

**EVALUATION OF THE NAMAS SUPPORTED
SAN EDUCATION PROJECT IN TSUMKWE,
OTJOZONDJUPA REGION, NAMIBIA**

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by

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ACRONYMS

APS	Aasvoëlnes Primary School
BETD	Basic Education Teacher Diploma
BDE	Bachelor Degree in Education
CLDC	Community Learning and Development Centre
GRN	Government of the Republic of Namibia
LAC	Legal Assistance Center
MBESC	Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture, Namibia (now defunct)
MPS	Mangetti Primary School
MoE	Ministry of Education, Namibia
NAD	Namibian Dollar
NAMAS	Namibia Association of Norway (Namibiaforeningen)
NAMCOL	Namibian College of Open Learning
NDF	Namibian Defense Force
NIED	National Institute for Educational Development
NIMD	Namibia Index of Multiple Deprivation
NJC	Nǀa Jaqna Conservancy
NNDFN	Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia
NNFC	Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative
NNC	Nyae Nyae Conservancy
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NPC	National Planning Commission, Namibia
NSA	Namibia Statistics Agency
SADF	South African Defense Force

SWA	South West Africa
TA	Traditional Authority
TCS	Tsumkwe Combined School
TPS	Tsumkwe Primary School
TSSS	Tsumkwe Senior Secondary School
TRC	Teachers Resource Centre
UNAM	University of Namibia
USD	United States Dollar
VS	Village Schools
VSP	Village Schools Project
WIMSA	Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

ORTHOGRAPHY AND TERMINOLOGY

The San languages referred to in the report, Ju|'hoansi and !Kung, are closely related languages that belong to the Northern Ju language family. The two languages have orthographies developed according to the conventions of the International Phonetic Association.

The most distinguishable linguistic characteristic of the San languages is the presence of clicks. In Ju|'hoansi and !Kung there are four clicks which combine with a number of consonants, thus creating huge consonant inventories in both languages. Whenever encountered in the report (in personal names and place names), the clicks can be read as follows:

- | Dental click (similar to the expression of irritation 'tsk tsk' in English)
- ǀ Alveolar-palatal click
- ! Alveo-palatal click
- ǁ Lateral click

The terms *Ju|'hoansi* and *!Kung* refer to both the languages and the people. The term *Ju'hoan* is used as an adjective, as in *a Ju'hoan woman*.

San is an overarching term that refers to all indigenous (former) hunter-gatherers of southern Africa, and was adopted by the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa to replace the derogatory term *Bushman*. In the report, the term *San* is used when the author refers to all groups collectively. When a distinction is needed, the group's self-ascribed name is used instead.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Namibiaforeningen (the Namibia Association of Norway, NAMAS) initiated the San Education Project in Tsumkwe constituency, Namibia in 2003. In 2010 it transferred the responsibility of the project to the Ministry of Education (MoE), and has continued to act as an advisory partner to the Ministry, working towards an improved quality and access to education in the constituency. The organization has lost support from its main donor – the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), and will phase out the project in November 2015. The consultant was hired by NAMAS to evaluate the activities of the organization in Tsumkwe constituency from 2010 to mid-2015, and to make recommendations for the way forward with the hope that NAMAS will continue its development work in Namibia. The current report contains the results of this evaluation.

The main objectives of the San Education Project are to improve access and quality of educational delivery for San children through several intervention strategies: 1) Improved quality of education through teacher professional development; 2) Improved access to education through logistical and material support of learners and teachers; 3) Empowerment of the local community through increased parental and community involvement. NAMAS has introduced well-informed programs for the achievement of these goals. Much of the impacts of the organization's work, however, have been hindered or halted by factors over which it does not have control, namely unsafe environments in the schools, attitudes of teachers and school staff towards San learners, and the vulnerable socio-economic state of San communities in the region.

The evaluation has come up with the following main conclusions and recommendations:

1. Tsumkwe Constituency is one of the most disadvantaged regions in Namibia in terms of economic development and level of educational attainment. Despite long-term efforts to improve the situation, mainstream approaches to education have shown some, but limited, success.
2. The San communities in Tsumkwe constituency are in a vulnerable state of transition. All development efforts, including within the sphere of education, need to provide culturally-informed practices that strengthen and promote San cultures.
3. NAMAS is credited with much trust from all stakeholders in the project. The organization's long presence in the country, the expertise it has built throughout the years, and its transparency and commitment, have all contributed to its good reputation in Tsumkwe Constituency, and Namibia in general.

4. The transition of the project from NAMAS to MoE in 2010 has been assessed as successful and necessary. Despite previous concerns about the capacity of the Ministry to assume responsibility of the project, the transition has had an empowering effect on the Ministry, and has helped stakeholder redefine their roles and responsibilities.
5. Since 2012 NAMAS has identified consistent and well-informed goals, and has committed to their implementation through several concrete programs.
6. NAMAS' support for formally unqualified Ju'hoan teachers has had most impact on the improvement of the quality and accessibility of education in Tsumkwe constituency. Teachers have been assisted with financial, logistic and educational support for exams. In 2012 ten teachers received Basic Education Teacher Diploma (BETD), and currently 12 more partner teachers are upgrading their certificates with the Namibian College of Open Learning (NAMCOL). The ultimate goal is to secure their enrollment at the University of Namibia (UNAM) for a Bachelor Degree in Education.
7. Workshops and in-class assistance for teachers have also been assessed as very effective, and NAMAS should continue to provide them.
8. There is a general need for more San and San-speaking teachers in the area and NAMAS should identify and assist more potential teachers.
9. San learners' performance can be improved through increased support. The introduction of extra-curricular activities can address this issue.
10. Instruction in the Ju'hoan language is only offered at the Village Schools until Grade 3. NAMAS should advocate for the teaching of the Ju'hoan and !Kung languages beyond Grade 3, and for their introduction in all schools in the area.
11. The introduction of the Traditional Skills Program at Tsumkwe Primary School (TPS) and the Village Schools has been interrupted. The visibility and appreciation of San culture in schools in Tsumkwe constituency is considered to be a stepping stone towards an improved quality and relevance of education in the area. NAMAS should reevaluate and reintroduce the program, and expand it to include all schools in the area.
12. Despite positive indicators for increased San learners' enrollment, numbers have been found to fluctuate because of various interlinked factors. Of these, unsafe and violent school environment have been assessed to be most significant. NAMAS should work closely with MoE in addressing these challenges.
13. The infrastructure in most visited schools and hostels has been assessed as inadequate and in need of repair. While provision and maintenance of school and hostel infrastructure is the responsibility of MoE, NAMAS has assisted with irregular donations. More consistent financial support for the schools and hostels infrastructure is needed.

14. NAMAS has contributed with irregular donations for San learners (uniforms, toiletries, school supplies, etc.). These are very important for all San learners and continued support is needed.
15. Donations for San learners have also been found to have a shaming effect on them, and NAMAS must consult with parents and community leaders in order to devise more respectful ways for the distribution of these.
16. NAMAS has contributed towards an increased food security in the Village Schools, through regular food supply.
17. Transportation remains a major problem in the area. It results in teachers and learners' absenteeism and inability of parents to visit parental meetings in schools. NAMAS' coordinator has been transporting learners and teachers on his own will, however, more predictable and reliable transport services are needed. A new government vehicle has been introduced earlier in 2015, and its presence will ease some of the pressure for teachers. More transport options are still needed for learners and parents.
18. Another positive impact of NAMAS has been the facilitation of an increased dialogue between community leaders, MoE and schools. This has contributed towards an increased sense of ownership and awareness of educational rights in the area.
19. Parental participation remains low. The relationship between parents and schools is very fragile, and there is a sense of animosity and mistrust between parents and teachers (including in the Village Schools). NAMAS should reevaluate its current approaches for parental inclusion, and develop new strategies for the implementation of this goal.
20. Remote communities need increased communication with NAMAS in all phases of the project – from conception of new initiatives, to receiving feedback on current developments. All participants in the evaluation expect feedback from the current report.
21. There exists a large pool of school drop-outs who remain invisible to the project. Evaluation of their needs and the provision of adequate programs for their further training or skills development is crucial for the long-term sustainable development of the area.
22. Much of the success of the project is owed to the diligent work of the current project coordinator, Bruce Parcher. His work ethics and level of commitment have been recognized by all stakeholders.
23. Should NAMAS continue its development work in Tsumkwe constituency, it should expand the project by increasing the number of its on-the-ground staff; develop a more focused plan for its advocacy work; increase the visibility of San culture in all schools in the area; and increase its material support for learners. NAMAS must also consult with the

community and researchers working in the area and develop new approaches for parental inclusion.

24. The project's phasing out is anticipated with much concern by all stakeholders. MoE does not have the capacity to address all challenges in the area, and unless NAMAS continues its support, or another donor is found, the positive impacts that have been achieved under the project might be lost.
25. Of special concern is the future of the Village Schools. NAMAS' withdrawal might result in loss of VS teachers and interrupted qualification upgrade of those under training. Should NAMAS remain in the area on a tight budget, it should concentrate its efforts in this sphere.
26. The need for alternative methods for educational delivery has long been recognized and recommended by researchers working with San education. Given the challenges of the mainstream system, and the inability of San learners to fit into it, these recommendations should be further explored by NAMAS.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the NAMAS supported San Education Project in Tsumkwe Constituency

Namibiaforeningen (the Namibia Association of Norway, NAMAS) started as a solidarity movement aiding exiled Namibians in Angola in the early 1980s, with support from the public in the Norwegian town of Elverum. After Namibian independence, the organization has concentrated its efforts on educational projects for Himba and San children in Namibia. The San Education Project was initiated in 2003 following the recommendations of a commissioned study by Bernt Lund. In a report entitled “Mainstreaming through Affirmative Action” (2002), Lund provides an update on the challenges faced by the San in Namibia, and identifies Tsumkwe constituency in Otjozondjupa region with the earlier presence of Norwegian development initiatives and the high concentration of San inhabitants, as “the logical choice” (2002:6) for the expansion of NAMAS’ development work in Namibia.

Following a consultative conference in 2003, NAMAS has committed to work for the improvement of the educational opportunities of San children in Tsumkwe constituency. The main areas of intervention, as also suggested by Lund’s report included: the establishment and maintenance of a Teacher Resource Centers (TRC) in Mangetti Dune and a Community Learning and Development Center (CLDC) in Tsumkwe, combined with an effort to increase local teachers’ capacity and skills, and increase San parents’ support for the education of their children. The main focus has fallen on primary level education. Since its establishment at the end of 2003, the San Education Project in Tsumkwe Constituency has seen the rotation of a number of staff members – Trine Wengen (project coordinator 2003-2008), Wilhelm Jan (teacher advisor 2008-2009), Jenny Møller (project coordinator 2008-2010), Franklin Williams (project coordinator 2010-2012), Bruce Parcher (teacher advisor 2009-2011, project coordinator 2012-presently), Manfred Rukoru (finance and logistics officer 2013-presently).

In 2010 the project went through a transition and delegated the responsibility for the maintenance and staff salaries at TRC and CLDC, as well as Village Schools teachers’ salaries to the Ministry of Education (MoE) through the Regional Office in Otjozondjupa. An agreement between NAMAS and MOE ensured that NAMAS will continue to support MoE in its efforts to provide accessible quality education to the San children in the region, and will continue to provide for the salaries for the positions of a local coordinator and a teacher advisor.

In 2010 a consultative team conducted an extensive evaluation of the first eight years of NAMAS' involvement in Tsumkwe constituency. The report (Hays et al. 2010) highlights the importance of a holistic approach towards San education and flexible, local solutions to challenges faced by San children in schools. It recognizes the positive impact of the organization on San education in Tsumkwe constituency and argues for the assessment of NAMAS' activities within the larger context of San education in the southern African region.

The main recommendations of the 2010 report state that:

- NAMAS should remain active in the Tsumkwe district and if possible should increase support – not reduce it;
- There is an urgent need for a consultative conference;
- NAMAS should build upon existing efforts and develop alternative approaches to education in the Tsumkwe district.

The evaluation also critiques the organization and recommends that:

- NAMAS should develop an overarching mission statement and clearly-defined goals for the project that guide their involvement in the area;
- NAMAS and MoE need to work out their roles in relation to each other in educational activities in Tsumkwe constituency.

(Hays et al. 2010:66-76)

As of October 2015, NAMAS has announced that it will not be able to renew its agreement with MoE after the end of the year 2015 and will withdraw its activities from Tsumkwe constituency because of lack of funding from its main donor – the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD).

1.2. Scope and purpose of the evaluation

The current report contains the results of the evaluation of NAMAS' Supported San Education Project in Tsumkwe Constituency from 2010 to mid-2015. The beginning of the period coincides with the transition of the project from NAMAS being the main actor, to NAMAS being an advisory partner of MoE and supporting its activities in the region.

The evaluation process has followed the terms of reference (TOR) agreed upon by NAMAS and the consultant on 18. June 2015. According to these terms, the evaluation attempts to accomplish the following objectives:

1. Give a general update on the situation of the San in Namibia and in Tsumkwe constituency specifically, related to areas of health, economic development, education and cultural development.
2. Make an assessment of the transit of the shift of the programme (from running the CLDC and the program, to assisting the Regional Education Office in various fields).
3. Give an overview of the achieved / partly-achieved goals, and see how this corresponds to the initial goals.
4. Analyze the effects of the project on San education for students in grades 1 to 4, and compare these to students who are not part of the programme.
5. Provide an analysis and comparison of the same students over time in relation to their level of success at later phases of education.
6. Analyze the impact of the Project on the education level for San children over time.
7. Investigate how the partners view the way the project is run and the influence different partners have on it.
8. Give comments and input towards improved local ownership and local participation.
9. Discuss how the Project has prioritized the funds and the selection of activities to reach the goals.
10. Give recommendations for the way forward based on feedback from partners and comment on how this correspond with the current goals of the Project.

1.3. Research framework and methodology

The evaluation consists of two components – *desk study* and *field study*.

The *desk study* includes review of NAMAS' documentation related to the project – agreements between NAMAS and MoE; agreements and correspondence between NAMAS and NORAD; annual reports (2009 – mid-2015); proceedings from steering committee meetings (2011 – mid-2015); annual plans (2014 – 2015); budget sheets (2011 – 2015); annual financial statements; independent auditor's reports. The desk study also includes review of previous consultative reports and surveys; proposals; government policies; national censuses; and review of previous research on San education in the southern African region.

Quantitative data of school attendance and drop-out rates were provided by the NAMAS coordinator in Tsumkwe (for Tsukwe Primary School (TPS) and Mangetti Primary School (MPS)), by NAMAS' annual reports, by TPS and Tsumkwe Senior Secondary School (TSSS), as well as by the Regional Education Office in Otjiwarongo. School records (at TPS and VS) were also consulted and children were counted in the Village Schools. Statistics, however, should be approached with caution for several reasons. First, the context of San children's participation in the formal education system is so complex and intertwined with all spheres of San life (socio-economic,

cultural, historical, and personal) that positive or negative fluctuations do not necessarily reflect long-term trends of school participation and performance. Second, *all* gathered statistic data differ from one source to the other. This has to do with several factors, all of which reflect the pandemics of San dropping out of school. All schools in Namibia are required to provide a so-called *15 Day Statistics* to MoE. This statistics indicate the numbers of enrolled children on the 15th day after the start of the school year in January. Many children, however, come to school after this statistics has been submitted to MoE. In addition to this, school's inadequacy to register learners' absenteeism and dropping out contribute to the unreliability of figures.

The *field study* consists of two separate fieldwork trips – in Namibia (10.07.2015 – 09.08.2015) and in Norway (11.09.2015) (Appendix A provides a full list of interviewees).

The qualitative methods for data gathering included:

- *Open-ended key informant interviews* held with the Regional Director and Inspectorate officers (in Okahandja, Otjiwarongo and Tsumkwe); school principals and teachers (TPS, TSSS, MPS, APS); VS teachers (Nyae Nyae Conservancy); students (VS, TPS, TSSS); hostel staff (TPS, MPS), parents and community members (Tsumkwe, NNC villages, Mangetti Dune); San education activists (Tsumkwe); community leaders and administrators (Tsumkwe, NNC); NAMAS' employees (Otjiwarongo, Tsumkwe) and NAMAS' management (Elverum, Norway). *Thematic framing* (Ritchie and Spencer 2002) was used to review and sort out the data, and identify emerging issues and topics relevant to the research questions which were incorporated in the questionnaires.
- *Focus group discussions* (FGD) were held with the VS teachers, San students at TPS, TPS hostel staff and with parents and community members in Tsumkwe town and in the villages of ||Xa|oba, Den|ui, Ben Se Kamp, Nǀa|qmtcoha, Nǀama, Nhoma and Duin Pos.
- *Questionnaires* collecting data on school attendance, education level and employment history were used in households in the town of Tsumkwe, and in the villages of Nǀa|qmtcoha, Den|ui, Nǀama, and Nhoma.
- *Observation* of students and teachers in class settings and hostels (VS and TPS); of children and family members in home settings (Tsumkwe town, the villages of ||Xa|oba, Den|ui, Ben Se Kamp, Nǀa|qmtcoha, Nǀama, Nhoma and Duin Pos); and of principal – teacher, principal – student and student – student interactions (TPS and hostel).

1.4. Ethical considerations

The San of Namibia, and of Tsumkwe constituency in particular, easily fall under the category of 'the most researched people on the planet'. This research includes both academic research, and more recently, government and NGO research like the one conducted for the current report. This point is well noted by the consultant, who adhered to the following ethical issues in the field:

- Seeking permission from and notifying relevant local authorities about the purpose of the research, its timeframe and methods;
- Seeking informants' consent in participating in the evaluation, and informing them of the purpose, objectives and methods of the evaluation;
- Granting confidentiality and anonymity whenever deemed necessary by the informants or by the consultant.
- Assuring informants that the consultant is independent from the Government of the Republic of Namibia (GRN), NAMAS and their partners.

1.5. Limitations

Several challenges presented limitations to the evaluation process. The main limitation was that the principal of the Village Schools, Cwisa Cwi, had been injured in a traffic accident, and his recovery in and out of hospital coincided with the timing of the fieldwork study in Namibia. Therefore, his opinions could not be collected while the consultant was in Tsumkwe. He was later contacted via telephone. The management of the Nꞑa Jaqna Conservancy was also absent during the visit to Mangetti Dune, and due to lack of diesel at the service station in Tsumkwe, the consultant could not return to meet with them.

