily confront in media and beyond. Willett (2008:50) states that any study of youth and media is required to explore the tension between young people as acted upon by societal forces, and seeing them as independent actors in their own right. Willett (2008, p. 54) adds that:

it is undeniable that youth constantly come into contact with commercial pressures and imperatives, whether using new or old media … young people can be seen as "bricoleurs," appropriating and reshaping consumer culture as they define and perform their identities, and in some instances rejecting or simply ignoring marketing techniques and discourses.

Yet their agency is framed within commodity spaces that are deeply conditioned (Willett 2008, p. 56). In her own field of study, online Internet, Willett sees this as an important area for expression, development and access to alternative cultures for youth, albeit one where virtual spaces may be deceptively less free and open than many may realise. In relation to the Internet, Subrahmanyan, Greenfield and Tynes (2004) say that it is critical to view this as a highly valued new social environment for youth in which universal adolescent issues pertaining to identity formation, sexuality, and self-worth are explored in a virtual world. Going online for accessing and discussing with others intimate information relating to sex and personal relationships has not been available to such a degree previously. Chatrooms and social networks, as confirmed by the 2011 Windhoek research, offer enormous potential to shape both personal and social identities. New media provide the space for interactive and constant contact with others via mobile phones, the Internet and email, essentials now that social life is virtually networked and human contact is more and more 'distanced' rather than conventionally face-to-face. Larsen, Urry and Axhausen (2008, p. 656) call this 'networked capital' which is described as "the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with people who are not necessarily proximate, and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit." Youth, including in Namibia, are increasingly skilled in accessing and exploiting networked capital.

Symbolic qualities such as status are valued. Boyd's (2008a, p. 129) study of social networks in the United States revealed peer pressure to use either MySpace or Facebook in order to be 'considered cool' by other young people, therefore typically representing a form of cultural capital. Social networks offered youth the means to display their identities and "write themselves into such sites" (*ibid.*), but also to manage idealised self presentations, in Goffman's (1998 [1959]) sense. Online profiles become the primary means to self-management which Boyd argues is an acquired social skill shaped by experience. She sees social networks as spaces of self-development that are a vital means to access both national and global public life. Official or other protestations in Namibia that media needs to be regulated and restricted to protect youth, may be doing them a disservice by denying them a participatory and social role. Boyd says that the exceptional civic space

they provide for the young should not be controlled, given that many studies of youth and media have a tendency to incorrectly address the relationship between the two sides as a moral or social problem. She warns (Boyd 2008a, p. 137): "we are doing our youth a disservice if we believe that we can protect them from the world by limiting their access to public life. They must enter that arena, make mistakes, and learn from them. Our role as adults is not to be their policemen, but to be their guides". However, it is argued by other writers that such freedom should be accompanied by greater densities of media literacy, whereby youth have a stronger capacity to both understand, negotiate and successfully manage the dangers, as well as the opportunities, that Internet and social networks present to them (Livingstone, 2008; Potter, 2004).

Conclusion

This discussion has attempted to establish both a picture and an analysis of Internet social network engagements in relation to patterns of cultural transformation in Windhoek among youth. The conclusions reached are that the Internet has moved decisively into the lifestyles of young Windhoekers as a resource, as a form of self-presentation or a window into other cultures, as entertainment or to access novel or sundry ideas and experiences, and even for sensual or intimate possibilities. Social networks and new media generally, are a portal to a vast realm of intriguing possibilities, at the same time emerging as a normalised social phenomenon in everyday experience.

The Internet is widely favoured by Windhoek youth over older media chiefly for its non-passive, strongly interactive social character. It is a medium that makes possible *virtual connectivity* with other cultures, nations and individuals. Internet engagements involved a complex interplay of self and social identities in the Windhoek research setting. Certain participants consciously transcended or had begun to move away from social and cultural backgrounds or identities, spurning the demands of older conservative identifications. Orientation to tradition was at times firmly rejected, and those who did this were conceptualised as *cultural expropriationists*, being youth who used media for cultivating identity image or for planning cosmopolitan lifestyle goals (Boyd 2008a; Marneweck 2006; Rantanen, 2005). A core of youth was entirely practical, using social networks to develop information and knowledge to shape intellectual outlooks and future life planning. However, mediated engagements were not in all cases utilitarian, involving instead utilisation of media for novelty and play. Yet, for many it was a powerful social tool that could take them 'out there'. The Internet is decisively the most immediately global of all media, although it is argued by some to undermine conventional face-to-face interactions in ways that change the sociological human relationships we knew in the past (Turkle 2011).

Not everyone was comfortable with the importive cosmopolitanism that has accompanied this medium (Held, 2010; Thomson, 1995). Mutual contact between the Namibian local and the global was potentially the transformative *locus* for lifestyle patterns, and, more importantly, the altering of existing ethnic and national identities. Culture itself was seen as under threat. Some youth were conscious of the Western and American corporate empires behind the Internet and other media. Nevertheless, media's appeal in terms of utility and entertainment partly overcame these reservations. Yet a core of people remained firmly critical of the over-public and self-display aspects of new media, and voiced urgent challenges to the perceived 'Westernisation' and undermining of local values. There were lines of resistance within such individuals. In terms of youth defences from the more immediately negative consequences of social networks and the Internet, particularly its abrasive or predatory side such as cyberstalking, a need to raise levels of media literacy

savvy among Windhoek's youth was evident. It can be easily forgotten that new media is indeed very 'new' in contemporary Namibian society. Youth do not necessarily yet have the social and cognitive tools to ensure reflexive control of and safeguards over their favoured media. However, an argument for restricting media to them was not considered a wise course, and other critical ways to develop defence faculties are required.

New media have become entrenched in youth cultures in ways not initially realised before undertaking the research before 2011, revealing within Windhoek what Wasserman & Jacob (2003) have called 'shifting identities'. It has been argued that the Internet and social networks represent important consequences in terms of social transformations. Cultural and identity shifts, including sociological vicissitudes in thinking about self and identity among youth, point to changes in patterns of Namibian culture as globalising processes enter, and hybridly mingle with, national values and local symbolic representations. Internet is currently an irresistible force of change. It offers through its social sites a decisive media form that is more immediate, interactive and virtual in character, a means to 'talk' and communicate in real-time, or close to real-time, to engage in a discourse with other distanced individuals and groups in a potentially unlimited realm of connective possibility. Traditionalists and conservatives with agendas for containing and retarding the social consequences of the Internet are likely to face a strong challenge from youth, who have increasingly come to regard the freedom of personal and social expression it provides, as a core part of their lifestyles and self-development. Beyond the control and media literacy issues raised by the arrival of social networks, the final overriding outcome of these cultural shifts appears to be a cosmopolitan one for Windhoek youth.

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Trafficking In Namibia[1]

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Abstract

US Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons Annual Report (CTIP, 2008) classified Namibia as a special case on the basis that whereas there was evidence that trafficking in persons especially for sexual exploitation, was rife, the trend remained largely un-researched and un-documented. This researcher therefore aimed to establish whether human trafficking as a social and economic activity existed in Namibia, and if so, its prevalence levels, extent, causes and impact and consequences on both its victims and society as a whole, and if so, whether it was targeting prostitutes into the regional and global sex trade industry in particular. The researcher thus gathered and analysed comprehensive quantitative and qualitative data generated through a standardized validated questionnaire to 230 respondent prostitutes representing 191 females and 39 males, and information provided by 18 case studies of real life human trafficking victims, 32 key informants and 6 Focus Group Discussion meetings (FGDMs) comprising mainly of interest groups in prostitution hot spots in 18 out of 35 regional metropolises and border posts of the country. The study further interrogated the concepts of trafficking, prostitution and exploitation within the context of its findings, existing social concepts and structures and the day-to-day realities of the lives of individual and groups of people exposed to them. The study results established that while sex trafficking as a social phenomenon exists in Namibia, it remained largely unknown and understood. Similarly, whereas it was a fairly new phenomenon, it was growing fast, affecting mainly unemployed young women, school-drop-out adolescents and orphans, who once they enter the industry, enjoy a symbiotic social and economic relationship with a mobile clientele of mainly tourists and long-distance commercial transporters. They inevitably get exposed to physical and health hazards including physical violence, abandonment, homelessness and diseases, among them Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI) and HIV. The study concluded that prostitution and sex trafficking in Namibia are social, economic and gender-inequality issues that require urgent attention by relevant authorities and development agencies in terms of prevention and protection interventions at policy, legislative and service levels.

Introduction

USA Department of State Annual Report (CTIP, 2006, p.4) revealed that although slave trade was outlawed two centuries ago, it has resurfaced to become the World's second most profitable business after the trade in small arms. ILO (2005) characterises modern human trafficking as, 'an increasing global scourge' that over the past decades, has reached

1 This paper is extracted from the author's MA Thesis of 2010.

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epidemic levels affecting all sectors in society for an estimated global annual revenue market of some US$42 billion.

Combating in Persons Report (2004) adds that 80 per cent of the estimated 600,000 to 800,000 people annually trafficked across international bordersare women and girls, 50 per cent of whom are children trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation.Combating Trafficking in Persons Report (2009) Report's Tier 2 Watch identified Namibia as a source, transit and destination of human trafficking.

The connection between human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Namibia and its neighbouring countries was first highlighted by the Deputy Minister of Safety Gabes Shihepo, who while addressing the December 2007[2] Namibian Senior Police Officers Conference, called upon the Police in both Namibia and SADC region to maintain tight security and more effective law and order to counter possible increased trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation during the Africa Cup of Nations in Angola and FIFA 2010 World Cup Games in South Africa.

The problem

While recent years have witnessed an increasing awareness among local, regional and international development agencies for empirical research to inform government policy formulation, legal reforms and development programmes planning, design and implementation for effective and sustainable service delivery, the same could not be said of human trafficking in Namibia. In fact, the Government of the Republic of Namibia, through the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Gender Equity and Child Welfare, the line ministry for women and child protection had already expressed an urgent need for formal research (Tjaronda, Wezi 2009:5) on human trafficking for exploitation purposes. On his part, the Minister of Works, Transport and Communications Joel Kaapanda (Sibeene, 2006) had emphasized the need to substantiate the link between social and economic mobility, sexual exploitation in the form of prostitution and the spread of HIV and AIDS.

Another problem was the contradiction between existing information on prostitution and trafficking for sexual exploitation in Namibia and its neighbouring countries. In fact, whereas Kiremire (2002), Sechogele (2008, P. 17) and Combating Trafficking in Persons Reports (2004, 2005, 2006, and 2008) had found sufficient evidence to show that Namibia was affected by the regional network of human trafficking, studies carried out in the neighbouring countries of Mozambique (de Barros and Taju, 1999), South Africa (Legget, 2004 and Pharaoh, 2006) and Molo Songololo (2000 and 2002), Zimbabwe (CONNECT, 2002) and Zambia (Fisher, 2003) had all omitted Namibia.

A further problem related to inadequate legislation to counter human trafficking, punish trafficking perpetrators and protect trafficking victims. While Combating Trafficking in Persons Report (2008) stated that Namibia, through its National Constitution, the 'Prevention of Organized Crime Act (POCA) of 2004, and the ratification of the UN Palermo Protocol had measures to address human trafficking, POCA omission of children and victims protection rendered such measures inadequate. In fact Namibia's NGO Shadow Report (2006, p. 18) did not find any evidence to suggest that the country had made clear and tangible efforts to combat human trafficking as it neither had a national policy nor a framework on compilation of UN reports, including the Palermo Protocol itself. This paper

[2] Anna Shilongo. *New Era*: Wednesday 12 December, 2007, p.3

will thus, through the study's findings, elaborate the impact of such gabs and suggest ways of harmonize these problem areas.

Overall objective

The main objective of this study therefore, became to investigate the existence and prevalence of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Namibia, establish its extent, impact, root causes, and effects and consequences on both its victims and society as a whole, and to make informed recommendations for both prevention and protection interventions.

Bearing in mind its main question as to whether 'prostitution is linked to human trafficking in Namibia', the study determined to establish and substantiate the level to which the Namibian society understands human trafficking as a contemporary social and economic activity; whether or not it particularly targets prostitutes for trafficking for sexual activities in and out of Namibia; and the sociological framework necessary to inform the development of an adequate legal, policy and service delivery frame-work by appropriate government institutions and development agencies. It subsequently adopted six different assumptions:

- Given its criminal nature that renders researching human trafficking a difficult and a risky endeavour, targeting prostitutes as the research's key subjects provides a lead to human trafficking in general and to traffickers in particular;
- Those people, particularly females who become victims of sex trafficking, are in the eyes of their societies, deviants who fail to manage their lives within the complex societal traditions and norms and modern capitalist circumstances;
- Prostitution and sex trafficking are as much work and business as any other work and business in capitalist societies, and therefore, need not be fought and morally condemned;
- Because prostitution and sex trafficking are dangerous activities for both their victims' physical and mental health, as well as their countries' social, economic and political development, the structures that create powerful trafficking perpetrators and their vulnerable victims should be fought and combated;
- Sex trafficking as a gendered social-economic activity is simply a channel and tool of sexual exploitation within a complex modern capitalist system in which the strongest survive, and the weakest fall into its underclass; and
- Adequate policy and legal frameworks will curb sex trafficking.

Methodology

For validity and authenticity purposes, the researcher combined different social research data collection and analysis techniques.

Cognisant of the complexity and dangerous nature of the topic of this study, she utilised a unique method (Kiremire, 2002) in which she identifies and capacitates specific members of the study's target group to lead her into areas which she would otherwise be unable to penetrate and involving them in data collection.

To ensure an adequately informed background, she first reviewed existing literature on trafficking in persons, prostitution and exploitation at local, regional and international levels.

With her 18 research assistants who comprised members of her research target groups she had trained in simple data collection methods, she then gathered qualitative and quantitative data in 18 out of 35 Namibia's regional metropolises and border posts including the country's capital City of Windhoek in Khomas Region, Oshakati in Oshana

Region, Rundu and Culai border post in Kavango Region, Katima Mulilo and Wanela Border Post in Caprivi Region, Grunau, Karasburg, Keetmanshoop, Ludertiz Port and Ariamsvlei and Noordoewer border posts in Karas Region; Swakopmund and Walvis Bay Port in Erongo Region; and Oshikango Boarder Post in Ohangwena Region, where she particularly targeted prostitutes, tourists, ordinary travellers, tour operators, truck drivers, border authorities, traders, hotels/lodges/ bar/shebeen night-clubs operators and patrons as well as street children and youths as her main information sources.

