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Teaching and Teacher Training in Namibia: Today and Tomorrow.



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PREFACE

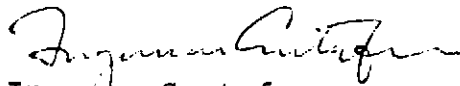
This study on Teacher Training in Namibia: Today and Tomorrow was commissioned by the United Nations Institute for Namibia and SIDA on behalf of the Secretary for Education of SWAPO, Mr Nahas Angula in February 1989.

The study gives a thorough description of Namibian primary and secondary education and related teacher training under the South African administration.

The objective of the study was to make a survey of the teacher education in Namibia through visits in the field. On the basis of the findings, the experts were to give recommendations for the development of teacher education in an independent Namibia.

The study, together with other studies of specific school subjects such as English and other languages, Science, Mathematics and Vocational and Technical Training, was presented at a Conference on Teacher Education held at United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka in September 1989. The objective of the conference was to thoroughly examine the teacher training, deployment and teacher professional development in Namibia and to propose strategies for the restructuring of the educational system in Namibia after Independence.

Stockholm, February 1990



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I. Introduction

1. In this paper the results of a fact-finding mission to Namibia 1989-07-30 -- 08-20 on behalf of United Nations Institute for Namibia are presented. It is based on documents submitted to us by various authorities within Namibia, on discussions and interviews with representatives of different administrations and institutions, on classroom observations and informal discussions with teachers and students as well as on secondary sources. The data collected by us have been supplemented by information gathered by other members of the mission. Administrations, institutions, schools etc. visited by us are listed in Appendix 1, and the primary and secondary sources referred to in this paper are presented in the list of references (section IX). We wish to point out that we received full cooperation from all authorities with the possible exception of the Administration for Whites that refused us to visit e.g. the Teacher Training Center at Windhoek.

2. It should be emphasized that this report is rather tentative in nature. It is selfevident that the existing literature supplemented by a three-week visit is insufficient to gather material and data as a basis for a detailed description of the present Namibian school-system as well as for conclusions and proposals for the future. Within the limits and constraints of the mission we have, however, tried to provide a comprehensive picture of some relevant aspects of education in Namibia as well as our conclusions and recommendations.

II. General statistical aspects of the Namibian school-system²

1. Previous reports on schooling and teacher training (e.g. *Ellis*, 1984; *UNIN*, 1986a; *Mbuende*, 1987) have e.g. emphasized the gross inequalities of the Namibian school system. Recent statistics demonstrate that the inequalities still prevail. It should, however, be emphasized that the statistics of schools published in Namibia by e.g. the Department of Economic Affairs (*Report*, 02-02, 02-04) as well as other statistical data available, are insufficient in order to fully analyse various aspects of school attendance and school results.³ From the available statistics and from our other data, the following points may be made.

2. It is assumed that the reader is familiar with the main characteristics of the system of schooling in Namibia, how it is financed, how it is administrated etc.

3. An example of the difficulties in assessing school attendance may be given. Data presented to us in a visit to Fransfontein showed that the total enrolment in the school was 571 pupils (Sub A - Std 5). Appr. 300 of these pupils came from the area. Appr. 200-250 pupils from the area were in other schools (e.g. in Khorixas). Yet another 250-350 children from the area did not attend school at all. Furthermore appr. 30-40% of the children at each grade level in this school were repeaters. The published school statistics, however, only provide data on number of enroled children at a given grade level and do not relate this figure to the total number of children in a given age-cohort, nor are they related to number of repeaters etc.

2. The total number of pupils attending school has increased between 1983 and 1988. This is probably primarily due to a decrease in drop-out rates since the number of pupils enrolled in Sub A has remained constant (or even decreased). The total number enrolled in ordinary classes (Sub A - Std 10) and in Sub A is given below.

Table 1: Total school enrolment 1983-1988 Sub A - Std 10 (ordinary classes). Source: *Report*, 02-02; 02-04.

Year	Total	Sub A
1983	293.121	70.090
1984	312.848	70.231
1985	330.164	69.842
1986	344.343	68.895
1987	359.983	69.902
1988	367.626	67.809

3. According to the views held by the various Administrations practically all white children attend school and from discussions with the Administrations for Coloureds and Rehoboth it is evident that the number of children in those groups that regularly attend school is high. School attendance in other groups are hard to assess since no reliable population data exist. In discussions with various authorities, principals and teachers it has been reported to us that school attendance in some districts is very low and/or that large numbers of children only attend school for brief periods, etc.

In a recent report from the Department of National Education it was, however, stated:

"It has been estimated from census figures, that well above 80% of children of school going age attend school, or over 90% of the eight to fourteen year olds. Very roughly estimated 35 000 children have no access to a school. These figures are based on the 1981 census which, in the northern regions of Namibia accommodating half of the population, was taken under difficult circumstances. A serious shortcoming in the available information is the lack of reliable figures on children not attending school. The above estimate of 35 000 would, for example, be 60 000 if an error of 10 percent is assumed in the projected population figures." (Namibia, Education, 1989, p 3)

We wish to emphasize, that the estimation of school attendance quoted above is in conflict with data presented to us by administrators, inspectors and teachers in many regions. The statement can also be questioned if it is compared with available statistical information.

4. An indication of the large differences between various Administrations as to school attendance is given by the data presented below (Table 2) where the number of children at different levels for different Administrations is presented. The figures refer to 1988.

Table 2: Number of pupils at different school levels 1988 for some of the Administrations. Source: *Report*, 02-04.

Level:	Sub A	Sub B	Std 1	Std 4	Std 6	Std 8	Std 10
Whites	1.413	1.264	1.224	1.252	1.257	1.150	933
Coloureds	1.745	1.511	1.564	1.572	1.305	820	385
Rehoboth	1.241	1.062	995	985	955	500	237
Caprivians	2.814	2.518	2.334	2.319	1.757	1.129	210
Damaras	1.083	955	997	946	953	548	180
Hereros	2.640	2.530	2.028	2.129	1.007	206	37
Owambos	39.555	29.247	25.204	18.321	9.660	5.147	420
Σ all adm	67.809	51.997	45.721	36.485	21.220	12.048	3.020

It is quite clear that there is a sharp decline in school attendance in the Owambo region already after Sub A. Although the available data do not provide information that makes it possible to follow a given cohort it is clearly evident that the majority of the population receives an education that clearly lags behind that of the white and coloured groups. The number of pupils in Std 8 and Std 10 is proportionately much lower in all other groups when compared to the white population and extremely low in the Herero- and Owambo-groups.

5. A further example of the high drop-out rate may be given. In 1983 43.663 pupils attended Sub A in schools under the Administration for Owambos. In 1984 there were 27.672 pupils in Sub B, i.e. 61,09% of those in Sub A the year before. In 1985 in Std 1 the number had dropped to 24.165 (55,34%), in 1986 in Std 2 the figure is 23.479 (53,77%), in 1987 there were 19.274 pupils in Std 3 (44,14%) and finally in 1988 18.321 pupils were in Std 4 (41,36%). After 4 years less than 50% of those who begin school under the Administration for Owambos still remain there (*Report*, 02-02; 02-04). It should be noted that the figures above probably do not reflect the total drop-out rate since they at each level include a group of repeaters the size of which is unknown.⁴

6. Thanks to Mr Jan Du Plessis and the Department of National Education some data concerning repeaters and pass-fail rates at different grade levels as well as comparisons of figures referring to number of students at the beginning of the school year as compared to number of students at the end of the year were presented to us during the conference. These data in our view further illuminate the situation already described.

The data presented in Table 2 above may thus be supplemented by data concerning the number of repeaters at each of the grade levels. It should be noted that there are slight differences in the total number of pupils at each grade level between Tables 2 and 3 which, however, may be considered as insignificant. The pass/fail rates also presented in Table 3 refer to internal and external examinations. It should thus be noted that Std

4. This rough estimate implies that the estimated drop-out rate already in Std 3 has reached a level well above 50%. It should be noted, that Std 4 officially "is regarded as the minimum literacy level" (*Education Committee*, 1985, p 7), a level that is reached by a maximum of appr 40% of those who begin Sub A.

4 examinations are semi-external and that Std 8 examinations are external.

Table 3: Number of repeaters at different school levels March 1988
and pass and fail rates 1987 at the same school levels.

Source: Unpublished data supplied by Mr J Du Plessis, National Department of Education.

Level	Sub A	Sub B	Std 1	Std 4	Std 6	Std 8	Std 10
No of pupils	67.757	51.956	45.674	36.485	21.220	12.048	3.020
1st time	44.147	38.784	35.333	25.008	17.606	8.708	2.820
2nd time	19.171	11.305	9.049	10.387	3.270	3.192	200
3rd time or more	4.439	1.867	1.209	1.090	344	148	---
% repeaters	34,8%	25,4%	22,5%	31,5%	17,0%	27,7%	6,6%
End 1987 pass	39.986	34.188	32.055	15.211	12.142	4.481	1.509
End 1987 fail	23.200	13.157	10.874	12.716	4.697	6.039	1.123
% end 1987 pass	63,3%	72,2%	74,7%	54,5%	72,1%	42,6%	57,3%

The data in Table 3 refer to all administrations, but it may well be assumed that the repeaters to a large degree are to be found among pupils in other Administrations than those for Whites, Coloureds and Rehoboth. The pass/fail rates most certainly also differ between administrations following the same pattern which we have mentioned.

7. It should be pointed out that the figures in e.g Tables 1 and 2 refer to pupils present at the beginning of the school year. The number of school-leavers calculated as a comparison between March and December figures provide an estimate of the number of drop-outs during a given school year. Data from 1984, 1985, 1986 and 1987 show that on the average some 6-8% of the pupils leave school during the school year. In Table 4 below figures are given for 1986 and 1987.

Table 4. Percentage of school leavers 1986 and 1987 at each grade level.

Percentages are based on differences between March and December data.

Source: Unpublished data supplied by Mr J Du Plessis, National Department of Education.

	1986	1987
Sub A	8,5%	9,6%
Sub B	5,4%	6,0%
Std 1	5,3%	5,0%
Std 2	6,3%	7,1%
Std 3	5,2%	6,5%
Std 4	4,6%	6,1%
Std 5	5,7%	10,0%
Std 6	7,3%	3,1%
Std 7	5,7%	6,0%
Std 8	6,0%	12,1%
Std 9	5,4%	10,0%
Std 10	4,0%	16,2%

Again it should be pointed out that it is to be assumed that differences between Administrations exist also in regard to number of school leavers.

8. It is quite clear that the present system of education is highly non-operational towards the majority of the population. This fact is further illuminated if differences between Administrations and regions in factors such as class-size, age distribution of pupils and differences between sexes in school attendance are taken into account. As an example data from 1988 illustrating the age distribution in Std 4 are given below (Table 5) for some of the Administrations:

Table 5: Age distribution in Std 4 for some of the Administrations in % of total number of students in Std 4 (1988). Source: *Report*, 02-04.⁵

	AGE										
	-10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19-	ΣΣ
Whites	2,2	61,7	30,8	5,0	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	1252
Coloureds	7,5	30,6	19,8	18,9	11,5	7,9	2,5	0,8	0,3	0,1	1572
Rehoboth	6,3	26,9	23,0	16,9	11,6	8,8	3,6	2,4	0,3	0,2	985
Caprivians	4,2	14,1	27,6	18,7	14,6	9,9	6,0	2,8	1,6	0,6	2319
Damaras	1,0	12,9	16,3	19,0	18,9	15,3	9,3	5,1	1,5	0,7	946
Hereros	0,2	5,7	13,5	20,1	21,5	19,6	9,1	5,9	3,0	1,5	2129
Owambos	0,9	3,0	6,9	11,1	14,3	15,9	15,3	12,2	10,2	10,6	18321
Σ all Adm.	1,6	9,3	12,7	14,4	15,5	14,5	11,8	8,4	5,9	5,8	36485

From the data in Table 5 it is evident that there is a considerable age difference within the school class, and most markedly among the Owambos. The large age differences within the school classes can be considered as a pedagogical problem for the teachers and for the pupils. It is furthermore quite clear that Std 4 is reached at a later age in all other Administrations when compared with the white population, which again emphasizes the differences within the school system between various Administrations.⁶

9. Existing data point to the fact that there are large differences between the formal qualifications of teachers between different Administrations as well as in pupil/teacher ratio. An illustration of this is given in Table 6 below.