Teacher absenteeism in the Village Schools and TPS, and community members' subsistence activities (food gathering and devil's claw harvesting in the *veld*) also slowed down the research process on several occasions. In these cases, the consultant and the assistant simply returned on another day.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE EVALUATION

2.1. Who are the San?



Fig. 1. Ju/'hoan mother and child, Ben Se Kamp village, NNC

San is an overarching term used to describe the indigenous populations of (former) hunter-gatherers living on the territories of Namibia, Botswana, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa. The largest number of San live in Botswana (ab. 60 000), followed by Namibia (ab. 38 000) and South Africa (7 500). The San comprise a number of small populations who have had a common hunting-gathering (fishing-gathering, in some areas) past. Some of these groups share similar languages, social structure, cosmology, subsistence patterns and history of contact with outsiders, whereas other groups exhibit a great linguistic, social and cultural diversity (Kent 1992). Historical records, rock engravings and oral history all acknowledge that the San were the first inhabitants of the southern African region, and archaeological evidence traces their presence to over 20 000 years prior to Bantu settlement which occurred some 2 000 years ago (Mitchell 2010, 2013; Ngongo 1979; Barnard 1992).

A common thread that permeates the lives of *all* San groups today is their extreme social, economic and geographic vulnerability and marginalization. Some of the main challenges that most San communities face today include all or a combination of the following: food insecurity and poverty, land insecurity, discrimination, low education levels, limited political representation, growing gender imbalance and decreasing health status (Suzman 2001a; Dieckmann et al. 2014). A limited number of San continue to subsist from part-time hunting and gathering, whereas the majority live as an underclass of farm laborers on white or black farms. An increasing number are seeking shelter at the outskirts of growing urban centers, where they engage in piece and menial work for people from other ethnic groups. Whatever their circumstances, no community depends on one sole activity for subsistence and survival, and most employ a number of diversified activities in order to sustain themselves, including hunting and gathering, wages and social welfare, small-scale agriculture and livestock breeding, crafts production, tourism, and extensive social networking (Hitchcock et al. 2006; Dieckmann et al. 2014; Sylvain 2001).

2.2. The San of Namibia

Namibia is home to about 38 000 San – the second largest population after Botswana – who comprise less than 2% of the total population of the country. The latest assessment of the San in Namibia reports the following San groups living on the territory of the country today: !Kung, Ju|’hoansi, Naro, Khwe, Hai||om (ǀAkhoe), !Xoon and ‘N|oha, speaking languages belonging to three language families (Kx’a, Khoe, and Tuu) (Dieckman et al. 2014:23). All languages spoken by these groups are numerically small and underdeveloped, and while some are actively spoken, others are at the brink of extinction.

In terms of San political representation, self-determination and access to rights, Namibia is somewhat ahead of its neighboring countries. Owing to a long history of apartheid, the government does not discriminate on an ethnic basis, and the needs of the San are addressed under the category of ‘marginalized people’ (together with other impoverished communities, such as ex-soldiers, landless people and people with disabilities). However, GRN has taken some positive steps in providing certain rights for the San together with other marginalized groups. In terms of access to land and resources, GRN has implemented a National Resettlement Policy for the redistribution of land to landless people, and has passed the Communal Land Reform Act of 2002, and the Nature Conservation Amendment Act of 1996, which aim to provide land security and empower small-scale communities to sustainably manage the resources on their land. In terms of political representation, GRN has adopted the Traditional Authorities Act of 2000 which has allowed for communities (including San communities) to elect their own Traditional Authority (TA) leaders. In the sphere of education, the National Policy for Educationally Marginalized Children (the majority of whom are San) has acknowledged the special needs disadvantaged

communities have in terms of access to and the provision of quality education. However, as the 2014 Assessment points out, all these are *de jure* rights, and the majority of San are not benefitting from them *de facto*. On a larger scale, the San remain hugely impoverished and underrepresented as compared to other dominant groups (Dieckmann et al. 2014:20).

In 2009 Namibia was classified as an upper-middle income country with an estimated per capita income of USD 5 613, 13 (NPC 2015c:2), however, it still remains “a fundamentally unequal society” (Jauch et al. 2011:208). The relatively high income status masks a great inequality that rests on the unequal distribution of access to employment, resources and services among urban and rural centers, and along gender and ethnic lines. A 2008 review of poverty and inequality (NPC 2008) demonstrates that poverty is universally spread among rural households speaking a Khoisan language, and is almost absent in Afrikaans-, English- and German-speaking households. In terms of consumption, 15% of the poorest Namibians account for 1% of the national expenditure, whereas the wealthiest 5,6% - for 53% of it. Translated into figures, poor rural households spend an average of NAD 104 per person per month, whereas the wealthiest spend an average of NAD 5 744 (Jauch et al. 2011:214).

Therefore, while affirmative actions have taken place in the years after independence in 1990, and GRN is committed to address the needs of *all* Namibians, regardless of ethnicity, gender and class status, the San are still a long way from participating in the socio-economic development of the country on an equal footing with more dominant and established groups.

2.3. The socio-economic situation in Tsumkwe Constituency

Tsumkwe Constituency, formerly known as “Bushmanland”, is one of seven constituencies in Otjozondjupa Region and lies at its easternmost corner, on the border with Botswana. It is also the only piece of land in Namibia, where the San have retained access and rights to (a small portion of) their traditional land. Between 8% and 10% of the San in Namibia live in Tsumkwe constituency today. Administratively, the district is divided into two – Tsumkwe East and Tsumkwe West. The overwhelming majority of residents in Tsumkwe East are Ju|’hoansi. Much of the territory of Tsumkwe East is taken up by the Nyae Nyae Conservancy, and the administrative town of Tsumkwe is located there. Tsumkwe West is home to a more heterogeneous San population, the majority of whom are the !Kung and the Vasekela !Kung, but also including a small number of !Xoon and Ju|’hoansi. On its territory lies Nǃa Jaqna Conservancy and the town of Mangetti Dune. Both conservancies have other than San inhabitants as well, including Kavango, Ovambo and Herero; their numbers being smaller in NNC.

2.3.1. The Ju|'hoansi and the !Kung of Tsumkwe constituency

The two main groups of San living on the territory of Tsumkwe constituency – the Ju|'hoansi and the !Kung speak mutually intelligible languages that belong to the northern Ju branch of the Kx'a language family (Dieckmann et al. 2014:23). While the Ju|'hoansi are a largely homogenous group that has been residing in Tsumkwe East over a long period of time, the !Kung form a more heterogeneous group with some members originating in the area, and some !Kung members moving into the area from the Kavango region (in northern Namibia) or from southern Angola after 1970s. The !Kung who have migrated from the north are usually referred to as Vasekela or Vasekela !Kung. They reportedly speak a dialect of the !Kung language spoken by the original !Kung inhabitants of Tsumkwe West. Since the distinction between the !Kung and the Vasekela is not important for the findings of the current report, the term !Kung will be used to refer to all !Kung of Tsumkwe West. The distinction that *is* important for the present evaluation, as also highlighted in the 2010 evaluation (Hays et al. 2010), is the one between the Ju|'hoansi and the !Kung. Despite having much in common, the two groups have had different exposure to outsider presence and pressure, and historically, the Ju|'hoansi have remained isolated from other groups for much longer. The social and economic changes that have swept the region have thus met the Ju|'hoansi less prepared to meet them, which has resulted in their more vulnerable economic and social status. One Ju|'hoan man from Tsumkwe described the relationship between the two groups like this:

“In the past, we were all Ju|'hoansi. But then the !Kung moved to live to other places. There they met with other people and became like them. During this time, we were still staying in the bush, not knowing about anything. That is how they are better than us today – because they know how to live with others. We still shy from the others and like to live on our own.” (Ju|'hoan man, Tsumkwe)

This is not to suggest that the Ju|'hoansi are inferior to the !Kung or other groups living in the area. It suggests that they themselves have recognized some of the challenges associated with their long isolation, and with the increased presence of the government and others in the area, and ask outsiders involved with their development to consider well-informed, “sensitive and well-coordinated” initiatives and projects (NACSO 2012:10).

2.3.2. Nyae Nyae and Nǃa Jaqna Conservancies

A conservancy is a legally registered area with defined borders and a management body run by the community for its sustainable development through the utilization of the wildlife resources found on its land. The focus is on a human-nature interaction where the people generate income through wildlife management, tourism and traditional subsistence (foraging and/or agriculture). Nyae Nyae Conservancy is the oldest conservancy on the territory of Namibia, established in 1998,

hosting about 2 700 people living in 36 *n!oresi* (traditional territories, now more or less turned into semi-permanent villages) (Biesele and Hitchcock 2013; Hitchcock 2015). As Hitchcock (ibid.) points out, the main objective of NNC is to promote the well-being of its members through diversification of the economy (foraging, agriculture and livestock breeding), expansion of crafts production and tourism, promotion of biodiversity conservation, and ensuring greater land security. In 2013 the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry gazetted NNC into a Community Forest, which gives the members of NNC additional rights over the forest products (plants) and grazing pastures on the territory of the conservancy. This added status might potentially provide additional legal protection against external encroachment, however, its applicability remains to be seen in the future (Dieckmann et al. 2014:98).

Nᄁa Jaqna Conservancy was gazetted in 2003 and supports about 7 000 people living in 25 villages through sustainable conservation and management of wildlife, tourism and forest resources (Hitchcock 2015:10-11). Most income in the conservancies comes from hunting concessions, devil's claw harvest, crafts production and tourism, with government or other types of permanent employment, accounting only for a small percentage of the income inflow. Despite the fact that a 2015 evaluation of the two conservancies shows increased financial sustainability (NAD 550 000 for NJC and NAD 4 500 000 for NNC for 2014-2015) (Hitchcock 2015), Tsumkwe constituency remains a largely underdeveloped area with alarmingly high poverty rates. Out of 107 constituencies in Namibia, the constituency ranks the second most deprived constituency in terms of the overall Namibian Index of Multiple Deprivation (NIMD) for the year 2011. Along similar lines, the mean Poverty Headcount Ratio for Namibia for 2011 was estimated to be 26,9. On a regional level, Otjozondjupa Region scored 27,5. For Tsumkwe constituency the numbers show 64,6 (NPC 2015b).

2.3.3. Tsumkwe town

Tsumkwe town is the administrative town of Tsumkwe constituency and lies on the territory of NNC, although it is not part of the conservancy. Functioning as a small water point for foraging Jul'hoansi up until the late 1950s, it was established as a government station in 1959 as part of the then South West African Administration's civilizational efforts in the region (Lee 2013; Biesele and Hitchcock 2011). The increased government, academic and NGO presence in Tsumkwe constituency has marked the beginning of the dramatic shift from traditional hunting-gathering subsistence towards life dependent on the cash economy – a transition which continues to this day. Nowadays, the symbols of development are manifested in a number of government offices, permanent water points, several Christian churches, a clinic, a gas station, two government schools – Tsumkwe Primary School and Tsumkwe Senior Secondary School, a tourist lodge, several small grocery shops, and over 20 *shebeens* (drinking bars), none of which owned by a San

individual. The town also hosts the head office of NNC, and a newly erected building that will house the Ju|'hoan TA office.

Despite its important administrative and logistic position, Tsumkwe also lacks some much needed services, particularly a bank, where government employees who receive checks can cash them, and a clothes shop. For these, people have to travel the 270 km to the town of Grootfontein – a trip many cannot afford to make, and those who can, do it at the expense of skipping working days.



Fig. 2. Housing in Tsumkwe town

Most Ju|'hoan residents of Tsumkwe live at the outskirts of the town in tents or improvised houses made of gathered materials – plastic, wood, cloth, etc. Three, four or more houses face one another or are built in close proximity to one another and form a little household circle. There is no sewage system in these, and water is collected from drilled boreholes – in some cases these are close to the houses, and in others they are not.

Despite their somewhat permanent status, there are also many abandoned houses in Tsumkwe, as many people move between the town, the bush and out of NNC depending on available jobs and other income- or food-generating activities. Despite its reputation for heavy alcohol consumption, expensive food and conflicts with non-San settlers, many reported that they have chosen to live in Tsumkwe town because it provides more employment opportunities. *“I am staying here without a job and anything to do because something might come up”*, a young man reported.

The town clinic reported that the health of most patients is affected because of poor diet, and excessive alcohol consumption. Tuberculosis (including drug-resistant tuberculosis) is among the most prevalent diseases. Domestic and alcohol-related violence are other areas of concern.

2.3.4. Cultural development

The consultant spent most time in Tsumkwe town and in the villages in NNC, therefore the data on the cultural development of the San concerns the Ju|’hoansi only. As mentioned above, traditional subsistence strategies go hand in hand with outside bought goods and foods. Gathering of *veld* plants is reportedly extensively practiced throughout the conservancy, whereas hunting has become more limited, and in one of the visited villages, Duin Pos, people reported that they do not hunt at all but depend on bush meat from trophy hunting or from hunting relatives living in other settlements. According to conservancy regulations, people are allowed to hunt only with traditional means – on foot, with traditional weapons. Many reported that this type of hunting is extremely difficult and dangerous, and many, especially young men, use horses and dogs for (illegal) hunting.

A big source of cash income which goes directly into the communities is the harvest of the devil’s claw root, which is available from May until October. The company buying the roots has a contract for 25 tons of dried devil’s claw root with NNC, purchased at NAD 40 per kilo. The men purchasing the roots, also reported that sometimes they buy over the agreed amount, and for 2014, they had collected between 27 and 28 tons of it.

Traditional crafts production also accounts for much of the generated income. Crafts are either sold at the NNC crafts shop, directly to tourists or to outsiders who later sell them in Windhoek and other tourist lodges across the country. Almost all women and many men participate in crafts production.

Cultural tourism contributes minimally to the economic development of the area. The Living Hunters Museum in the village of ||Xa|hoba is a good example of a community managed tourist

venture. Tourists are also taken on cultural visits in several villages south of Tsumkwe in collaboration with Tsumkwe Lodge.

Traditional healing has been reportedly diminishing. Many villages do not have traditional healers, and use healers from other villages when needed. In some cases, traditional healing ceremonies had reportedly taken place one or two years back. Many adolescents referred to the practice as “painful” and “dangerous” as reasons for their lack of interest in it. The ceremony is sometimes performed for tourists.

An important observation, however, is that while recognizing the importance of outsiders’ ideas and presence, the Ju|’hoansi take a lot of pride and self-respect in their traditional way of living, and see development not as a substitute but rather as an addition to it. Lee (2013) reports considerable changes in attitudes towards the bush among men aged 15 to 75. In a 1968-69 survey, 50,8% of men had answered positively to the question “Do you like the bush?”. In comparison, in 2010, 96,9% men had given a positive answer to the same question. This data might reflect people’s resistance against the social ills of town. It also indicates a strong preference for traditional values and cultural patterns to which people continue to conform (Lee 2013:223-224).

2.3.5. Human-human conflicts

In addition to environmental, poverty- and health-related challenges, the residents of Tsumkwe constituency are also faced with challenges originating from their interactions with others.

One of the biggest problems is the encroachment on their land. The seemingly abundant and underutilized land base of Tsumkwe constituency attracts cattle-herders from other areas in search of new grazing pastures. Hitchcock (2015) reports that NJC is more affected in terms of number of encroachers. They have been, however, also more successful at dealing with them. As of 2015 both conservancies are addressing the problem by legal means.

The “iconic San culture” has been feeding the global hunger for exotic peoples for quite some time now. While some projects have been ethically sound and have benefited communities accordingly (not only in economic but also in social terms), others have been more exploitive in nature. People from several villages reported that they had been hired to dance for tourists or participate in film projects outside of Tsumkwe constituency for minimal pay, and some have left with a sense of not being treated in a respectful manner:

“You see, the young people are ashamed to dress in skins because they are like naked. But this is what tourists want to see, and this is what they [employers] make us do.”

The management of NNC is concerned with illegal camping on its territory and lack of regulated prices for craft artefacts, resulting in ill feelings between local residents and tourists.

More entrepreneur-savvy local residents from other ethnic groups organize mass-crafts production for minimal pay per piece, and then resell them at tourist lodges with huge profit.

Bondage work for alcohol and food was also reported on the territories of the conservancies.

2.4. San children and formal education

“San children are just like their mothers. If you beat them, they will divorce you. If things are not working out for them, they will run away.” Old Man, Botswana (Le Roux 1999:43)

Despite different political systems and contextual differences, San children across the southern African continent face similar challenges in formal education. These include, but are not limited to, mainstream curricula without any (or minimal) recognition of San history and culture; boarding schools far away from home; non-native and sometimes incomprehensible language instruction; physical, psychological and sexual abuse and trauma, to name just few. Added to these are a number of other socio-economic and cultural factors, like poverty, mobility of families for work or subsistence purposes, child labor, marriage and pregnancy, which further contribute to the limited educational success of San children and youth. As a result of this, despite the long presence of schools in some areas, the level of educational attainment for San communities is markedly lower than the average for the respective countries due to non-participation in the education system or to early dropping out of it. San individuals in tertiary education are single numbers (Dieckmann et al. 2014; Hays 2006, 2007, forthcoming; Nguluka and Gunnestad 2011; Le Roux 1999).



Fig. 3. Jul'oaan boy at Denlui Village School

In a comprehensive report on the situation of San learners in the southern African continent, Le Roux (1999) recognizes three crisis periods that the majority of learners face:

Crisis Period One: The first several years of schooling. This time is described as most stressful and alienating for the child. Poverty, social stigma and discrimination, health issues and language barriers contribute to it.

Crisis Period Two: Around puberty, when some cultural practices (like seclusion at first menstruation, for example) may hinder school attendance or evoke jokes from others. With age children become more involved in the youth culture around them and self-image becomes an important issue for all regardless of cultural background.

Crisis Period Three: The transition from Junior Secondary to Senior Secondary education when increased financial support from the families is required (Le Roux 1999:42).

Le Roux's report also points out to the inadequacy of the education systems to deal with these challenges, and the limited efforts undertaken to address them.

2.4.1. The Namibian context

Namibia is recognized as the southern African country with the most progressive education policy towards its linguistic minorities. The 1991 *Language Policy for Schools in Namibia* provides for the instruction in the mother tongue in the first three years of schooling, and subsequent instruction in the mother tongue until Grade 12. The policy is based on the premise that all national languages “regardless of number of speakers or the level of development of a particular language” are equal and are important vessels for the transmission of culture and cultural identity (MBSEC 2003:1).

The other policy which directly addresses the San is the *National Policy for Educationally Marginalized Children* which acknowledges the special educational needs of the San and Himba children, together with other marginalized groups, such as farmworkers, street children, working children, children in resettlement farms – all of which potentially include the San, too (MBESC 2000). The policy recognizes poverty and negative attitudes as the two main obstacles for the inclusion of marginalized children in the education system, and suggests a number of initiatives to overcome them, most notably through exemption from school fees and the compulsory wearing of school uniforms (Dieckmann et al. 2014).