For the quantitative data, which aimed to indicate the profiles of the individuals or groups of people affected or involved in human trafficking, and the effects of such activities on them, the team administered a standardized validated questionnaire to a total of 230 respondents 230 respondent, mainly prostitutes aged between 10 and 49 years, whose life activities were related to prostitution, 191 of whom were females and 38 males.

For her qualitative data, they conducted systematic field observations, discussions and in-depth interviews among and with 6 Focus Group Discussion Meetings (FGDMs); 32 key informants most of whom were members of social interest groups such as law enforcement agents and government workers including border personnel, shipping agents, health and social workers, representatives of regional and international organizations and development agencies and media houses; and compiled 18 case studies of real life stories of individuals who, according to their own or other people's testimonies, had been victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation most of whom were interviewed in their dwellings.

To examine data characteristics and relations among variables, the quantitative data analysis utilised descriptive graphs and averages and while non-metric methods were used to determine the relationship between the various causal variables in sex trafficking and sex exploitation such as greed, economic constraints (poverty, peer pressure, teenage pregnancies, family status and educational status). Numerical data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science – SPSS (Pallant 2001).

Theoretical framework

Human Trafficking - The study adopted Palermo Protocol (UNGAS, 2000, p. 55/25) definition of human trafficking as, 'the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefit to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation'.

United Nations Organization against Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2007, p. 3) has dissected the human trafficking process into three constituent elements:

a) A Criminal Act that constitutes the recruitment, harbouring, transfer, transportation and receipt of trafficked victims at the goal or destination point;
b) The means used to securetargetedtrafficking victimswillingness, acceptance, collaboration, cooperation and conformity; and
c) The reasons or purpose for which the action or trafficking crime is conducted.

This categorization implies that in order for human trafficking to occur, three acts must happen, namely, the trafficker(s) facilitate illegal recruitment, movement, transportation and transfer of a person by deception and/or coercion; and finally, the trafficked person is received and exploited. UNICEF (2006, p. 2) adds that such purpose usually involves

exploitation (including sexual exploitation), forced or bonded labour or service delivery in the form of slavery, servitude, debt bondage and the removal organs.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher summed human trafficking as'the act of taking a person from one place to another by others for purposes other than stated or agreed upon'. This definition, thus, constituted 'sex-trafficking' in this study.

Prostitution

Giddens (2005, p.133) defines prostitution as 'the granting of sexual favours for monetary gain', which like all other present-day social activities, borrows its emergence, growth and survival from social formation trends. He elaborates that the modernization of feudal societies which culminated in the 19th century industrial revolution; and the emergence of the capitalist mode of production that characterized rapid social, economic and political changes which revolutionised social organization from casual to orderly and bureaucratic processes which inevitably raised the need to optimize human labour; dramatically impacted on people's collective and individual lifestyles as well as their behaviour patterns and sexuality.

Giddens (2005, p.134) identifies four types of prostitutes, namely: a prostitute who solicits her business on the streets often referred to as a street-walker; a call girl, who solicits her sex customers over the phone and either receives them in her dwelling place or goes to their own places; a house prostitute, who operates in a private place such as a brothel or club; and a massage parlour prostitute, who operates in an established place where she provides her clients with her sex services.

Hodson et al. (2002, p. 55) categorise prostitution among 'illegal goods and services' (gambling, courier, sale of illegal drugs and weapons and gangsterism), which while with very little useful information of their production'affects million of people's lives and remain largely invisible and obscure.

Scott and Marshall (1994, p. 529) link the emergence of prostitution to 'economic vulnerability in which the provision of sexual favours for financial reward has been institutionalized in the form of sex work in every society that has had a coinage, and the number of sex workers increases when there are fewer other job opportunities for women, while their international movements are nearly always from poor countries to richer ones'.

Karl Marx's (1978, p. 2021) locates prostitution in the, 'relations of production in which the mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social and economic inequality, and exploitation with a distinct gender pattern'. Giddens (2005, p. 670) concludes that such inequalities culminate in the 'appropriation of women's bodies and sexuality that convert them (women) into properties; while the Pontifical Council (IOM, 2009, p. 7) sums prostitution as 'a form of modern day slavery in which sexual exploitation pervades the world's social fabric'. This summary guided this study's search for a social-science-based truth.

Exploitation

Palermo Protocol (International Organization on Migration, 2009, p. 7) holds that 'exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others, or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs'.

Giddens (2001, p. 689) explains that exploitation is a social or institutional relationship in which one person benefits at the expense of the other through an imbalance in power. IOM (2009, p. 7) emphasizes that sexual exploitation is the most commonly recognized form of human trafficking, while Okin (1989, p.133-5) elaborates that 'the pivot of a societal system of gender renders women vulnerable to dependency, exploitation and abuse', and such exploitation and abuse includes forcing people into prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. UNICEF (2006, p. 2) adds that for children, exploitation may also include elicit international adoption, trafficking for early marriage or recruitment as child soldiers, street beggars, sports such as in child camel jockeys or football players, and in some cases, even for religious cults.

Findings

Prevalence

While previous studies on prostitution in Namibia (LAC 2002, p.2, Kiremire 2007, p. 4, Sechogele 2008, p. 7) had linked prostitution to human trafficking, and for lack of evidence for the long suspected existence of human trafficking CTIP Report (2008, p. 274) had classified Namibia as a 'Special Case', this study found trafficking for sex purposes in Namibia high. 106 respondents, representing 46.0% of the total sample stated that they had either personally (68 -29.6%) experienced sex trafficking or knew friends and/or colleagues, family members or neighbours (38 - 34.3%) who had experienced sex trafficking.[3] 22 (9.6%) had just heard about it, while 102 (44.3%) did not know anything about it. This finding was corroborated by the study's qualitative data. 44 out of the 60 Key Informants confirmed that sex trafficking was happening in Namibia, while 9 out of the 20 Case Studies who included high-sea vessel stowaway[4] stated they had themselves been victims of sex-related trafficking and 1 for domestic labour and 7 knew friends who had been trafficked for sex, 1 confirmed her teenage sister had been trafficked into pornography in London. The majority of the focus group discussion meetings acknowledged that both internal and external sex trafficking was taking place in Namibia, mainly by truck drivers, seamen, employment recruitment agents, sex customers and other prostitutes. One group emphasized the increasing trend of slave labour among the country's grape farms.

Strikingly 55 representing 51.9% of the respondents stated they believed the phenomenon of sex trafficking had been going on for some years. Another 37 (43.9%) stated they always witness it.

Extent and Impact: Characteristics and the link between prostitution and trafficking

Human trafficking both within and beyond Namibia's borders was closely associated to a fast growing prostitution phenomenon that was targeting and involving prostitutes. With an exception of only 2 respondents, 228 representing 99.1% were involved in prostitution, of which 185 (80.4%) were full time sex vendors, 17 (7.4%) part time sex vendors, 15 (6.5%) sex customers and 11 (4.8%) pimps. 159 representing 69.1% had entered prostitution in recent years between 2000 and 2007, against 60 (26%) who entered prostitution over a period of 20 years between 1980 to 1999. 38 (16.5%) entered in one year of 2005 alone. Furthermore, 13 of the 20 Case study subjects (16 females and 4 males) had fallen victims

[3] Most respondents described trafficking as 'when their sex customers, truck drivers or older prostitutes take them to places they don't know for purposes other than previously agreed upon'.

[4] This stowaway victim considered himself as a sex trafficking victim since he was now an illegal immigrant involved in street-prostitution-related and drug activities

of sex trafficking after entering prostitution and not before. They included a full-blown AIDS prostitute who claimed that in August and December 2008, she had been trafficked to Cape Town and Johannesburg to work in prostitution brothels in readiness for 2010 World Cup.[5]

This finding affirms both assumptions three and four of this study which propose that 'women, young adolescents and children involved in prostitution become easy victims of sex trafficking' and therefore 'targeting prostitutes as the key subjects of the research provides a lead to human trafficking in general and to sex trafficking in particular'. They affirm the Pontifical Council (IOM, 2009, p. 7) assertion that throughout the world, unjust complex economic systems have in recent years driven dramatically large numbers of women and children in street prostitution in search of sufficient means of living for themselves and their families only to end in a more complex cycle of exploitation.

Gender

While, on the onset, this study targeted prostitutes irrespective of their gender, it was none the less, surprised by its level of gender inequality. Only 41 out of a 230 respondent sample in prostitution hot spots in 14 cities and towns of 7 out of 13 regions of the Namibian nations were males, 11 of whom were pimps for prostitutes. Of the 185 who were in full time prostitution, only 1 was a full time male prostitute (mophie). Additionally, the prostitutes who were prone to sex trafficking were predominantly females. 64 (27%) out of the 191 (83.0%) females of this study sample stated that they had themselves experienced sex trafficking compared to 3 males (1.3%) out of the 38 (16.5%) male respondents, and 1 (0.4%) trans-sexual-male who had experienced sex trafficking.

This finding reiterates former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (CTIP, 2003. p. 7) and IOM (2003, p. 135)'s contention that 'human trafficking is targeting females more than males, and females in economic vulnerability more than the advantaged ones'. It reinforces LaRRI (2009, p. 35)'s assertions that, 'class stratification in Namibia has a substantial gender element'.

Nationalities

Of the 8 nationalities the study interacted with, the majority, 199, representing 86.5% of the total sample, were Namibians, followed by 31 foreign nationals of 9 South Africans (3.9%), 7 Tswanas (3.0%), 6 Zambians (2.6%), 5 Zimbabweans (2.2%), 2 Angolans (0.9%), 1 each Cameroonian and Rwandese who represented 0.9%.

In-country trafficking and Namibia as a country of origin, transit and destination

Of the 106 individuals who stated they had either been affected themselves (86) or knew people who had been affected (38), 33 went to 4 African countries of South Africa (18), Angola (11), Botswana (3) and Congo DRC (1). A total of 16 were taken to the Western Countries of Iceland (4), France (2), Germany (2), Spain (2), UK (2), Holland (2) and USA (2), while 9 arrived from Zambia (6), Zimbabwe (1), Rwanda (1) and Cameroon (1).

The Cameroonian woman who had been brought into Namibia from Cameroon through the Central Republic of Congo (CRC), Congo DRC to Angola and back to Namibia; and the Rwandese woman who was brought into Namibia through Uganda, Congo DRC, Tanzania, Zambia and Angola, make Namibia both a transit and destination country of human trafficking. The Tswana, South African, Zimbabwean (1) and Zambian (6) nationals who arrived in Namibia make it a destination country.

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[5] Interview with a respondent in her home in Windhoek City's Katutura Settlement on 24 April 2009.

The sub-regional and regional perspective

Prostitutes' movements from and/or through Angola, Botswana, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Congo DRC represent half of the 14 SADC regional block countries, while the presence of a Rwandese and a Cameroonian nationals extend the prostitution wings in Namibia to the East African Community (EAC) and the Central African Region and the Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS).

The international scope of sex trafficking in Namibia

Significantly, the 16 (6.9%) prostitutes who had been trafficked to 6 European countries of France (2), Germany (2), Holland (2), Iceland (4), Spain (2) and the United Kingdom of Britain (UK -2) and the United States of America (USA-2), confirm that Namibia has become a member of the global trafficking in persons' network.

Child Prostitution – was reflected by the large majority, 207, representing 90% of the research sample, who were children and youths aged 10 to 35 years. 37 or 16% were children between 10 and 18 years old. This finding corresponds with the findings of the only three previously existing empirical researches on prostitution (LAC, 2002; Sechogele, 2008; and Kiremire, 2007).

Sex Trafficking and child labour trafficking was evidenced by a 16-17-year-old Zambian girl[6] found at a Windhoek child trauma centre who had been rescued from 9-years domestic work without pay. She had never had an identify document, nor attended any school. In Orangemund, Police patrolling the Grape Farms had revealed[7] that 9-14-year-old Kavango/Caprivi girls were regularly dropped by highway trucks to work as baby-minders for female casual labourers.

Trafficking routes, mode of travel and travel documents

46 (67.6%) trafficked respondents had gone by highways, 8 (11.8%) through airports, and 2 (3.0%) through coastal ports. 84 (79.2%) had been trafficked by trucks, 12 (11.3%) by cars/buses at, 8 (7.5%) by planes, and 2 (2.0%) by canoes, boats and ships. The migratory criminal nature of sex trafficking was evidenced by the finding that only half (15 - 6.5%), of the trafficked prostitutes had formal travel documents, compared to 30 (13%) who had none. Markedly, 8% of those who had travel documents stated they had been arranged for them by their recruiters and traffickers. 7% had secured theirs illegally through bribery.

The sex trafficker

Contrary to previously held perceptions that trafficking perpetrators are primarily groups of organized international 'criminal syndicates', this study found that the majority of the sex traffickers were people closely associated with their victims mainly long distance transporters, sex customers, fellow prostitutes, pimps and relatives with whom they (prostitutes) share common social and economic backgrounds and life circumstances and upon whom they depend. Among the106 direct or indirect victims of sex trafficking, 47 (44.3%) had been trafficked by truck drivers, 32 (30.2%) sex customers, 12 (11.3%) fellow prostitutes, 7 (6.6%) job recruitment agencies, 3 (2.8%) relatives, 2 (1.9%) stone/drug dealers, 2 (1.9%) pimps, and 1 (0.9%) a businessman.

Sex customers' occupation

There was a close correlation between prostitution and the transport sector. More than half, 136 representing 59% of the respondents' customers were truck drivers who constituted 98 (42.6% of the sample, followed by taxi/bus drivers at 38. pimps at 15 and

[6] Direct interview with the child at the trauma centre in Windhoek on Friday 29 January 2010
[7] Direct interview with a senior Orangemund farms law enforcer on 12 April 2009

law enforcement agents at 11 combined to represent 26 (11.3%), followed by tourists, street gangs and factory workers at 10 each. The rest, 41 (17.8%) were traders, civil servants, diplomats, business executives, farmers, miners, seamen/fishermen and students.

Symbiotic affinity, mutuality and amicability that prostitutes and their traffickers share was appropriately illustrated by a 41-year-old prostitute who stated that without providing sexual services to hundreds of truck drivers that pass through her town of Karasburg, she would not be able to raise her 5 children. A 24-year-old South African truck driver explained that like prostitutes, truck drivers were mainly school-drop-outs with no access to more decent jobs, while his 40-year-old colleague be-mourned their poor working conditions which leave only 10 out of 100 truck drivers able to own a house, and 95% divorced. This information corroborates Giddens' (2005, p. 136) conclusions that, 'prostitutes cater for men who are away from home and/or who desire sexual encounters without commitment'.