5. The percentages were calculated from data given in table 10 in *Report*, 02-04. This table contains an error which we have been unable to correct and which accounts for the fact that the sum of percentages for Owambos in Table 3 is 100,4%.

6. "Senior primary education in ordinary schools and under normal conditions, shall ... be contemplated to provide for the educational needs of pre-adolescent pupils who, if they enter school at the beginning of the year in which they turn 7, and progress normally, become - ... (iii) 12 years of age in Standard 4." (*Gazette of the Examination Board*, vol 3, no 19, 1986, p 3.) It follows that the only "normal conditions" that exist pertains to the Administration for Whites. Since the curriculum is said to be adapted "to the educational needs of pre-adolescent pupils" it follows that it is not adapted to the needs of the overwhelming majority of those pupils attending Std 4 under e.g. the Administration for Owambos.

Table 6: Number of teachers with different formal qualifications⁷, total number of teachers and pupils (all classes) and teacher/pupil ratios for some Administrations (1988). Source: *Report*, 02-04.

Qualification level:	ZA		ZB-ZD		ZZ-G		Teachers	Pupils	T/P
Whites	0	0,0%	14	1,2%	1198	98,8%	1212	17224	1:14,2
Coloureds	1	0,2%	196	29,8%	461	70,1%	658	19946	1:24,2
Rehoboth	13	2,8%	171	36,8%	281	60,4%	465	10000	1:21,5
Caprivians	0	0,0%	565	69,7%	246	30,3%	811	20935	1:25,8
Damaras	26	6,1%	272	63,9%	128	30,0%	426	9921	1:23,3
Hereros	73	11,9%	446	72,8%	94	15,3%	613	16595	1:27,1
Owambos	355	7,2%	3631	73,8%	934	19,0%	4920	193219	1:39,3
Σ all Adm.	864	6,9%	7151	57,1%	4510	36,0%	12525	374269	1:29,9

We want to emphasize that the differences between Administrations evident from the data in Table 6 reflect an overall picture. It is quite clear that formal qualifications of teachers are much lower in all other Administrations when compared to the Administrations for Whites, Coloureds and Rehoboth. These three Administrations have 12,6% of all pupils but 43% of the highest qualified teachers. The teacher/pupil ratio varies between Administrations and there the differences are most pronounced between the Administration for Whites and all other Administrations. From our observations it is quite clear that there are large differences between levels and schools within the Administrations. We have seen classes in e.g. Owambo and Caprivi with more than 45 pupils but also observed classes in the very same regions with 15-25 pupils. In judging the data in Table 6 it should be noted that the higher qualification level in the three Administrations mentioned partly also reflect the fact that a proportionately higher amount of pupils is to be found at the junior and senior secondary levels in the schools for Whites, Coloureds and Rehoboth (cf. Table 2).

10. It should be mentioned that school buildings in most of the instances were in good condition. Our over-all impression is that the gross inequalities that exist within the Namibian school system are not primarily dependent of material standards of the schools, although it is quite evident that supply of teaching materials, laboratory facilities and equipment (especially at the secondary level) in e.g. Owambo and Caprivi is far behind that of the schools under e.g. the Administrations for Coloureds and Whites. The differences in per capita expenditure for schooling as well as the costs involved for the parents must, however, be taken into account in an assessment of the inequalities of the present system.

7. An explanation of the classification of teacher qualifications used is given in Appendix 2.

III. General aspects of curriculum and teaching

1. In the Report of the *Education Committee* (1985, p 6) it is stated:

"The present education system emphasises theoretical-academic education. ... For various reasons pupil's scholastic achievement is not up to standard. With the exception of the white population group, the number of Std. 10 pupils who pass every year is very small, compared with the number of pupils who enrol for the Std. 10 examination. In addition, the flow of pupils from the junior primary phase, and out of primary school and into the higher standards, is generally not what one would wish."

The Committee lists various restrictive factors both in the internal environment and in the external milieu as well as some positive factors. On the negative side the Committee notes that the *"present educational structure is inadequate"* and sees pupil drop-out partly *"as a result of irrelevant syllabuses and over-emphasis on academically orientated education"*. It furthermore notes that an *"examination directed attitude dominates educational objectives and the task of the teacher"*, that *"the majority of pupils receive tuition in a foreign language"*. The Committee clearly recognizes the *"inadequacy of the present educational policies"* and furthermore identifies *"the lack of a central education planning body"* and *"the exaggerated and unrealistic emphasis on education and the acquisition of qualifications"* as some of the external threats to the present school system in Namibia.⁸

2. Our own conclusion from visits to schools and from discussions with administrators and teachers is that the present school system is subject to an extremely detailed control system from above which in our view is detrimental. The examination system⁹ is detailed at all levels and - together with a rigid prescribed time-divided syllabus¹⁰ and textbooks - it directs and constrains teachers as well as pupils at all grade-levels and in all subjects. In the Damara, Owambo and Caprivi schools that we visited the effects of this external control surpassed all our previous experiences. Surprisingly few administrators, principals or teachers really question the need as such of a detailed examination system at all levels, although many regard the content of schooling (the curriculum) as largely irrelevant.

8. We have only mentioned a few of the factors listed by the Committee and furthermore not commented upon the positive aspects and the strong points of the Namibian school system also mentioned by the Committee. By the examples given we have only wanted to emphasize the fact that a nationally appointed Committee at least clearly identified some of the serious shortcomings of the school system. It should, however, be remarked that no determined actions have yet been taken in order to rectify the situation.

9. As an example an overview of the Examination Service of the Department of National Education is given in Appendix 3.

10. Many of the 30-minute lessons that we observed in reality lasted 20-25 minutes which is not surprising, taking into account e.g. the time necessary for the pupils to get seated, bring out appropriate textbooks etc. Even a 30-minute lesson is short, indeed, in order to use teaching methods other than those characterized by short questions, drill and rote learning. Cf. the observation records in Appendix 4.

3. Some examination results from the last years may be given as examples of the detrimental effects on schooling by the examination and promotion system in operation. They are taken from the reports of the Circuit inspectors in Owambo:

In 1986 in Circuit 10, 53% of the pupils failed in Sub A, 27-34% failed in Sub B - Std 4, 67% failed in Std 5 and 36% in Std 6. In 1987 in Circuit 2, 42,3% failed in Sub A, 31-42% failed in Sub B - Std 3, 82% failed in Std 4, 91% failed in Std 8 (or 767 pupils out of 847). In 1988 in Circuit 7, 42% failed in Sub A, 27-46% in Sub B - Std 7 and in Std 8 76% failed (or 296 out of 390 pupils). In Circuit 6 in 1988, 47% failed in Sub A and out of 5.843 students enrolled at the Junior Primary level 2.332 or 40% failed. At the Senior Primary level 1.658 out of 4.161 or 40% failed and of the 1.179 pupils enrolled at the Junior Secondary level 27,4% failed. In Std 10, finally, only 190 pupils were enrolled and 178 or 94% of them failed. Among the reasons for the high failure rates the inspectors mention: outdated syllabuses, textbooks used, low qualifications of teachers, boycotts and strikes etc.

The present promotion and examination system (cf. Appendix 3), strongly prevents teachers from adjusting the curriculum to what they perceive as the needs of the children and instead force them to adhere to teaching methods, texts and questions which teachers themselves feel to be detrimental to true educational growth. In Appendix 4 we present examples from our observations of lessons and class-room interaction which substantiate these conclusions.

4. It is also obvious to us that under the present system large groups of teachers and pupils function well below their capacity since teaching methods, examination system, text-books used, the content of the syllabus etc., etc. directly and indirectly are in disharmony with previous knowledge, experiences outside the school and living and work conditions in general for the large majority of the citizens of Namibia.

5. The high level of repeaters and of drop-outs in all schools except in those for Whites, Coloureds and Rehoboth is, according to our opinion, mainly a function of the school system itself and does not primarily reflect the learning capacity among the pupils and neither may failure be regarded as a reflection of a "cultural backwardness" among the majority of blacks. However, the myths of equal opportunity, a "non-racial curriculum", "cultural fairness", etc., etc. are in Namibia upheld by a school-system that through its examination procedures puts most of the blame for failure on the individual pupil and some of the blame on the formally unqualified teachers. In reality neither the overwhelming majority of children nor the overwhelming majority of parents and teachers have a real possibility to beat the "neutral" and "objective" curriculum and examination system in existence. We thus do not regard present drop-out rates, poor examination results etc. as defects or flaws of the system of schooling. Instead, they are true expressions of the system itself that cannot be remedied through changes or reforms confined within the limits set by the existing curriculum, examination and promotion system.

6. We strongly want to emphasize that the demands of the present school system on parents, pupils and teachers do not take into account the actual living conditions of the majority of the black children. Our interviews with teachers and pupils e.g. revealed that both girls and boys have duties towards the family to be performed before and after school and the possibility to study outside school (e.g. at home) and/or to get help and stimulation from the parents is in reality limited or non-existent. Remedial teaching is non-existent for black children. In e.g. some of the schools under the Administration for Coloureds such help was available and - as is evident from the classroom observations in Appendix 4 - attempts at individualized teaching practices were not uncommon in the classes that we observed.

7. The members of our mission Mr Richard Chamberlain and Mr Richard Trewby have prepared a paper specifically dealing with the issue of language in the schools. We will for that reason only make some comments concerning this problem. It is quite obvious that the question of medium of instruction is an important one and is widely discussed among administrators and teachers and was taken up with us by almost all persons that we spoke to. The large number of indigenous languages was often regarded solely as a problem and not as an existing resource today and tomorrow.

The transition from mother-tongue instruction to the use of Afrikaans or English undoubtedly presents a problem. It is, however, illuminating that on several occasions it was pointed out to us, that it is the black population that is linguistically deficient, although the multilingual proficiency is higher among the black population than within the white population that only masters English and Afrikaans and perhaps also German but only rarely speak e.g. Ndonga, Kwanyama or Lozi etc.

In discussions the opinion was often expressed that a transition to English as a medium of instruction would encounter almost insurmountable problems. On the other hand it was clearly recognized by most that English will play a much more important role in independent Namibia than today. We have seen examples of the use of English textbooks where the teacher in the communication with the pupils switched between e.g. Kwanyama and English so as to ensure that the pupils understood the instruction. On the other hand we have seen teachers who rigidly adhered to either Afrikaans or English without taking into account that many pupils obviously did not understand what was being taught. It is obvious that the indigenous languages have to be strengthened within the infrastructure (in the social environment as such), that a wider variety of printed material has to be published in those languages and that mother-tongue should be studied as a subject throughout even if English gradually is introduced as the medium of instruction after e.g. 3-4 years of schooling. It should, however, be pointed out that the imposition of Afrikaans or English as the medium of instruction according to a number of studies will have (as it has today) an unfavourable effect on achievement primarily for all the children that use another language than Afrikaans or English at home.