Despite these inclusive educational policies, however, the 2014 assessment of the situation of the San in Namibia, reports that access to quality education is one of the most pressing problems that San communities face (Dieckmann et al. 2014:524).

Quantitative data for the period 1998 – 2012 show that the percentage of school-attending San children is much smaller than the national average. The overwhelming majority of San learners are to be found in lower primary (60-70%), with figures significantly dropping by upper primary (ab. 20%), and dramatically dropping by senior secondary (5-10%) and upper secondary levels (ab. 1%). While the data suggest some positive trends in terms of enrollment numbers – from a total of 3 738 in 1998 to 8 396 San learners in 2012, those who make it beyond the primary level continue to remain few – 9% (or 749 individuals) for 2012 (see Chart 1) (EMIS 1999, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2013; Suzman 2001b; Hays, forthcoming). Thus, while GRN has taken certain positive steps to provide inclusive quality education for the marginalized, the majority of San learners are still faced with huge barriers that hinder their access to quality education in mainstream government schools in the country.

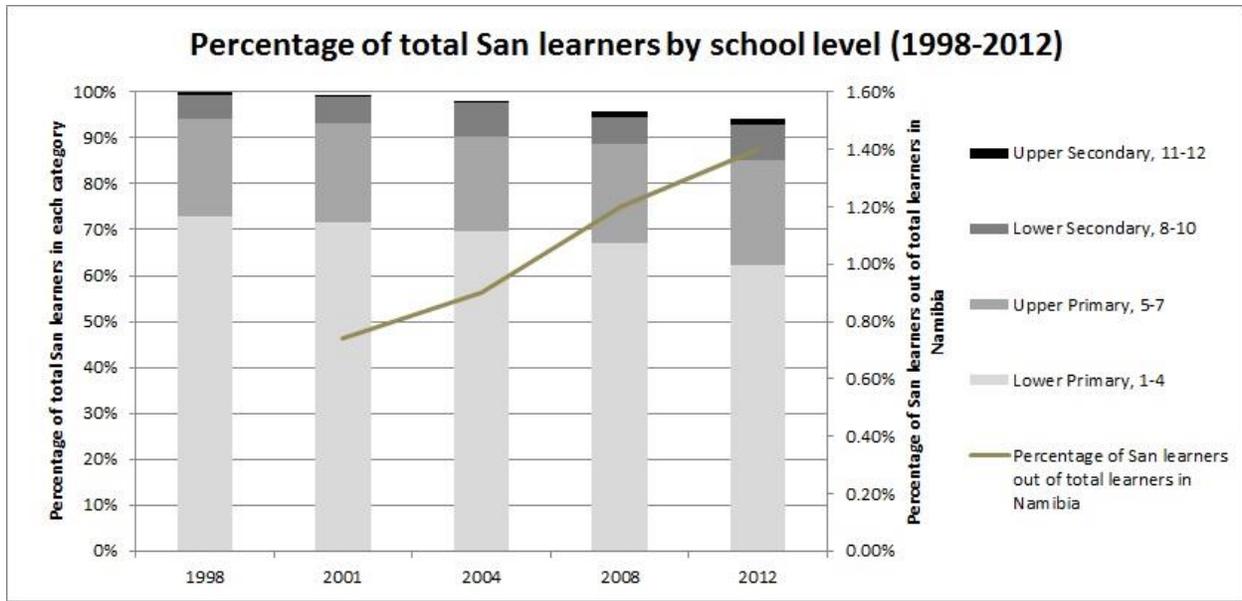


Chart 1. Percentage of total San learners by school level, 1998-2012 (EMIS 1999, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2013)

Back in 1987, Tsamkxao ꞑOma, the then chairperson of NNFC, had envisioned the future like this:

“When I look into the future to see what [my children] will see, one thing I see is that my children have come to fear schooling. They fear it because they fear being beaten. So they’ve all separated, left school, and gone off in all directions. Every time I’m in Tsumkwe I see children who are not in school. They say they are tired of trying. They got along all right with the earlier teachers, but now there’s no understanding with the new ones. All [that the children] see is pain. And that’s why they go about avoiding school these days. They don’t want to be there...” (Tsamkxao ꞑOma, in Bieseke and Hitchcock 2013:233-234)

Twenty-eight years later, his words sound as contemporary as ever.

2.4.2. The Village Schools

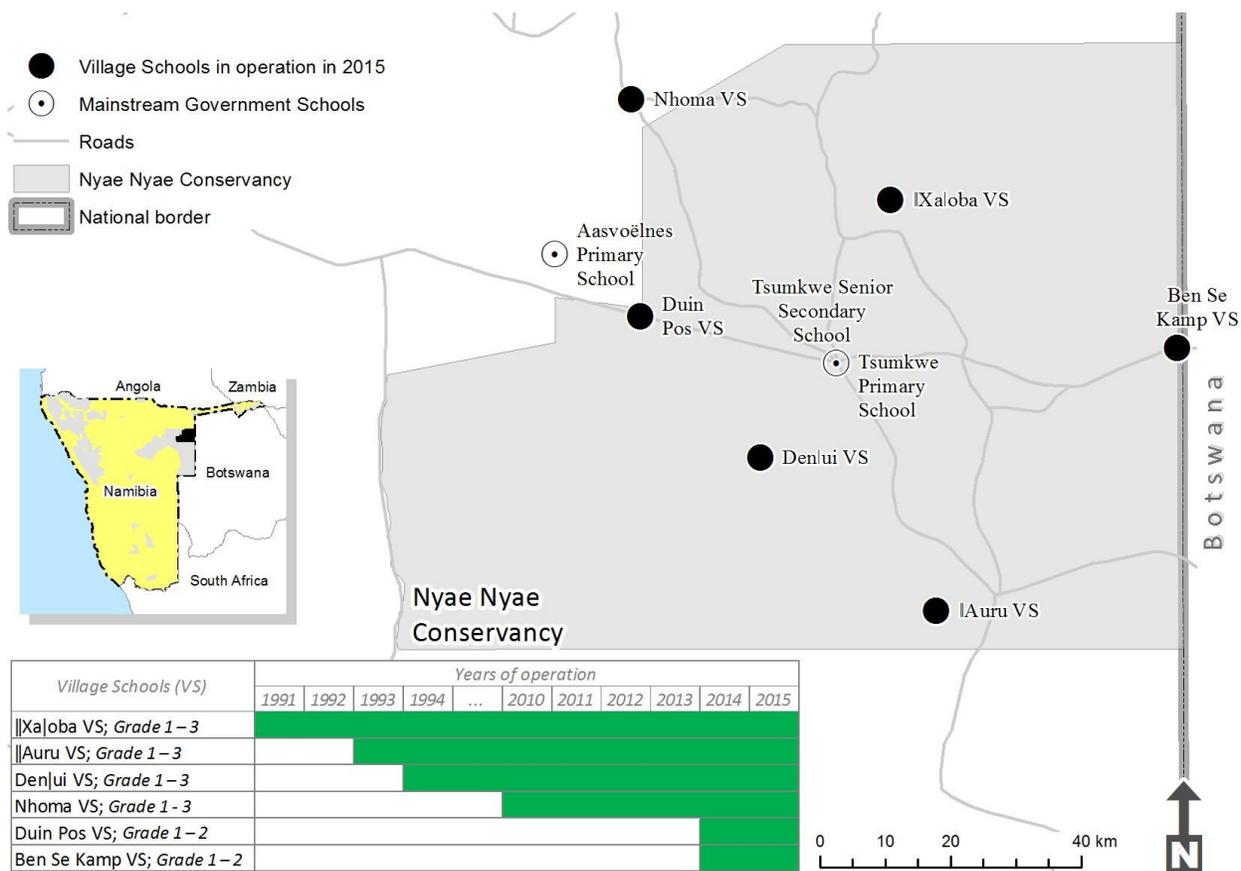
The Village Schools Project started in the early 1990s, although, as Biesele and Hitchcock write, the project “was rooted much earlier in the community’s desire for a meaningful education program for young Ju|’hoansi” (2013:235). The project grew out of the collaborative effort of NNDFN and NNFC as a response to the hostile environment at the government schools and hostels in Tsumkwe constituency. Patrick Dickens devised a new orthography for the Ju|’hoan language in 1991, and the Ministry of Education and Culture adopted it as the official orthography for Ju|’hoan school materials. Training of Ju|’hoan teachers started in 1992, and in 1994 the project was officially opened by the minister of MBESC (Biesele and Hitchcock 2013; Hays, forthcoming).

The objective of the project was to provide education for Ju|’hoan children in a safe environment close to their families, using their mother tongue, and knowledge and educational practices rooted in their culture. The ultimate goal, however, was to prepare Ju|’hoan children for transition in government schools after Grade 3. These ideals were set in the principal objectives of VSP, namely: “(1) To use Ju|’hoansi language as a medium of instruction; (2) To train Ju|’hoan teachers as educators of their own people; (3) To develop a relevant curriculum and curricular materials in consultations with communities; (4) To continue building school facilities close to villages so that the young learners can learn and live in a familiar environment during their first three school years; and (5) To enable Ju|’hoan children to join government schools in Grade 4 as confident and critically-thinking learners” (Brörmann 1993, 1994 in Hays et al. 2010:16).

Initially a private initiative, the project was taken over by GRN in 2003 – the same year when NAMAS held a consultative conference and decided to support MoE in taking over the Village Schools (Hays et al. 2010).

There have been a number of transitions concerning the Village Schools – from a private to a government supported initiative, with the involvement of various national and international stakeholders. This has included the in- and outflow of a number of individuals associated with different stakeholders. The 2010 NAMAS evaluation has argued for the important role of the Ju|’hoan community both as the stakeholder with most interest in the successful implementation of the project, and as the only stakeholder that has been around for long enough to go through *all* transitions (Hays et al. 2010:15). The current evaluation would like to stress this point.

Village Schools have opened and closed during the years because of various factors (draught, wild animals, etc.). In 2015, six Village Schools have been in operation: Nhoma VS, Duin Pos VS, ||Xa|oba VS, Den|ui VS, Ben Se Kamp, and ||Auru (see Map 1).



Map 1. Village Schools in operation in 2015

2.5. Conclusion and recommendations

The San of Tsumkwe constituency are in a process of learning to combine the benefits of two somewhat contrasted economies and value systems: egalitarian communal living and capitalist development. While some traditional practices have suffered along the way, there are strong indicators that San culture and values remain resilient and vital, and the San themselves vouch for an existence that recognizes *both* systems as complementary to one another. At the same time, some outside forces are too powerful for the San to overcome on their own and expertise and financial support from the government and NGOs have an important role to play in the process.

Mainstream education systems throughout the southern African region have not managed to include the cultural and linguistic diversity of San communities. In Namibia, existing affirmative policies do not reach out to the most marginalized, and offer educational rights on paper mostly.

The need for alternative and more inclusive approaches have been recognized as the most feasible way for San communities to move forward (Hays 2007, forthcoming).

Recommendations on Background:

1. NAMAS must ensure that its management and employees understand existing cultural practices and norms among the !Kung and the Ju|'hoansi of Tsumkwe constituency. Communal versus individual development, and support of traditional practices for subsistence and income generation must be respected and incorporated into the project's goals and programs.
2. As explicitly indicated by the San of Tsumkwe Constituency, they need focused and adequate efforts that they themselves have recognized as culturally-sound and worth investing time and resources in, in order to develop at their own pace and according to their own aspirations. The key to this are extensive consultations with all involved communities and the joint conception and development of projects that show understanding and respect for their history and culture, and that are committed to their long-term well-being and development.
3. Involvement with education in the region requires long-term commitment and the recognition of alternative approaches that include all aspects of San culture in the school curriculum and environment.

3. FINDINGS

3.1. Transition and partnership

The evaluation period (2010 – mid-2015) coincides with several changes that have taken place and that have had an impact on the project's implementation. The previous operating managing director, Svein Ørsnes, retired and was replaced by Olav Osland late in 2009. A new project coordinator, Franklin Williams was appointed in September 2010, and was later replaced by Bruce Parcher in 2012 (previously a teacher advisor for the project since 2009). The previous acting director at the Regional Education Office of Otjondjupa Region, Faustina Caley, was replaced by Alberthina Nangolo in 2015. Finally, Tsumkwe Primary School received a new principal in 2014.

In 2010 NAMAS transitioned from running the project to transferring all responsibilities to the MoE (Otjondjupa Regional Office) and assisting the ministry as an advisory partner. Prior to the transition, there had been many concerns by various stakeholders (NAMAS employees, school boards, MoE employees) about the preparedness and the resource base of the ministry to take over from NAMAS. Communication issues and a feeling that the decision was taken from the top without extensive consultation with MoE were reported in the 2010 evaluation. The evaluation also recommended a greater transparency and communication between the stakeholders (Hays et al. 2010:20, 42).

In 2015 the transition was assessed by both the Regional Office and NAMAS as successful and necessary. MoE employees reported that it has had an empowering effect on the ministry and the local community – a hope also expressed by NAMAS' management.

Steering committee meetings are held regularly (3 times a year), and all stakeholders feel well represented, heard at meetings and involved in decision-makings. The two agreement partners, MoE and NAMAS, see the partnership as equal and respectful of their approaches. NAMAS' expertise and commitment to work for the improvement of the education situation for San learners was commended by MoE.

The transfer of CLDC and TRC has been handled successfully, and the two centers continue to operate and function as important information venues in the towns of Tsumkwe and Mangetti Dune, respectively. MoE is responsible for staff salaries, and for the provision of stationaries and supplies. While staff members at both centers reported that they were better off under NAMAS, as of 2015 the two centers are fully operational, and continue to serve the public in the two towns. However, instead of mainly functioning as resource centers for teachers and students, they are

mostly utilized by dropout youth and unemployed adolescents. This exemplifies the need for alternative meeting and educational centers that meet the needs of out-of-school children, a point which will be discussed in Section 3.5. NAMAS continues to make small financial contributions to the centers, and rents an office at CLDC in Tsumkwe.

Poor logistics and the long distances between Tsumkwe constituency, the circuit office in Grootfontein and the Regional Office in Otjiwarongo account for miscommunication and monitoring challenges at times. In this regard, the MoE is considering opening a circuit inspectorate office in Tsumkwe town, which, if implemented will benefit the project both in terms of better communication between the stakeholders and in terms of better monitoring of the schools in the area.

Since NAMAS is active on the ground and involved with the project implementation on a daily basis, the staff at the Regional Office acknowledged that they are advised and informed by NAMAS regarding urgent challenges and concerns on a regular basis, and that they sought and trusted NAMAS' guidance in this regard.

Another challenge affecting the running of the project is the heavy bureaucracy of the ministerial apparatus, and some urgent decisions have taken several years to implement.

Many San individuals in villages with Village Schools continue to see NAMAS as the main provider of education in the region. They had not been properly informed about the transition that took place in 2010, and they have minimal understanding of the role of the different stakeholders in the project.

Recommendations on Transition:

1. NAMAS has established good reputation and rapport with MoE and the other stakeholders in Tsumkwe constituency and should continue to work with dedication and transparency. It needs to find ways to address bureaucracy in more efficient ways and lobby for the prioritizing of important decisions that affect the overall effectiveness of the project.
2. NAMAS should ensure that *all* stakeholders, especially remote communities, are informed on changes and developments in the project, *prior* to their implementation.

3.2. Visibility of NAMAS

NAMAS is well known locally for its involvement with San education, although not all, including those directly supported by it, are fully aware of its mandate and responsibilities. The organization has an overall good reputation. On a local level, people associate it with concrete individuals, and their assessments of the organization's performance are to a large extent influenced by their personal rapport with them. In this regards the present project coordinator, Bruce Parcher, is very popular among all stakeholders as respecting individuals and local authorities, understanding the local circumstances and "having a heart" for the project.

TA and NNC management are well informed of NAMAS' scope of work, and reported that they feel actively involved in the education of their children. Community members in Tsumkwe and Mangetti Dune associate NAMAS mostly with material support for learners and schools, and transportation of learners (especially those coming from remote areas). Some people from villages in NNC associate it as operating on behalf of the MoE, while others see it as an independent provider of education in the villages, and thus solely responsible for problems associated with the school infrastructure, the school feeding program, teacher absenteeism, etc. As a result of this perception, the lack of regular meetings between NAMAS and village members is perceived as quite worrisome by some.

Recommendation on Visibility:

NAMAS should develop a visibility plan that would increase the awareness among all stakeholders of the organization's scope of work, activities and objectives.

3.3. Goals of the project

The 2010 evaluation recommended the need for more consistent goals and clear mission statement for the project. The evaluation describes two main sets of goals for the period 2003 – 2010: 1) to raise awareness of indigenous, human, legal and cultural rights, and 2) to improve provision of quality education. The rights focus included the implementation of a Paralegal program with LAC (NAMAS hosted and supported a paralegal expert whose main goal was to travel to villages and sensitize people on particular legal questions); Radio broadcasts (informing the public on legal rights in the Ju|'hoan language); Legal advice and rights training in NJC; General rights awareness, especially in Tsumkwe East. However, the evaluation concluded that "the rights angle of NAMAS support to the improvement of rights has not been well-organized or defined,

and thus somewhat half-hearted” (Hays et al. 2010:26). The evaluation recommended a more integrated rights approach into the educational program, and the implementation of a rights-awareness program.

After the transition in 2010, the rights focus has been completely dropped from the goals of the project, and NAMAS’ goals mirror the goals of the MoE to provide accessible and quality education. Awareness of human and indigenous rights remains an important issue in Tsumkwe constituency, and the communities in Tsumkwe East and Tsumkwe West need both legal advice and training. The scope of this angle, however, falls outside the capacity and the initial objective of the organization to intervene and improve the educational situation in Tsumkwe constituency, and should be considered as an objective of an entirely different project.

Since 2012 the project has consistently adhered to the following goals:

- Improved quality and relevance of education delivery – Improved attainment of learning outcomes in Primary and Secondary education;
- Teacher Professional development – Teachers are equipped with skills and knowledge to master subject matter in order to stimulate effective teaching and learning;
- Equity and access – Access of all learners of school going age into the system. Equitable distribution of resources;
- Community/Parent involvement – conservancies, parents and school communities are actively involved in schools.

As the project will phase out at the end of 2015, the goals for 2015 have been scaled down and modified to be:

- Qualified and effective San teachers appointed to government teaching posts in the Tsumkwe Constituency;
- San parents, communities and local stakeholders contribute to education;
- An effective and functional education infrastructure is in place which supports San learners and school leavers academically and vocationally.