Causes

168 (70.9%) attributed their entry into prostitution and exposure to sex trafficking to family poverty and lack of money. This figure collates with the Central Bureau of Statistics' latest review of poverty and inequality[8] which classified almost one third (28%) of the Namibian households as poor and 13% as severely poor. Significantly, 45 (19.6%) attributed their entry into prostitution to what they termed as 'family confusion' 24 (10.4%); 21 (9.1%) to peer pressure; 4 (1.7%) to bad marriage; and 2 (0.9%) to teenage pregnancy.

Education

Markedly, the majority, 104, representing 45.2%, had dropped out of school between grades 3 and 9. Only 7 (3.0%) had attained tertiary education, with the majority, 64 (28%) having reached Grade 10, followed by 53 (23%) in Grades 8 and 9; 51 (22.2% in grades 3 and 7; and 51 in grades 11 and 12. 4 (0.9%) had never been school at all.

The rate at which prostitutes in Namibia dropped out of school has progressively increased over the last two decades. The majority, 190 representing 86.2% dropped out over the last 17 years, with 91 (39.6%) having dropped out between 1991 and 2000, and 99 representing 43.0% in the last 7 years, between 2001 and 2007, compared to only 23 (10%) who dropped out between 1976 and 1990. The majority, 158 representing 68.7% attributed their dropping out of school to financial constraints.

Dangers and risks

Sex trafficking in Namibia, like all human trafficking activities world-wide (Ezeilo 2008, p. 3) was characterized by dangers and risks. 44 (64.7) did not find their sex trafficking activities profitable, against only 13 (19.1%) who had benefitted, and 11 (16.2%) partly benefitted. 18 (26.5%) used their incomes for group survival, 17 (25.0%) for self survival, and 17 (25.0%) whose incomes were robbed.

When parasitismand symbiosis clash

Against the cordiality and comradely that seemingly characterize the relationship between prostitutes and their traffickers simultaneously exists a sharp contradiction. 62 (94.1%) of the 68 sex trafficking victims had faced various physical and bodily harm including 44 (64.7%) for prostitution, 11 (16.2%) rape/beating/deportation/sickness/arrest, 5 (7.4%) abandonment/homelessness, and 1 (1.5%) each who suffered theft and physical labour. Only 2 (2.9%) had not faced any risks during their trafficking experiences. The extent to

[8] Denver, Isaacs. 'Nearly a Third of Namibians are Poor'. The Namibian, Wednesday 19 November 2008:12. Windhoek.

which the sex industry-based exploitation can go was demonstrated by cases of 2 (2.9%) husbands who had sold their wives into prostitution for their own livelihoods.

These findings reaffirm UNFPA's conclusion (Gender Watch 2008, p. 20) that, 'for women and young girls, poverty means not only lack of income but lack of control over that income as well as lack of autonomy, dignity and leisure', which are themselves the epitome of social injustice'. They resonate with Dottridge (2004, p. 9)'s belief that human trafficking is directly associated with its victims' subsequent exploitation by those people who violate their human rights through forcing them to make money for them, and to satisfy the demands of those who control them. Farley (2008, p. 65) equates the resultant harm and humiliation of a trafficked person to those of a prisoner-of-war conditions, while the Pontifical Council (IOM, 2009, p. 7) adds that 'prostitutes who get trapped in their controllers' debt bondage inevitably suffer pathological violence and/or sexual abuse'.

The captivity and hazardous circumstances of sex trafficking was stressed by 39 (57.3%) who had not yet returned to their places of origin, while 27 (39.7%) had been trafficked for some years, 23 (33.8%) for months and 12 (17.6%) for weeks. 11 (16.2%) had been deported, while 10 (14.7% had managed to escape with the assistance of their mutual transporters.

Health risks

Health Risks among trafficked prostitutes was highlighted by 213 (92.6%) who did not or only used protection sometimes, against only 13 (5.7%) who always used protection. Exposure to Sexually Transmitted Diseases and HIV was indicated by high levels of sickness and deaths reported by Police Patrols among Orangemund Grape Farms child baby minders.

Access to national protections

Legal protections

Although Article 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia protects all citizens against social and economic exploitation in the form of slavery, servitude and forced labour, Article 95 obligates the state to ensure the protection and welfare of all people against all harm including abuse and exploitation, and Sub-Sections 15 and 16 of the Prevention of Organized Crime Act (POCA) 29 of 2004 criminalises and prosecutes human trafficking in Namibia, 37.4% of the respondents did not seek any assistance from anybody or anywhere when they were in trouble. They cited the fact that while prostitution remains an illegal crime under both statutory and customary laws, it simultaneously remains un-prosecutable.This desperate situation resulted in prostitutes' calling on the Government to recognize their profession and facilitate the necessary protection for them ahead of FIFA 2010 World Cup.[9]

[9] Staff Reporter. 'Sex Workers Demand Government Protection as 2010 Nears'. Informante', Thursday 24 September 2009:1. Windhoek.

Judicial protections

This study found that whereas prostitutes and trafficked adolescents and women, like any other members of the Namibian Society, enjoy available judicial protections, there was no specific unit within the current law enforcement system to deal with missing persons. Given the fact that trafficked persons are almost always moved under dubious circumstances, the absence of such a structure increases the vulnerability of those members of the society that are susceptible to the perpetrators of trafficking.[10]

Policy protections

The study found that Namibia has made considerable progress for the advancement of women and girls. These include, among others, the establishment of the Office of the Ombudsman and the Ministry of Gender Equity and Child Welfare. Gender Equity ministry has a comprehensive National Gender policy and Strategic Plan through which it implements the Affirmative Action which aims to equalise social, economic and political opportunities for Women by reducing female poverty, increasing education and training opportunities, improving access to quality reproductive health services, reducing violence against women and children, improve gender-based information and communication, enhancing gender-based decision-making balance, increasing gender-based environment management, and improving legal protections for woman and girls.

Care and support service delivery

Despite not being able to identify any human trafficking-focussed projects in terms of recovery, support, care, rehabilitation and reintegration, either at Government or Civil Society level, this study found a number of activities targeting prostitutes, human Trafficking and abused women and children. They included Stand Together[11], King's Daughters,[12]National Technical Committee on Women and Child Protection Units, Zero-Tolerance for Gender-Based Violence (GBV) National Campaign[13], the Ministry of Labour's National Programme against the Worst Forms of Child Labour,[14] and Churches United against HIV and AIDS in East and Southern Africa (CUAHA)'s advocacy project against human trafficking in Namibia.

Conclusion

Hope for their future

While 11 (4.8%) of the respondents felt it was too late for them to have hopes and aspirations, the greater majority, 190 (82.6%, wished to be rescued through counselling (68 - 29.6%), return to school (49 - 21.3%), life saving skills training (43 - 18.7%), and start a business (30 - 13%). 8 (3.8%) wished to be reunited with their families and children, get married and nurture what they considered 'decent families'.

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[10] On 27 January 2010, Inspector General of Police Sebastian Ndeitunga informed the general public (New Era, Thursday, 28 January 2010:7) that Police daily public briefings on crime would include making available names of wanted or missing persons.

[11] Catholic Church run drop-in-centre for Windhoek-based prostitutes and their children

[12] A Council of Churches of Namibia (CCN) initiated community-based NGO provides counselling, rehabilitation, support, vocational training to Windhoek-based prostitutes in conjunction with BEN Namibia (Bicycling Empowerment Network);

[13] MGECW has published a pamphlet entitled 'Human trafficking/trafficking in Persons

[14] Implemented by International Labour Organisation and the Ministry of Labour

Consequential parasitic symbiosis

In his articulation of the hierarchy of the essential human needs, Maslow (Hodson and Sullivan. 2002, p. 92) states that for a human being to feel complete, he/or she needs physiological satisfaction (food and sex), physical and emotional safety, social acceptance, social recognition, attention and appreciation, and attainment of one's full potential. This concept presumes the existence of a level of social consciousness and social responsibility over all the members of the respective social structure. It is this component of human life that this study found missing among the women and young adolescents of this study, who because of their particular social and economic circumstances resorted to prostitution, and their trafficking perpetrators, who because of their poor working conditions and dissatisfaction, resorted to trafficking for self gratification.

Indeed, while the two groups seemingly share a symbiotic relationship, rather than their relationship resonating social solidarity that promotes shared social and economic advantages, theirs is an unequal relationship that breeds abuse and exploitation. Consequently, the parasitic symbiosis between the two groups becomes a complex trap in which its victims, through deception, manipulation, violence, diseases and trauma meet their deathbeds at the hands of their 'comrades'.

It reinforces the criminology theory (Sweetman, 1995, p.2) that argues such social groups turn to deviance to gain social recognition and material wellbeing to fit in societies under transition to capitalist economic states.

It is in this light that in Namibia, acts of trafficking in persons and prostitution are illegal acts that are socially, culturally, constitutionally, and legally unacceptable. Anyone who, individually and/or collectively, engages and/or successfully carries them out, not only violates culturally and traditionally acceptable social norms, but commits illegal acts. He/she can therefore only do so in hidden circumstances, a situation that categorizes these vices under deviant behaviour characteristic of the underclass social groups whose existence sharply contracts the aims and objectives of Namibia's Vision 2030.

The manner in which the above social dynamics played out among the prostitutes, sex trafficking victims and trafficking perpetrators of this study convinced the researcher that any mode of production that promotes the concept of 'the strongest survive', while the 'weakest die away', is not only inappropriate to human coercion but to human development.

Recommendations

In light of the above conclusions, the researcher took the liberty to recommend to the Government of the Republic of Namibia, together with its stakeholders, to:

1. Develope and implement strong social and economic policies that reduce youth social and economic vulnerability such as high school drop-out and unemployment rates;
2. Promote gender equality;
3. Strengthen family structures;
4. Strengthen education system to promote youth opportunities such as skills training for employment creation;
5. Ensure adequate legal and policy protections and service delivery mechanisms to prevent its members from falling victims to this heinous modern crime, protect those who fall prey to it, and punish its offender. In this respect, Namibia should enact a comprehensive stand-alone anti-human trafficking legislation;

6. Ensure adequate law enforcement by up-grading all porous borders, police stations and immigration and customs training programmes;
7. Strengthen existing, and develop and implement stronger national programmes against sex trafficking;
8. At regional level, Namibia, together with itsneighbouringSADC member countries, and, in collaboration with African Prosecutors Association (APA), the Southern African Regional Police Chief Commanders Organisation (SARPCCO) and COSAFA should establish mechanism to combat human trafficking for sexual exploitation in Southern Africa.

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Managing semi current records: A case for records centres for the public service of Namibia

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Abstract
The records life cycle theory propagates for the management of records throughout their entire life cycle, i.e. from creation, through the stages when they are active, semi-active then non-current when disposition takes place and some records are destroyed and some preserved as archives. At various stages of their life cycle records need appropriate storage: records offices for current records; records centres for semi-current records; and archival facility for the non-current records identified during appraisal as worthy of permanent preservation. The provision of records centres ensures that there is no decongestion in the offices, safe-guards against haphazard destruction of records and ensures that records which end up as archives are protected from hazards which might damage or destroy them. This paper makes a case for the establishment of records centres for Namibia's public service semi-current records. The paper reports on findings of a study by the authors in April 2012, of commercial companies providing the public service of Namibia with records storage facilities. The authors make recommendations on how the management of semi-current records in the public service can be enhanced.

Introduction

The *Archives Act* No. 12 of 1992 (Office of the Prime Minister, 1992) which governs the management of records in the public sector in Namibia provides for the establishment of records centres, referred to in Section 5 of this Act as "intermediate depots". The same Act entrusts the National Archives of Namibia with the responsibility for the "regulation, execution, and administration of matters concerning the custody and care" (p. 4) of records in central government, regional and local government and parastatals. The *Archives Code*, the records management procedures manual issued by the Head of Archives in terms of Section 12 of the *Archives Act*, refers to the custody and care of records "until they are transferred to an archives depot or an intermediate depot" (National Archives of Namibia, p. 4). To date the public service of Namibia has not established any records centres (National Archives of Namibia, 2012).

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This paper reports the findings of a study conducted in May 2012, of commercial companies providing the public service of Namibia with records storage facilities. The paper also discusses the situation regarding semi-current records in the public service of Namibia as reported by the National Archives of Namibia in reports of records surveys conducted in ministries; departments; regional and local government; and parastatals in 2005, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2011 and 2012 (National Archives of Namibia, 2012). Studies on records management in the public service of Namibia by Barata, Bennett, Cain, & Routledge (2001); Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (2004), Nengomasha (2004), Nengomasha (2009); Nengomasha and Amiss (2002) have also reported on the management of semi-current records. This paper makes a case for the establishment of records centres which have been reported as non-existent by these authors.

Background to the study

This section of the paper describes what a records centre is, highlighting its characteristics. The aim is to later on in the paper, compare what an ideal records centre should be with the commercial records centre facilities in Namibia.

Records centres

A records centre is defined as "a building or part of a building designed or adapted for the low-cost storage, maintenance and communication of semi-current records pending their ultimate disposal" (International Records Management Trust, 1999). Semi-current records are records which are rarely used in the conduct of current business. It makes economic sense that these records be kept in low cost storage. A records centre provides this through high-density storage. The records are managed in such a way that they are easily retrievable upon request by the owners of the records. The Namibia Archives Act refers to records centres as "intermediate depots" and rightly so as records centres are the storage facilities in the records life-cycle's intermediate stage, between the registries or records offices and the archival institution.

There are different types of records centres. These include in-house and commercial records centres. The in-house records centre serves a parent organisation, for an example a university in-house records centre serving the university only and similarly a public service in-house records centre looking after government records only. Commercial records centres keep records of any institution for a fee. In Namibia there are four such facilities namely Phildou, Athema, One Call Solution and the Document Warehouse. A records centre system for the public service would establish in-house records centres for semi-current public records. The practice in most African countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa, is to set up regional records centres. The benefit of regional records centres is well put by Tela (1993) regarding Zimbabwe's regional records centres:

The National Archives has decentralised its services and it now has provincial offices numbering four to date. Such decentralisation obviates the necessity of transferring records to the Records Centre in Harare, hundreds of kilometres away from user Departments, which in the past slowed down retrieval of documents when required for reference (p. 95).