If for political reasons English will be introduced as an official national language, experiences from other countries as well as our own observations both in Namibia and

other countries, tell us that from a pedagogical (or from an educational) point of view it is still primarily necessary to be able to master the world in your own language. Language is used not only to communicate but also as a means to develop an understanding not only of own conditions of life and work but also to relate those conditions to the contexts of which they are but a part. You do not learn your own language at school but it should be used and developed there. This also means that an imposed national language is not necessarily and primarily acquired via the school even if it is studied and used in the schools.

Language has at least three functions:

- (a) it is a tool for symbolic mastery of the natural and social environment,
- (b) it is a tool of communication between human beings, and
- (c) it is a tool for the exercise of power; the definition of the situation is already an established order.

In discussions of language as a medium of instruction there is always a tendency to "forget" the first and the third function.

Introducing Afrikaans (as today) or English (as proposed for the future) as a medium of instruction after the first few years of schooling (when mother-tongue is used) implies a break in the mastery of the environment, in the communicative capacity, and in the participation in the exercise of power perpetuated in the natural social environment. The world mastered via English is the school-world and the world of administration and not the real everyday-life-world, at least for the time being and in a foreseeable future.

The problem is not in the first place that the teachers lack fluency in English, or that the number of textbooks is insufficient. The problem is that even if teachers were fluent and textbooks were available this would at best amount to a situation perpetuating an abstract school-world language as the criterion of excellence in education and social life.

It has to be emphasized, that at least from a pedagogical point of view, English should be introduced as a medium of instruction only gradually and that it should be introduced on the basis of a strong enhancement of the mastery of mother tongue - in oral and written form - also after the first few school years and as an overall instrument of culture. English should accordingly be introduced as the second language and with a second language methodology in order to become the language of higher learning, central administration, and a national communication medium.

The problem that we address here is complicated by the fact that Afrikaans is the mother-tongue for the majority of the white minority and for some non-white minorities, apart from the fact that it is an imposed language of work on an inter-ethnic basis even for large sectors of the black population. Afrikaans has also been the medium of instruction after the first three years, and (together with English) the official language of the administration. In comparison English is functioning as the language of work within many of the larger companies, in trade, among the non-white intelligentsia, and as an alternative medium of inter-group and international communication.

In the long run Afrikaans may survive as the mother-tongue of white and coloured minorities, as a medium of instruction for young children, and as a subject for older children of these groups. English as a medium of instruction will probably tend to become general, at any rate for all non-whites. English will also replace Afrikaans as the instrument of legitimate definition of reality and for legitimate participation in the exercise of power.

In conclusion: From a pedagogical point of view at least the following four important points should receive consideration:

- (A) The multilingual capacity of young and adult Namibians, primarily non-whites, is not a handicap but a resource. There is no research evidence pointing to the fact that this situation cannot be handled in a positive way.
- (B) To attempt to transform Namibia into a uni-lingual English-speaking country is to be regarded not as a dream but as a nightmare, since it would include the destruction of valuable civilizations worthwhile to protect at least as much as the natural environment.
- (C) If education means to develop an autonomous capacity to master living conditions, then the system of education should rest upon parallel development of mother tongue and second language mastery. This conclusion is in accordance with all available research evidence.
- (D) There is a great danger that transition to English as a medium of instruction will reinforce the terrible bias of almost all African educational systems - including the Namibian system - i.e. the obsession of mastering a "correct" (foreign) language becomes the most important objective of the system, instead of being a tool for the mastery of the world, where a correct language means a language that functions.

8. It was repeatedly pointed out to us that there is a shortage of subject teachers in especially mathematics and science and that this poses a serious problem. A study of the subject results pertaining to 1988 (Std 2 - Std 10) for schools under the Department of National Education¹¹ (*Departement van Nasionale Opvoeding*, 1989) indicate that mathematics is probably the subject with the lowest subject results at all levels. It should, however, be pointed out that the teaching of mathematics causes problems even in countries like Sweden and Denmark.

It should, however, be noted that differences between schools are large and that very low subject results have also been registered in other subjects. Regarding mathematics we refer to the in depth study by Mr John Cunningham and Mrs Susan Hoey who within the mission paid special attention to science and mathematics.

11. We have not had the opportunity of examining subject results from other Administrations.

IV. Teacher training today

1. As indicated in Appendix 1 we have visited all major teacher training institutions in Namibia except TTC at Rundu which, however, has been visited by Mr Richard Chamberlain and Mr Richard Trewby. The Training College for Whites at Windhoek was only visited informally by us. The following observations and conclusions are based upon our visits and our discussions with staff members and students supplemented by observations primarily at Khomasdal and Ongwediva, and on the available literature.

2. In a general survey of teacher training in Namibia presented to us by the Department of National Education (Schlenker, 1989) it is stated in conclusion, that:

- "- It is clear that there is a need for more in-service training for teachers.
- There is no great shortage for teachers in general; but a shortage of teachers in: * Pre-primary teaching; * Language teaching (mostly for African languages); * School counselling; * Economic Science teaching; * Technical teaching; * Agricultural teaching; * Mathematics; * Physical Science; * Remedial education.
- A need for training in the management of education." (Ibid. pp 7-8)

We will return to some aspects of this general statement.

3. In a recent paper, the principal of Ongwediva Training College, tried to identify some of the factors limiting the role of the college in educational development. He noted that since 1969 the college has had no less than 18 principals - i.e. an average of one per year - and that until lately there had been "minimum efforts on the part of those concerned to improve" the qualifications of inadequately trained staff members. Furthermore it is stated that the courses offered do not respond to the needs of the community:

"Exaggerated emphasis on the theoretical and academic education characterises the system. Matriculation subjects offered are non-productive and are of little use to the holder and to the community he intends to serve. Even the skills offered lack the required equipment and properly trained personnel, not to mention the bureaucratic red tape one goes through to get approval for the early and adequate purchase of prescribed materials." (Mbodo, 1989, p 2)

The criticism of the exaggerated emphasis on academic education and of the matriculation subjects was shared by a large number of teachers with whom we discussed this matter. In general many teachers thought that teacher training was largely out of tune with the realities of teaching.

Mr Mbodo further notes that the main shortcoming of the college lies in the fact that it is a one-course college and that the ECP-course offered "is very limited in scope". It is also noted that there is a lack of textbooks etc.:

"Aside from the regular Study Guides the Academy supplies to Ongwediva and the sets of Encyclopedia in the library including the basic textbooks used in class, the teachers and students have no other references and reading materials at their disposal. And since the educational system is examination centred, the subject teacher is obliged to do the research work for the students. This obviously gives rise to the practice of spoon-feeding. Its effects on the students could hardly be exaggerated. It destroys initiative, condones laziness and develops the sense of dependency." (Ibid., p 4)

Among the recommendations given for the future are included to make the training college independent of the Academy, a re-evaluation and redefinition of the study and the syllabuses, upgrading of the teaching of English and an emphasis on tertiary education to meet the *"rising demand for qualified secondary school teachers"*.

4. As was already noted (cf. Section II.9 pp 6-7) large differences exist between administrations in regard to formal teacher qualifications. It was repeatedly pointed out to us that one of the major problems was that teachers were formally non-qualified. In a report from the Department of National Education it is e.g. stated:

"A survey done in 1983 showed that of the 1 064 teachers who were then in the employ of the Department, about 350 teachers did not have a std 8 qualification. The subject-knowledge of these low-qualified teachers is inadequate to serve as a basis for further in service training for subject advisers to build on. In their daily teaching task the limited knowledge of the teachers leads to excessive reliance on textbooks, mechanical memorizing and learning without insight." (Non-formal Education, 1989, p 11)

According to recent statistics (Report 02-04, 1989, p 38) between 7% - 37% of all teachers have not passed Std 8.¹² It was often advocated that Std 10 is a minimum requirement for all teachers and this policy is adopted in e.g. present primary school teacher training, as already noted. Today appr. 57% of all employed teachers have not achieved Std 10 qualification and in the aforementioned report on non-formal education it is stated that it

"... must be the first priority of the future Education department to offer underqualified teachers the necessary opportunities to improve their qualifications." (Non-formal Education, 1989, p 20)

We will return to this conclusion and its implications in section V.

5. In discussions with staff members at The Academy and at other institutions of teacher training it was frequently noted that the curriculum was too academic and that the possibilities for practical teacher training were very limited. In many instances only 2 weeks practical training is included. At Khomasdal TTC the 4 weeks offered are re-

¹² The lower figure refers to teachers in category ZA and the higher figure also includes all teachers with qualification ZB, although an unknown number of teachers with qualification ZB have reached Std 8 (cf. Appendix 2, and Table 6, p 7).

- garded as a minimum. In general - as will be developed later on in this paper - we regard the present system of training of teachers as too academic and as too far away from the actual vocation of teaching.

6. In discussions with students it was noted that many had chosen teacher education mainly because this was the only career opportunity open and because of available bursaries. The entrance requirement of Std 8 further limits the recruitment of primary school teachers, although this entrance requirement is regarded as too low by most of the staff members at the training institutions. The output of qualified teachers is severely restricted by the fact that the students parallel to the two year primary teacher training course must complete 5 subjects up to matric. We note from our visits to Ongwediva, Katima Mulilo, the Academy, and Khomasdal as well as from data supplied to us on the situation at Rundu, that pass rates are low and that teacher training accordingly in many ways is inefficient and costly.

7. Exact figures of enrolment as well as pass rates for various courses etc. have been hard to come by and are somewhat uncertain and we therefore refrain from an attempt to analyse the existing data in detail. Some information concerning the different colleges are given in the following passages.

8. At TTC in Khomasdal (**Administration for Coloureds**) 175 students were enrolled in 1988 and the teacher staff that year consisted of 17 persons, a figure that has risen to 19 this year. Overall examination results (pass rates) in 1988 were as follows (*Jaarverslag*, 1988, pp 30-32; cf. *Administration for Coloureds*, 1989):

Course	Total pass rate in %
Teaching Diploma I	51,9 %
Teaching Diploma II	79,6 %
Teaching Diploma III	68,7 %
Teaching Diploma IV	80,0 %

or an overall grand total pass rate of 65,3 % which at least in comparison seems fairly high. The total budget (salaries, equipment, bursaries etc.) for the college (1989/90) is R 1 990 500. The college has a capacity to accommodate 220 students. At present 161 are enrolled in either the Diploma in Education (D.E.) three year course or the Higher Diploma in Education (HDE) four year course (entrance requirement Std 10):

D.E. First year	47 students
D.E. Second year	50 students
D.E. Third year	51 students
H.D.E. Fourth year	13 students

9. According to the data given to us in discussions at TTC in Katima Mulilo (**Administration for Caprivians**) there are at present 120 first year students and 44 second year

students. As entrance qualification Std 10 is recommended (appr 40% have Std 10), but Std 8 is accepted and students then have to complete matriculation parallel to the senior primary teaching course. The principal Mr Musaka complains about low pass rates and that the staff of the training college is reduced at present because some have left for RSA.

10. From data supplied to us at **TTC in Ongwediva (Administration for Owambos)** - and partly by Mr Richard Chamberlain and Mr Richard Trewby and by the director D Nandi - there are at present 745 students enrolled. 628 are first year students (ECP 1) and 117 second year students (ECP 2). In 1988 147 out of 303 2nd year students passed. Practically all JP-first year students failed in 1988. According to Mr Nandi pass rates are considered to be extremely low. Since he considers an average class-size of 25 to be suitable (taking into consideration also the size of classrooms etc.) there is a shortage at present of 2.500 teachers in the region, which is a figure higher than the total output from Ongwediva in 10 years.