NAMAS had developed the following six programs through which to meet its goals:

The **Teacher Training Program** trains and supports 12 (as of 2015) San individuals to upgrade their Junior (Grade 10) and Senior (Grade 12) Secondary Certificates with the Namibian College of Open Learning (NAMCOL), with the ultimate objective to enroll for and receive a Bachelor’s Degree in Education at the University of Namibia (UNAM). The Bachelor’s Degree at UNAM is the only

certification for qualified teachers in Namibia. The beneficiaries of the program, receive financial, logistic, and moral support, as well as study and assignment support. The program aims at ensuring the sustainability of the project in the long run through the training of qualified San teachers who can provide quality mother-tongue and culturally-sensible education in the region.

The **Grade Four Learning Support Program** aims to improve the quality of education through material support and teacher professional development workshops.

The **Traditional Life Skills Program** aims to integrate San traditional skills and knowledge into the mainstream curricula through introducing both San and non-San learners to San-specific skills, knowledge and techniques. The program also aims to involve parents and community members in the school life of children.

The **Learner Monitoring Program** works towards the establishment of a comprehensive database of all San learners in the area. Its aim is to allow for timely interventions when learners leave school without permission.

The **Grade 7-8 Transitional Support Program** aims to address the educational, social, psychological and economic challenges encountered by San learners after transitioning from Senior Primary to Junior Secondary education. The program has been designed as a response to three main areas of concern: homesickness of learners, poor English language skills, and lack of school supplies and toiletries.

The **Operational Improvement Program** aims to improve community involvement by improving the communication between the Conservancies and the schools.

The impact of these programs will be discussed as part of the assessment of the projects goals in the following section.

Recommendations on Goals:

1: NAMAS has defined clear and consistent goals and should commit to their implementation in the long run.

2: NAMAS should be aware that while NAMAS and MoE have similar goals, governments tend to prioritize initiatives which provide visible results in the short run, whereas NGOs should prioritize initiatives that ensure the sustainability of projects in the long run. NAMAS should identify such potential pitfalls, and strive for a balanced approach in the achievement of the project's goals.

3.4. Assessment of NAMAS' goals

Some of the objectives of the project have been partially achieved, and some require more focused work and new approaches for their achievement. Provision of education to San communities is a complex issue that requires long-term commitment, and the full achievement of the project's goals is not a realistic expectation. Positive impacts and trends, however, can be identified and assessed. The goals that are best assessed by quantifiable indicators (like improved school attendance or performance) are better understood in their social context, and while quantitative data do not always support the achievement of these goals, qualitative data indicates that there has been progress made. NAMAS' work in Tsumkwe constituency is assessed within the context of its advisory role as a partner of MoE. It does development work, and supports the work of MoE which is responsible for the provision of education in the region.

3.4.1. Improved quality and relevance of educational delivery

NAMAS has undoubtedly contributed towards the improvement of the quality and relevance of education in Tsumkwe Constituency. This has been achieved through teachers' training support, teachers' professional development, in-class assistance of teachers (especially in the Village Schools), and the distribution of educational and reading materials to some schools in the area. This impact of this goal is related to the efforts invested in the second goal – Professional Development of Teachers.

Quality of education

Learners' performance in Tsumkwe area remains generally low. Learners' educational deficits are most visible and result in poor performance and great numbers of dropping out in Grade 4, when learners from the Village Schools transition to TPS after having completed Grade 3; and in Grade 8, when learners enroll in TSSS after having completed their senior primary education. Data from TPS show a considerable improvement for the year 2014 – about 20% drop-out rate for Grade 4 learners, as compared to nearly 80% drop-out rate for 2013 (see Appendix B, Chart 6).

The Grade 4 Learning Program and the Grade 7-8 Transition Program have been introduced to help San learners cope with these challenging periods. However, both programs have not been implemented to their full potential, mostly because of external factors. Some of the educational materials NAMAS donated to TPS in 2013 (including reading materials for a classroom library) remain boxed and unutilized. Other materials have had a limited use by teachers in schools. Data from the school shows an increase in the performance in English for Grade 4 non-San learners,

and a decrease in the performance of San learners (Appendix B, Chart 7). The Grade 7-8 Transition Program has also had some limitations. The steering committee had agreed to introduce an extra daily period for Grade 7 learners that would focus on their English reading skills. Of all primary schools, only MPS has incorporated the initiative in its daily program.

English proficiency is a general problem in Namibia. The English language does not have any historical roots in the country, and was only adopted as a national language (and as a main language of instruction in schools) in a move to break with the colonial legacy of Afrikaans – a language widely spoken throughout the country. A 2011 survey on the proficiency of Namibian teachers in English showed that 98% out of 22 089 tested teachers have some English deficits and need to undergo further training in the language (The Namibian: 09.11.2011).

The challenges of English deficits at schools in Tsumkwe constituency stem from several sources. Whether coming from multilingual or monolingual communities, none of the San children have had any prior exposure to English, and the majority of children are introduced the language for the first time in school. The pressure is especially big for learners coming from the Village Schools. Since the main language of instruction in the Village Schools is Jul'hoansi, teaching Jul'hoansi *and* English as a second language is a difficult task for most VS teachers, who do not have the resources and the experience to deal with the task. Observations in the Village Schools showed limited reading skills of VS learners in their mother-tongue, and almost non-existent English language skills (in Grade 3 learners).

Recommendations on Quality of education:

- 1.** The provision of educational and study materials alone would not automatically translate into improved educational performance outputs. NAMAS should invest more human resources in strengthening the subjects skills of learners in Tsumkwe Constituency. Extra-curricular reading groups, library activities, and games could be integrated in the daily routine of learners.
- 2.** Schools (especially in Tsumkwe East) need teacher aids that would bridge the language and cultural gap between learners and teachers.
- 3.** The Village Schools need more assistance in order to implement quality mother-tongue and English as a second language education. Again, human resources are more important than material support.

Relevance of education

The Traditional Skills Program has been developed with the objective to incorporate teaching of traditional skills and knowledge in schools, and to involve parents as respected educators of their children. The program has aimed to make the school environment more relevant to San learners, and to instill a sense of pride in San learners as bearers of valuable skills and culture. The program began in August 2012 in TPS and four Nyae Nyae Village Schools. By 2013 the program was no longer functioning in TPS because of limited interest from the school's management. In 2014 the program was also phased out in the Village Schools. In the Village Schools girls (both in and out of school) were producing beaded crafts which were then resold. The project coordinator expressed concerns that children had been involved in a form of child labor, and had halted the program. Instead of creating a more culturally relevant school environment and bringing together children and parents, the program had rather created dependency and in 2015 some women and girls that had produced crafts as part of the program still expected to receive some money from NAMAS. This unfortunate development shows that more careful planning with more cultural awareness is necessary for the provision of relevant education for San children. The project stakeholders should redesign and implement the program in the future as an important part of strengthening the cultural awareness and pride of San children in schools in Tsumkwe constituency.

An area in which NAMAS has successfully managed to increase the relevance of the project for San learners is through the support and training of San teachers. The Village Schools are the only schools in Namibia where a San language has been used as a medium of instruction for the first three years of schooling. The importance of mother tongue education has long been recognized as the most pedagogically sound method of teaching, and its importance is doubled for marginalized indigenous communities both in practical and symbolical terms. Many Ju|'hoan parents around Tsumkwe town reported that they had sent their young children in villages with relatives in order to be able to attend a Village School. The use of Ju|'hoansi as a language of instruction was given as the main reason for choosing the Village Schools. Parents, whose children did not have access to a Village School expressed a need for Ju|'hoan classes in *all* schools in the area.



Fig. 4. Tsemkgao Fani Cwi at Den|ui VS

Much of the approach that MoE has taken in providing education for the San has been to fit San children within the existing system. While the Traditional Skills Program has been a positive step in recognizing the validity of San knowledge for San children, it is not a real empowerment tool. Observations in the Village Schools offered another perspective on this same issue – in many of the Village Schools teachers were struggling to fit their teaching into what outsiders (like the consultant of this evaluation) would expect to see in a classroom environment. A teacher at ||Xa|oba VS, for example, decided to read a story about an elephant (translated into Ju|'hoansi), only to admit that the translation was bad, and children could not understand what the story was about. However, he continued reading it for the whole period and urged the children to remain quiet and to listen (to a text they could not comprehend).

Recommendations on Relevance:

1. NAMAS needs to reevaluate and reintroduce the Traditional Life Skills Program in TPS and the Village Schools. All schools in the region should implement the program into their curricula. San skills and knowledge should not only be 'taught' to San children but should be also used as a means to educate others (teachers and learners) on the richness, values and norms of San culture.
2. NAMAS should advocate for the introduction of mother tongue education in Jul'hoansi and !Kung in all primary schools in Tsumkwe constituency.
3. The persistent challenges with education in the area, and inability of the existing system to meet the needs of those it serves, points to the need for alternative forms of education, and previous research in the area strongly argues for the same (Hays et al. 2010, Hays 2007, forthcoming). Expansion of mother tongue instruction beyond Grade 3, introduction of more (and different types of) Village Schools, schools which respect seasonal activities and mobility of parents, practical vocational training that reflects the local realities are all possibilities which should be explored. Development of curricula that reflect the local cultural, historical, geographical, ethno-botanical and zoological environment must be developed and put into place.

3.4.2. Teacher professional development

This is the goal which NAMAS has invested considerable finances and efforts in, and also the one which has had most positive impacts on educational delivery in Tsumkwe constituency. Teacher professional development is a long process, the foundations of which have been laid. Should NAMAS continue to support the project, this goal has most chances of having a lasting effect on San education in the area. In 2012 ten teachers supported by the project received a Basic Education Teachers Diploma. As of 2015, NAMAS supports 12 San beneficiaries in furthering their education and training to become qualified teachers.

Teacher Training Program for VS teachers

Two of the main objectives of the VS since their conception have been "to use Jul'hoan language as a medium of instruction" and "to train Jul'hoan teachers as educators for their own people" (Hays et al. 2010: 16). The successful implementation of the first objective depends on the successful implementation of the second. Hays (2007, forthcoming) has argued at length about the double-edged situation of Jul'hoan teachers. On the one hand, their presence is crucial for the implementation of progressive mother-tongue education in the Village Schools, and for the



existence of the Village Schools in general. On the other hand, being in a “position of prominence” (Hays, forthcoming:136), teachers have found themselves constantly levelled down by other community members because of the egalitarian ethos that permeates the Ju!’hoan society. Added to the pressure from the communities where they live and teach, VS teachers also have to deal with a number of other challenges related to their accommodation, access to transport, and access to their salaries.

Fig. 5. †Oma N!ani assisting a Gr. 1 learner at ||Xa|oba VS

The presence of good, qualified Ju!’hoan teachers is crucial for the successful running of the Village Schools. What constitutes a ‘qualified’ teacher, however, has different interpretations. According to MoE, a qualified teacher is a teacher who holds a BETD or a BDE. According to a member from the Ju!’hoan community, a ‘qualified’ teacher is someone who “*understands the children’s needs*” (elder man, Tsumkwe town). For a group of school drop-outs at Den|ui village, a ‘qualified’ teacher is someone who “*likes us and wants to help us*”. The dilemma of qualification is further complicated by the fact that few Ju!’hoansi have passed junior secondary, let alone obtained a diploma from UNAM. Tsemkgao Fanie Cwi, a teacher at Den|ui VS, summarized the situation like this:

“They say that I am an unqualified teacher. I have been working as a teacher for many years. I worked in the curriculum translation group. If you look at this book, you will see my name written here. I am an expert of the language, I have experience as a teacher. I like to work with the children, and the children are learning well in my school. And they still call me unqualified. What more can I do to qualify?”

Because of their unqualified status, the VS teachers are employed on a year to year basis for half the salary qualified teachers receive. This has created much insecurity and a feeling of unjust treatment among VS teachers.

One of the main contributions of NAMAS towards the provision of quality education in Tsumkwe constituency has been to assist unqualified teachers to complete their Secondary education with NAMCOL – a prerequisite for enrollment at UNAM for formal teacher training. The project has paid registration, study and exam fees, and assists teachers with transport for exams. In addition to this, teachers receive study and assignment assistance, and moral support throughout the process. All interviewed teachers registered with NAMCOL reported that they would not have been upgrading their Secondary education diploma had it not been for the support that they have received from NAMAS. The financial support was acknowledged as very important, however, the moral and assignments support were pointed out by many as equally crucial. The personal qualities of the project’s coordinator have been acknowledged by all interviewed teachers as one of the main factors for their sense of security and trust in the process.

“This support means a lot to me because what they are telling me is that I can be like everyone else.” (VS teacher)

The 2010 evaluation argued that teachers “are expected to complete the same kind of teacher training as other potential teachers in the country, but have not had the same background or educational opportunities” (Hays et al. 2010:58). Before 2010, four teacher training colleges offered BETD in Namibia, and after a merge with UNAM in 2010, the BETD program was phased out in 2012. The entry requirements for BETD were a Junior Secondary Certificate (Grade 10) or an equivalent of it and at least five years of teaching experience. After independence, the need for teachers across Namibia was great, whereas those who could meet the formal entry requirements were few in numbers. The situation was further eased for the Village School teachers

(none of whom could meet even the relaxed entry requirements) when the Task Force for Teacher Education Reform reevaluated the cultural and educational competence of the VS teachers, and matched them to a Grade 10 certificate, thus allowing them to enroll for a BETD training (Hays, forthcoming).

After the merge of the teacher training colleges with UNAM, the entry requirements have changed, too, and those applying to study at the university must hold a Senior Secondary Certificate – a requirement that clearly does not match the educational opportunities and realities of the Tsumkwe San community. As envisioned by the Project’s coordinator, the most feasible trajectory for current VS teachers enrolled with NAMCOL is to pass a NAMCOL Certificate in Early Childhood Development (CECD) course (a 18-month course). After the CEDC course, applicant could enroll for the NAMCOL Diploma in Early Childhood and Pre-Primary Education (DECPPEE) course (a three-year course). After a successfully completed DECPPEE course, the partner teachers could register for the Bachelor in Education at UNAM. If they follow this trajectory without any detours, the first VS teachers will enroll at UNAM for a four year bachelor study in 2021. The process is long and strenuous and NAMAS’ long-term commitment is crucial for its successful implementation throughout all phases.

The inaccessibility of qualification degrees to San teachers hinders the access to quality education for marginalized communities throughout Namibia. An important contribution of NAMAS is its advocacy role in support of educational opportunities for marginalized groups. The organization has been involved in a long and persistent dialogue with NIED and MoE for possible alternative teacher training programs for teachers coming from marginalized communities. An important achievement of NAMAS in this regard is the commitment of MoE to offer a diploma program as a one-time opportunity for unqualified and under-qualified teachers who are currently serving, starting in January 2016. The new Minister of Education has also committed to exploring new lasting alternatives for teacher training programs for unqualified teachers. Until these alternative programs are in place, the future of mother tongue education in the area, and of the Village Schools in general, remains insecure.

Practical training of teachers

Improvement of the quality of education in Tsumkwe constituency goes hand in hand with the improvement of the pedagogical skills of teachers. NAMAS carries out workshops for both teachers employed at the schools in Tsumkwe East and West, and workshops for the VS teachers. Teachers at TPS reported that NAMAS has increased the level of awareness among TPS teachers

of some special needs of San learners, and might have contributed to a more positive attitude towards San learners in the school. The principle of MPS reported that the workshops NAMAS have had with teachers from Tsumkwe West in 2012 had been assessed by most participating teachers as very relevant and useful.

Workshops with VS teachers are more regular and much more needed. Since most of the current VS teachers are young and new to the profession, the training workshops with NAMAS' coordinator have been crucial for their professional development. At workshops teachers work with different themes – teaching non-fiction, phonemic awareness, creative storytelling, etc. After each workshop, teachers are visited in their classrooms, where they receive hands-on assistance with the newly acquired skills. Six of the currently employed nine VS teachers reported that most of their teaching skills and competence have come from these workshops and from the assistance the project coordinator has provided them with.

“I was very confused and afraid when I started. I was so afraid that I wanted to run away from this school. Bruce [the project coordinator] taught me how to do everything.” (VS teacher)



Fig. 6. Bruce Parcher, the project's coordinator assisting a teacher at ||Xa|oba VS

In addition to workshops, the project' coordinator travels to VS and offers teaching assistance in class. This support has been acknowledged by the VS teachers both as important in terms of their pedagogical training, and in terms of knowing that someone is interested in their work, and assist them with challenges they encounter in the classroom. This last point was especially important for teachers who teach alone in their schools, and have no colleagues to discuss their work with.

Practical and logistical support for VS teachers



Fig. 7. The NAMAS donated tent that serves as a teacher's accommodation at //Xa|oba VS.

In four of the six Village Schools, teachers' accommodation consists of tents donated by NAMAS. These tents are relatively big and sturdy, and their donation has been acknowledged as very beneficial. However, they are not fit for permanent occupation, and *all* VS teachers complained about the difficult living conditions with which they have to put up on a daily basis. Lack of electricity, ablutions, water and fencing add to their frustration (discussed in Section 3.4.3.).

Teachers at the Village Schools do not have reliable transport to town and other settlements, which causes one of the main problems the Village Schools are faced with – teacher absenteeism. When teachers leave their schools in order to go to Grootfontein to cash their salary checks, to do some shopping, or to visit family in other settlements (for the weekend), it can take a week before they find transport to return to their schools. Up until recently the only solution to the transportation problem at the Village Schools was the project coordinator's own effort to transport teachers and learners to and from the schools. Given the number of schools and

settlements, and the large territory over which they spread, the situation is far from optimal. During the field study, two teachers from two different Village Schools missed 5 and 4 days of work each because of lack of transport that prevented them from getting back to the villages. Parents in the villages reported that this is a common occurrence.

The idea for a vehicle provided by MoE, had been discussed at steering committee meeting since 2012. At the time of the field study, MoE has allocated a vehicle, and a local driver had just been appointed. This development will ease much of the pressure in the area, especially on teachers, although concerns about who has the right to use the vehicle have already started to arise. Some parents reported that they had heard that the vehicle would be used by teachers only, whereas VS teachers complained that community members would feel discriminated against, and this would put additional pressure on the teachers. The Regional Office reported that the car was “for everyone”. The need for a second vehicle was also mentioned in interviews, although its introduction, as much as it is needed, does not seem very realistic in the near future.