It should be pointed out here that having a records centre does not mean that the records of an organisation will automatically be saved. Chirwa (2003) reports on the situation in Malawi, where despite having a national records centre "... a large percentage of records perish within the creating agency's premises out of neglect or ignorance" (p. 42). An effective records management programme of an organisation should have provision for

the storage of semi-current records, separate from current records (records used often for current business) stored in registries or records offices. From these records centres, records worthy of permanent preservation are transferred to the National Archives.

According to Smith (2004, p. 5) the records centre is the fail-safe location for the protection of information assets and it provides the basic elements of any disaster prevention programme. The following two paragraphs describe the functions and characteristics of records centres. Later in the paper, the authors compare these commercial facilities against these functions and characteristics. The functions of a records centre include:

- Receiving records (in all formats and media) from creating agencies and storage;
- Provide off-site storage for vital records;
- Providing a reference service i.e. retrieving records upon request by the owners; and
- Applying/implementing disposal schedules i.e. destroying records as per records retention schedules and transferring records of permanent preservation to an archival facility (IRMT, 1999; The World Bank, 2000).

To be able to effectively carry out the functions indicated above, records centres must ensure that they have professionally qualified records staff; records must be transferred with their retention schedules and must have a conducive environment and facilities for records storage. The records manager cannot be concerned only with the loss of records due to catastrophic causes, but must also address issues such as environmental decay (Smith, 2004). This is particularly true of records on electronic media. Records centres should be "safe, secure, clean, efficient and economical" (International Records Management Trust, 1999, p. 9).

Security measures, both custodial and environmental are of outmost importance for records centres. Chirwa (1993) attributes some misconceptions about the safety of records in the National Archives Records Centre in Zambia as contributing to the lack of records transfers to the Records Centre. If there is any suspicion of poor security, clients will lose confidence of the records centre (International Records Management Trust, 1999). The building should be protected both internally and externally, against unauthorised access, fire, floods and other natural disasters. Measures include safe-guarding of the building at night, restriction of access to the storage areas, all external doors be kept locked, isolation of the records centre from any dangers that might threaten the safety of records, installation of automatic alarm systems as well as connection of these to the police, security and fire services. Records should not easily be located and retrieved by unauthorised persons through random selected locations. This means that records of one organisation could be in several locations in a records centre. The storage boxes should bear no markings that indicate their contents.

Temperature and humidity should fluctuate as little as possible within the storage facility and fall between 18-20 degrees Celsius and 40-55 per cent relative humidity. This is especially crucial if records of permanent value are stored in the facility. A records centre should not have any windows in the storage areas. If it's a building with windows adapted for records storage, the windows should have blinds or shades to protect records from natural light. Ultraviolet ray filter sheets for window glass are another inexpensive alternative. If fluorescent light fixtures are near archival material, purchase ultraviolet filter shields and slip these over the tubes. Walls should be constructed with permanent materials to lessen fire damage. These should preferably be four-hour protection firewalls (Developing an Inactive Records, 1994).

Cleanliness will protect records from damage from rodents or other infestation. No food or drink should be allowed in the records centre, which should be dusted, cleaned and inspected on a regular basis.

One of the benefits of using a records centre is that it provides high-density, low-cost storage. Within an office, the normal ratio of stored files to floor space is 1:1 storage space. In a records storage area, the ratio may range from 2:1 to 5:1, depending on the type of shelving, ceiling height, and live floor load (the weight capacity the floor can support). In addition, records centre equipment costs almost a third less than traditional office cabinets and shelves, and records centre floor space costs two-thirds less than office floor space (Developing an Inactive Records, 1994).

Semi-current records in the public service of Namibia

The National Archives of Namibia is the National institution which preserves the country's archival heritage and makes it accessible to the public. It is the memory of the nation and keeps records of government and of private sources. The National Archives also supervises the records management of government and parastatal institutions. In particular the records management section is tasked to give advice and leadership in records management related matters. This includes ensuring that regulated bodies comply with the requirements of the Archives Act. It is against this background that the records management section conducts record surveys (inspections) in ministries and departments, regional governments, local authorities and parastatals. One of the specific aims of these surveys is to identify how semi-current records are managed. Table one below gives a summary per region, of the number of institutions surveyed between 2010 and 2012, and the quantity of semi-current records in those institutions.

Table 1: Semi current records in surveyed regions

Region	No of institutions surveyed in each region	Year survey conducted	Quantity of semi-current records in linear metres
Omaheke	31	2010	637
Erongo	30	2010	1547
Otjozondjupa	64	2010	1212
Khomas	2	2011	776
Ohangwena	27	2012	635
Oshikoto	22	2012	408
Khomas	1	2012	429
Total	176		5744

A total of approximately 5744 linear metres of semi current records were identified in 176 institutions in seven of Namibia's 13 regions. The records are kept in very poor conditions (see figures 1-5 below). They are just dumped in store rooms with broken down equipment and furniture covered in a lot of dust. While there is a provision in the Archives Act that regulated bodies must put in place retention and disposal schedules three years after the approval of the filing system, none of the 176 institutions had a retention and disposal

schedule in place. This situation has resulted in records being prematurely destroyed deliberately or unknowingly. In some cases institutions are stuck with a lot of worthless records and some valuable ones that should have been transferred to a records centre or transferred to the National Archives for permanent preservation.

Figure 1: Congested registry/records office in one of the ministries



Figure 2: Record storage room at one of the regional councils



Figure 3: Records storage room at one of the ministries



Figure 4: Closed records (next to a leaking toilet) at one of the hospitals



Figure 5: Closed records at one of the municipalities



None of the 176 institutions had a disaster management preparedness plan. The records surveys revealed that records had been lost before in some institutions due to floods and fire. For an example, Oshikoto Regional Office, Ministry of Education and Immigration Office lost all the records in 2003 when their offices were gutted by fire (see figures 5 & 6). All records in the registry, the library and personnel records were reduced to ashes in the inferno. Some of these records were semi-current and non-current records which should have been transferred to a records centre or National Archives. It is also worth noting that 93 of these institutions had hand fire extinguishers installed in their offices but only 24 had them regularly serviced. Fifty-three of the institutions had no precautions against fire. Members of staff of the 93 institutions that had fire extinguishers did not know how to use them. There has been no training provided on how to use the fire fighting emergency equipment and no fire drills had been conducted.

Figure 6: Remains of what used to be the registry for Ministry of Education, Oshikoto Region



Figure 7: Remains of personnel records, Ministry of Education, Oshikoto Region



The picture painted above regarding the management of semi-current records in the public service of Namibia is very bleak. Necessitated by the need to change this picture, and because of the absence of in-house records centres for the public service, the National Archives of Namibia came up with a policy to enlist the services of commercial records centres. The purpose of the policy is to "regulate the use of private service-providers for the intermediate storage of records falling under the provisions of the Namibian Archives Act …" (National Archives of Namibia, 2007, p. 1).

The policy takes cognisance of the following factors

- Records management in the Namibian Government Service and parastatal bodies has been inadequate over a prolonged period, resulting in a large amount of semi-current records which are inadequately organized and without proper disposal guidelines.
- The amount of semi-current records is by far exceeding the available storage space of the record-creating institutions, resulting in inadequate and insecure storage of records in cellars, corridors, disused und unguarded buildings.
- The National Archives of Namibia is geared towards the permanent storage of records (archives) of enduring value. It has no space for the storage of voluminous semi-current records available, nor has it got sufficient staff to maintain such records.
- Intermediate records depots for the storage of semi-current records, which are in principle mandated by the Archives Act, have not yet been established, and would require substantial capital investment as well as the creation of maintenance staff posts.
- The training needs of records management staff throughout government and parastatals exceed the training capacity of the existing National Archives staff component.
- Private service providers have established records storage facilities as well as digitization services and are offering such services and records management training to the private sector as well as to public institutions.
- The use of private service providers can be seen as a cost-effective alternative to the establishment of intermediate records depots (National Archives of Namibia, 2007, p.1).

The policy entrusts the commercial "records centres with many records management responsibilities." The question is, "Are they equipped to carry them out?" This is what motivated the authors to conduct the study reported below.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the commercial records centres study was to establish their infrastructure, staffing and services. It also aimed to assess the extent to which they met the functions and characteristics of records centres. Based on the findings, the authors make recommendations to the National Archives regarding the establishment of in-house records centres for the public service of Namibia and inform it on the shortcoming of the commercial records centres so that they can be rectified to ensure the proper storage and management of the public records in their custody.

The findings and discussion

For the sake of anonymity, the records centres are not named but numbered from A-D in random order. The presentation of the findings is organised according to the following sub-headings:

Methodology

The multi case study of the four commercial records centres employed interviews and observation data collection techniques. Data was analysed using content analysis by identifying themes and presenting the data in tables and descriptive text.

- Staffing
- Services rendered

- Records storage
  Implementation of retention schedules
  Reference services
- Follow-up on records requested
- Measures to ensure that files are not reactivated
- Infrastructure
- Security measures
  - ✓ Measures against adverse environmental conditions
  - ✓ Fire prevention measures
  - ✓ Protection against unauthorised access
  - ✓ Records disaster preparedness plan
- Mechanisms to offer an economical service

Staffing

The quality of service offered by a records centre is to a large extent determined by the quality of its staff. Table 2 below presents the staff of the four records centres with their qualifications.

Table 2: Staffing in the four commercial records centres

Records "Centre"	Total No. of Staff	No. of Staff with Professional Qualifications	Highest Professional Qualification
A	7	Non	Non
B	22	Non	Non
C	51	3	Masters
D	29	Non	Non

The interviews revealed the following levels of staffing: records centre A had 7 members of staff; records centre B had 22 members; records centre C had 51, while records centre D had a total of 29. Only one of the four records centres had professionally qualified members of staff. Three members of staff from records centre A were pursuing diploma courses in archives and records management at the University of Namibia and the University of South Africa.

The National Archives' policy on commercial records centres is weak in terms of what it prescribes regarding minimum specifications for staff. It merely states: "Qualification of staff to be evaluated; Security clearance procedures for staff; Oath of confidentiality". If records are to be managed following best practices, the National Archives should prescribe some minimum professional qualifications which the records centres staff should have.

Services rendered

Besides the low-cost high density storage, it is the additional service that a records centre offers that distinguishes it from a mere secure clean warehouse. The level of service offered is subject to specific regulations, procedures and agreements. These should cover matters such as: the removal of semi-current and non-current records from current systems; the preparation of records for transfer; the arrangement and transfer of backlog accumulations of records; the provision of reference to records held at the records centre; the release and return of records used for reference purposes; and the destruction of records under the provision of the disposal schedule (International Records Management Trust, 1999).

The study sought to find out among other things the services rendered by the private records centres to their clients. Records centres A, B and D only offered storage facilities to their clients. In addition to records storage, records centre C offered training and consultancy services. The training was in form of workshops i.e. records management level 1, records management level 2, records management level 3, electronic records management and records management for top managers. Records centre C's consultancy services included drawing up filing systems/classification schemes; electronic records management systems; designing storage facilities; formulating records management policies for their clients and records scanning.

Implementation of disposal Schedules

The research sought to find out whether the records centres have retention schedules of the creating agencies and whether there was any appraisal of records in their custody. The findings were that some private companies in all the four records centres had retention schedules that were applied when appraising records. However, all of the government institutions and regulated bodies in all four records centres had no retention schedules and as such no disposal takes place.

Transfer of records with permanent value to the National Archives.

The research sought to find out how frequent records of permanent value are transferred to the National Archives for permanent preservation. It was established that none of the four records centres has ever transferred records to the National Archives for permanent preservation.

Reference services rendered

The research also sought to find out the reference services that are offered to the clients. The findings were that members of staff from the records centres retrieve hard copies from repositories, scan them and fax the documents to their clients. This practice was found in all four records centres. However, they also deliver hard copies in some instances.

The research aimed at establishing whether the records centres offer an economic service by finding out whether they have high density storage facilities. The findings were that records centre A had more than 10 metres high density storage facility, records centre B had 6 metres high density storage facility, records centre C had a high density storage facility of 22.6 metres high with nine floors with one square metre accommodating 311 boxes. Records centre D had a 20 metres high density storage facility.

Purpose built records centres

The research aimed at finding out whether the records centres were purpose built or not. Records centres A and B were not purpose built, while records centres C and D were.

Security

The table below summarises the findings regarding security measures in the four records centres. Measures against adverse environmental conditions, fire, unauthorised access and disaster prevention were investigated.

Table 3: Internal and External Security Measures

Records "Centre"	Mechanisms in place			
	Measures against adverse environmental conditions (Poor to Very Good)	Fire prevention Measures (Poor to very Good)	Protection against unauthorized access (Poor to Very Good)	Disaster prevention plan (Y/N)
A	Poor	Very Good	Very Good	No
B	Very Good	Very Good	Very Good	Draft
C	Very Good	Very Good	Very Good	No
D	Poor	Very Good	Very Good	No

Measures against adverse environmental conditions

At records centre A there were no measures in place to guard against adverse environmental conditions. Thee repository was however cleaned once a month. The roof at records centre B reflected/repelled heat, there were dust extractor fans and no electrical power/ lights in the repository. Records centre C had a system of ventilation that cools the walls of the repository, no windows but ventilation openings to control dust and no electrical lights in the repository. Records centre D had no measures in place and had very bright fluorescent lights in the repository. In all the four records centres there were no humidity control measures.

Fire prevention measures

All four records centres had hand fire extinguishers that were regularly serviced. They all had up-to-date fire safety certificates from the Municipality of Windhoek and were inspected every 6 months. All of them had fire alarms and smoke detectors that were regularly serviced and connected to the City of Windhoek fire Brigade. None of the members of staff in all four records centres had been trained in the use of the fire fighting equipment.

External and Internal Security measures

Regarding the internal and external security measures in place to guard against burglary, arson and unauthorised access or request for records, the following were the findings: records centre A had security guards guarding the premises at night, CCTV cameras, access control system using finger prints and intruder alarms connected to a security company. Records centre B had a remote controlled gate, an electric fence monitored by a security company, intruder alarms and fire alarm wired to a security company but had no CCTV cameras. Records centre C had a fence around (not electrical), burglar alarms on the outside and inside connected to a security company, no windows, all doors were made of steel and there were CCTV cameras. Records centre D had an electrical fence, an electrical door with a code to access entry, and an intruder alarms connected to a security company.

All of them stored their records unmarked and randomly, with barcodes. It was also established that only authorised people could request for records from these records centres. All requests for records were through official email or fax.