11. At **TTC in Rundu (Administration for Kavangos)**, there are according to information supplied through Mr Richard Chamberlain and Mr Richard Trewby at present 95 first year students and 27 second year students. Of the intake this year (a total of 155) 60 had already left. One of the reasons given was that "*salary increase for teachers made temporary post more attractive*". Male students are in a majority. Out of 35 second year students 12 passed the professional program and the matriculation requirements 1988.

12. **The Faculty of Education, The Academy at Windhoek**, supplied us with the following data concerning enrolment:

Table 7: Statistics, Faculty of Education, The Academy at Windhoek.
Source: Data submitted by the acting dean Mr G H Lübbert.

	First years registered		No of students registered in the faculty 1989	No of students qualified			Number of students in various years of study			
	1988	1989		1986	1987	1988	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
1. H.E.D. (Sec)	101	76	233	13	11	31	77	43	38	75
2. B. Ed.	47	56	51	--	14	13	51			
3. B. Prim. Ed.	6	1	10	2	1	--	1	2	3	4
4. H.E.D. Prim.	12	12	7	--	1	4	7	0	0	0
5. E.D. Prim.	25	41	79	6	12	11	43	13	23	
6. H.E.D. Post Gr.	41	51	52	2	14	25	52			
7. H.E.D. Tech.	16	8	8	--	--	2	8			
8. E.D. Prim (Academy)	4	2	2	--	--	1	2			
9. S.E.C. (Academy)	10	7	14	--	--	1	8	6		
10. H.E.D. Post-Diploma	--	--	6	--	--	--	6			
Sum total	262	254	462	23	53	88	255	64	64	79

The output of qualified students is not high even if the number is increasing. We have

no detailed data available on pass/fail rates.

13. The data above may be supplemented by those of the Department of Distance Training. The department offers three teacher training courses with 1.289 students enrolled 1989. They are distributed as follows according to statistics submitted to us by the head of the department Mr D Vermeulen:

E.C.P, 1st year	209
E.C.P, 2nd year	247
E.C.P, 3rd year	505
Total E.C.P	961
H.P.E.C, 1st year	172
H.P.E.C., 2nd year	103
H.P.E.C., 3rd year	38
Total H.P.E.C	313
E.D. Prim., 1st year	15

The E.C.P. and the H.P.E.C. courses attract appr. 60% female students and 40% male students, while 6 of the E.D. Prim. students are female and 9 male. Courses are offered in Afrikaans and English and supplemented by optional and/or compulsory vacation courses arranged mainly in Windhoek.

14. We have no data concerning the Training College at Windhoek (Administration for Whites), for reasons mentioned earlier. When informally talking with students at the campus we were, however, told that there are about 120 students at present (perhaps some 30 of them from RSA). The number of students that the College can accommodate is said to be between 800-1.000. At any rate there are a lot of evidently unused facilities at present.

15. The statistics presented above concerning enrolled teacher students is rather impressive. There are appr. 1.500 first year teacher students enrolled 1989 not separating different courses and not including students at the Training College in Windhoek (cf. passage 14 above). The overwhelming majority are registered for courses leading up to qualifications as primary teachers. The actual output of qualified teachers is hard to assess from the data made available to us. We were, however, repeatedly told that pass rates are low. The requirement of parallel matriculation studies for students entering with a Std 8 qualification will obviously lower the output. It should also be noted that an unknown number of those enrolled already work as teachers, the training colleges accordingly being used to formally qualify or upgrade teachers. We return to the statistics mentioned here in Section V.

16. It should also be mentioned that in-service training possibilities are rather scarce and in most instances are subject-oriented. Some up-grading programs exist (cf. e.g.

Non-formal education, 1989 pp 9-21). We will return to the issue of in-service training and up-grading in sections V, VI and VII.

17. We have examined the Study Guides published by the College for Out of School Training as well as those published by the Department of Distance Teaching and by the Academy as such for use in teacher training. In Rundu, Katima Mulilo and Ongwediva these study guides are the back-bone of the curriculum while at the Academy they seem to be supplemented to some degree by other books as well as by lectures and seminars that are not just repeating the texts of the study guides.

Generally speaking we regard these texts as unusable in the future and even today.

The texts which specifically deal with pedagogy (educational psychology, philosophy of education, school organization and administration, etc.) do not take into account research findings of the last 10-30 years. The texts are extremely normative in character, they often contain a strange combination of Christian morality, metaphysics and research, and in general provide very few examples of different views. They are accordingly not appropriate for serious reflection and development of an understanding. We found no texts used that presented modern educational sociology or reflected upon the functions of schooling in society nor any texts or passages that introduced a critique of the existing school system in Namibia or discussed alternative strategies. The texts used treat the reader as a child and not as an adult. The study guides in subject didactics are of the same general character. The texts are thus reflecting the rote learning and the lack of opportunity to discuss and to develop understanding that we so often encountered in our classroom observations and that also characterized the lessons that we observed at e.g. Ongwediva.

18. The facilities of the Academy (buildings, equipment etc.) are very modern and are in some respects of a higher standard than those in e.g. Sweden and Denmark. The buildings (classrooms etc.) are of high standard also in Ongwediva, Rundu, Katima Mulilo and Khomasdal even if apparently well founded complaints concerning laboratory equipment, library facilities etc. are frequently mentioned by staff members at e.g. Katima Mulilo and Ongwediva.

19. In our discussions with staff members at the Academy we were struck by the lack of research orientation. Even if working conditions did prevent staff members from carrying out research it is quite clear to us that there exists no true research orientation at e.g. the Faculty of Education. We were also struck by the distance between what was taught, the equipment used etc. on the one hand, and the realities of schooling as we had observed it on the other hand. No serious attempts were made to adjust the contents of teacher training to the educational reality described in sections II and III and in Appendix 4. The same was true about the teacher training at Ongwediva and Katima Mulilo. Most of the students that we talked to were aware of this fact and were very critical towards the curriculum of teacher training as more examination (certificate,

diploma) related than oriented towards the practice of teaching.

20. Staff members at the Academy and at other teacher training institutions have received their own training chiefly in RSA. In e.g. Katima Mulilo and Ongwediva some of the staff members married to military personnel from RSA had already left and others prepared to leave. Many staff members at the Academy, in Ongwediva, Katima Mulilo and Khomasdal considered the lack of opportunities to discuss and to work together with staff members trained in e.g. European countries as a serious handicap. The feeling of intellectual isolation is obviously strong and was also repeatedly mentioned by administrators, subject advisers, and teachers.

V. Teacher training tomorrow: general remarks

1. Is there a need for massive increase of number of teachers? If a teacher/pupil ratio of 1/30 is desired we can make the following rough calculations:

At present (1988) 286.386 pupils are enrolled at the primary level. There are 9.446 teachers with qualifications between ZA - A (Std 10 + 1 year teacher training). Used as an overall statistic this means an average teacher/pupil ratio of 1/30,4.

At the junior secondary level there are 60.764 pupils and 1.536 teachers with qualifications from B (Std 10 + 2 years of teacher training) to C (Std 10 + 3 years of training). To obtain a teacher/pupil ratio of 1/30 appr. 500 more teachers would be needed. It should, of course, be noted that teachers with Std 10 + 2/3 years of teacher training are formally in most cases trained for primary education and more rarely for junior secondary teaching.

At the senior secondary level there are at present appr. 20.000 students. There are 1.543 teachers with qualification D (Std 10 + 4 years of teacher training) or higher. To have a teacher/pupil ratio of appr. 1/30 appr. 670 teachers are needed, i.e. there is a "surplus" of appr. 875 teachers.

But, in order to obtain some rough measure of supply and demand we may use the above calculations for a moment. To cover the present demand (using the criterion of teacher/pupil ratio) it can be said that there is a shortage of junior secondary school teachers of appr. 500 but at the same time there is a surplus of appr. 900 senior secondary teachers.

The possible conclusion is that the main problem today is not that there is a general shortage of teachers.¹³ The problem is the uneven distribution of teachers among administrations and among levels of schooling. On the one hand the difference in

13. Note that this conclusion is in general agreement with that put forward by *Schlenker* (1989) and quoted above (cf. Section IV.2, p 13).

number of teachers and teacher qualifications between the Administration for Whites and all other administrations, and on the other hand between the Administration for Owambos and the other "non-white"-administrations. It may well be argued that this conclusion is invalid. The following counter-arguments speaking in favour of a need for a sharp increase in the number of teachers may e.g. be mentioned:

- The distribution of teachers over regions, levels of education, and between administrations cannot be drastically altered during a transition period of several years.
- The population will increase, which has not been taken into account in reaching the conclusion above. Some experts have suggested a quotient of 3%,
- It may be expected that enrolment figures will increase after independence.
- In connection with independence a number of white teachers may leave the country and this figure may be higher than the number of teachers coming back from exile.
- The organization of a new state-apparatus with an important new input of non-whites will create new positions and jobs recruited also among present teachers.

But it is also necessary to consider factors operating in the opposite direction:

- The rate of expansion may be rather slow, since the system already in operation already accommodates quite an important part of the children at school age.
- It should be possible to reduce some of the "waste" produced by the present system by successively abolishing the formal examination system primarily within levels. Successively introduced curricular changes, an emphasis on internal and pedagogically oriented evaluations, a shift in the balance between pupil and teacher/school responsibility for learning in the direction towards an increased teacher/school responsibility, introduction of individualized teaching methods etc. are some avenues towards achieving such a goal. We will return to that issue.
- It should be possible to reduce the failure rate in teacher training and thus increase the number of new teachers per year. E.g. the requirement of Std 10 for primary school teachers could and should be questioned.
- Even under present conditions the number of teachers has increased, and in 1987 and 1988¹⁴ more rapidly than the number of enrolled pupils, reducing the overall

¹⁴ Data have been calculated from *Report*, 02-02 and *Report*, 02-04. A similar development can also be registered in the Owambo-region although at another level of teacher/pupil ratio. In 1985 the overall teacher/pupil ratio was 1/43,4, in 1986 it was 1/41,5, and in 1988 it was 1/39,3. In the same period the number of ZA-qualified teachers dropped from 1.169 (1983) to 1.038 (1985) and finally to 355 (1988). It should be noted that the official statistics lists a total vacancy in 1988 of appr. 160 teachers (difference between number of approved posts and number of posts filled). It could furthermore be mentioned that a manpower survey in 1988 estimated an 1.557 increase in number of teachers in 1991 and 2.409 in 1993. It is impossible to deduce from the data presented on what premises the expectations are based (cf. *Manpower survey*, 1988).

teacher/pupil ratio from 1/32,4 in 1986 to 1/30,5 in 1987 and to 1/29,9 in 1988. This development is accompanied by a steady decrease from 1983 - 1988 of the total number of the lowest qualified teachers (qualification ZA). In 1983 there were 2.137 teachers employed with qualification ZA. This figure had dropped to 864 in 1988.

It is at least quite clear that the problem concerning supply and demand of teachers is not a general issue of a pressing nature if a major aim for the future is to provide basic education. We have, however, already noted that the Owambo region must be considered as the most problematic region. Today school "functions" there mainly because such a large number of children leave (and are forced to leave) school after very few years (cf. e.g. data presented on pp 4-6 and on p 9). On the other hand we have also noted that the issue of teacher supply to a large degree is dependent on where teachers actually work. If a certain redistribution of the existing teacher force is possible, it is quite obvious that it is the Owambo region that has the greatest need of teachers. In any case if concentrated efforts have to be made concerning the supply of teachers, the Owambo region should be given the highest priority.

2. From the data available to us and in accordance with the arguments presented above, we tentatively conclude that for the immediate future there is no general need to greatly expand the teacher force. This in its turn leads to the following conclusions:

- The necessary reorganization and reconstruction of pre-service training can be accomplished without having to rely on crash programmes and/or immediate large scale improvisations. Except for specific needs the necessary increase of teachers may be limited.
- The real and urgent issue is instead how to arrange necessary in-service training of the existing teachers.