The need for more San teachers

There is a general need for more teachers in Tsumkwe constituency, both San and non-San. Except for the Village Schools, no other school in Tsumkwe constituency offers mother-tongue education in a San language, despite the fact that there are San teachers employed in other schools in the area, including at TPS. A 2014 study on the situation of education in Tsumkwe reports an overall 62:1 Pupil Teacher Ratio as compared to the average 45:1 for the country, with the ratio in lower primary being more than twice as high as that for upper primary (NAMAS 2014).

All VS teachers teach combined classes; in Denjui Village School, one teacher teaches grades 1 to 3 simultaneously. Teachers teaching combined classes with grade 1 learners reported being especially challenged in finding a balanced approach between the needs of those who have had some exposure to schooling, and those who have just begun. Especially the young inexperienced teachers acknowledged the importance NAMAS has played in assisting them through practical training and in-class support.

Recommendations on Teachers:

1. NAMAS has developed a well-informed plan for the professional development of teachers in Tsumkwe constituency, and should commit to its implementation in the long run.
2. The pedagogical and practical assistance for teachers has been assessed as very important, and should continue and expand.
3. Qualification options of Ju|'hoan teachers remains problematic and infeasible at the moment, and NAMAS should continue to advocate for alternative qualification programs for teachers from marginalized communities. The good relationship NAMAS has developed with MoE (and NIED as part of MoE), and the expertise NAMAS is perceived to possess, should be used to advance the interests of the San community of Tsumkwe constituency.
4. The program supporting the educational qualification of Ju|'hoan teachers needs to expand and include more potential candidates. Schools, especially the Village Schools, need more teachers and NAMAS is in a position to contribute towards that.
5. NAMAS and MoE need to establish a clear plan for the use of the newly allocated government vehicle. Learners, community members and teachers must be informed about the regulations concerning the use of the vehicle, and NAMAS can play an important role in mitigating this process.
6. Despite the provision of a government vehicle, access to reliable transportation remains an issue, especially for VS teachers, and NAMAS should continue to explore possibilities for the introduction of more vehicles or other forms of reliable transport.
7. Accommodation for the VS teachers is inadequate and has a negative effect on their motivation and performance. Permanent housing solutions need to be sought.

3.4.3. Equity and access

NAMAS has undertaken a number of initiatives in order to improve equity and access to education in Tsumkwe constituency, yet, there still remain a large number of children of school-going age that do not have access to education in the area, especially in the Tsumkwe East area.

The 2011 Population and Housing Census reports that in Tsumkwe constituency 37,3% of the population (aged 5+) have never attended school, and 35,6% of the population have left school before obtaining a degree. The literacy rate for Tsumkwe constituency has been estimated to be 57,6%, with an average literacy rate for Otjozondjupa region of 83% (NSA 2011a:21; NSA 2011b:20-21). Currently, 67% of primary aged children are enrolled in schools in the constituency.

There are six government school in Tsumkwe East (4 primary and 2 secondary) and seven schools in Tsumkwe West (all primary). The Village Schools are counted as one school unit by the Regional Office, and as of 2015, there are six Village Schools in operation, evenly distributed across the Nyae Nyae area (see Map 1 on p. 19). The 13 government schools in Tsumkwe constituency serve about 60 settlements in the area.

The 15 day statistics from the Regional Office shows a 19,8% increase of the enrollment number of students in the past five years in Tsumkwe Constituency – from 3 104 in 2010 to 3 719 in 2015. This increase of enrolled learners has been very drastic for the Village Schools – by 88,3% from 2013 to 2015 (Appendix C). TPS has also shown a gradual decrease in drop-out rates – from 43,9% in 2010 to 34,63% in 2014 (Appendix B, Chart 4). The data for TPS, however, continue to show a much lower drop-out rate, and a much higher pass rate for non-San learners (Appendix B, Charts 1-5).

Attendance, absenteeism and dropping out of school

Learners' absenteeism and dropping-out remain a major problem for schools, especially in Tsumkwe East. The situation is further complicated by the inadequacy of most schools to keep track of learners and address the problem in an effective manner:

- *You see, the problem with these VS learners is that they keep coming back [to TPS] year after year. They come in 2012, 2013, 2014 and now in 2015.*
- *Do you mean that the same learners come for short periods of time in the same grade in all these consecutive years?*
- *Yes. But they don't know what to do when they come. They come and they sit with the same teacher [the class teacher is teaching a higher grade each year]. And sometimes the teacher only realizes after 2 – 3 weeks that this child is not even in the register and cannot be in this class.*
- *What measures have you taken to deal with this?*
- *We are still struggling to deal with this. (TPS principal)*

In general terms, as many as two-thirds of the learners might be absent for more than half of the year, and still pass or be promoted to a higher degree (as a teacher in TPS reported). NAMAS has lobbied for the creation of a database with details of all school-going children in the area, which,

if put in place might contribute to the monitoring of dropped-out learners. The establishment of the database has turned out to be a rather slow process, and as of the moment, there is no comprehensive data on the whereabouts of the learners. Even when implemented, the database can only be useful if schools commit to communicate with all stakeholders and make use of it.

The environment at TPS

One of the main obstacles for the provision of quality and equitable education in Tsumkwe East is the instable situation at Tsumkwe Primary School. During the field study in 2015, the situation at the school has escalated dramatically. Many San learners had dropped out, and all parents and community leaders were concerned about the safety of the remaining children in the school. The school does not provide a safe and secure environment for San children, and jeopardizes the transition of VS learners in Grade 4, as well as the successful retention of other San learners who study in it, thus diminishing the impact of some of the successful developments brought by the project. While the school is a stakeholder in the project, and its principal and other staff members attend project meetings, NAMAS does not have any control over the situation there. The situation must be addressed by MoE and a new plan for inclusion of San learners should be developed and implemented.

Tsamkxao †Oma, the head of the TA in Tsumkwe, tactfully described the situation like this:

“Those who come to the school, especially the principal, don’t take it by heart to discipline the teachers about how the education system works and how to deal with the children, so that the children would not fail. Children do not receive enough respect. They always see angry faces. There is no cooperation between them [teachers and children]. They do not hold hands, as it is supposed to be in school. Teachers just keep themselves high. Teachers show off that they are educated people. They just tell children that they must wash themselves. Teachers don’t know that first you go to school untidy, and after you have received some education, then you will look good. I’m not happy about such things.”

Discrimination and corporal punishment are among the most often given reasons for San children to drop out of school. Despite being banned by the Namibian Constitution, corporal punishment

is a common practice at TPS (and in many other schools throughout Namibia). The principal of TPS justified the use of corporal punishment like this:

- *I'll say there's a difference between corporal punishment and corporal discipline.*
- *What is the difference?*
- *You see, it's in African culture to beat the child. There are teachers that beat children with a ruler. "Please take your books. If you don't take, I'm beating you now!" Even the child takes the book peacefully, happy that the teacher is demanding that from the child. And in the end the child is even happy. So, then there comes now teachers that are beating with a stick or slapping with a hand. That is now really corporal punishment which by law somebody should be brought to books.*

The Namibian constitution does not differentiate between 'corporal punishment' and 'corporal discipline'. Nor does any other education policy in the country. No San child has ever reported that he or she felt happy that a teacher demanded something with a ruler blow. Many children, however, reported that they are afraid of teachers. All TPS teachers were reported to beat children on a regular basis – for misbehavior, for not answering a question, or for reasons that were not obvious to children. While the situation affects all learners, San learners are especially sensitive to it, as physical punishment is not used as a disciplining method by San parents. Many San children gave corporal punishment as the main reason for their decision to leave school. During the field study, a teacher who also served as the hostel's superintendent was being investigated by the Inspectorate and the Regional Office on charges of assault against learners and theft of learners' food. The school does not follow proper procedures for reporting of such cases, which has normalized the presence of the practice in the school.

Unless this situation is addressed by MoE, no other efforts can bring any lasting changes.

Infrastructure and logistics

School and hostel infrastructure is provided and maintained by MoE. In the past five years MoE has upgraded/opened several new schools. In 2009, Tsumkwe Combined School was divided into TPS and TSSS thus providing more secure environment for the young learners, and also increasing its learners' capacity. In 2014, MoE opened two new Village Schools – in Ben Se Kamp and in Duin Pos, and NAMAS has contributed with large tents for the schools, tents for the teachers and for

boarding learners, desks, chairs and study supplies (posters, etc.). In 2016 MPS (currently offering Grade 1 to 7) will be extended to Grade 8 thus allowing learners from Tsumkwe West to remain closer to their families in Grade 8.



Fig. 8. Teacher Culcga Hanzi Kaesje in front of Duin Pos VS.

Accommodation of learners remains a problem for all schools with boarding facilities, and accommodation of teachers and learners is especially problematic for the VS.

TPS reported an increased number of enrolled learners at the beginning of 2015, resulting in lack of beds and chairs at the hostel. Many learners share beds or floor mattresses, and about 30 learners sit on the floor at the dining hall during meals. The overwhelming majority of learners who share beds and sit on the floor are San, and while the hostel management reported that they are rotating children during meals *“so that everyone can see what it is to sit at the table”*, the consultant observed the same group of San children sitting on the floor over a period of three weeks in July. The bed situation is less problematic because many bed-sharers reported that they are used to sleep close to others in their villages, and thus feel better when they share a bed with someone, especially during wintertime.

A teacher reported that part of the problem stems from prejudices among teachers and hostel staff about the San:

“We, teachers, must change the way we think about them [the San]. Because when they come to the school, we think: “They’re good for nothing!”, and we don’t even make an effort to help them. The same thing happens in the hostel. We think that they can sit or sleep on the floor because of who they are. But, no, we must understand that they are people like us.” (TPS teacher)



Fig. 9 and 10. The hostel facilities at Den|ui VS

In four of the six Village Schools teachers and boarders sleep in tents. In Nhoma and Den|ui VS teachers and boarders sleep in unused rooms in the school buildings. In all Village Schools the housing conditions are inadequate for both teachers and learners. At ||Auru VS as many as 14 children share a small tent. There is no additional personnel, and the teachers take care of the boarders at night. MoE is unwilling to build proper hostel facilities for the VS because of the insufficient number of learners. None of the VS has functioning ablutions, and cooking in all VS is done under a shed. Some of the sheds are in good condition, and others are not.

“You see, I teach the children about hygiene and safety. And then, I tell them to go to the toilet in the bush. What do I teach them now?” (VS teacher)

The school infrastructure in *all* Village Schools needs repair. The two tent schools leak water and are virtually unusable during heavy downpours. In the summer, the temperatures in the tents reach alarmingly high levels. All of the permanent school buildings need some repair: most are run-down, and some leak water, miss windows and require general repair work. The school at Nhoma village does not have proper locks, and during weekends children from the village come in

and destroy books and other study materials. Except for the schools at ||Xa|oba and Nhoma, the schools do not have fences. Wild and domestic animals (elephants in particular) pose a serious threat to children, teachers and the infrastructure. Except for ||Auru School, no other Village School has usable playground facilities for the children.



Fig. 11. The playground at ||Auru VS

While the VS are built at strategic places that could potentially reach out to as many children as possible (based on size and location of villages), their facilities are not sufficient to retain large numbers of boarding learners, and mostly serve the needs of the children from the villages in which they are located.

The classroom infrastructure in *all* schools in the area needs improvements. The classrooms in TPS and MPS are overcrowded, especially in lower primary. Most desks, chairs and blackboards need repair or replacement. The two new tent Village Schools are in urgent need of more equipment – chairs, desks and educational materials. The schools that do have educational materials are in dire need of educational materials that reflect the everyday experience of the very children they are meant to educate and inspire. Posters of colors names associated with fruit and vegetables which are not available in the area (like bananas, apples and grapes), for example, create a sense of alienation and do not contribute to a positive learning environment.

Transportation remains a major problem in the area. Distances are great, the roads (when existent) are bad and unpassable during the rains, and lack of reliable transport affects everyone – learners, teachers and parents alike. Learners need regular transport to travel to their families

during weekends and holidays and back to school. Parents need transport in order to reach schools for school meetings, or when their children report problems. In general, all remote communities would benefit from reliable transport between the towns and the villages. The men at ||Xa|oba village, for example, reported that they feel very vulnerable when they walk the distance from their village to Tsumkwe town with the cash they have earned from the Living Museum. The majority of people (children included) walk, ride horses or hitchhike for greater distances. It is not uncommon for children to walk long distances through the bush alone.

Recently MoE has introduced a school bus which operates between Tsumkwe, Mangetti Dune to some settlements along the main road. It has been especially useful for transporting learners from TSSS to Tsumkwe West. Even though the bus cannot accommodate all learners, its introduction has been acknowledged as very positive by teachers, learners and community members alike.

Food and material support

Fig. 12. Cooking maize meal at Ben Se Kamp VS



NAMAS contributes with regular food supply for the Village Schools (maize meal, sugar, oil, tea) which complements the government feeding programs. Feeding programs in schools in impoverished societies have arguably contributed to increased enrollment, attendance and improved health of learners (see Ahmed and Billah 1994; Simeon and Grantham-McGregor 1989;

Vermeersch and Kremer 2005), and regular meal provision at the Village Schools might have also contributed positively to learners' attendance. Delivery problems occur, however, and the lack of food at the school results in absenteeism by learners. When the consultant visited Nhoma village, there was a large group of children walking towards the neighboring settlement early in the morning. The two teachers were sitting in front of the school and met the consultant with *"We have a bit of a problem today."* They reported that due to conflicts with the cooking lady, she had not shown up for the day, and all learners had left for an unknown period of time.

"When there is no food at the school, there is nothing I can do to stop them from leaving", a teacher reported.

Parents in all visited settlements also pointed out to the importance of regular food supply for their school-going children. A father rationalized the situation like this:

"When I do not have food at home, my children leave me and go to search for food. It is the same in the school – when there is no food in the school, they go and look for it somewhere else."

NAMAS also makes irregular donations to schools and learners or assists with the distribution of donations by others - school uniforms, toiletries, cups, plates, blankets, school stationary. While this support is very important for San learners, the majority of whom cannot afford these things, it does not follow a predictable pattern, and it is not a reliable source of support. The need of a more predictable supply of these, however, is essential for all San learners. In a number of cases, children who have dropped out of school pointed to what seemed to be minor problems for their decisions to abandon school. However, in a context of extreme social exclusion and a sense of inferiority vis-à-vis other groups, such small incidents might have significant consequences.

An adolescent boy from Nḡama village gave the following account:

- *I was staying at the hostel [at TCS] but some older boys were stealing my things. One day they stole my shoes. I didn't have other shoes. These shoes were from my father. He made some crafts and [sold them and] bought the shoes for me. My father was not working, so I left school.*
- *Did you tell your father why you left school?*
- *No, I was too embarrassed and I didn't want to make him sad. I should [have stayed] in school. Now I don't have shoes, and I don't have education [either].*

In contrast to what has just been said, material support of San learners can also have a negative effect on them. Several teachers and parents pointed to the shaming effect distribution of toiletries, uniforms and clothes has on San learners. A hostel staff at TPS reported that whenever possible, children would pretend they brought their donated toiletries from their homes. A teacher at TPS also reported incidents in which San learners were being mocked by non-San learners that they only depend on others. Parents pointed out to the fact that their children feel ashamed that their parents could not provide them with shoes and blankets.

The dilemma of positive discrimination resonates with an existing (and often racist) debate in Namibian society about the dependency of San communities on government support and their incapability of self-sufficient existence. While the roots of this dependency are rarely traced to the source of the problem (land dispossession and underclass categorization), this is a sensitive topic for many San, and needs to be addressed in a sensible and informed manner.

Cultural practices and mobility of parents

Certain cultural practices or practices driven by economic reasons also present obstacles to access to schooling and regular attendance. The education system is incapable of accommodating these practices, and has put much pressure on parents. There are different patterns of mobility in the area. In some cases parents move for employment reasons. The harvest of devil's claw from May to October also results in learners' absenteeism. In the first case, parents take their children with them because they do not know when they would return. In the second case, children themselves chose to join harvesting groups because such trips provide alternative food sources. While harvesting trips are seen as 'out-of-school' time, they provide children with alternative types of knowledge that is vital for their survival as adults. While a solution that is acceptable to all sides

seems difficult, the importance of these practices should be viewed within the context of economic vulnerability and lack of alternative opportunities which the majority of the San face.

First menstruation seclusion is a practice that results in school absenteeism (and sometimes dropping-out) for many girls, especially for those whose schools are at a large distance from their homes. The practice is looked down upon by many non-San involved with San education in the region, and is regarded as backward, unnecessary, and as a choice that girls or their families have to make between school and seclusion. It bears a big cosmological and social significance for those practicing it, and it should be understood within this context.

Recommendations on Equity and Access:

- 1.** NAMAS should work closely with MoE and assist the Ministry with information and support in addressing the situation in TPS. Transition of VS learners and successful retention of San learners in the school is only possible if the school turns into a safe, respectful and positive environment.
- 2.** A comprehensive database that can help conservancies and schools trace learners and address some problems that have led to their dropping-out must be developed and maintained. NAMAS can support the conservancies with the practical data collection for these databases, and can offer training for the databases' creation and maintenance.
- 3.** Transportation for learners is not solved, and NAMAS should continue to seek permanent solutions to this challenge. A regular vehicle service that reaches out to remote villages is crucial for an improved equity and access to education.
- 4.** Material support for learners must continue and expand. San learners, especially those coming from Tsumkwe East, need regular access to clothes, shoes and toiletries. In this regard, an emergency fund for children who lose things can be established.
- 5.** NAMAS needs to consult with community members and leaders about more respectful ways for the distribution of donations among learners.
- 6.** The school and hostel infrastructure in the Village Schools must be improved considerably. While tents have offered good temporary solutions, they are not fit for long-term use, and permanent solutions must be sought. While schools' infrastructure is a responsibility of MoE, NAMAS can increase its support for the Village Schools, and address immediate needs.
- 7.** Access to culturally-relevant visual and educational materials is crucial for the positive learning environment of San learners, and NAMAS can facilitate workshops for the creation of such materials.

8. The hostel at TPS is in urgent need for beds, mattresses, dining tables and chairs. NAMAS can provide some of these.

9. NAMAS must explore alternative hostel solutions for San learners in Tsumkwe town. This can include the creation of a private hostel, or a network of foster families who receive support from NAMAS for housing San learners. Safe hostel environment is crucial for the retention of San learners in schools.

3.4.4. Community/Parent involvement

Community and parental involvement are two different things, and will be discussed separately. Literature on San education universally reports high community interest in education, and contrastingly little parental involvement (Le Roux 1999; Hays 2007, forthcoming; Nguluka and Gunnestad 2011). NAMAS' experience has followed this pattern. On the one hand NAMAS has successfully involved the TAs and conservancies into the project, and has contributed towards a greater awareness and sense of ownership towards education. On the other hand, parental involvement remains minimal.