Records disaster preparedness plans

Records are always potentially at risk of disaster. According to the State Records of South Australia (2007, p. 7) "most realistic interpretation of 'disasters' is to view them as dependent, not on the *scale* of damage, but on the *effect* that the incidents create". Due to the importance of records, their loss in a disaster can be crippling for the responsible organisation. Records centers therefore need to offer complete protection of the records they store, even in the event of a disaster. In order to do so, they should have a disaster plan in place and participate in disaster contingency planning (Department of State, 1996, p. 17). The study therefore sought to find out whether the records centres have written records disaster preparedness plans in place. It was found out that records centre C has a draft which has been submitted to the National Archives for approval. Records centres A, B and D did not even have drafts and did not know when they would have them.

Volume/Quantity of records

The study wanted to establish the volumes of records in the custody of the records centres. It was established that records centre A is dealing had one client covered by the Archives Act, with a total of 94 000 records (current records). This amounts to 3630 boxes. Records centre B had 76 800 boxes, and two of their clients were covered by the Archives Act. These clients are referred to as E and F for the sake of anonymity. Client E had 627 boxes and client F 500 boxes. Records centre C had 135 clients, of which 11 were covered by the Archives Act. The records of the 11 regulated bodies amounted to 15066 boxes. Records centre D had a total of 16107 boxes; two of their clients (referred to as G and H) were covered by the Archives Act. Client G had 105 boxes while client H had 831 boxes. Records centre C sent statistics (list of records deposited by regulated bodies) to the National Archives regularly. The other 3 had never sent any statistics. The National Archives had no knowledge of the records the regulated bodies were depositing with these 3 records centres. This suggests lack of monitoring of how public service records are managed in the commercial records centres by the National Archives.

Frequency of deposits/acquisitions

Records centre A could not provide statistics of deposits. Records centre B received 100 boxes per day, 500 per week and 2000 per month on the average. Records centre C received 55 linear metres per day, 250 linear metres per month on the average and 1100 linear metres per month on the average. Records centres B, C and D said that they were all running out of space and were expanding their storage facilities.

Response time

Records centre A delivered records within 24 hours. Records centre B within 3 to 5 hours and Records centre C had three levels of service namely; express where the client got the record within two hours, standard service where the client got the record within 24 hours and emergency service where there was provision for after hours, holidays and weekends. Records management is about giving the right record, to right person at the right time. Timely response to records requests by records centres amongst other issues, such as security, is a must if they are to gain and maintain the trust of their clients.

Security of records in transit

The security measures expected from records centres for records at all times can be equated to the security measures expected of banks in terms of the money they keep. It is common practice for banks to put in place security measures when money is in transit. Records centres should also think along similar lines. Although they are not expected to

put in place stringent measures as those of the banks some protection is expected when records are moved. While records centres A, B and D delivered records in open normal vehicles, records centre C went an extra mile, by putting records in sealed envelopes and transporting them in a lockable vehicle with a GPS tracking system.

Follow up on records requested that have not been returned

All four records centres had manual and electronic mechanisms in place to track records that were out but had no control on their return as they have to rely on the creating agencies. It was established that some records never come back to the records centre. The implications of this are many, one of them being that series or files might lose records thereby destroying the integrity of the records. Records centres need to follow-up on records which are out on loan. This is one of the records keeping practices which distinguishes a mere warehouse and a professionally run records centre.

Measures to ensure that records are not reactivated

The study aimed at finding out whether the records centres ensure that files are not reactivated when they are on request with creating departments/institutions. In all the four institutions, it was reported that many files had had documents added when they came back, and some never came back at all. A records centre should advise on these basic but pertinent records keeping issues. This is only possible if the staff working in these records centres are well versed with proper records keeping practices. As the study established, most of the staff were not trained and skilled to provide such advice.

Conclusions and recommendations

The paper has highlighted the poor management of semi-current records in the public service of Namibia. The need for proper facilities for the storage of semi-current records cannot be overemphasised. There is no doubt that records required for evidence and for future research are perishing in the creators' offices. The dumping of records in unsecure storage areas makes them irretrievable and susceptible to theft, vandalism and damage by environmental factors. The absence of retention schedules as identified by the records surveys conducted by the National archives and other studies hinder records appraisal, resulting in congestion and space shortages and haphazard destruction of records. These authors support the recommendations emanating from the National Archives records survey findings that institutions come up with approved retention and disposals schedules.

The National Archives needs to prioritise its plans to establish records centres to manage semi-current records. The accumulation of semi current records will be controlled and office space will be economically utilized. It will also help to decongest offices and store rooms. Sixteen regulated bodies were found to be utilising the services of the private records centres. Although the commercial records centres have helped ease storage space to a certain extent, it is clear from the findings of this study that they are not at the present moment meeting a number of the characteristics of records centres which are required for an efficient and economic service as well as preservation of the records. Driven by the need to cut costs, and shortage of trained and skilled manpower, it will be a while before they meet the necessary requirements. The commercial records "centre" route taken by the public service should be seen more as a temporary measure than a permanent solution. In future once the government records centres are established, the commercial records centres can co-exist and collaborate. In the meantime the National Archives need to revise the policy on commercial records centres and ensure that the commercial records centres have qualified and skilled personnel. The policy should also be clear on the monitoring mechanisms and these should be implemented.

No matter how security conscious and careful organisations are, disasters can occur. The public service, as well as the commercial records centres must be encouraged to come up with records disaster preparedness plans.

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Evaluation of drought indices using the 40-percentile threshold for the north-central regions of Namibia

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Abstract
Drought is not uncommon to the Southern African climate and it has become a matter of serious concern in Namibia. For that reason, almost all parts of Namibia have become vulnerable to drought occurrence. Whilst recognising agriculture as a pertinent component of the Namibian economy, it is imperative to underscore the importance of drought early warning products for short- and long-term decision making in various sectors of the country's economy. Following the 1991/92 drought, which ravaged more than 80% of Southern Africa, Namibia now realise the value of meteorological information in weather-sensitive decisions. This severe drought has been described as the worst in living memory. Five stations (Ombalantu, Oshakati, Rundu, Katima Mulilo and Tsumkwe) in the northern part of Namibia were assessed. The researcher used the rainfall decile method to assess drought conditions by evaluating whether the widely used 40-percentile threshold is appropriate for triggering a drought warning in Namibia. Results showed that the threshold might have been set too high to be of use in warning farmers of coming droughts. In order to determine the percentile that would be best serve as trigger for drought warnings, there is need for further examination at 30, 25 and 20 percentile mark thresholds. Based on the 40-percentile threshold, much of the drought and a decrease in rainfall accumulation in Ombalantu and Oshakati in the Omusati and Oshana regions respectively, occurred towards the end of the 20th century.

Introduction

Namibia is situated on the south-western coast of Africa. It is one of the sub-Saharan Africa's most arid countries, and also one of the most arid countries in the world (Byers, 1997). Namibia has a dry climate with highly unpredictable rainfall (Erkkila & Siiskonen, 1992). The rainfall increases from the south-west to north-east, with a mean rainfall range from less than 50mm to 700mm in the same magnitude (Byers, 1997; Erkkila, Siiskonen, 1992). Hence it is important to take into consideration these spatial differences when defining drought.

In the northern regions, which are under study in this paper, the land is held under communal ownership. The communal ownership involves subsistence farming (Erkkila & Siiskonen, 1992). Approximately, more than 60% of the total population lives in this area. Most of the rural population in this region depends on agricultural products and livestock for survival (Erkkila & Siiskonen, 1992). Therefore, the analysis of drought in the northern regions is important for both residents of the areas and for government. The government can use the analysis in the event of drought relief planning.

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The definition of drought differs with respect to areas or regions. Heathcote (1973) argues that drought can mean different things to different people. Referring to the definition of 'severe water shortage' in Heathcote (1973), it is suggested that the word 'shortage' requires more definition. This in turn implies specification of the amount of water needed and this depends on the nature and extent of animal or plant communities using the water. From this definition, Heathcote (1973) deduces that not all water shortages are droughts; unless economic impact results from the shortage, drought may not always be recognised.

Tannehill (1947) defines drought as a phenomenon that belongs to the class of phenomena, which are known as "spell weather". White, Falkland and Scott (1999) define drought as a sustained period of lower soil moisture and water supply than the normal levels to which the local environment and society have adapted. This definition is relevant to the Namibian condition as drought can be different in each region based on the condition of that specific area. Drought affects agriculture, livestock as well as the potable water supply.

There are different rain based drought indices alternatives evaluated by White et al., (1999) for Tarawa, Kiribati that can be applied to Namibia conditions. These methods are Standardised Precipitation Index, Rainfall deciles and Rainfall depreciation. Rainfall deciles will be used and test if it is appropriate to use 40 percentile as criteria for drought warning in the four northern regions of Namibia. The Rainfall decile method is useful because it ignores demand and losses of water, it can be used for comparison between locations, it does not require data transformation, and the meaning is clear and can be easily understood (White et al., 1999). Hence this paper will assess drought in northern Namibia in Ombalantu, Oshakati, Rundu, Katima Mulilo and Tsumkwe (Figure 1). The data used in this report is from the Department of Metrological Services in the Ministry of Transport and Communication, Namibia.

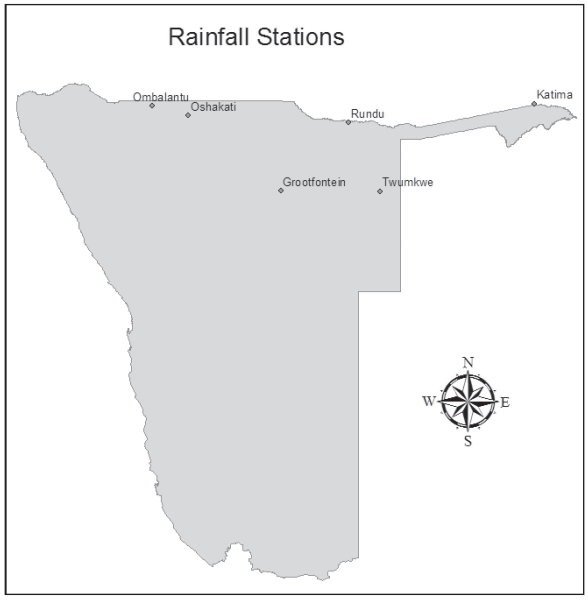


Figure 1: Rainfall Stations on Namibia (northern areas)

Source: Data from (DoF, 2002)

Types of drought

According to Druyan (1996) and Nicholas, Angela, Lake and Arthington (2008) drought can be divided into four different categories Meteorological, Hydrological, Agricultural, and Socio-economic drought. There is no universal definition of drought, but a working definition of meteorological drought is "an extended period - a season, a year, or several years of deficient rainfall relative to the statistical multi-year mean for a region" (Druyan, 1996, p. 256). These four common definitions of drought terms mentioned above are defined below.

Meteorological drought

Meteorological drought is defined by Druyan (1996); Rao, Voeller, 1997 and White *et al.* (1999) as an interval of time where meteorologically appropriate moisture that should have accumulated at a given time was not reached. Therefore meteorological drought is the degree of dryness and the duration of the dry period, which is region specific because the atmospheric conditions resulting in deficiencies of precipitation are highly variable from region to region (UNL, 2003; Robert, 2007 & Khalili, Famound, Jamshidi, Kamgar-Haghighi & Zanda-Parsa, 2011). For example, Namibia rainfall varies from region to region with increasing rainfall from southwest to northeast. In the areas where there is high rainfall for instance, meteorological drought can be defined on the basis of days or months during the rainy season. This definition only varies for regions with year-round precipitation. In my own experience, the areas along the coast seldom receive rainfall every year. Hence meteorological drought in those areas might be classified as drought if it has not rained, say, for two years.

Agricultural drought

Agriculture is the backbone of the northern rural areas in Namibia (Byers, 1997; Erkkila & Siiskonen, 1992). Crops are dependent on precipitation during the growing season and a dry summer could produce agricultural drought, even though it would not be classified as a meteorological drought. Agricultural drought affects the majority of the population in Namibia as most of the Namibians live in rural areas (Byers, 1997). It is defined by White as an interval of time when soil moisture cannot meet the evapotranspiration level required for crops to grow, for maintaining and supplying water for livestock and irrigation purposes. UNL (2003); Dubrovsky et al. (2009); Subash, Mohan, (2011) and Yang, Gong, Wang & Hu (2012) argue that a good definition of agricultural drought should be able to account for the variable susceptibility of crops during different stages of crop development. In addition, plants differ in water usage and access. For instance trees with deep roots and shallow root have different drought periods.

Hydrological drought

Hydrological drought involves stream flows and the level of water in both public water supplies, like reservoirs and rivers, and private wells (UNL, 2003; Benson, 2007; Vangelis, Spiliotis & Tsakiris, 2011). It is associated with effects from periods of precipitation shortfall in surface or subsurface water supply (Byers, 1997; UNL, 2003; Nalbantis, Tsakiris, 2009; Xu, Lin, Huang, Zhang & Ran, 2011). Even though climate is a primary contributor to hydrological drought, other factors could also contribute. Factors such as land use, land degradation (White et al., 1999; UNL, 2003; Nicholas et al., 2008; Khalili et al., 2011; Kwon & Kim, 2010) and construction of dams (UNL, 2003; Nicholas et al., 2008) all affect hydrological drought. Hydrological drought does not just affect areas where there is precipitation shortfall since regions are interconnected by hydrologic systems and the impact of metrological drought may extend beyond the precipitation deficient area (UNL, 2003; Nalbantis & Tsakiris, 2009).

Socio-economic drought

A drought can have devastating economic effects. Lack of rain can affect crop yields because of insufficient rain as well as insufficient water in streams that are used as an irrigation source. The definition of socio-economic drought is associated with the supply and demand of some economic goods and elements of meteorological, hydrological and agricultural drought (Druyan, 1996; UNL, 2003; White et al., 2004). The demand and supply of economic goods such as water, forage, food grains, fish, and hydropower, depends on the climate in that area (White et. al., 1999; UNL, 2003). Hence if the demand of these goods exceeds supply due to weather conditions and deficit of water, this is called socio-economic drought (White et al., 1999; Khalili et al., 2011).

Impacts of drought

Drought can have both negative and positive effects. The positive effects cited by Heathcote (1973) include a drought in 1903, which nearly killed off the rabbit population of western New South Wales thereby saving expenditure on rabbit control. In areas where there is a problem of overgrazing, drought might have detrimental effect on livestock, but on the other hand vegetation and grasses might respond well following disturbances. These positive effects have an ecological context.