3. Concerning in-service training we want to make the following introductory remarks.

It is necessary to distinguish between:

- (A) The wishes and ambitions of teachers to be able to conclude and/or upgrade their present formal qualifications, i.e. to pass examinations up to the level of matric and to obtain professional diplomas, certificates, etc. This has to do with the personal identity, status etc. of the teacher, but also with salaries and promotion opportunities.
- (B) The needs of the teachers to enhance their professional capacity to cope with the problems of teaching.
- (C) The consequences (implications) of changes within the educational system in an independent Namibia as far as ideology, methodology, language medium, subjects and contents of teaching are concerned.

There are only indirect relations between the three aspects (A-C) of in-service training mentioned. It is quite obvious that e.g. the academic knowledge acquired by studies for matric only have a slight relevance for the academic knowledge necessary for teaching at the primary level.

It is our opinion that in-service training in relation to the first aspect (A) could typically be achieved through correspondence and/or distance training. The second aspect (B) should be met locally by e.g. tutoring sessions with small groups of teachers and/or through an increase of development-oriented activities that are school-based.

The third aspect (C) is the critical one. The programs associated with this kind of in-service training would probably have to be vacation courses, weekend courses, conferences, seminars and practically oriented tutoring sessions. Elements of new programs associated with aspects A and B may eventually be used also in connection with the in-service training related to aspect C.

VI. Towards a model for in-service teacher training

1. At present there are a number of programs in the field of in-service training and mainly in the areas of upgrading and enhancement of professional capabilities (aspects A and B, section V.2). We can list the following activities:

- Individual studies for examinations in academic subjects (mainly Std 8 and Std 10) by correspondence and distance training.
- Individual participation in face-to-face courses (both professional and academic) organized by e.g. CCN, Rössing-foundation, Department of National Education, and various other authorities.
- Individual use of Teacher Centres organized by e.g. CCN and the Department of National Education with the help of tutors and facilities.
- Courses in academic subject matter, subject didactics, pedagogical and organizational courses organized by various administrations for their own teachers also using vacations and weekends and using locally based personnel and/or subject advisers from the Department of National Education and staff members from the Academy.
- Visits by subject advisers and inspectors to individual schools.

All the administrations have tried to establish a cadre of inspectors and subject advisers, but some of them have a number of vacant positions due to a lack of qualified personnel. We do not doubt that inspectors and subject advisers in many instances perform important functions today. But there are according to our observations and opinion at least two problems in connection with inspectors and subject advisers.

- (A) The functions of the inspectors on the one hand and the advisers on the other are at present confused to the disadvantage of both. They should be kept apart.
- (B) The focus of subject advisers seem to be too much on course administration, on academic control of teaching of specific subject matter and on examination. The focus should be on general pedagogical and methodological ability and creativity.

It is our opinion that the rather large staff of inspectors and advisers should be reduced in a new national/regional organization in order to increase the possibilities to appoint local tutors/instructors on a more collegiate basis with a focus on shorter periods of tutoring on the spot. Such tutors/instructors should not be chosen on the basis of formal qualifications, but on their recognized ability as good and creative teachers.

2. A comprehensive model of activities relevant for in-service teacher training and upgrading should include:

- (A) Distance as well as face-to-face courses for individual examinations on a national basis.
- (B) Access to Teacher Centres with tutors and facilities.
- (C) There should be courses organized by the regional authorities and carried out by advisers/instructors which focus on the professional aspects of the work of the teacher.
- (D) The massive and planned effort within e.g. a five year period for the reconstruction of the teaching profession should be concentrated on the selection, intensive further training (and re-training), and operation of a body of teachers within the force, who could subsequently act as instructors/tutors within the schools for periods of no less than appr. one month. They should teach, conduct discussions with individual teachers and groups of teachers, organize developmental activities, and offer other kinds of assistance towards establishing a necessary reconstruction.
- (E) Inspectors should have an evaluative function directed towards school and system evaluation.
- (F) The present role of subject advisers should be changed. We see no role for a specific staff of such advisers linked to regional administrative bodies. The emphasis should instead be on staff development of the kind mentioned under (D) above. Present subject advisers could perhaps be used for pre-service teacher training purposes, for specific needs of subject oriented courses, and as secondary school teachers (cf. point I in passage 3 below). At any rate the future role of subject advisers should be seriously re-considered.

3. Recommendations of the kind outlined in the model of in-service and upgrading activities presented above are based upon our assessment of the needs for the future substantiated by observations, discussions and available documentation. But it is necessary to be explicit about at least two basic questions:

- I. Which are the needs and the shortcomings today according to which criteria?
- II. What achievement should be accomplished in accordance with the same criteria?

Using our observations, discussions and available policy documents etc. in order to select criteria we would say that needs and shortcomings are most obvious in the following areas¹⁵:

- (A) Oral fluency in English when used as a medium of instruction or as a second language. Pedagogical competence in the teaching of English as a second language.
- (B) Pedagogical competence in the teaching of mother-tongue as a subject.
- (C) Pedagogical competence in the teaching of mathematics and science.
- (D) The establishment of a democratic and enlightened outlook on man, history, culture and production as a basis of education.
- (E) A general reorientation of the pedagogical methodology towards methods promoting learning through understanding and practice directed towards autonomous mastering of living conditions.
- (F) A general reorientation of the organization of school work away from selection by examinations based upon an alienating curriculum and syllabus, towards the acquisition of basic knowledge and skills by all pupils within pre-set time limits and continuously pedagogically evaluated.
- (G) Emphasis on individualized teaching methods and general remedial methodology.
- (H) The abolishment of present confessional teaching in favour of the establishment of a non-confessional curriculum where teaching about the role of different religions and other philosophies of life in the history of mankind is introduced.
- (I) Intensive upgrading of subject matter in specific subjects for specific groups of

¹⁵ The areas are not presented according to an attempt to give priority to any one particular area.

teachers.

The timing and concrete implementation of activities in the areas listed and in accordance with the general model will depend on the introduction and pacing of changes of legislation and organization of the whole school system (i.e. the establishment of a national structure, schools to be opened to all children, redistribution of resources, a new curriculum and syllabus, a new examination system etc.). We return to some of these general issues in the final section of this paper (section VIII).

VII. Some recommendations for future pre-service teacher training

1. Using the overview of present teacher training (section IV-V, pp 13-22) and some of the arguments in section VI above, the following recommendations concerning organization etc. of future teacher training may be put forward.

2. The Academy should not be the supervisor of teacher training for all of Namibia as it is today in relation to the accredited campuses or as was proposed in discussions with us by several of the staff members at the Academy (and in some administrations).

3. A newly organized Faculty of Education (Pedagogy) within a tertiary education structure, should be responsible for

(A) Educational (pedagogical) research.

(B) Degree teaching in education (pedagogy).

(C) The pedagogical part of the training of senior secondary subject teachers.

It is obvious that present departmental structure and staffing at the Faculty of Education of the Academy is not in harmony with such tasks. In a transition period serious attempts should be made to reduce the intellectual isolation and dependence on RSA in the staffing of such a Faculty.

4. Reorganization of pre-service teacher training should primarily be directed towards the suggested basic 9 year school, i.e. towards the common (comprehensive) school.

5. Pre-service teacher training should be given in local (regional) teachers colleges in accordance with a nationally valid program and with an open enrolment. The colleges should have a clearcut professional (vocational) character.

6. The preparation and formulation of a new national program for pre-service training will obviously take some time and be introduced gradually (cf. section V.1, pp 19-21). The new program should obviously take into account the experiences made outside Namibia in various teacher training programs developed by SWAPO together with various international organizations.

7. The admission requirements could be completed nine-year comprehensive school if such a school is introduced - or for other teachers 12 years of schooling - depending on the scope and range of the pre-service program. At any rate it should be possible to enter even without formal admission qualifications if an entrance test is passed. Such a test should be oriented towards assessing necessary qualifications for the courses offered and accordingly not be a duplication of e.g. a matriculation examination.

8. The pre-service teacher training program for the common (comprehensive) school could be of three-four years duration and build upon the nine-year comprehensive school. As stated above it should be directed towards the profession (vocation) of teaching which e.g. implies that it includes observation and auscultation periods in schools as well as supervised practice for no less than one year.

9. Our general suggestion is that the three-four year program should train class teachers (i.e. teachers in all subjects) for the common school (i.e. the 9 years of the comprehensive school) but that there should be a specialization concerning mother-tongue within the common program. In the future subject teachers thus should be used only (primarily?) at what today roughly corresponds to the senior secondary level.

10. It could be discussed if some type of specialization should exist within a program of pre-service training for the common comprehensive school. It is our opinion that such specialization, if it is introduced at all, should concern very broad groups of subjects. Teachers within the common (comprehensive) school should not be subject-teachers. The important qualification concerning mother-tongue (cf. passage 9 above) should, however, be observed. In accordance with the views put forward in section III.7 (pp 10-12) it is necessary that teachers in the common school share the mother-tongue of the pupils.

11. Each individual teacher training college should not be a totally autonomous institution but rather a part of a net-work of parallel colleges working under the central administration but with a large academic and professional autonomy.

12. It should be noted that the accommodation capacity of the Teacher College at Windhoek (Administration for Whites) would be sufficient to cater for the needs for a large part of pre-service teacher training in independent Namibia. Our suggestion of

regionally based Teachers Colleges is accordingly not based on a lack of facilities in Windhoek today. At any rate one college is enough for Windhoek and together with the three already existing Colleges (Katima Mulilo, Ongwediva and Rundu) sufficient facilities exist even if the geographical constraints are taken into account.

VIII. Concluding remarks

1. In this paper we have dealt almost exclusively with questions concerning teaching and teacher training although we have repeatedly stressed that issues concerning the schools have to be regarded within the economic, social and political context.

But, it is necessary to remind the reader that the role of the general school system and of the teachers in the re-organization and in the dynamic development of a future and independent Namibia is by no means a self-evident one. As we already noted in Appendix 4 (pp 12-13) the very fact, that the formal school system of today does not at all relate to the present conditions of life for the majority of Namibians in terms of societal functions, contents, methodology and output, seems at least as important as the fact that seems to dominate current discourse on schooling: the tremendous injustice of the distribution of resources between regions and authorities. We are well aware of the fact that reforms of the school system may occur instead of the necessary political, economic and social reforms which in their turn would enable a school system to function towards the enhancement of democracy.

The implicit assumption of a focus on teaching and teacher training could well be that the formal school system of a society has a positive value as such, instead of considering schooling as always being problematic: as the church, the army, the corporations, the state, etc.

Since the formal system of education in all modern societies is the domain of the new middle class, and since the authors themselves belong to the new middle class, the reader as well as the authors should at least try to retain some sociological awareness when discussing teaching and teachers in Namibia today and in the future.

2. When visiting Namibia and in reading various documents we have noted that there is a recent increase in activities that have to do with changes and reforms in the educational sector. Such efforts e.g. concern curriculum development (cf. *Curriculum development*, 1989) and a restructuring of tertiary education. Such activities in our opinion reflect conflicts within Namibia today mirroring different opinions concerning the degree and character of independence in relation to RSA. Such conflicts are evident e.g. in the report of the *Education Committee* (1985) as well as in other documents. It is, however, equally clear that some of the reform proposals that we encountered in discussions with various authorities were made without true consideration of a future government representing the majority of Namibian citizens. We finally recognize that

some of the reform activities going on at present obviously represent attempts to prevent or at least make it difficult for a future government to carry out its own policies.