The consultative conference that was recommended in the 2010 evaluation (Hays et al. 2010) and that took place in June 2014 in Tsumkwe has somewhat served to bridge the gap between the stakeholders involved with education in the area, and has acknowledged the role of parents and community members as valued partners in the process. The theme of the conference was *Ancient Wisdom, Modern Perspectives: Parents and Community Involvement in Education and Learning*, and was attended by representatives from MoE and the Regional Education Office, academics, NGO representatives, and about 40 San community members. The main focus of the conference was on the Village Schools. Hays (forthcoming) reports several themes that emerged at the conference. MoE participants had stressed the importance of school attendance, and the need of San communities to understand the value of education. Academics had concentrated on the history of the Village Schools, and on the importance of the traditional knowledge and pedagogical practices among the Ju|'hoan community. San representatives had mostly voiced practical problems related to food, accommodation, transport, and the unsafe environment at TPS.

A Ju|'hoan woman participating in the conference acknowledged that this is the only way to go forward – all stakeholder coming together, and listening to the parents' concerns. Many parents from remote settlements reported that they had not heard of the conference neither prior nor after it. The importance of receiving feedback from the conference was mentioned in several settlements.

Community involvement

San communities in southern Africa have unanimously expressed their desire to have access to secure, culturally-sound education systems that respect their knowledge systems and that can prepare their children to participate more fully in the wider society. Linguistic, numeric and literacy skills are often recognized by San parents as skills that are important for their adaptation and survival (Hays 2007, forthcoming; Le Roux 2000; Ninkova 2010). The San of Tsumkwe constituency do not differ in this regard. Institutional bureaucracy, new media and technology, the cash economy, increased presence of outsiders (both positive and negative), all require competences and skills acquired through formal education. Purely scientific or literary aspirations should not be denied to San individuals either.

NAMAS' inclusive approach has had an empowering effect on the larger community in Tsumkwe constituency. The chairlady of NNC, for example, reported that NAMAS has treated NNC as an equal partner and has often sought their cooperation and guidance. NAMAS' coordinator has done a great job delegating the responsibility for decision-making concerning various courses of action to the conservancies and the TA. During the field study, abuse of learners at TPS has increased to dangerous proportions, causing the mass dropping-out of San children. The project's coordinator facilitated a meeting between Tsamkxao †Oma, the head of the TA in Tsumkwe, with the regional Inspector of Education, where they discussed and agreed upon a course of action that was reasonable for both sides. Education has become a regular topic at TA and conservancies' meetings. Conservancies have agreed to serve as mediators between remote communities and schools – providing logistic support and bridging the information gap between schools and villages. The creation of a comprehensive database with information of all San learners is a project that NNC is working on at the moment, and that will be useful for the tracking down of absent learners. A culture of appreciation for education has grown roots in Tsumkwe constituency.

Parental involvement

Despite NAMAS' efforts to engage parents more actively in the education of their children, parental involvement remains remarkably low. Teachers generally reported that parents did not show up at parental meetings, or if they did, took little interest in the discussions. There seems to be a difference between Tsumkwe East and West in this regard. The principal of MPS reported that there is an increase of parental turnover at meetings, whereas the situation in TPS has not

changed much over the years. At the Village Schools, only one teacher reported a good communication with parents, usually in the evenings when parents from the village visit him at the school site, and they sit around the fire. For the other Village Schools, however, teachers reported complete lack of interest from parents. In some Village Schools the school boards were described as dysfunctional. There also seems to exist a certain misunderstanding between parents and teachers about who should initiate meetings. VS teachers assumed that parents should visit the schools on their own will, whereas many parents thought that it was the teachers' responsibility to invite them in the schools.



Fig. 13. Grandfather and granddaughter at Nḡama village, NNC

The anthropological literature on the Ju'hoansi and the !Kung recognizes the importance of personal autonomy, and the children's freedom to engage in activities upon interest from an early age. Parental authority as understood in Western and many Bantu societies does not exist as such among the Ju'hoansi and !Kung (Draper 1976, Marshall 1976, Shostak 1981, Konner 2005). Parents are often heard to express opinions that they do not know why a certain child does not go to school, or that they do not know what their children are studying in school. These are

sometimes interpreted as lack of interest in their children's education. What they reflect, however, are respect and trust in their children's abilities to make critical decisions by themselves and at their own pace – a quality much needed for the accumulation of the huge amount of knowledge hunter-gatherers must acquire for their survival in a harsh and ever-changing environment (see Hays, forthcoming, for a comprehensive discussion on the topic). Therefore, while San parents express their support for education in principle, their approaches to show this support differ from what outsiders are conditioned to expect.

A source of tension between teachers and village communities with Village Schools stems from the created misbalance between the village communities and the schools. In all visited villages, community members reported the lack of secure access to food and cash as their biggest everyday challenges. By contrast, the schools and teachers are perceived to receive much support such as food, transportation, salaries for teachers, and other real or imagined benefits. Cooks employed from the villages at which the Village Schools are located are often accused by teachers that they cook too much food (they take the leftovers to their homes as payment for their job) or simply steal food and other supplies. Some cooks reported that the teachers are mistreating them and unjustly accuse them of stealing. Some parents accused the schools for rationing too little food for their children. The idea behind the creation of the Village Schools had been that parents would voluntarily contribute to the education of their children but given the fragile economy in the region, it is difficult for parents to donate their time and efforts to something that already seems to be receiving more than they themselves have. There exist a sense of abandonment on the side of the parents, and a sense of being at the center of too much attention on the side of the teachers.

Consultations and feedback

Throughout Tsumkwe constituency, especially in remote areas, San community members expressed a desire for an increased and more frequent presence of NAMAS' staff in their settlements. People pointed out to the need for their better inclusion in decisions regarding their children's education:

"It's very good that you are here today to do this survey. It is my wish that this should be done more often, so that when we have concerns they should be noted down. Maybe in this way some improvements can be brought." (Ju|'hoan man, Duin Pos village)

The need for feedback from evaluations like this one was also stressed in many discussions. People were concerned with the amount of information that has been extracted from them for various projects, and the disproportionately little feedback they had received consequently. An old man expressed a concern that their opinions were not taken seriously because no one cared to tell them how their opinions were used to address a particular issue.

In Jul'hoan and !Kung society, the opinion of each member is considered equally important, and no one takes it upon themselves to make decisions on behalf of others. San parents feel that many others are already making decisions on their behalf in relation to their children's education. Should NAMAS want to include parental participation in children's education, this cultural value should be respected.

Capacity building

The 2010 evaluation stressed the importance of increased capacity building among the San communities "in order to make the best decisions that they can, and to advocate effectively for themselves" (Hays et al. 2010:55). The research carried out for this evaluation confirms the importance of this argument. The capacity of parents on the ground needs to be strengthened in order for them to be able to participate more fully in their development (including in the sphere of education).

Traditional skills and knowledge, methods of knowledge transmission and socialization of children are all valuable assets that the San communities of Tsumkwe constituency possess, that should be recognized and included in various stages of the project. Without the parental *full* participation in the project, its sustainability in the long run remains uncertain.

Children's opinions matter too

There is a general tendency in education to strive for an improved relationship between schools and parents, and to include parents in the school life of their children. While this is an important aspect of improved educational delivery and participation, it is somewhat based in a particular cultural reality in which parents make decisions on behalf of their underage children. In Jul'hoan and !Kung society this relationship is not as obvious – and children have been described to be more independent in their thinking, activities and behavior from an earlier age. This is consistent

with numerous accounts in which parents seem to refrain from forcing their children in situations in which they themselves do not want to be. If NAMAS would like to increase school participation, it should strive to include children in their consultations as equal member of their respective communities.

Recommendations on Community/Parent involvement:

1. NAMAS should continue to work close with the conservancies and the TA. While there is an agreement that NAMAS has contributed positively for the inclusion of community leaders in decision-makings concerning education, all stakeholders should continue to support this process.
2. NAMAS should improve its communication with parents through regular visits to settlements. Consultations with parents should inform all decisions regarding the conception and implementation of new programs.
3. Communication with parents should go both ways and NAMAS should develop mechanisms through which to disseminate information to remote settlements. This includes feedback from the current evaluation as well.
4. The Traditional Life Skills Program described in Section 3.4.1. bears a significant potential for the better inclusion of San parents in the project, and should be reevaluated and introduced again.
5. The capacity of San communities needs to be strengthen, and NAMAS can use its networks, expertise and experience to attract new donors to work towards that objective.
6. Children should be seen as equal members of their communities, and their opinions on questions regarding their own development should be gathered and considered.

3.5. Effect of the project for learners in grades 1 to 4 in comparison to children who are not part of the project

One of the objectives of the evaluation as stated in the TOR has been to analyze the effect of the project for students in senior primary and compare these to students who are not part of the project. A distinction between children in grades 1 to 4 who go to school, and children in this age group who do not go to school is much more blurred than suggested by this objective.

There does not exist a pool of school-going children that is categorically different from non-school going children in this age range (ab. 7 to 12 y.o.). Many children attempt several years in a row to enroll in Grade 1. Health problems, mobility of parents, fear from teachers, bullying by others, homesickness, lack of means, are given as some of the reasons for that. What would be perceived to be a non-school going child by outsiders, is not perceived as such by the San, especially for children in this age group. There also exists a group of children (especially girls) who start Grade 1 at a much older age. In ||Auru VS, for example, the consultant met three 18 year old girls who had just enrolled in Grade 1. The reason given for their late enrollment was that they were too young and insecure to start school earlier. Many parents would also give their children's young age as a reason for why so many VS learners drop out from Grade 4 in TPS and return to their village school – sometimes three or four years in a row. In several villages and around Tsumkwe town, the consultant encountered school-going children who happened to not be at school on this particular day, and who did not know when they would return. Again, they were potentially school-goers; they were just taking time off it.

An indicator to examine the difference between school attending and non-attending children would be to explore whether the food provided at school has a positive effect on their health and cognitive, physical and psychological development. Such an analysis requires a long-term study and falls outside the scope of the current evaluation. An interesting observation is that while everyone (children and parents) acknowledge the importance of regular food delivery at schools, many also pointed out to the cultural importance of a more seasonally varied diet.

There also seems to exist a difference between urban centers and villages. People living in remote villages have not seen many positive impacts associated with formal education but have identified some negative ones. Parents reported that a negative consequence for children from this age group who go to school as compared to those who do not, is that those who attend boarding schools far away from their families (especially in town) experience different levels of alienation – both from their families, and from their culture. A father recounted that school is making San children feel ashamed of their parents. These concerns point to the urgent importance of incorporating traditional San skills in schools across the area.

In town, many young non-school going children engage in petty theft from the few grocery stores and around the *shebeens*, beg at the service station or just roam the town in search of food or cash, thus being potentially at risk of engaging in criminal activities or exploitation by others.

Older out-of-school children

There, however, exist a pool of older children in Tsumkwe town many of whom have attended school for several years, and who have dropped out of it permanently. These children need access to vocational training activities, drama and cultural groups, hobby groups, sport clubs – any sort of organized activity that can equip them with useful skills or that can help them explore their interests. These youth are very vulnerable to petty crimes and prostitution, or to exploitation by others. They are many in numbers, and they are the future adults of Tsumkwe constituency.

3.6. Impact of the project on the education level of San children over time

Provision of education for marginalized communities is a long process that requires the long-term commitment of all involved stakeholders. While the quantitative data for the period of evaluation (2010-2015) show some fluctuations in terms of the successful inclusion of San children in schools, analysis of longitudinal data shows a steady increase of the education level of the people in Tsumkwe constituency. The 2011 census data show 71,3% literacy rate for population aged 15 and above in the 15 - 19 age range, as compared to 55,2% for the 40 - 44 age range (NSA 2011b:20). The number of learners of the Village Schools have increased from 73 in 2003 to 177 in 2015 (Cwi and Hays 2011; Appendix C). In 2006, the first learner from the Village Schools had passed Grade 7, and had enrolled in TJSS. As Cwisa Cwi (the VS principal) has pointed out: “This may not seem very much to some of you, but to my community this is a great achievement” (Cwi and Hays 2008).

A survey conducted for the current evaluation shows that the overwhelming majority of Jul’hoansi from NNC in the 15 – 35 range have had some exposure to education; many in the Village Schools, and some in more than one Village School (Appendix D). In several settlements the consultant observed the practical use of numeric and literacy skills by people who have had some exposure to schooling – writing letters and applications for support or filling in personal data of co-villagers to receive food support from GRN. Some who have reached secondary education have been trained as promoters for adult literacy, and are teaching adult members of their communities to read and write (including in their mother tongue). Literacy is slowly finding its way in Tsumkwe constituency as an important tool for participating in the modern world, and the San are committed to benefit from it.

NAMAS’ presence in Tsumkwe constituency since 2003 has also contributed towards an increased awareness of educational rights among the San. Community leaders are much more aware of the rights their communities have in terms of education, and have become more vocal in expressing their concerns in front of government officials. Especially in the past several years, NAMAS has consistently worked towards this goal.

Education and employment

While education has been recognized as an important aspect of modern life by the San, tangible benefits from education are yet to reach Tsumkwe constituency.

Access to paid employment is remarkably little in Tsumkwe constituency, and when available, most employment opportunities are based on practical skills, rather than on the level of educational achievement. A 2010 survey by Lee shows that there does not exist a direct correlation between the level of education and employment among interviewed Ju|'hoansi. On the contrary, he observes that “the rate of employment for people with no schooling (50%) is twice that of those with schooling (28%)” (Lee 2013:223).

A survey conducted for the current report with 42 women and 41 men from NNC shows a great gender imbalance in terms of access to employment (16,6% of women and 70% of men). This has to do with the fact that most available jobs are related to construction or animal herding – activities usually associated with men. SADF and NDF had also employed men in the past, contributing to the number. Of all interviewed people, only three were performing activities which required formal school training. Jobs provided by NNC – wildlife rangers or field workers – all relied on personal skills and knowledge of the bush. Most of the employment opportunities have been temporary, and only 13,3% of all participants were still employed at the time they were interviewed. Harvest of the devil's claw was given as the biggest income source, and crafts production was the main source of income for most interviewed women (see Appendix D).

Development projects that targets impoverished communities should not regard education in isolation but should work out objectives and goals that reflect the realities of the people on the ground. While education is often cited as a potential empowerment tool, its provision can achieve limited success if it is detached from the everyday life of people. The situation can be also observed from a reversed perspective – unless the socioeconomic situation in Tsumkwe constituency improves, and there is an actual demand for educated individuals, people on the ground will continue to invest little efforts in improving their education level.

3.7. Phasing out

NAMAS' activity in Tsumkwe constituency is scheduled to phase out in November 2015. This is a result of the new line of politics by the Norwegian government which no longer prioritizes support of indigenous peoples in its development assistance. The new efforts of the Norwegian government have now been focused on bigger and more mainstream development initiatives.

The phasing out of the project in Tsumkwe constituency brings much uncertainty, and all stakeholders express various concerns about the future. It must be noted that the current GRN and the Minister of Education have shown an increased interest in the development of Tsumkwe constituency, which has resulted in increased presence of government officials in the area. This might lead to some positive developments in the region (also in the sphere of education). However, provision of quality education for marginalized groups is a delicate task, and also one which requires in-depth understanding, financial support and the constant presence of staff on the ground. NAMAS' excellent reputation among stakeholders, its long presence in Namibia, its experience and understanding of the local social, cultural and political dynamics all play an important role in the way the organization has developed and coordinated its activities in the region. Should NAMAS abandon the project, it might take years before new donors (should they be found) build a similar level of capacity.

The tipping point

Those involved with the project refer to the momentum the project has generated up to this moment, and the uncertainty which awaits NAMAS' withdrawal. The current project coordinator pointed out that while NAMAS has not created dependency among the stakeholders, *"if we leave now, it can go either way"*.

All interviewed employees at the Regional Office reported that MoE does not have the capacity to run the project without support. Mariane Kapepo, the Pre-Primary Senior Education Officer at the Regional Education Office referred to the situation like this:

"It's like you give a boat to somebody to cross the river. In the middle of the river you decide to take the boat from them. Will that person make it to the other side [of the river] without the boat? Maybe. But it will take much more time and effort."

While the withdrawal of NAMAS will affect all schools in the region, the Village Schools will have most difficulties continuing with support from MoE only. NAMAS' support for the Village Schools (from improvement of the infrastructure to assisting with transport, food, educational materials and material support for learners) and the professional development of the VS teachers has played an important role for the improved access and quality of education in NNC. The financial costs associated with the VS teachers' further studies cannot be covered by MoE, which might result in

the loss of teachers. Given their limited number, and the need for more VS teachers, this situation might tip the future of the VS schools in a backward direction. Should NAMAS remain in the area on a limited budget, this is the sphere in which it should invest most resources.

CONCLUSION: THE WAY FORWARD

NAMAS' presence in Tsumkwe constituency has had an overall positive impact for all stakeholders in the project. While the financial and logistic support have played an important role for the improvement of the access and quality of education in the region, NAMAS' advocacy role and moral support for San learners and teachers, have been of equal significance.

A vision for the way forward includes an increased presence of NAMAS in the region, and more focused work, especially in Tsumkwe East and the Village Schools.

Throughout the years NAMAS has acquired considerable knowledge and expertise on the issues impeding the provision of accessible and quality education in Tsumkwe constituency, and its informed efforts in the area are a reflection of that. In order for the educational situation in Tsumkwe constituency to normalize and improve, NAMAS' increased presence is of paramount importance – an argument identified by the current evaluation, and also expressed by all partners of NAMAS in Tsumkwe constituency.

Increased on-the-ground staff

NAMAS is in dire need of more human resources on the ground. In the period 2012 – mid-2015, the project coordinator has taken upon himself the impossible task to coordinate and run the project in all its phases on the ground. While his achievements have been remarkable, and he has managed to bring together various stakeholders; facilitated communication between community leaders, schools and the Regional Office; contributed towards an increased number of San teachers; created a comprehensive roadmap for their qualification process; acted as the single viable transport service between villages, town and schools; and created trust among NAMAS and all stakeholders (including learners), his multitasking has affected the successful implementation and follow-up of some of the project's programs. Should NAMAS continue its activities in Tsumkwe constituency, it should concentrate more efforts on the implementation of the programs it has created through the employment of more locally-based staff.

The programs can be roughly divided into four components, and all four of them would need increased attention and support:

- The **Teachers component** needs a Teachers Advisor to supervise and facilitate the further education of VS teachers. Practical assistance of teachers, more workshops developing the

pedagogical skills of teachers, weekly visits to the Village Schools, and in-class assistance of teachers are areas in which NAMAS has been successfully working at the moment, and which need to be continued and expanded.