The negative effects of drought are always at the centre of debate. These can be evaluated from the perspective of the different drought types. Meteorological, agricultural and hydrologic drought, determines the nature of socio-economic drought (White et al., 2004; Edossa, 2010). When the drought begins, it is normally the agricultural sector that is the first to be affected because of its reliance on stored soil water (UNL, 2003; Khalili et al., 2011). If there is no precipitation, soil water can be depleted during extended dry periods and if the precipitation deficiencies continue, people that are dependent on surface water reservoirs will be affected first sooner than those dependent on ground water (Xu et al., 2011). But in the longer term, when the precipitation deficiency ends, underground water reservoirs will take longer to recover than ground water reservoirs.

Methods and materials

The decile method was used to estimate the drought indices. This method requires the ranking of data. The data was ranked using PERCETILE function in Excel spread sheets. This adopts the procedure used by White et al. (1999) where the rainfall records are summed for 12 month over the whole rainfall period. Using the sum of 12-months previous month records would give a better estimation of drought occurrences. This is because Namibia has seasonal rainfall that starts probably from September through to April the following year. This avoids classifying months without rainfall, which is normally from May to August, as drought. Hence it follows the definition of droughts, that normal dry periods cannot be classified as drought. But rather unusual events occur in the local environment that have not adapted. For example if a total of six month is to be used to assess the drought for that period, than possibly the months between July and November might be classified as drought months every year, depending on the distribution of rainfall from January to April of the same year. Hence examining the decile ranking of rainfall over a 12-month accumulation period is an ideal situation.

Results and discussion

The 12-month rainfall deciles are shown in Figures 5, 6, 9 and 10 for Ombalantu, Tsumkwe (Figure 2), Oshakati and Rundu respectively. Figures 3, 4 and 5 show results for Katima Mulilo station from 1945 to 1978 and 1987 to 2002. There is a break in rainfall records in 1979 to 1986 in Katima Mulilo. Hence the drought analysis for Katima Mulilo was done

only for rainfall from 1945 to 1978. The highlighted instances on the figures are where the percentiles values are less that 10% and below 40%. These values are classified as very much below average in the Australian Drought Watch System (Parakoti & Scott 2002). The Australian Drought Method System was set up as a basis to evaluate the severity and to give warnings of droughts. The lowest 10 percentile designates extreme dry periods. On the other hand, the 40-percentile level can be used as a warning of coming droughts. This will be discussed in more detail in section 4.4.

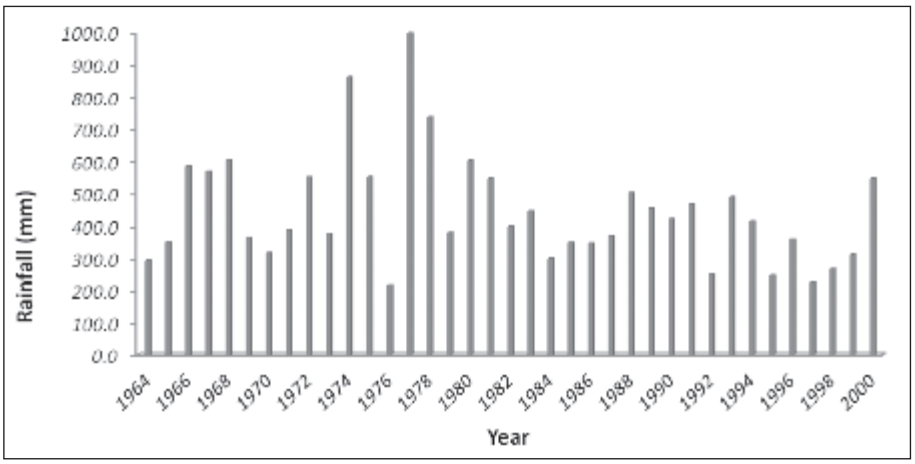


Figure 2: Tsumkwe rainfall records

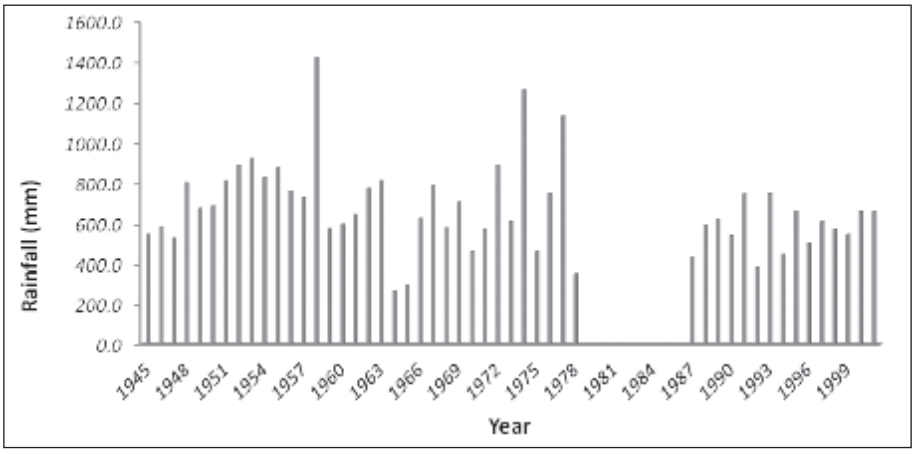


Figure 3: Katima Mulilo Rainfall record

Since stations have different periods in their sets of rainfall records, this makes it difficult to compare drought patterns overtime. But one of the events noticed in all the stations except Katima Mulilo and Rundu, is an apparent drought between 1987 and 1990. In Katima Mulilo, the drought was rather noticeable in 1991, Figure 5. Rundu records show a different pattern from above the 40 percentile except the drought in 1970, which is apparent in all stations. This drought period was more serious in Omabalantu than in other stations. The drought stretched over almost nine years fluctuating below the 20 percentile. The same pattern can be also observed in Oshakati, but the record ends in 1993. Therefore there is no clear indication on how far this drought lasts like other stations.

However, Oshakati and Ombalantu results can be compared because these areas are close to each other. There is no clear pattern of drought trends below the 40 percentile. This is due to the distribution of rainfall during the rainy season and the intensity of rainfall, for instance, if there was a strong thunderstorm in one month rather than spread over several months. In that case, it will have a greater contribution over the months that are summed up. On the other hand, the areas have a similar trend of decreasing rainfall between 1976 and 1982. What can be noticed also are the records from 1987 to 1992. During this period, the rainfall never went over the 60 percentile in all stations. This implies that even though there is a difference in terms of droughts these areas have a similar maximum rainfall.

The data in Figure 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10 are summarised in Table 1. The table shows the lowest, highest, mean rainfall and coefficient of variation for all stations. The table gives also the rainfall figures at 10 percentile, the number of extreme dry times below 10 percentiles, the average time between extremes dry months as well as coefficient of variation and range of times between extreme dry months, and the average duration of extreme dry months as well as the coefficient of variation and the range of duration of those dry periods in months.

The coefficient of variation mentioned above enables comparison of the variability, homogeneity or uniformity of the data distribution (Gupta, 1990). If the coefficient of variation (%) is equal to 100, it means the standardised deviation is closer or equal to the mean. This gives an indication of how the data are distributed around the mean.

There seems to be a uniform variation across the rainfall data from all stations ranging from 32 to 49. Ombalantu has highest coefficient of variation (49). This is due to the lowest record of two millimetre of rainfall in a 12-month period. At 10-percentile level, all rainfall stations have different values of rainfall. The value of Katima Mulilo is more than two times some values at the 10 percentile from other stations. This is an indication that what can be regarded as a drought in Katima Mulilo is not the same as in other areas.

From Table 1, the expected period between extreme dry periods and the expected duration of those dry periods can be deduced for a 12-month period. It shows that, in 66 years, Ombalantu can expect, on average, drought every eighth year and this will be expected to last for eleven months. Both Tsumkwe and Rundu can expect, on average, drought every ninth year and this will last for five and years respectively. While Katima Mulilo and Oshakati can expect, on average, drought every sixth and fifth year and this will last for approximately seven and six years respectively. However each station has a different set of data, different in terms of years. Therefore these approximations should be interpreted with caution. To make a better comparison, the numbers of extreme dry periods were compared within a 25-year period. It came out that even Oshakati has few cases, compared to other areas, and within a 25-year period it has frequent cases of drought similar to Ombalantu. The results are shown in Table 2 below.

From the Table 2 above, it can be concluded that, even though Ombalantu has the lowest rainfall records in 12 month periods, there are expected to be very few cases of drought in that area compared to other areas. This is again referred back to the definition of drought, where White et al. (1999) defined drought as being associated with a sustained period of significantly lower soil moisture and water supply than the normal levels to which the local environment and society have adapted. Looking at Table 1, the mean rainfall in Ombalantu is classified as an offset of 10 percentile in Katima Mulilo. That is all the rainfall records in Ombalantu below the mean (416) would be classified as drought in Katima Mulilo records.

Table 1: Rainfall data for five stations in Northern Namibia

Parameters	Ombalantu (1930-1996)	Tsumkwe (1964-2000)	Katima M. (1945-1978)	Oshakati (1967-1992)	Rundu (1961-2001)
No. of Data points	791	459	397	301	471
Lowest rain (mm)	2	215	244	85	229
Highest rain (mm)	1165	1090	1500	818	1166
Mean rain in period (mm)	416	490	704	410	582
CV%	49	38	33	40	32
10 percentile Rain (mm)	177	246	476	187	325
No of extreme dry times <10 percentile	8	9	6	5	9
Average time between extremes dry months	89	38	51	54	74
CV%	222	133	114	194	169
Range of times between extreme periods	8 to 577	1 to 100	13 to 178	1 to 242	1 to 254
Average duration extremes dry months	11	5	7	6	6
CV%	120	81	101	76	74
Range of durations of extreme dry periods	1 to 36	1 to 11	1 to 17	1 to 10	1 to 12

(Source: Data from Namibia, Ministry of Transport and Communication, Department of Meteorology, 2003)

Table 2: Comparison of estimated number of extremes within 25 years for rainfall records totalling 12 months

	Ombalantu	Tsumkwe	Katima M.	Oshakati	Rundu
Original number no. of extreme dry times <10 percentile	8	9	6	5	9
Estimated no. of extremes dry times in 25 years	3	6	5	5	6

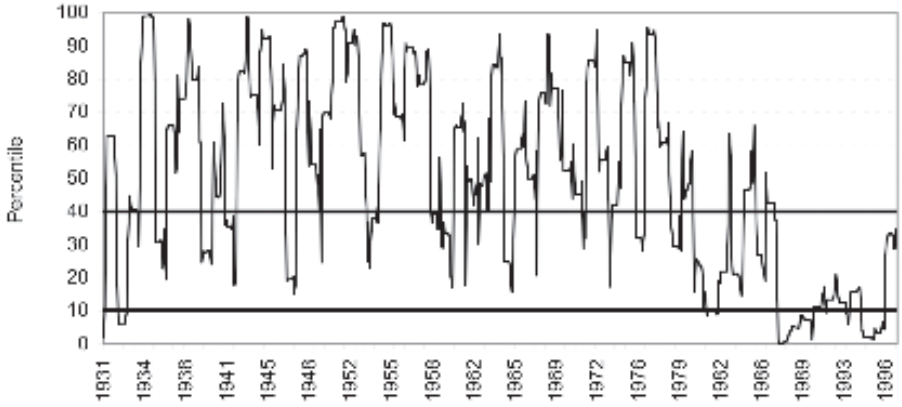


Figure 4: Rainfall totalling 12 months for Ombalantu station

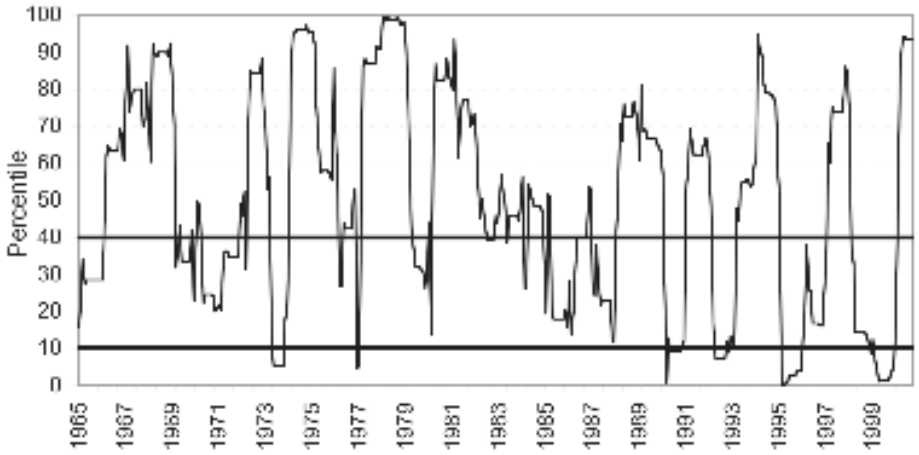


Figure 5: Rainfall totalling 12 months for Tsumkwe station

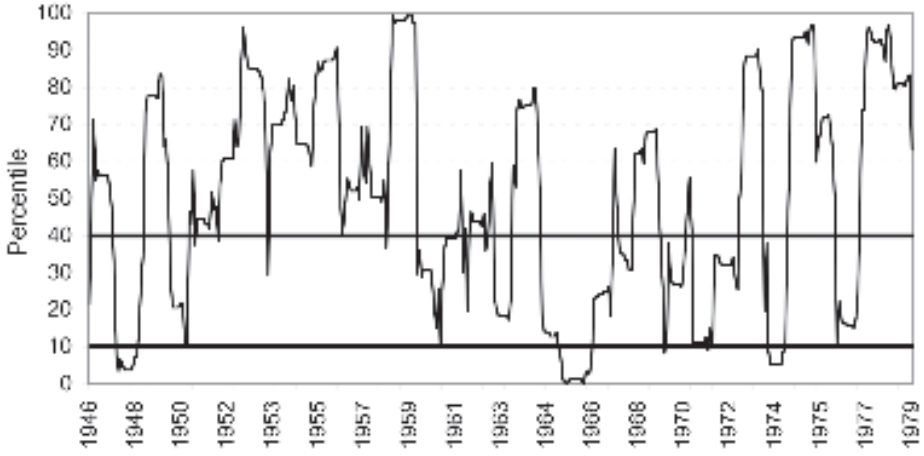


Figure 6: Rainfall totalling 12 months for Katima Mulilo station

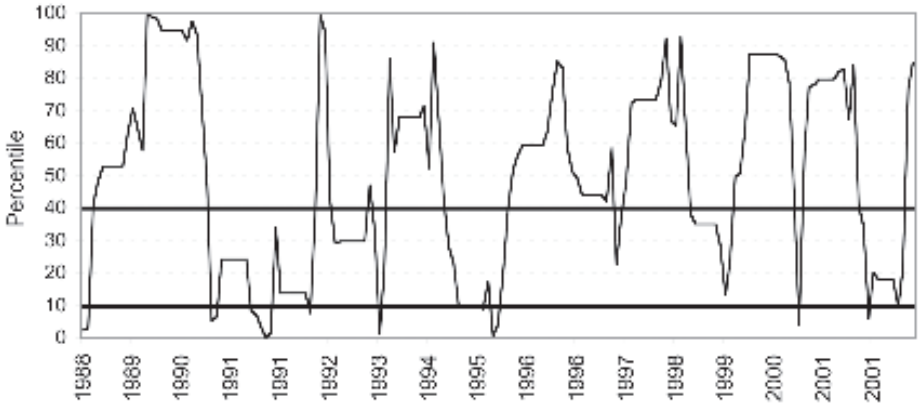


Figure 7: Rainfall totalling 12 months for Katima Mulilo station (1988 – 2002)