3. The report "Namibia. Perspectives for National Reconstruction and Development." (UNIN, 1986a) contains a chapter on education and culture that contains a number of recommendations which are summarized in the abridged version of that document (UNIN, 1986b, pp 84-87). It could be noted that some of these recommendations were discussed at a conference at the Academy in July 1989 (Education, 1989). We will comment upon some of these recommendations in so far as they are related to our assignment in this final section.

4. The recommendations state that the new education system should recognize the need for:

- "(a) urgent training of technical and professional cadres at institutions of technical and higher learning;*
- (b) provision of work-oriented, comprehensive education and training for illiterate and semi-illiterate adults;*
- (c) laying the foundation for a free and universal education for all Namibians from primary, through secondary to university level by training many teachers and educationists now; and*
- (d) developing the people's cultural creativeness." (UNIN, 1986b, p 84)*

In this paper we have taken as a point of departure in our recommendations, that a future Namibian system of schooling will be free and universal. Other aspects taken up in the above quote obviously fall outside the scope and limits of this paper, since its focus is on basic education (schooling) and teacher training.

5. It is furthermore stated that a

- "... nine-year basic education programme for mass education and socio-economic development should be considered as a viable policy-option." (Ibid, p 84)*

We have mentioned a basic common (comprehensive) school of 9 years duration. Considering the immediate future of an independent Namibia it is quite clear that decisions have to be taken concerning the duration of a school for all and how rapidly it could (and should) be made compulsory.

6. It is recommended that

- "Curriculum development should be assigned prime importance in determining the quality of education. The content of a curriculum should help facilitate the socialization of the*

Namibian child in the changed milieu toward community development, through a learning environment which is allied with the dominant activities within the community. Broadly, the new curriculum for the nine-year basic education should relate to the new political and economic national goals. It should:

- (a) offer an integrated and skills-based approach, thus facilitating the acquisition of employable useful skills through practical work;*
- (b) replace rote learning by orientation toward creativity and self-reliance;*
- (c) assist students to develop intellectual abilities and apply knowledge intelligently; and*
- (d) promote self-respect and human dignity." (Ibid., p 85)*

We have implicitly and explicitly addressed the issue of curriculum development and change. We note that the recently introduced Network for Curriculum Development in SWA/Namibia (*Curriculum Development*, 1989) cannot be regarded as a representative body for the development of a new national curriculum in an independent Namibia.

We have furthermore stated that one of the most detrimental aspects of the present curriculum for primary and junior secondary education is that it is regarded simply and primarily as a pre-requisite for the senior secondary level. A curriculum for a basic education should be constructed in its own right, i.e. guided by an analysis of basic skills and knowledge as such.

We have also noted the detrimental effects of the exaggerated emphasis on examinations within the primary and junior secondary curriculum and we have pointed to the fact that the current curriculum is not adapted to actual living conditions and experiences of the Namibian people (cf section III, especially pp 8-10). Taking into account the recommendations quoted above we would strongly recommend the setting up of one or several representative curriculum committees under a new national department of education also using the experiences of schools in exile. Such a committee(s) should also seriously consider if examinations are necessary within the common (comprehensive) school.

7. It is noted that a

"... successful implementation of a new education policy in independent Namibia will require a close examination of the problem of provision of teachers." (UNIN, 1986b, p 85)

One of the chief aims of this paper has been to examine the provision of teachers and needs for future teacher training within the general limits noted in section I (p 2). We have presented our conclusions and recommendations primarily in sections IV-VII. It should be emphasized that experiences from teacher training programmes for Namibian teachers in exile conducted by SWAPO in cooperation with various international organizations, should also be considered in reformulations of existing programs in

Namibia (cf. section VII.6, pp 25-26).¹⁶

We have strongly emphasized the need to differentiate between the priorities of in-service training and pre-service training, noting that there probably is time for deliberations on how to reconstruct pre-service training in order to establish a new system of such training, although some modifications could and should be introduced rather rapidly (new textbooks, entrance qualifications, emphasis on practical training etc.)

We have noted that the issue of provision of teachers to a large extent is a problem of re-allocation of the existing teacher force. We could add that recent allocation of resources to pre-primary education cannot be regarded as reasonable in a situation where access to basic primary education is still a pressing problem. It should be considered if such resources (teachers, facilities) could be incorporated within a common comprehensive school.¹⁷

It should finally be mentioned that the question of provision of teachers also concerns levels above the common (comprehensive) school. We have (with some qualifications) noted that the supply of teachers at senior secondary level is high. Another member of the mission - Mats Hultin - has especially looked on the question of vocational training. Since a change of the school system (and its curriculum) may well imply a diversified vocational program above the level of the common (comprehensive) school, the future supply of vocational teachers must of course also be taken into account.

8. It is mentioned that the

"... establishment of a team of curriculum-development specialist should ensure that all teaching materials reflect the expected cultural content in line with the dominant cultural policies of independent Namibia." (Ibid., p 87)

We have noted that the textbooks used in the schools are mainly produced in RSA. We have also noted that new texts for teacher training (in-service and pre-service) are urgently needed. This implies the necessity of successively producing new textbooks parallel to the changes of the curriculum. Changes of the curriculum and the introduction of new texts for use in the schools and in teacher training will take time. This is in fact one important reason behind our recommendation to concentrate on in-service training of teachers. In a transition period it will be the task of the teacher to be responsible to supplement existing text books with various materials and in discussions with the pupils establish a democratic and enlightened outlook on man, history, culture

¹⁶ Our own experiences of such programs have primarily been in conjunction with the ITTP-project (cf. Dahlström et al, 1989).

¹⁷ In UNIN (1986a, pp 528) pre-primary (or pre-school) education is considered to be desirable but a "low priority mainly due to financial, material and manpower constraints". We obviously share this opinion and even regard the introduction of pre-primary education as a sign of arrogance in the light of the situation within the school system as a whole.

and production as a basis of education.

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APPENDIX 1:

List of administrations, institutions, organizations and schools visited by Staf Callewaert and Daniel Kallós.

1. ADMINISTRATIONS

- a. **Administration for Caprivians:** Director Mr Mukwenda, Mr Mubonga, Mr Kotze, Mr Liswariso, Mr van Heerden, Mr Mayumbelo, Mr Siberga, Mr Ndodu, Mr Mutau and Mr Nyambe.
- b. **Administration for Owambos:** Director Mr Nandi and staff members.
- c. **Department of National Education:** Director Mr Burger, Mr Steenkamp and Mr van der Merwe.
- d. **Administration for Whites:** Subject adviser Mr Esslinger.
- e. **Administration for Coloureds:** Director Mr Koopman, Mr Slaverse, Mr Moller and Mr Ochhuizen.
- f. **Administration for Damaras:** Director Mr Breitenbach, Mr Malan and other staff members.
- g. **Administration for Rehoboths:** Director Mr Britz and staff members.
- h. **Administration for Namas:** Mr Biwa and Mr Foucher.

2. ORGANIZATIONS

- a. **Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM)** at Oranjemund and CDM-schools in Oranjemund: CDM staff and principals of schools.
- b. **Council of Churches, Windhoek:** Mr Barker, Mrs Bohitile and Mr Omeb.
- c. **NANSO, Windhoek.** Mr Shipiki and other board members.

3. INSTITUTIONS and SCHOOLS

- a. **The Academy/University of Namibia:**
Faculty of Education: Mr Lübbert, Mr Auala, Mr Curry, Mrs Cloete, Mrs Enright and other staff members.
Department of Distance Training: Mr Vermeulen.
College for out of School Training: Mrs de Klerk.
- b. **TTC at Khomasdal, Administration for Coloureds:** Principal Mr Sawyers and staff members.

- c. **TTC at Ongwediva, Owambo:** Principal Mr Mbodo and staff members.
- d. **Inservice Training Department at Ongwediwa, Owambo:** Asst principal Mrs Cadion and staff members.
- e. **TTC at Katima Mulilo, Caprivi:** Principal Mr Musaka, Mrs Christelle Esterhuysen and staff members.
- f. **TTC in Windhoek, Administration for Whites** (informal visit). Talks with resident students.
- g. **Fransfontein Primary School, Administration for Damaras:** Principal Mr Tsuseb and members of teaching staff.
- h. **Onyika Senior Primary School, Administration for Owambos:** Principal Mr Nakale and members of teaching staff.
- i. **Endeu Comb. Junior and Secondary Primary School, Administration for Owambos:** Principal Mr Nambuli and members of teaching staff.
- j. **Eegendju Senior Secondary School, Administration for Owambos:** Principal Mr Namhindo and members of teaching staff.
- k. **Ongenga Senior Primary School, Administration for Owambos:** Principal Mr Hanfika and members of teaching staff.
- l. **Mubiza Primary School, Administration for Caprivians:** Principal and members of teaching staff.
- m. **Ngwese Primary School, Administration for Caprivians:** Principal and members of teaching staff.
- n. **Nautilus School, Lüdderitz, Administration for Coloureds:** Principal Mr Coete.
- o. **Primary School at Nosobville, Gobabis, Administration for Coloureds:** Principal Mr Louw and members of teaching staff.
- p. **Epoka School at Gobabis, National Department:** Principal Mr Taylor and members of teaching staff.
- q. **Usib Primary School. Administration for Rehoboth:** Principal Mr Oppperman and members of teaching staff.
- r. **Ruimte Primary School, Administration for Rehoboth:** Principal Mr de Beers and members of teaching staff.

APPENDIX 2: Classification of teacher qualifications.

In the official statistics teachers are classified 12 groups according to qualifications. In our paper we have used the same symbols as in the official statistics. They have the following meaning:

- ZA = Std 7 or lower with no teachers training**
- ZB = Std. 7 or lower with 2 or 3 years teachers training or Std. 8 or 9**
- ZC = Std 8 or 9 with 2 years teachers training or Std. 10 only**
- ZD = Post level 2 - 5, lower than Std 10**
- ZZ = Std. 10 with 2 or more years pre-tertiary training**
- A = Std. 10 + 1 year teachers training**
- B = Std. 10 + 2 years teachers training**
- C = Std. 10 + 3 years teachers training**
- D = Std. 10 + 4 years teachers training**
- E = Std. 10 + 5 years teachers training**
- F = Std. 10 + 6 years teachers training**
- G = Std. 10 + 7 years teachers training.**

APPENDIX 3:

Department of National Education: Examination Service.