- The **Learners Component** will benefit from a staff member who will monitor and facilitate the establishment of support networks for San learners. Consultations with learners, extra-curricular activities, problems solving, assistance with lessons, facilitating communication between learners and school-staff are all areas which are neglected at the moment, and need to be reevaluated. The needs of out-of-school learners can also be addressed under this component.
- The **Community Component** should facilitate the permanent introduction of San culture in schools in the area, and should work for the improved involvement of San parents and community members in the education of their children. A Cultural advisor can also work as a facilitator between communities, NAMAS and MoE in consultations for the implementation of new programs and initiatives. While all components are intertwined, this component is the one which is most underdeveloped, and also one which has much potential for the overall improvement of the situation in Tsumkwe constituency.
- Finally, the **Logistics component** can benefit from a staff member who can oversee the timely distribution of food and supplies to schools and learners, and deal with other practical, financial and administrative issues.

Advocacy role

NAMAS' role as an advocate for San educational rights has increased over the years, and the organization should use the momentum to formally recognize and solidify its activities in this sphere. Adapting the mainstream curriculum for the specific needs of the San, lobbying for alternative educational opportunities beyond the 5 days-a-week timetable, lobbying for an increased period of mother-tongue instruction (beyond the first 3 years), lobbying for improved conditions in schools and hostels and stricter rules for teachers assaulting learners, advocating for easier access of San teachers to qualification diplomas are all themes which NAMAS can bring to the attention of GRN and MoE.

Improved parental involvement

This is the sector which has been least impacted by the project, even though it is equally important for the future implementation of community-consented initiatives for San children in schools in the area. Models that are built on the premise that parents will voluntarily contribute to their children's education do not reflect the reality of the San communities in Tsumkwe Constituency, and NAMAS needs to reevaluate its approaches for involving parents in their children's education. Although this objective falls outside of the scope of work of the project, a strengthened capacity of the parents, and an improved socioeconomic condition of the San communities in Tsumkwe constituency, will greatly contribute towards an improved school attendance among San learners. NAMAS has developed good relationships with other NGOs operating in Namibia, and can contribute towards the introduction of new development projects in the area, which can address this issue.

Strengthening San culture

One of the main characteristics of San cultures is their resilience and adaptability. Recent research recognizes the vitality of San cultures in Tsumkwe constituency, and the pride people feel for their traditions and cultural values. Despite the changes that have occurred in the area, alternatives to the limited resources brought about by the cash economy are crucial to the physical survival of the San communities of Tsumkwe constituency. Any development project must built its objectives on the already existing strengths possessed by the people it is there to assist. This is particularly important in the sphere of education. Systems that alienate children from their roots is not enriching them in any way. It is rather impoverishing them from what they already possess.

More research is needed to identify all viable aspects of San culture that can be implemented into the mainstream curricula and extra-curricular activities for San children in the area. Visibility of San culture in schools is of paramount importance for redressing some of the discriminating practices still permeating every-day school life. School practices that are based on local knowledge and local values need to be systematically identified and introduced in schools in the area. This is a responsibility shared by all stakeholders of the project.

Strengthening of San culture also includes an increased presence of San and San-speaking teachers in schools, and the mainstreaming of San languages in the education system. More efforts in this area are needed.

Tsumkwe Primary School

As discussed in Section 3.4.3., the situation at TPS threatens some of the positive achievements of the project, and by all previous efforts invested in the Village Schools prior to NAMAS' intervention in 2003. While the school operates under MoE, and it is the Ministry's responsibility to normalize the situation there, NAMAS can actively work towards an increased awareness among the Ministry regarding the situation in the school. It can also develop some initiatives that can positively impact the situation in the school.

An improved communication between NAMAS, the principal of TPS and the principal of the Village Schools is strongly recommended. NAMAS and TPS should create a plan for the successful reintroduction of the Traditional Life Skills Program in the school; for the increased awareness among TPS teachers of the challenges faced by San communities; for the identification and positive reinforcement of existing skills among San learners; and for more support of Grade 4 learners transitioning from the Village Schools. Introduction of Ju|'hoan teacher aids to help San learners with communication and language barriers (especially in Grade 1 and 4) can be very beneficial.

The school should devise plausible intervention measures in cases of assault against learners, and all teachers should be held accountable for their actions against learners. It is MoE's responsibility to ensure that, and NAMAS should advocate for this on behalf of the San community.

A learners' database is of paramount importance for the follow-up of learners who have left school. Since San children feel so vulnerable in the school environment, and since they have such strong attachments to other family members, it is a common occurrence for all children from a given village to leave TPS at once. Another observation is that sometimes, when older children leave school, their younger relatives would also follow them. NAMAS can assist TPS to develop a strategy for the follow-up on such cases. As pointed out in Section 3.4.3. small incidents might have big consequences, and NAMAS is in a position to develop a program that meets the immediate needs of San learners (especially in cases of loss or theft).

The hostel environment at TPS is far from optimal, and NAMAS can contribute towards an improved physical environment at the hostel. More chairs and tables, mattresses and beds are among the most urgent needs of the TPS hostel. Learners' psychological well-being should also be considered, and NAMAS can develop extra-curricular activities for boarding learners. Alternatives to the hostel should also be explored by NAMAS. As recommended previously, foster families in Tsumkwe town or private hostel facilities should be explored.

Finally, the idea of a Village School in Tsumkwe town has been circulating among those involved with education in the region for a long time. A school that uses Ju|'hoansi as a language of instruction for the first three years, and teaching of the language until Grade 7 can have a markedly positive impact on San education in Tsumkwe town. Equally important, the presence of Ju|'hoan teachers who understand the learners' background, behavioral patterns and challenges at home should not be underestimated.

Alternatives

One of the strongest features of Ju|'hoan and !Kung cultures has been their flexibility and adaptability in times of change and uncertainty. During the past several decades, the San of Namibia have been forced into a rigid system that allows little creativity and improvisation – both important aspects of San cultures. The opening of the Village Schools has attempted to bridge the gap between two contrasting systems – mainstream education and San traditional knowledge, skills and values, and to provide the San with benefits from the two. Over the years, however, the Village Schools have departed from their original idea, and have become more concerned with fitting the San children into the mainstream model. This model, however, leaves little room for improvisation and mistake. Twenty-five years since the inauguration of the Village Schools, the majority of Ju|'hoansi in NNC cannot attain satisfactory educational results. To use Tsakmkxao ǃOma's words, people have become "tired of trying" (Biesele and Hitchcock 2013:233).

While education as a human right has been recognized by the San of Tsumkwe constituency as an important tool for their continued survival, simply providing access to mainstream education will not empower the communities, and will not bring lasting positive changes. Alternative forms of education that are shaped to meet the needs of the people they serve, should be developed and introduced in the area – a sentiment expressed by community members and researchers alike (Le Roux 2000; Hays 2007, forthcoming; Hays et al. 2010).

NAMAS is in a position to facilitate further consultations, research and implementation of alternative educational models for the San communities in Tsumkwe constituency, based on its vast experience and positive impact on different marginalized communities the country. This is a path NAMAS has the capacity to commit to and explore in the future.

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APPENDIX A

List of Interviewees

Name / Position	Affiliation	Contact details
Mariane Kapepu (16 July 2015) Pre-primary Senior Education Officer	Ministry of Education Otjozondjupa Regional Office P.O. Box 1665 Otjiwarongo, Namibia	mariane.kapepu@gmail.com +264 67 303877 +264 81 2467637
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Josephine Mutenda (16 July 2015) Deputy Director Lifelong Learning	Ministry of Education Otjozondjupa Regional Office P.O. Box 1665 Otjiwarongo, Namibia	mutendaj@yahoo.com + 264 81 11661688
Laurentius Davids (15 July 2015) Senior Education Officer	National Institute of Educational Development (NIED) Private Bag 2034 Okahandja, Namibia	ldavids@nied.edu.na +264 62 509069 +264 81 6167321
Valerianus Indongo (20 July 2015) Principal	Tsumkwe Primary School Tsumkwe, Namibia	+264 81 6846048
Bonifatius Hangula (20 July 2015) Afrikaans Teacher (Gr. 5 – 7) Hostel Superintendent	Tsumke Primary School Tsumkwe, Namibia	+ 264 81 7316737
Japet Gcao N geni (20 July 2015) General Cleaner	CLDC Tsumkwe, Namibia	
Richard Shighongo (20 July 2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 2)	Tsumkwe Primary School Tsumkwe, Namibia	+264 81 8582740
Florence-Fabiola Jeomba (21 July 2015) Principal	Tsumkwe Secondary School Tsumkwe, Namibia	mbatjaajeomba@yahoo.com +264 81 2115772

		+264 67 244003
Melissa Heckler School library specialist and Education activist	53 Winterberry Circle Cross River, NY 10518, USA	zodima15@mac.com
Bruce Parcher San Education Project Coordinator, NAMAS	NAMAS P.O. Box 987 Grootfontein, Namibia	san.ed.project@gmail.com
Festus Soroab (22.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 2-3)	Xa oba Village Primary School, Tsmkwe East, Namibia	+264 81 6362559
†Oma Nlani (22.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 1)	Xa oba Village Primary School, Tsumkwe East, Namibia	
Alfeus Jakobus Dax (23.07.2015) Inspector		ajdax4@gmail.com +264 67 242785
Tsemkgao Fanie Cwi (23.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 1-3)	Den ui Village Primary School, Tsumkwe East, Namibia	cwitsemk@gmail.com +264 81 4280113
Culcga Hanzi Kaesje (24.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 1-2)	Ben Se Kamp Village Primary School, Tsumkwe East, Namibia	+264 81 5759593
Oma Khuh Hu (27.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 1)	Auru Village Primary School, Tsumkwe East, Namibia	+264 81 2743789
Cwi Debe (27.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 2-3)	Auru Village Primary School, Tsumkwe East, Namibia	
Andreas Haikera Mushongo (28.07.2015) Principal	Aasvoëlnes Primary School, Namibia	amushongo@gmail.com +264 81 7273416
Johanna Bernardo (28.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 1, English Language)	Nhoma Village Primary School, Namibia	tango2hanna@gmail.com +264 81 3894034
G†kao Jabulani Bruce (28.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Gr. 2-3)	Nhoma Village Primary School, Namibia	jabu.brucek@gmail.com +264 81 3515948
Wenchell Naris (29.07.2015) Primary School Teacher (Life Skills, Gr. 5-7); Girls Hostel Supervisor	Tsumkwe Primary School	wenchellnaris@gmail.com +264 67 244042 +264 81 3241361
Gomes Menesia (30.07.2015) Principal	Mangetti Primary School	+264 67 245005 +264 81 3608750
Tjumungua Mangrass General cleaner	TRC Mangetti Dune	
Bianca Naris Head	TRC Mangetti Dune	+264 67 245011

Xoa 'an Ailae Chairperson	Nyae Nyae Conservancy Tsumkwe	+264 81 4668835 +264 67 244011
Kace Administrator	Nyae Nyae Conservancy Tsumkwe	
Tsemkxao ꞤOma (Chief Bobo) Traditional authority		
Alberthina Penyambeko Nangolo Acting director	Regional Office of Education Otjozondjupa Region	apnangolo777@gmail.com albertihinapeneyambekonangolo@yahoo.com +264 81 1291472 +264 81 4008232 +264 67 308000

Focus group discussions

Participants	Affiliation / Settlement
Village Schools teachers: Japet Gcao N geni Festus Soroab ꞤOma N!ani Tsemkgao Fanie Cwi Culcga Hanzi Kaesje Oma Khuh Hu Cwi Debe GꞤkao Jabulani Bruce Johanna Bernardo	Nyae Nyae Village Schools

(18.07.2015)	
Parents ¹ Community members Former VS, TCS TPS students (19.07.2015 / 25.07.2015 / 30.07.2015 / 31.07.2015)	Tsumkwe town
Parents Community members Former VS, TPS and TCS students (22.09.2015)	Xa oba village
Parents Community members Former VS, TPS and TCS students (23.07.2015)	Den ui village
Parents Community members Former VS, TPS and TCS students (24.07.2015)	Ben Se Kamp village
Parents Community members Former VS, TPS and TCS students (26.07.2015)	N‡aqmtcoha village
Parents Community members Former VS, TPS and TCS students (27.07.2015)	N‡ama village
Parents Community members Former VS, TPS and TCS students (28.07.2015)	Nhoma village
Hostel and kitchen staff (28.07.2015)	Tsumkwe Primary School
Hostel and kitchen staff (30.07.2015)	Mangetti Dune Primary School
Parents	Duin Pos village

¹ The focus group discussions in the villages were attended by 10 to 25 people, except for Nhoma village, where the meeting was attended by 6 residents only.

Community members Former VS, TPS and TCS students (30.07.2015)	
San learners (19.07.2015 / 21.07.2015 / 25.07.2015 / 30.07.2015 / 31.07.2015)	Tsumkwe Primary School

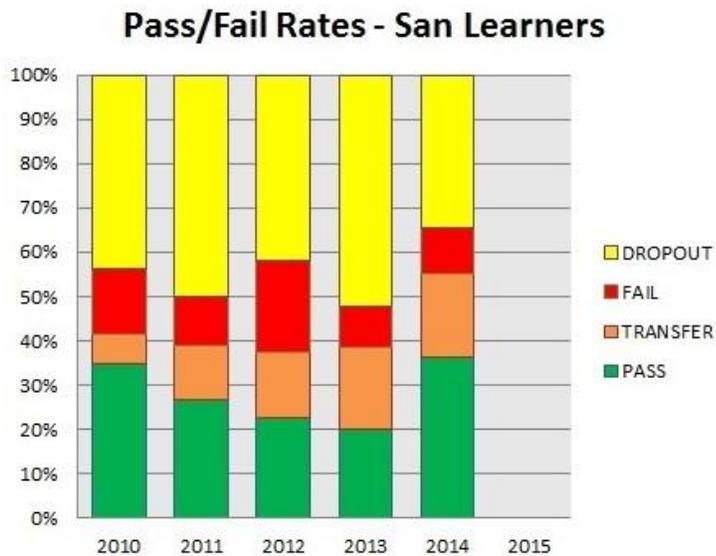
APPENDIX B

Pass/Fail Rates for Tsumkwe Primary School (2010-2014)²

Chart 1. Overall pass/fail rates for TPS:

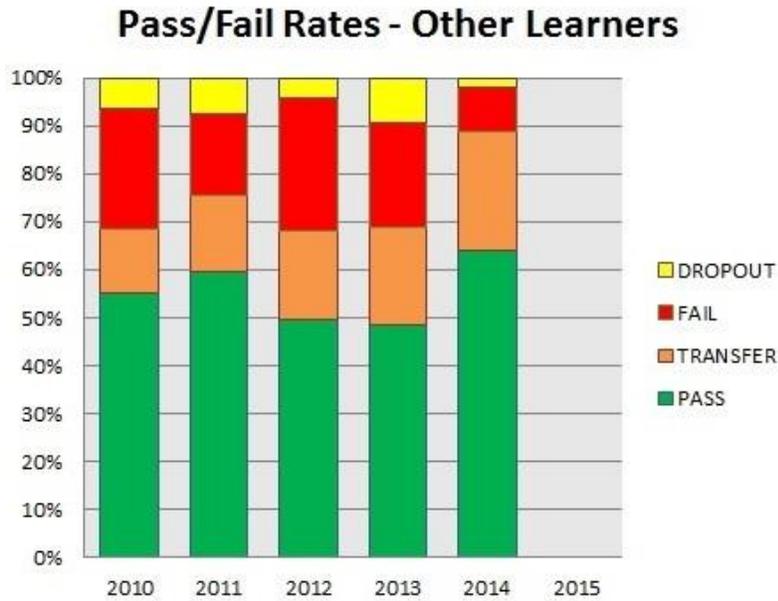


Chart 2. Pass/fail rates for San learners for TPS:



² The data for Appendix B is compiled and provided by the project's coordinator, Bruce Parcher.