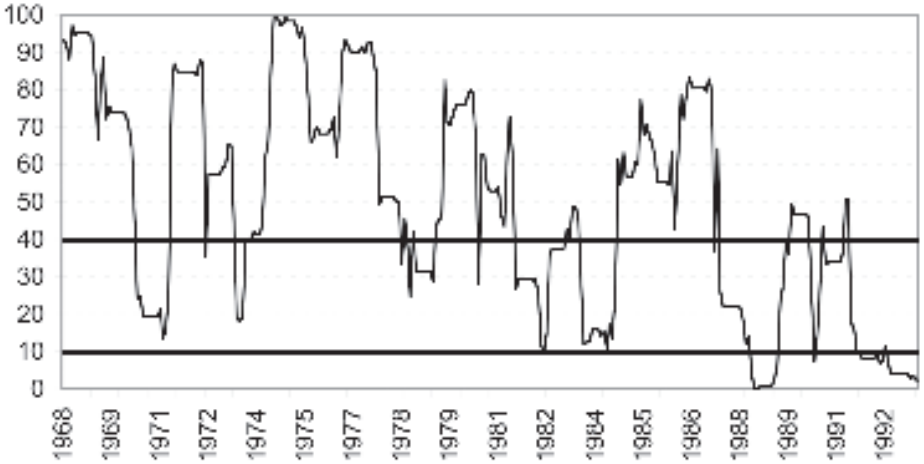


Figure 8: Rainfall totalling 12 months for Oshakati station

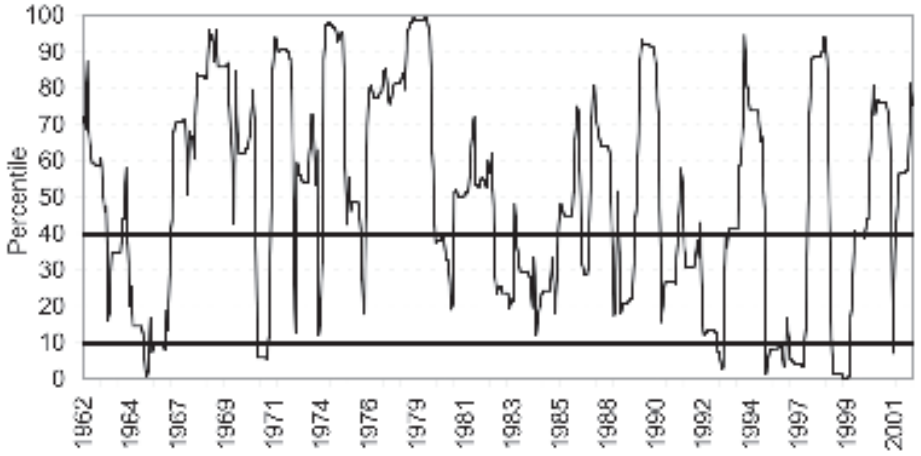


Figure 9: Rainfall totalling 12 months for Rundu station

Severity of droughts

The assessment of severity of drought is important to determine how worse the drought was. The severity can be determined by the lowest percentile and periods of that specific drought. The method described by White et al. (1999) to assess the severity of drought was to look at the lowest percentile ranking obtained, the duration of the drought period below 10%, and the average ranking over the drought period. In this paper, part of White et al. (1999) will be used, for instance, by identifying the lowest percentile and the duration of the drought period. In addition, the ranking of the severity will be assessed by looking at both the lowest ranking obtained and the duration of the drought. These combinations are the strongest criteria used in the table below to rank the severity of drought. The results are presented in Table 3. The data are ranked that the first in the column is regarded as the worst drought in that area.

Table 3: Droughts below 10% in all the stations totalling 12 months

Ombalantu (1930-1996)		Tsumkwe (1964-2000)		Katima M. (1945-1978)		Oshakati (1967-1992)		Rundu (1961-2001)	
Starting period (1900)	Duration	Starting period (1900)	Duration	Starting period (1900)	Duration (MThs)	Starting period (1900)	Duration (mths)	Starting period (1900)	Duration (mths)
Feb '87 to Jan '90	36	Jan to Nov '95	11	Oct '64 to Feb '66	17	Feb to Nov '88	10	Mar to Dec '98	10
Oct '92 to Jan '93	4	Jan to Nov '99	11	Jan to Nov '47	11	Feb to Dec '92	11	Oct '64 to Jan '65	4
Feb to Nov '32	10	Apr to Sept '73	6	Mar to Nov '73	9	Apr to Dec '91	9	Mar to Oct '96	8
Aug to Oct '94	3	Mar to Aug '92	6	Jan '69	1	Dec '89	1	Oct '92 to Jan '93	4
Dec '31	1	Apr to Sep '90	6	Oct '70	1			May to Oct '70	6

Almost two thirds of the worst droughts occurred between 1980 and 2000. Of these, more than half of the cases were between 1990 and 2000. The analysis above excludes data from Katima Mulilo. What can be concluded from this table is that the worst droughts occurred towards the end of the 20th century. This can be attributed to climate change and global warming (UNFCCC, 2002).

In addition, Figure 11 indicates the cumulative rainfall distribution. There is a clear indication that cumulative rainfall in Ombalantu and Oshakati areas is decreasing over time. The results were computed by summing up the rainfall records of the current month and accumulation of previous years or months, as represented in the equation below (White et al., 1999). This coincides with frequent drought events occurring towards the end of 20th century. However, the decreasing of the rainfall in both areas (Ombalantu and Oshakati)

began in the early 1980s. Therefore this predicts that the frequency of drought will be prevalent in the coming years compared to the previous years before 1980s, unless the rain changes to its normal pattern.

$$CuR_n = R_o + \sum_{i=1}^{n} R_i$$

where CuR_n = Cumulative rainfall, R_o = is the rainfall of the current month and R_{-i} = is the rainfall for the previous *i*th month (Adapted from: White et al., 1999).

A decrease of rainfall might have detrimental effects on the ecosystem as well as on the living conditions of farmers. Especially in the areas where rainfall is evidently decreasing is where most of the population live, about 44% of the population (Marsh & Seely, 1992). Marsh, Seely (1992) and Jang et al. (2012) predict that the droughts in the areas might occur in many ways, for example when the rain falls at the wrong time to support the growing of crops. For instance, because of its variability, rain might fall heavily in November, and farmers start ploughing. Because of unpredictability and variability of rainfall, sometimes it happens that the next thunderstorm will come in January. During that period, crops will die of drought. Therefore the need for informed and thorough research might be helpful to farmers to manage their crops. In addition this information is crucial to the farmers, for them to have an idea about the possible decline of precipitation over time.

Drought warnings

Drought warning is one of the methods used to indicate the possibility of coming droughts. This is mostly due to the lack of rain during the previous few months. The drought warning could warn farmers of a coming drought in the following season. This is important for them to take necessary precautionary measures. For instance, if it is predicted that there would be drought during, say, coming two years, farmers will take precautionary measures like restocking their livestock. In addition, this information is also needed by government agencies and other groups having wider regional or national interests and responsibilities (Felch, 1978; Khalili et al., 2011). For example, if there is enough and accurate information, the government will know how much to set aside for drought relief programs. Drought warning in this area should be interpreted with caution. The rainy season starts from October and lasts until April; where almost 99% of the annual rain falls between those months (Marsh & Seely, 1992). Therefore if there were not enough rainfall during summer, this sign will be reflected as a drought during the dry season, which may not necessarily be a warning of drought.

Gibbs and Maher (1967) suggested that the 50 percentile is the appropriate level for drought warning. However this level might be too high for Namibia conditions. This is because Namibia has a highly variable rainfall from year to year and from month to month (Marsh & Seely, 1992). Therefore because of this variability, the mean rainfall is not a good indicator of rainfall conditions and it might give the wrong perception. Hence even the percentile will have to be interpreted with caution. White et al. (1999) use the 40 percentile as the drought warning level in Small Coral Island. Hence, because the 50 percentile suggested by Gibbs and Maher (1967) might not be a viable option in Namibia context, the 40 percentile will be used as a drought warning.

The statistics of drought warning at the 40 percentile are presented in Table 4. Katima Mulilo has the highest rainfall at 40 percentile compared with other areas. This indicates that what can be classified as drought in Katima Mulilo is not the same as in other areas. Using the 40 percentile as warning of drought period, it is expected that the warning

time will last for 7 months in Ombalantu, 4, 6, 5 and 5 months in Tsumkwe, Katima Mulilo, Oshakati and Rundu respectively. The coefficient of variation gives an indication of how warning times vary from the mean. The difference of variation between areas is not that significant, but there is a big variation within periods of warning times within the areas. The warning times can be one month for all areas and the maxima are not very far from each other except for Katima Mulilo, which stands at a maximum of 14 months of twenty-one warning times.

The most important thing is how accurate are these warnings. It can be frustrating and costly sometimes to give warnings but the drought never happens. If it happens, it happens seldom. Haas (1978) argues adjustments to agricultural practices are needed towards anticipated droughts. This type information is needed to stabilise agricultural economy losses. Hence using a number of false and correct warning predictions recorded at 40 percentile will enable scientists to evaluate if this method is appropriate.

At the 40 percentile, more than two thirds in each area, the prediction were wrong. This will have a bigger impact on the farmers and community if they are to be presented with this prediction results. Therefore even the 40 percentile is not a good indicator for drought warning predictions in the areas included in this analysis. Further analysis of data is thus needed at the 30 percentile, for instance, to asses and evaluates the drought warnings.

Table 4: Use of the descent of the rainfall record through the 40 percentile level to indicate impending extreme dry periods

	Stations				
	Ombalantu (1930-1996)	Tsumkwe (1964-2000)	Katima M. (1945-1978)	Oshakati (1967-1992)	Rundu (1961-2001)
40% Rain (mm)	351	372	643	370	487
Mean warning time at 40 percentile (mth)	7	4	6	5	5
CV%	70	120	95	101	101
Range of warning periods (mth)	1-19	1-20	1-14	1-18	1-24
Number of warnings times	32	27	21	17	26
No. false/No. correct warnings	25/7	20/7	16/5	13/4	20/6

(Source: Data from Namibia, Ministry of Transport and Communication, Department of Meteorology, 2003)

Conclusion

This paper assessed drought conditions in five stations in the northern part of Namibia. Drought assessment is important for farmers living in the area and also helps the government assess the state of drought conditions for implementing drought relief programs. Results showed that the threshold might have been set too high to be of use in warning farmers of coming droughts. Apart from Katima Mulilo, where rainfall records from 1979 onwards were excluded from the analysis, the results show that much of the drought occurred towards the end of the 20th century. In addition, results showed a decrease in rainfall accumulation in Ombalantu and Oshakati; this is a serious problem in these areas since most of the people living there depend on agricultural products. Precautionary measures may be needed to adjust to this new situation, which opens up some important areas of future research. For example, information will be needed about how the economy will be affected, impacts on community and alternatives that can be found to adapt to the changing climate conditions of these two areas.

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Searching for the rain: An anthology of verse by Axaro W. Thaniseb. Windhoek: Macmillan Education Namibia Publishers, 2011; pp i-xiv + 80

Reviewed by Selma Ashikuti
University of Namibia

Searching for the rain is an anthology of verse by Namibian poet Axaro W. Thaniseb who currently directs the National Theatre of Namibia (NTN).

In this anthology, Thaniseb dares to address issues in post-independence Namibia that many would rather not hear nor talk about. He demonstrates bravery as he calls a spade a spade as he explores different controversial themes. The same bravery is shown when he intelligently uses vernacular languages when he switches between languages in the book. In this realistic contemporary work, he shows both his great talent in writing and also his understanding and analysis of Namibian society, its passions, struggles and achievements and manages to do so impartially.

Thaniseb's style of writing is not only easy to read and thought provoking but it is also realistic. In this 46 poem anthology, Thaniseb covers themes raging from dreams, social inequalities, love, self-discovery, fear, pain, war to nationalism. As he travels not only across Namibia but across the world, he pens the poems we find in *Searching for the rain*, the reader is therefore taken on a journey and into the thought life of the author as he writes with brutal honesty about his feelings, observation and judgements on life especially within Namibia. In this dominantly post-independence Namibian poetry, Thaniseb intricately uses many voices and as a result allows the reader an opportunity to hear not only his voice but many others' such as that of a man in post-independence Namibia, a young man from the *kasie*, a man in love and a father who adores his daughter.

In part one termed *of love and dreams*, we get into Thaniseb's world and understand him as a father, author and a Namibian citizen. Part two, *the journey of a man,* is just that, a journey of man on a quest to understand the past, find meaning in the present and be courageous enough to hope and dream in a new Namibia. The third part, *of hope and faith*, introduces the reader to the people searching for the rain in their work, personal, social lives and struggles. Finally in part four, *places and memories*, the journey in search of the rain continues as Thaniseb takes us to different places as he tells the stories of the people of places such as Katutura, Arandis, Uis, Luderitz and Cape Town. The four parts that make up *Searching for the rain,* therefore take us on a journey on and during which we uncover the emotions of different people in different places as they *search for the rain*. Also, by the end of the four parts, we discover Axaro W. Thaniseb as an author, family man, and a proud citizen of Namibia.

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From the man in post-independence Namibia in *A black man's burden*, we hear the disappointments resulting from broken promises, lost dreams and a realisation of the mismatch between what was hoped and fought for and what eventually became of it. See excerpt *from A black man's burden* below.