FULL-TIME

Phase	Type	Examination rules & Regulations	Examining body	Examiner/ Moderator	Qualification
Junior Primary SSA - St. 1	Full-time internal	Examination Board Gazettes	Department of National Edu- cation	Teachers at schools	School report
Senior Primary St. 2 & 3	Full-time internal	Examination Board Gazettes	Department of National Edu- cation	Teachers at schools	School report
St. 4	Full-time semi-external	Examination Board Gazettes	Department of National Edu- cation at Re- quest of Exa- mination Board	Subject Ad- visors (De- partment of National Education)	Examination Board Certi- ficate
Junior Secondary St. 5 & 6	Full-time internal	Examination Board Gazettes	Department of National Edu- cation	Teachers at schools	School report and Declaration of Competence at request
St. 7	Full-time semi-external	Examination Board Gazettes	Department of National Edu- cation at Re- quest of Exa- mination Board	Subject Ad- visors and selected teachers	Examination Certificate
Senior-secondary St. 8	Full-time external	Department of National Education: Examination Rules & Regulations based on CED - syllabi	Department of National Edu- cation	Subject Ad- visors (some from other Departments & selected teachers	Department of National Edu- cation Certi- ficate
St. 9	Full-time semi-external	Cape Education Department (adjusted for local demands)	Department of National Edu- cation	Subject Ad- visors & selec- ted teachers	School Report
St. 10	Full-time external	Cape Education Department (J.M.B. - rules and regulation [RSA])	Cape Education Department	Cape Educa- tion Depart- ment & local examiners for African languages	Senior certi- ficate (a) Matri- culation Exemp- tion (b) School leaving Certifi- cate

PART-TIME

St. 5 & 6 (non-formal)	Part-time external	Department of National Education	Department of National Edu- cation	Department of National Education	Department of National Educa- tion - Certificate
St. 8. Part-time (Distance teaching for teachers)	Part-time external	Department of National Education. Department of Education & Culture (RSA) W.e.f. 1990	Department of National Edu- cation. Depart- ment of Educa- tion & Culture (RSA) 1990	Department of National Education. Department of Education & Culture (RSA) 1990	Department of National Educa- tion - Certificate. Department of Education & Cul- ture - Certificate (RSA) 1990

[continued]

St. 9 & 10. Part-time (Distance teaching for teachers	Part-time external	Department of Education & Culture (RSA)	Department of Education & Culture (RSA)	Department of Education & Culture (RSA)	Department of Education & Culture - (RSA) Senior Certificate (a) Matriculation exemption (b) School Leaving Certificate
National Examinations, Department of Education & Culture (RSA)	Part-time external	Department of Education & Culture (RSA)	Department of Education & Culture with help from Department of National Education	Department of Education & Culture (RSA)	Department of Education & Culture (RSA) - Certificate

APPENDIX 4:

Classroom observations by Staf Callewaert and Daniel Kallós.

1 Introduction

In order to be able to study the present teacher training in relation to the future we wanted to gain some insight about

- how actual teachers, educated within the present system, are performing in everyday classroom situations;
- how everyday classroom situations are organized and what they look like, since it is to be expected that not all of the features of everyday school life can (or should) be changed rapidly in the future.

Within the constraints and limits already described in the introductory section of this paper it is quite clear that what we are describing in this appendix is a rather superficial account of everyday school life in Namibia, but it may at least provide some data which can be used to advance hypotheses and also be used in conjunction with other information.

We have chosen a small number of schools, most of them at the primary level and within the different administrations visited. The schools were chosen in discussions with the authorities and our expressed wish was to be able to look at "normal" schools both in urban and rural areas. As a rule we went to the schools without formal assistance and without previous warning. We tried to sit in at lessons without any systematic subject preference and with only one observer in the classroom staying as a rule for at least a 30 minute period. We briefly explained our aims to teachers and pupils and had brief discussions with teachers on specific matters after the observation period. As a rule we observed some 5 lessons per school. In schools where for one reason or the other no teaching was going on we had more prolonged discussions with principals and teachers.

Generally speaking, we were rather surprised that foreign observers were kindly accepted and permitted to do their work in a situation thoroughly bureaucratically organized and controlled, and in a politically sensitive situation to all involved. Our visits, after all, represented a rather violent intrusion into the normal life of the schools and had a rapsodic character which comes closer to intellectual tourism than to scientific study. Obviously we were helped by the newly acquired habit in Namibia to deal with international observers in various situations and by the positive expectations for the future associated with the interest of international organizations and expertise.

The paper and pencil notes of the observers written down in the classrooms and during formal and informal discussions with principals, teachers and pupils are presented here with a minimum of editing. Even the more reflective passages were written during the observations as on the spot comments. We used no standard observation schedule but made notes that were later transformed into more full descriptions. We have avoided a more extensive editing in order to not mentally reconstruct the notes on the basis of impressions and conclusions reached within the mission as a whole. The incompleteness and contradictory concreteness of the specific observations offer a possibility to question and validate overall impressions. In some cases circumstances did not permit

on the spot recording. These observations are not included in our material.

The lack of editing should also demonstrate to what extent this type of classroom observation in the final instance tends to be accidental and unsystematic, offering at best something like the results of an application of a critical incident methodology. Under the circumstances we have tried to do something else than paying courtesy visits that would confirm our already existing ideas and preestablished opinions although time did not permit systematic observations. The fact that we in contrast to the subject oriented members of the mission tried to expose ourselves to the totality of the situation also prevented us to concentrate on specific issues. Nevertheless we feel that our observations offer a valuable complement to the statements and comments from various administrations on the one hand, and to the limited statistical accounts on the other hand.

Finally, we have no difficulty in recognizing that it is our previous and extensive experience of classroom observation in Europe and for one of us also in several African countries that are orienting our observations, interpretations and evaluations. In a way, one might say that we have just observed differences between Namibia and Scandinavia on the one hand and between Namibia and some other countries in East and West Africa on the other hand. But, on the whole what we observed was not what we expected. What we are reporting is accordingly not only differences but also our own astonishment. Neither our astonishment nor the differences that we register may be regarded as evaluations. But they may contribute to the information of those that are not in the position to register differences or to become astonished.

2 Classroom observations at Frans Frederik School, Fransfontein, Administration for the Damaras.

2.1 Introduction

The day before we had visited Oranjemund where we had the opportunity of visiting schools that were very well equipped even using Scandinavian standards. The visit to Fransfontein was in reality our first school visit in Namibia that followed our intentions.

After a morning meeting with the administration and after a very interesting discussion of present and future problems concerning the schools a visit to a country-side school was arranged for the rest of the day. We drove to the rural area center Fransfontein accompanied by subject adviser in English Hannes van Vuuren as our guide.

2.2 Observation at Frans Frederik School, Fransfontein

The school is a hostel school with classes from Sub A to Std 5. 571 pupils in 20 classes. 25 teachers: 8 male, 17 female. Structure: Headmaster, asst head master, head of junior and head of senior primary teaching, subject heads. School has a board of laymen.

Class Std 3. English lesson. 25 pupils: 12 boys and 13 girls. Male teacher. Rather relaxed atmosphere after a while. Repetition (obviously) of an earlier lesson. Short questions to be answered with one or two words. Many wrong answers. Pupils are

guessing. Rote learning of questions and answers evident. Teacher reads aloud, children read in unison. Rather haphazard corrections by the teacher. The text is about a flashlight and words like bulb, thin wires, switch, glass, battery are trained and repeated in a monotonous way. I am bored after 5 minutes. What do the pupils feel after having heard this 50 times? It is obviously not the first time that the children have read this passage. The lesson ends with a "competition" between the boys and the girls which have to read the text aloud in unison - half of the passage is read by the girls, the other half by the boys. The girls win and their result is commented upon. Suddenly the lesson ends.

Class Std 5. First language, i.e. Afrikaans. The female teacher has Std 10 + 2 years professional training. 16 pupils, 7 boys and 9 girls. Boys and girls seated separately. 10 of the 16 pupils are said to be repeaters. The pupils have been reading a story in Afrikaans in a reader from RSA with typical romantic stories: Pieter Peitense, Het geheim van die Reenwod, De Jager Haum. The teacher distributed a mimeographed paper with questions concerning the story prepared by herself. Pupils well dressed and very disciplined. Question-answer ritual as usual but in surroundings that are pleasant and fine, with plenty of handmade posters and materials. Pupils carry "a ten kilogram package" of textbooks and notebooks. All pupils have all possible text materials. Ritualised questioning: the chosen pupil often cannot answer, but is guided by a very tolerant teacher, who eventually passes the question to a better prepared pupil until the right answer is given, that is to say an element of the story is reproduced according to the structure imposed on the story by the teachers question-paper.

Very relaxed atmosphere in the school generally speaking and in the different classes. Even if the visit is totally improvised, we are kindly and caringly accepted and very soon able to interact with the children in Afrikaans or English. The overall impression is that this school system in this administration is well organized and well functioning on its own premises. The problem is not that the population lacks schools in the modern westernized sense of the word, with the relative sophistication implied by the term modern. The problem is which schooling for which pupils is desired by what instances in the future? In what direction could this well established practice move during the years that will come if some of the societal parameters of the system are changing? This is not a deprived school. Pupils have even an unbelievable amount of books etc. The organization of work is strong and obviously planned. The classes are well equipped with furniture and a great deal of self-made material, posters etc. The style is almost perfectionistic, generally speaking the teaching style is consciously ordered and very traditional.

After the questioning period the pupils are ordered to write down the answers on the mimeographed handout. All are working, with differences in handwriting and content, but within a range that seems reasonable. Teacher going around and offering help. Teacher distributes corrected notebooks with yesterdays exercises in mother tongue: very detailed corrections in red with a general mark.

As observers we have to get accustomed to a basic ritual: After 30 minutes all the pupils leave the classroom with all their material, just to stand waiting in line to enter a new lesson, even with the same pupils and the same teacher.

Class Std 2. Needlework. 16 girls. When entering the pupils are offered water to wash their hands and a handkerchief. The teacher distributes the individual needlework kept in the classroom: identical red small bags. Complete silence, extremely internalised gentle discipline. Individual assistance with the different operations. No communication between pupils. Atmosphere as in a church. More advanced pupils get more advanced instruction. That is: The teacher demonstrates and the pupils are observing. Going to do it afterwards. The task is given, the method is given, the social relation of learning is given, the process evolves: there is absolutely nothing else to do, to think, to react, to invent. This is the major impression of all teaching, at least with the pupils that are in school during our visit: not the slightest sign of pupils disturbing the ritual. The question is not that someone might disturb, the question is if some may not be able to cope with the task.

Teachers seem perfectly adapted to this type of teaching practice. Most of the talk that we have heard about the teachers being unqualified, if not understood as lacking in formal qualifications, seems wrong, except for some very specific academic objectives. If they have to be considered as operationally unqualified it must be in relation to a different normative concept of how teaching should be done, which in its turn presupposes a completely different framework of school organization, function and societal conditions. Overall impression is that their practice fits the dominant definition of the situation and the dominant material conditions, except perhaps for more specific types of language fluency or specific subject knowledge. But as educators of small children they act upon the given state of the art with professionalism.

Class Std 3. Mother tongue as a subject (Damara). 26 pupils, female teacher. Pupils have a reader published in Cape Town. Specific sentences have been written on the blackboard. Pupils are invited to read the sentences collectively and individually or to come to the blackboard to write some new sentences. Difficult to know exactly what is going on since we do not understand the language. But: There is an unbelievable difference in the way the language is used by the teacher orally, even when compared with teachers' use of Afrikaans, where their fluency in oral speech seemed perfect. Suddenly it becomes quite clear that even Afrikkans is a "school language", implemented with all possible restrictions, if compared to native discourse, even in the classroom. No chance to evaluate the pupils' speech. At any rate their expression is restricted by the role of having to answer difficult specific questions.

The phonetic transcription of the language seems to make for a lot of difficulties. Generally speaking one realizes that the language is not operational for the children as a written language in the same way as it may be as an oral means of expression. Nevertheless there is a feeling of something new and definite being achieved, when the native mother tongue becomes a plain fact also as a written language at least in the school.

Obviously we have to consider very carefully all the advantages of the childrens multilingual capacity compared to the multiplicity of tasks involved as far as schooling is concerned.

Discussions with the headmaster and the assistant headmaster with the participation of the subject adviser.

It is very difficult to assess the enrolment percentage of the local school age population, since a lot of pupils are coming from other parts of the local vicinity - even from Windhoek. Parents prefer the countryside school because of lower fees, advantages of the hostel, more disciplined socialization etc. A very rough estimate is that 250-350 children from the area do not attend school at all or have left the system after a very short duration. Of the 571 pupils in the school 300-350 may come from the geographical area the rest from other areas or from the urban centres of Damaraland. Another 200-250 pupils from the geographical area are in other schools. Maybe 40% of the pupils are repeaters.