Chart 3. Pass / fail rates for other than San learners for TPS:



Enrollment rates for Tsumkwe Primary School

Chart 4. Enrollment rates for San learners for TPS (beginning and end of school year):

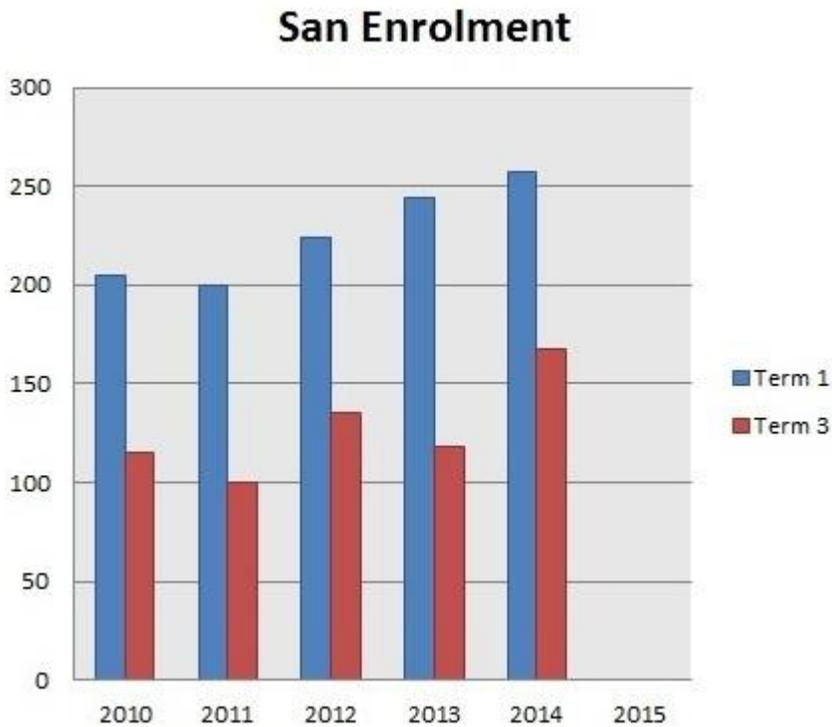


Chart 5. Enrollment rates for other than San learners for TPS (beginning and end of year):

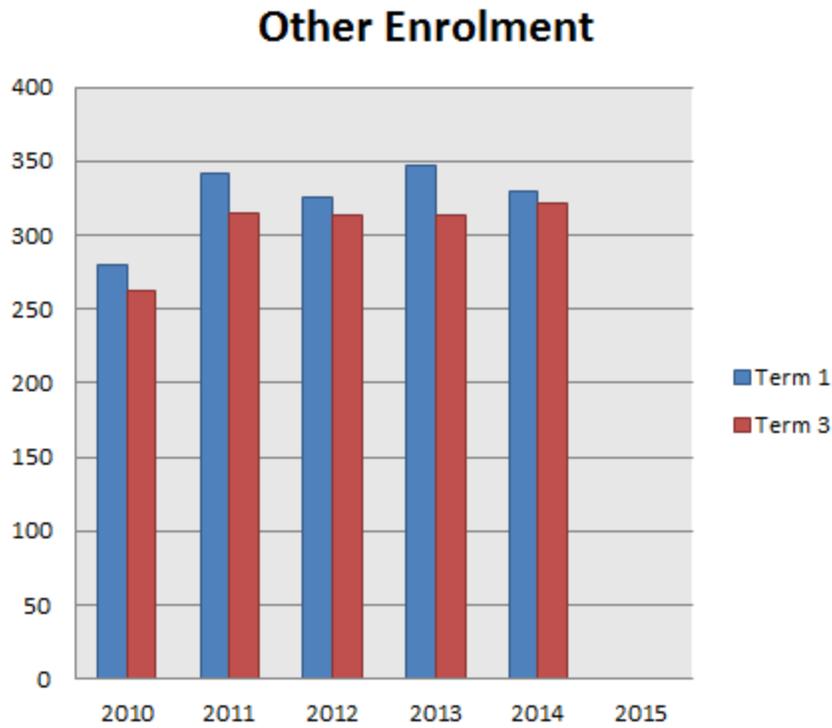


Chart 6. TPS Grade 4 enrollment beginning/end of year 2010-2014:

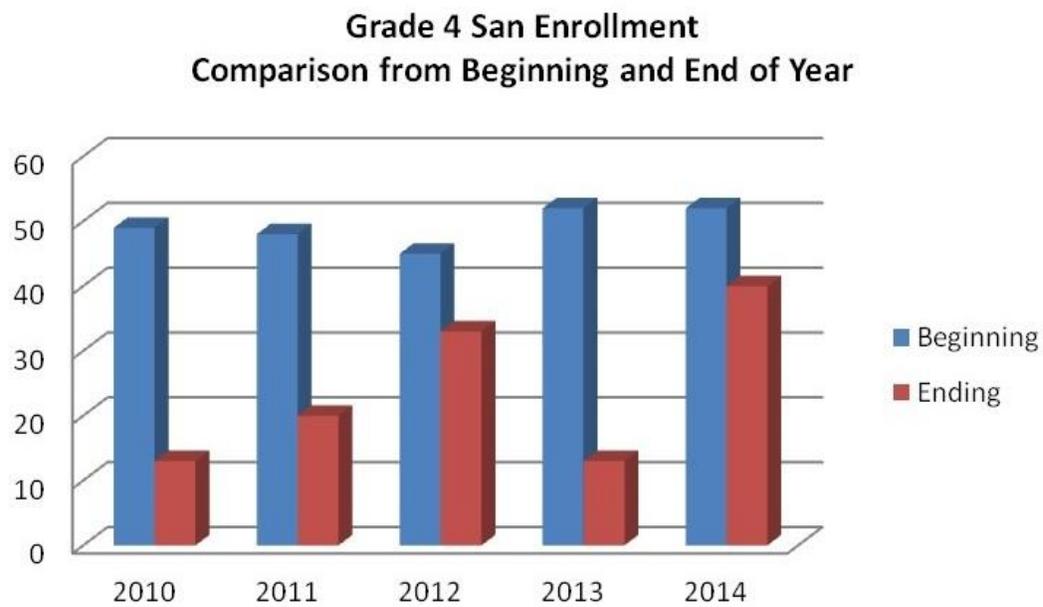
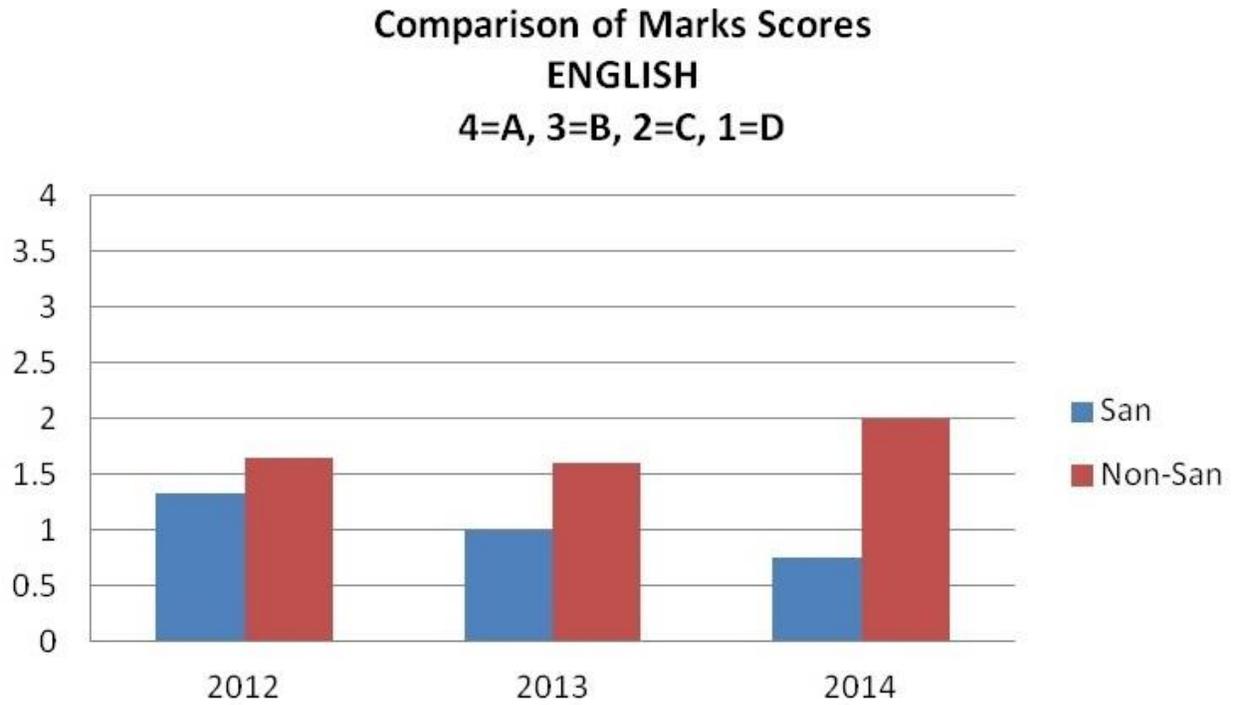


Chart 7. English performance results, TPS Grade 4:



APPENDIX C

Tsumkwe Area Schools, 15th Day Statistics³

Name of School	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010
Aasvoëlnes Primary	60	51	77	63	43	75
Gam Primary	668	651	663	705	655	641
Gam Secondary	137	159	202	200	235	245
Grashoek Primary	216	134	114	128	106	102
Kalahari New Hope	126					
Kanovlei Primary	96	79	96	75	79	95
Kukurushe Primary	34	31	27	20	19	20
Mangetti Dune Primary	388	363	306	353	318	300
M'Kata Primary	206	171	169	175	166	128
Nyae Nyae Village Schools	177	139	94	113	155	189
Omatoko Primary	357	318	307	335	288	307
Roidaghek Primary	221	177	147	116	109	134
Tsumkwe Primary	712	712	652	627	579	584
Tsumkwe Secondary	321	324	320	253	274	284
Total learners	3719	3309	3174	3163	3026	3104
Total Schools	14					

³ Data provided by the Regional Education Office, Otjozondjupa Region

APPENDIX D

Education and employment history of Tsumkwe East residents

Women

Age	Settlement	Education history	Highest attained grade	Employment History	Miscellaneous
19	Tsumkwe	Baraka Village Primary School (Gr.1) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.2-8)	Gr. 7	None	Earns irregular income from crafts production
20s	Tsumkwe	Aasvoëlnes Primary School (Gr.1-2)	Gr. 1	None	Crafts
27	Tsumkwe	‡Aqbase Village Primary School (Gr.1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4-7)	Gr.6	None	Crafts
21	Tsumkwe	Auru Village Primary School (Gr.1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4)	Gr.3	None	Left school because of marriage. Earns ab. NAD 500 per month from crafts production
31	Tsumkwe	‡Aqbase Village Primary School (Gr.1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4-7)	Gr.6	None	Earns ab. NAD 200 per month from crafts production
18	Tsumkw	Baraka Village Primary School (Gr.1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4)	Gr.3	None	Crafts
30s	Tsumkwe	Auru Village Primary School (Gr.1)	None	None	Earns NAD 300-600 from crafts production
34	Tsumkwe	Auru Village Primary School (Gr.1)	None	None	Left school because “didn’t have anything, like clothes and books”; Crafts

30s	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1)	None	None	Crafts
20s	Tsumkwe	Never been to school	None	None	Has not attended school because of frequent migration of parents. Earns between NAD 500 and 1000 from crafts production ("If I work really hard.")
20s	Tsumkwe	Never been to school	None	None	Crafts
30s	Tsumkwe	Never been to school	None	None	Crafts
30s-40s	Tsumkwe	Xa oba Village Primary School (Gr. 1-2) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.3)	Gr.2	None	Crafts
Over 60	Tsumkwe	Never been to school	None	None	Receives pension. Worked as domestic worker for the Kavango in her youth.
24	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1-5)	Gr.4	Domestic worker in Tsumkwe. Shop assistant in Tsumkwe. Presently unemployed.	
30s	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1-2)	Gr.1	Cook for TPS	Paid with food and not with money.
19	Tsumkwe	Baraka Village Primary School (Gr.1) Auru Village Primary School (Gr.2-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4)	Gr.3	None	Crafts
50s	N̄aqmtcoha village	Bushman School in Tsumkwe (Gr.1-2)	Gr.1	Worked for a project – netting huts (for 2 months only). Presently unemployed	Crafts
70s	N̄aqmtcoha village	Never been to school	None	Board member of NNC Village headwoman	
30s	N̄aqmtcoha village	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1)	None	None	Crafts
20s	N̄aqmtcoha village	Den ui Village Primary School (Gr.1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4)	Gr.3	None	Crafts
20s	N̄aqmtcoha village	Den ui Village Primary School (Gr.1-2)	Gr.1	None	

30s	Nḡaqmtcoha village	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1)	None	None	Crafts
30s	Nḡaqmtcoha village	Denḡui Village Primary School (1-2) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.3) Aasvoēlnes Primary School (Gr.4)	Gr.3	Beading and skin projects for NNDF Presently unemployed	Crafts
14-15	Nḡaqmtcoha village	Denḡui Village Primary School (Gr.1)	None	None	Not married yet ("too young")
43	Denḡui village	Bushman School in Tsumkwe (Gr.1)	None	Dress-sewing project for the Dutch Reformed Church (for one year); Dress-sewing Project for Tsumkwe Junior Primary School; Dress-sewing Project for the 7 th Adventist Church (2011-2012); Presently unemployed.	Crafts
45	Denḡui village	Never been to school	None	Domestic worker for a lions' researcher (short-term). Presently unemployed	Crafts
23	Denḡui village	Denḡui Village Primary School (Gr.1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4)	Gr.3	None	Left TCS because of bullying by older children. Crafts
20	Denḡui village	Denḡui Village Primary School (Gr.1-2) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.3)	Gr.2	None	Crafts
50s	Denḡui village	Never been to school	None	None	Crafts
60s	Denḡui village	Never been to school	None	None	Crafts
38	Denḡui village	Never been to school	None	None	Crafts
30s	Nḡama village	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1)	None	None	Crafts
30s	Nḡama village	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1-2)	None	None	
48	Nḡama village	Never been to school	None	None	

23	N#ama village	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1-4)	Gr.4	None	
over 70	N#ama village	Never been to school	None	None	Receives pension
19	N#ama Village	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1-4)	Gr.3	None	None
21	Tsumkwe	Baraka Village Primary School (Gr.1) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.2-5)	Gr.4	None	Crafts (ab. NAD 500-600 per month)
23	Tsumkwe	#Aqbase Village Primary School (Gr.1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4-5)	Gr.4	None	Crafts (ab. NAD 300-400 per month)
20s	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1-4)	Gr.3	None	Crafts
20s	Tsumkwe	Baraka Village Primary School (Gr.1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4)	Gr.3	None	Crafts

Men

Age	Settlement	Education history	Highest attained grade	Employment history	Miscellaneous
51	Tsumkwe	In Kawango Region (Gr. 1-7)	Gr. 6	SADF; Game guard for NNC since establishment	Asked for feedback from the report
22	Tsumkwe	#Aqbase VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4-6)	Gr. 5	Kitchen staff at Baraka Hunters Camp; Presently unemployed	
21	Tsumkwe	#Aqbase VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe combined School (Gr. 4-6)	Gr. 5	None	
24	Tsumkwe	Auru VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4-6)	Gr. 5	None	
34	Tsumkwe	None	None	Shop assistant at Savanah Supermarket for 4 years. Shop closed after owner died.	

30s	Tsumkwe	Baraka VS (Gr. 1-3) Aasvoëlnes Primary School (Gr. 4-5)	Gr. 4	Irregular jobs as a construction worker	
23	Tsumkwe	Auru VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4-6)	Gr. 5	None	Studied English with TUCSIN; Stopped when teacher left
36	Tsumkwe	None	None	None	
18	Tsumkwe	Auru VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4-8)	Gr. 7	None	Left school after an angry teacher burned his books
20	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1-9)	Gr. 8	Irregular jobs as a cattle herder for Herero cattle owners	"In Tsumkwe, if you don't have a family, you die for nothing."
50	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Bushman School (Gr. 1-2)	Gr. 1	None	Crafts
55	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Bushman School (Gr. 1-6)	Gr. 5	School matron	His father had worked as a hostel matron, and he has replaced him after his retirement
42	Tsumkwe	Aasvoëlnes Primary School (Gr. 1-5)	Gr. 4	Cleaning job at Tsumkwe Lodge since 2002 - 2003	
40s	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1)	None	Part time jobs for NNC – building walls around boreholes against elephants	Crafts
42	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.1)	None	Cleaning job for a church	Left job because of TB
38	Tsumkwe	A primary school in the Kavango area Mangetti Dune (Gr. 7) NAMCOL Gr. 10 (English)	Gr. 6	Literacy promoter; NDF (2000-2004); Tourist guide since 2004 until presently	
45	Nḽaqmtcoha	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1-4)	Gr. 3	Worked for a mining company 1994-1996; Unemployed	Left school because he was bullied by a Kavango boy
30s	Nḽaqmtcoha	Nḽaqmtcoha VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4)	Gr. 3	Sheep herder for the Reformed Church for 6 months; Road construction worker for a mining company; Unemployed	Left school because of bullying. Came back with 14 sheep from his herding job for the Reformed Church; all were

					killed by hyenas or drowned in heavy rains.
50s-60s	Nǀaqtcoha	Tsumkwe Bushman School (Gr. 1-6)	Gr. 5	Wildlife ranger for NNC since 1995 - presently; Tracker for SA Police force; Laborer for Ministry of Local Government; Infantry at SWA Territory Force; Game Guard for Ministry of Environment;	Expressed an opinion that he could have had the same employment opportunities even if he had not been to school at all.
26	Nǀaqtcoha	Den ui VS (Gr.1)	None	None	Left school because of bullying by older boys; reported the problem to the teacher, but he had not taken action to prevent bullying in the school. Crafts (bows, arrows, love bows) Devil's claw harvest
26	Nǀaqtcoha	Den ui (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr.4)	Gr. 3	Worked for NNC – building a wall around borehole against elephant	
20s	Nǀaqtcoha	Den ui (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4)	Gr. 3	None	
18	Nǀaqtcoha	Den ui (Gr. 1-2)	Gr. 1	None	
50	Den ui	Tsumkwe combined School (Gr. 1-7)	Gr. 6	Tracker for SWA Territory Force until Independence; General worker (cleaning, maintaining the power station) for Ministry of Local Government; Literacy Promoter for Ju 'hoansi presently	Has only two women in the Ju 'hoansi Adult Literacy Class
18	Den ui	None	None	None	Has not attended school because he was "afraid of other people"
30s	Den ui	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1-3)	Gr. 2	Domestic worker for the Dominee of the Dutch Reformed Church;	

				Irregular construction jobs	
18	Den ui	Den ui VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4)	Gr. 3	None	Left school because of “too much fighting among children”
21	Den ui	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1)	None	None	
20	Den ui	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1-3)	Gr. 2	None	
26	Den ui	Den ui VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4)	Gr. 3	Piece jobs in Tsumkwe town – raking yards	Crafts
25	Den ui	Den ui VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4)	Gr. 3	None	Crafts
53	N‡ama	Tsumkwe Bushman School (Gr. 1-5) (then Standard 3)	Gr. 4	SADF, NDF – field patrol in 1996	
21	N‡ama	Auru VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4-6)	Gr. 5	None	
21	N‡ama	Auru VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4-8)	Gr. 7	None	Left school because did not have money to pay hostel fees
23	N‡ama	Auru VS (Gr. 1-3) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 4-8)	Gr. 7	Adult literacy promoter (English, Maths, Ju ’hoansi) since 2013	
39	N‡ama	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1-7)	Gr. 6	None	Crafts
49	Nhoma	Tsumkwe Bushman School (Gr. 1-5)	Gr. 4	SADF for 5 years; Tracker and general worker on a tourist game farm (payment with food for ab. NAD 200 per week)	
21	Nhoma	Aasvoëlnes Primary School (Gr. 1-4)	Gr. 3	Tracker and general worker on a tourist game farm (on and off)	
20	Ben Se Kamp	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1-7)	Gr. 6	Adult literacy promoter (Ju ’hoansi)	
45	Tsumkwe	Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 1-7) NAMCOL Gr. 10 (Life Science, History)	Gr. 6	Adult literacy Promoter (Ju ’hoansi); Translator at the Transcription Group (since 2014); Member of the NIED curriculum committee (since 2008)	

38	Tsumkwe	Tjeka Primary School (Military Base) (Gr. 1-2) Tsumkwe Combined School (Gr. 3-9) Secondary School in Grootfontein (Gr. 10-11)	Gr. 10	Laboratory assistant for Ministry of Health and Social Services at Mangetti Dune (1995-1996); Clerical assistant for Ministry of Agriculture, Tsumkwe (1996-2003); Tourist guide; Assistant Voter Education Officer for Electoral Commission of Namibia (2008-2009); Member of the transcription group (since 2006); Member at NIED curriculum committee (since 2008)	
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