In 1988, he went to war with the enthusiasm
Of the young, the restless and the innocent
To liberate his country, He said
He returned in1992, with little more
Schooling than his comrades (from the frontline)
To develop his people, He said
He builds a house-on the hill next to *the evil white man*
He so much scorns- the world he so dearly
Embraces.

In the same thought provoking poem, we also learn of the change in "burdens" as faced by the *black man* (a metaphor for post-independence Namibians). We learn in this poem that, the burdens in post-independence Namibia, although different, are nonetheless still burdens. See excerpt below.

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Property investments and land expropriation
For hobby farming;
And ,
Of late-
Black Elite Empowerment
And intervals,
Complaints of all ills of a *modern black man*;
Ulcers…
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The anthology presents various types of poems, with most being free verse, one stanza poems but Thaniseb none the less does not fail to explore different forms of poetry to send his message across. In *of thieves and heroes* we observe an interesting and intelligent use of form, sound devices and punctuation to create a rhyme scheme and to bring to the fore the tone and mood of the poem.

…The children and the children
are all out in the streets
wondering
wandering
wanting
nowhere to go
…The streets are empty
in our land of plenty
that is
…The young men and women, the young women and men
shouting
screaming
wanting
caught in the grip of the ever spiraling ignorance

In this poem, the author allows the reader to read the poem at the pace set by him (the author). In addition, the use of irony calls on the reader to pause and ponder on the meaning of the irony. The use of the refrain *young men and women* further emphasises the theme of the poem.

Like other post-independence poets before him such as Mvula ya Nangolo and Keamogetsi Molapong Thaniseb pays close attention to the theme of *independence* and what it means to an average Namibian. He however explores many other contemporary themes. Whilst clearly showing his patriotism, Thaniseb does not hold back when addressing controversial themes and issues such as tribalism, ignorance and corruption. For example, in *In the land of the brave and the free,* he talks, with what may be considered brutal honesty, about *the ignorance that has taken root in the minds and heart of our people.* Below is an excerpt from the afore mentioned poem.

I search for words like the wind
to ignite the spirit and the soul of our people
but fall spent and wanting,
for in the minds and hearts of our people
Ignorance has long taken root...

Thaniseb's ability to tell multiple stories in one poem is demonstrated in *The Kasie boitjie* which tells stories of broken promises and the resulting struggles of young men, women and children. In *Nine and thirty going on forty* the reader meets a witty, laid back yet vulnerable Thaniseb as he sincerely addresses his fear of ageing as seen in the excerpt below.

I met this young man at the gym the other day
"I am going to Cape Town... a job placement"
He beamed bright-eyed. "Hah", grunted I
Amidst my huffing and puffing on the treadmill.
He quizzically glanced at my jolly beer belly,
"Huh", said I peering at my image reflected in the mirror,'
"I am going forty, it is a scary thought for a man."
"Hmmm it is ok" he smiled less enthusiastically.
I sat amidst the gay chatter and spring bloom of the park
Next to the August house and read:
"The One Hundred And One Things To Do
When You Are Thirty Something Going Forty",
But found no solace but more questions,

In this humorous poem, Thaniseb deals with a lighter theme compared to all other themes throughout the book. It is worth noting that in talking candidly about his fear of aging he not only allows the reader to see a more personal side of him but, very importantly, he lifts the lid off a common myth that only women are concerned about ageing and therefore opens the topic up for debate. Thaniseb further then shows a tender side and allows the reader to do some introspection in *Ti khoen* in which he poses poignant rhetorical questions to those that he calls *my people*. In this poem, Thaniseb carefully yet purposefully chooses a refrain in his first language namely Khoekhoegowab, *matisa maba tu ha (?)* which translates as *how are you, where are you?* The use of the vernacular as opposed to English as a language of choice in the refrain allows the poet to stress the rhetorical question, its importance

and allows him to talk directly to his people, in this case speakers of the Khoekhoegowab language.

Another applaudable aspect of *Searching for the rain* is Thaniseb's use of vernacular languages in the anthology. Throughout the book, he switches between English and vernacular languages such as Khoekhoegowab, Oshiwambo, Afrikaans, German and even Namibian slang English and Afrikaans. Consequently, poems such as *The invisible, Ti Khoen, Katutura, Jannie Pos* and *The Loyal cadre* allow Thaniseb to engage not only English readers but any multilingual Namibian reader.The glossary of non English terms provided means that the monolingual reader is never left to their own devices in understanding the poetry in which vernacular languages are used.

Notably, throughout the book took, Thaniseb took a bold step as he forsakes some conventions of poetry and therefore assumes poetic license especially because he seldom writes in verse. This is despite the fact that *Searching for the rain* is classified by the author as *An anthology of verse*. In fact, in the opening lines of the poem *Writing a love poem*, which is of course a free verse, Thaniseb sarcastically addressed the lack of a rhyme and rhyme scheme in his poetry or more specifically the said poem when he begins with *This is not a love poem for it has neither rhyme nor rhythm.* In exercising his poetic license, Thaniseb therefore had the liberty to pen poetry without having to conform to conventions such as the use of sound devices and the overbearing need in poetry to create a rhyme scheme. It is commendable that Thaniseb's nonetheless succeeds in addressing the themes with no less success, conviction nor eloquence.

In short, *Searching for the rain* is a great anthology that covers very important themes many of which had not been covered much in post-independence Namibian poetry. This rich and invaluable edition to Namibian literature informs and inspires and should therefore be read and studied at great lengths by all generations.

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of form, sound devices and punctuation to create a rhyme scheme and to bring to the fore the tone and mood of the poem.

…The children and the children
are all out in the streets
wondering
wandering
wanting
nowhere to go
…The streets are empty
in our land of plenty
that is
…The young men and women, the young women and men
shouting
screaming
wanting
caught in the grip of the ever spiraling ignorance

In this poem, the author allows the reader to read the poem at the pace set by him (the author). In addition, the use of irony calls on the reader to pause and ponder on the meaning of the irony. The use of the refrain *young men and women* further emphasises the theme of the poem.

Like other post-independence poets before him such as Mvula ya Nangolo and Keamogetsi Molapong Thaniseb pays close attention to the theme of *independence* and what it means to an average Namibian. He however explores many other contemporary themes. Whilst clearly showing his patriotism, Thaniseb does not hold back when addressing controversial themes and issues such as tribalism, ignorance and corruption. For example, in *In the land of the brave and the free,* he talks, with what may be considered brutal honesty, about *the ignorance that has taken root in the minds and heart of our people.* Below is an excerpt from the afore mentioned poem.

I search for words like the wind
to ignite the spirit and the soul of our people
but fall spent and wanting,
for in the minds and hearts of our people
Ignorance has long taken root...

Thaniseb's ability to tell multiple stories in one poem is demonstrated in *The Kasie boitjie* which tells stories of broken promises and the resulting struggles of young men, women and children. In *Nine and thirty going on forty* the reader meets a witty, laid back yet vulnerable Thaniseb as he sincerely addresses his fear of ageing as seen in the excerpt below.

I met this young man at the gym the other day
"I am going to Cape Town... a job placement"
He beamed bright-eyed. "Hah", grunted I
Amidst my huffing and puffing on the treadmill.
He quizzically glanced at my jolly beer belly,
"Huh", said I peering at my image reflected in the mirror,'
"I am going forty, it is a scary thought for a man."

"Hmmm it is ok" he smiled less enthusiastically.
I sat amidst the gay chatter and spring bloom of the park
Next to the August house and read:
"The One Hundred And One Things To Do
When You Are Thirty Something Going Forty",
But found no solace but more questions,

In this humorous poem, Thaniseb deals with a lighter theme compared to all other themes throughout the book. It is worth noting that in talking candidly about his fear of aging he not only allows the reader to see a more personal side of him but, very importantly, he lifts the lid off a common myth that only women are concerned about ageing and therefore opens the topic up for debate. Thaniseb further then shows a tender side and allows the reader to do some introspection in *Ti khoen* in which he poses poignant rhetorical question to those that he calls *my people*. In this poem, Thaniseb carefully yet purposefully chooses a refrain in his first language namely Khoekhoegowab, *matisa maba tu ha (?)* which translates as *how are you, where are you.* The use of the vernacular as opposed to English as a language of choice in the refrain allows the poet to stress the rhetorical question, its importance and allows him to talk directly to his people, in this case speakers of the Khoekhoegowab language.

Another applaudable aspect of *Searching for the rain* is Thaniseb's use of vernacular languages in the anthology. Throughout the book, he switches between English and vernacular languages such as Khoekhoegowab, Oshiwambo, Afrikaans, German and even Namibian slang English and Afrikaans. Consequently, poems such as *The invisible, Ti Khoen, Katutura, Jannie Pos* and *The Loyal cadre* allow Thaniseb to engage not only English readers but any multilingual Namibian reader.The glossary of non English terms provided means that the monolingual reader is never left to their own devices in understanding the poetry in which vernacular languages are used.

Notably, throughout the book took, Thaniseb took a bold step as he forsakes some conventions of poetry and therefore assumes poetic license especially because he seldom writes in verse. This is despite the fact that *Searching for the rain* is classified by the author as *An anthology of verse*. In fact, in the opening lines of the poem *Writing a love poem*, which is of course a free verse, Thaniseb sarcastically addressed the lack of a rhyme and rhyme scheme in his poetry or more specifically the said poem when he begins with *This is not a love poem for it has neither rhyme nor rhythm.* In exercising his poetic license, Thaniseb therefore had the liberty to pen poetry without having to conform to conventions such as the use of sound devices and the overbearing need in poetry to create a rhyme scheme. It is commendable that Thaniseb nonetheless succeeds in addressing the themes with no less success, conviction nor eloquence.

This rich and invaluable edition to Namibian literature informs and inspires and should therefore be read and studied at great lengths by all generations.

Genitals are assets: Sexual and reproductive behaviours of street children of Harare, Zimbabwe, in the era of the HIV and Aids pandemic by Watch Ruparanganda. Umbreit: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011, pp 303.

Reviewed by Memory Chirere
University of Zimbabwe

Watch Ruparanganda's book, *Genitals are Assets: Sexual and Reproductive Behaviours of Street Children of Harare, Zimbabwe, in the era of the HIV and Aids Pandemic*, is extremely thought provoking and will make you want to laugh and cry at the same time. It explores the sexual and economic relations amongst the street children of Harare, Zimbabwe, in a language that is effortless and compelling. This is a book for both the deep academics and ordinary readers. Underneath everything else, this book goes into important theoretical and methodological debates about power differentials between men and women in society.

The author spent over fifteen months on the streets of Harare and the adjacent areas, slowly and carefully stalking, watching and listening to the street youths in order to understand their life styles and sexual behaviour and also to get to their individual life stories.

In many of the interviews, the youths who live in the open become so free and familiar that they refer to the author as 'Big Dhara', which is the Harare slang for boss. The author chats to them as they 'work', as they relax on the pavements and as they hang around the bars and the restaurants. They form a very deep sub culture with a well developed and clever language. For example, a street dweller is called mugunduru (one who sleeps anywhere, anyhow). Sexually transmitted diseases are called 'sikon'o'. Men with lots of money are called 'mhene'.

This is a groundbreaking book in that; while much research and writing has been done before on survival strategies of street children in Zimbabwe by the likes of M. Bourdillon, L. Dube and Y. Chirwa, little research had gone into exploring sexual encounters, dating, courtship and general romance conducted by street youths who are normally beyond the term child.

This book reads like a tragic-comedy, beginning with the origins of orphanage, destitution and street dwelling. Consider this: A girl from Zvishavane gets to Masvingo and during her second night at Mucheke bus terminus, two boys force themselves upon her. She resists all night by locking up her legs until the early hours when she gets exhausted and succumbs.

Memory Chirere is a Zimbabwean short story writer and University of Zimbabwe Literature lecturer. His stories have appeared in *Nomore Plastic Balls* (1999), *A Roof to Repair* (2000), *Writing Still* (2003) and *Creatures Great and Small* (2005). He has published short story books; *Somewhere in This Country* (2006), *Tudikidiki* (2007)and *Toriro and His Goats* (2010). Together with Prof Maurice Vambe, he compiled and edited (so far the only full volume critical text on Mungoshi called): *Charles Mungoshi: A Critical Reader* (2006)

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When she flees to Harare, a fight ensues between two boys on who is to have her first. They do not bother if she consents. But as the boys are scrambling over her like that, an elderly destitute shoos them off, drags the girl behind the public toilet and the rest is history.

Even boys are not spared. One of them is sodomised at the age of eleven when he comes to live on the streets. He is quite bitter that the boy who molested him dies before he revenges. That culprit is swept away by stream waters during a heavy storm whilst sleeping in one of the city centre drainage canals.

It is clear to the author that sexual matters on the street are power issues. The street girls offer sex to men from mainstream society and to some destitute men in exchange for money, food, clothing and protection. They are not allowed to work or to openly associate with men other than those who 'win' them and begin to act as their husbands. But these are tough 'marriages' because often the men refuse to wear protection and are very brutal and uncompromising.

These youths who live in the fringes have some survival strategies too. For instance they believe that it is better to use herbs from the Mbare township and market to cure sexually transmitted diseases than to go to some public hospitals. They have what are called street 'pharmacies'. Those who become very ill retire towards Mukuvisi River to rest, slow down and die, far away from the prying eye of the public.

But they also have various link with the bigger society because some bigger and more experienced boys are sometimes hired for sexual gratification by well to do lonely women in the leafy affluent suburbs whose spouses ignore them or have died of Aids or some natural causes or have gone to the diaspora. The youths are picked from designated points in the city at specific moments. The boys receive money, beer, clothes and other goodies. And those who seek pleasure from these people are from every class and race of society.

Maybe, the most exciting part of this book is the revelation that ritual sex has become rife in Harare! Businessmen pay young boys to have sex with prostitutes in hotels and harvest sperm in condoms for ritual purposes. Sperm is associated with regeneration of life and could be used to boost one's business in terms of popularity, growth and profits. On being asked why they consent to this, one street boy says: 'Big Dhara, a mugunduru is like a soldier. We are prepared for anything.' Sometimes the street youths are taken to hotels in the avenues and are given new clothes in exchange of their old clothes with their sweat and dirt which are taken away for juju.

This is a very honest book which demonstrates the link between the sexual behaviour of street youths and the rest of society and provides a sound justification for arguing that there is need to adequately deal with both the Aids epidemic and the question of street youths. It is a book that all policy makers of the developing world need to read.

The author holds a Dphil in Social Sciences and currently he is the Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of Zimbabwe where he is a lecturer. His forthcoming book is called, Children With Adult Hearts which is about child headed households.

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