The main reasons given for the relatively low participation of the potential school age population were

- the peasants or farmworker families do not regard school education as important,
- the economy of the family cannot sustain the absence of a complement of the work-force and/or the hostel-fees,
- some are living at large distances from the school,
- families are afraid of schooling as estrangement from the family-culture: an educated child is lost to the family. School is preparing for urban middle class culture.

If children are not enrolled at all it is mostly not an individual issue but a question of the material conditions of the family which also implies a cultural issue. Drop-outs may be more of an individual issue. Those who succeed in adapting in spite of all obstacles stay on.

Turnover of staff is small. Many teachers have been on staff for more than seven years. Teachers may want to find other jobs, or study but this is only realistic for few. The teacher seems almost always to be someone who is a teacher because there are no other possibilities, and who is making the best out of the situation.

Although the participants mentioned mainly sociological determinants of the school situation, they point mostly to school factors when asked to mention necessary changes:

- more bursaries for further studies,
- more subject advisers,
- more professional freedom to act upon the situation, and
- more freedom to act politically as a private person, even if one is a teacher or a headmaster.

3 Classroom observations in Caprivi

After intensive discussions with numerous staff members at the Administration office, we drive accompanied by a driver/guide to two schools, one appr. 20 kms outside Katima Mulilo, and one rather close to the urban area.

3.1 Mubiza primary school

98 pupils, 43 girls and 55 boys; 5 teachers. Maximum walking distance for the children: 4 km. Most children begin school but rather high drop-out rate. Approximately 20 children in the area do not attend school. Children aged 5 - 16 years.

The school is a big compound off the road in a half forest, half savannah landscape. A grass school of the type said to be common in Caprivi. On one side the houses of the teachers in traditional style, opposite them the classrooms also traditionally built. Grass on the roof and broad openings. Rather small classrooms. A school yard with flowers and trees open to the surroundings. People come and go. Arrangement seems adapted to the everyday life and experiences of the children and seems favorable for the practical purposes of schooling at the junior primary level as long as no technical aids are required. Very well ordered classrooms with desks, blackboard, furniture of normal modern type. No teaching aids visible. Such schools would permit a lowering of the costs for building and repair and also permit local community participation and responsibility. The headmaster nevertheless complains that the standard of the school is regarded as low and that it is difficult to engage the local community in recurrent repair activities. This school model could be extended as a formula for locating schools up to Std 4/5 in the near vicinity of where people live and with local involvement. Requires a follow up with e.g. hostels for higher levels not too far away from the smaller schools. Administration could negotiate to provide teachers and other facilities if the community provide building and repair assistance. Administration is said by some to be more inclined (?) to build modern hostel schools. Since Caprivi has some 22.000 enrolled pupils out of a population of appr 45.000, the problem is important.

Class Sub A/Sub B. Mathematics. 22 pupils. The lesson is using Lhosi as a medium. The mathematical terms and numbers are in English, even in Lhosi. As usual the discourse of the teachers becomes very much more alive, complex and interacting in the mother tongue compared to Afrikaans/English. The exercises are written on the blackboard and done individually by chosen pupils and they seem difficult for the level. The children seem to be young (6-7 years?):

$$13 + 16; 12 + 24; 21 + 32; 59 - 31; 48 - 22; 56 - 21.$$

The prescribed way to proceed is repeated step by step by the teacher, the class repeating in choir each of the steps. When invited to execute the steps on the blackboard, even the chosen individual pupil have great difficulties, with very few exceptions. Sometimes the results seem completely random. It seems that the teacher does not feel that she is capable to use the available time to analyze what is going on in the child's head that produces a random result, in order to work out the operational difficulties. The result is corrected, the correct procedure repeated, and a more able pupil invited to do the exercise in the correct way. One of the main difficulties is to get the pupils to write the algorithm in the correct way:

$$\begin{array}{r} 13 \\ + 16 \\ \hline 29 \end{array}$$

3.2 Visit to Ngwese primary school

Completely different scene. Modern brick school in a more or less semi-traditional suburb surrounding. Junior primary classes in the afternoon, senior primary + Std 5 in the mornings. 579 and 627 pupils respectively. 28 classrooms and 40 teachers. The teachers and the pupils are present but for some reason no teaching is going on. The accommodation and the facilities seem richer and more varied than in the grass school, as are the dresses and the materials of the children. Classrooms are not very well ordered but there is plenty of selfmade didactical material on the walls and a lot of decoration. In the yard there are flowers all around.

Improvised talk with a group of teachers in a separate staffroom, cleaned by older pupils. Complexity of reactions when we try to discuss the topic: Is it true that teachers are unqualified? They feel rather able to do what they have to do under the present circumstances, but do not want to pretend that they are good enough, and do not want to spoil the chance of getting a bursary.

4 Classroom observations in Owambo

According to an agreement with director D Nandi at Ondangwa we should visit schools in Circuit 5 since the inspector of Circuit 7 is not available. SC goes by car to pay a visit to the inspector while DK discusses with students at Ongwediva. SC is accompanied by Mr Nehemia Mtuleni, clerk at Ongwediva, who is familiar with the region. The object is to plan visits for tomorrow. It turns out that the inspector, Mr Nghishekwa, will be absent that day but 4 schools to visit are selected after discussion with him. Since some schools may be busy correcting postponed examinations there is no guarantee that teaching will be going on. There is no possibility to contact the schools before our visit. We will be accompanied by our guide.

4.1 Onyika senior primary school, Std 2 - Std 6.

As expected we come to a rural school. There are no pupils present. Principal and staff are working with the examinations. Principal Mr Nakale (Std 10 + 2 years teacher training) has worked 14 years as principal. 419 pupils, 12 classrooms and 12 teachers. Std 2 has 78 pupils - 20 boys and 58 girls, std 6 has 60 pupils - 15 boys and 45 girls. The school fee is 2 rands/year and the school was built in 1979. A discussion with the teachers is arranged.

On a normal school day something like 50 - 60 of the Std 2 pupils will actually attend school. The difference between the number of boys and girls is said to be normal, since there are more girls than boys living with the families. No explanation is given why this is so. Even during the lessons when English is the medium the teachers have to use Kwanyama to a large extent if the pupils are to understand the content. Kwanyama is in reality the language of instruction although textbooks are in English.

The school consists of brick-buildings. Minimal accommodations. 4 classrooms in shelters have been added to accommodate the pupils. The school has a parent committee elected by some 80-100 parents. Parental interest is increasing. The teachers are not unqualified; all have at least 1 or 2 years professional training. There is a

turnover of teachers, most are staying only for 2 years but they move around within the region and do not change to another profession. 3 teachers are male, 9 female. The teachers do not want to leave the region, they are born there and have family connections, etc. Upgrading the school would mean to have better facilities, smaller classes, and textbooks adapted to rural Namibia. The teachers feel that they cannot adapt the teaching to the actual conditions even if they wanted to: the examinations are using other criteria.

Out of one class in Std 4 only 8 passed the June examinations; 31 failed. But, still the teachers feel that a reasonable percentage pass and that teaching - even if not adapted locally - contributes to a better preparation for work even under the local circumstances where most people are subsistence farmers, with a very small monetary economy. Pupils may walk 7 kms to come to school. The distribution of pupils is as follows:

Std 2: 78 pupils in 2 classes
 Std 3: 74 pupils in 2 classes
 Std 4: 154 pupils in 3 classes
 Std 5: 124 pupils in 3 classes
 Std 6: 60 pupils in 2 classes

Pupils from another school are entering Onyika in Std 4, which explains the increase at that level. Maximum drop-out between Std 5 and Std 6. The estimated number of repeaters would be about 30%. The attendance rate is estimated to be between 60-70% of the total age group. The parents of children not attending are on the one hand not very interested in the school, and on the other hand children have to participate in work (boys watch cattle; girls help in the household). In a few cases no children in a given family attend school, in some cases some children attend and others do not. In the majority of cases children take turns in attending school, one child staying at home one day to help, another child attends and stays at home the following day, and so on.

4.2 Enoleu Comb. Sub A - Std 1; Std 2 - 6.

Mr Nambuli (Std 10 + 2 years teacher training) has been principal since 1984. He is born in the area as are all the other 15 teachers (12 female, 3 male). Only the principal and the teachers are present, working with correction and registration of examinations. As far as we understand, it is the end of year examinations in several subjects. Looking on the examinations one feels confronted with a very elaborate system of written examination, correction and registration. The Education Gazette comes alive, but what a life. As usual the principal points to the lacking facilities. His office and the classes being primitive brick accommodations, in great need of repair etc. The office of the principal was attacked by fire some time ago which must be understood as a reaction towards the system and not towards the principal or the teachers. Local statistics are as follows:

Level	Boys	Girls	Sum	Classes	School fee
Std A	68	62	130	2 classes	1.60 R/year
Std B	43	30	73	2 classes	1.60 R/year
Std 1	47	38	85	2 classes	1.60 R/year
Std 2	34	52	86	2 classes	2.40 R/year
Std 3	27	37	64	2 classes	2.40 R/year
Std 4	22	44	66	2 classes	2.40 R/year
Std 5	10	28	38	1 class	2.40 R/year
Std 6	17	27	44	2 classes	10.00 R/year

Children at maximum have 4 kms to school.

The classrooms are overcrowded and there is a majority of girls. If one looks at the data as if they were cohort data, less than 50% of the children remain in Std 3. This is surely one of the characteristics of Owambo: The sharp decline in number of students comes at a very early stage.

Teaching theoretically uses English as a medium (textbooks etc) but Kwanyama is used extensively. Nevertheless pupils have some fluency in English and like to use it and to learn it. Afrikaans is a subject.

Schooling has been very much affected by the war but the situation is improving. Out of 586 pupils enrolled 580 wrote examinations. Some 250-275 will pass as an average, which is considered as a good pass rate. A high attendance rate. Not many children are absent from school. Explanation may in part be inspired by an ideological understanding of the question: it is simply not true that some populations are not able to profit from education.

The principal very strongly expresses a wish to organize a discussion session with us and the teachers. After some small talk one female teacher acts as spokesperson and gives a very sharp and overall analysis of the situation. Discusses in depth the necessity to change the contents according to population needs - if and only if - the examination system is also changed. Classes are overcrowded. There is no chance to work pedagogically. The focus is too much on language learning and on a vast number of separated subjects. Isolated facts, and no relation between subjects. All in all it is easy to understand why the pass rate is low. The system produces a waste of human talent. The content of schooling has little or no relation to the lives that people live, nor to their work. Contents in agriculture is used as an example. Other teachers join in the discussion and give other examples. General agreement of the critique. It is obvious that the teachers have discussed this before and they are very elaborated in their critique.

Ongwediva TTC is brought into the discussion. Training is largely irrelevant. Passive learning. No training for the actual practical work as a teacher. Contents too academic. No stimulation of self-activity.

Some teachers have difficulties in expressing themselves in English but all accept that English should be used as a medium as a rule to be followed if Kwanyama may be used to explain.

Some teachers discuss together in Kwanyama. Translation provided for us. Atmosphere increasingly open. More and more join the discussion.

Great lack of teaching aids. Comparison made with e.g. school for coloureds. If one has to teach with English as a medium and also must use Kwanyama for pedagogical reasons the need for teaching aids of various kinds becomes urgent.

The present options of tertiary education are regarded as absurd. Owambo does not only need teachers and nurses. There is a need for other possibilities and incentives for further qualification.

4.3 Eengedjo senior secondary school, Std 6 - Std 8.

Principal Mr Namhindo (Std 10 + 2 years teacher training). Principal for six years.

The school seems very big and rather newly built with a great number of pupils and teachers. Situated at a local center in the countryside where one does not expect to find such a big higher-level school. The accommodation seems new and modern but primitive and lacking in style. We passed some rather nice looking houses where the teachers live.

Discussion with principal. There are 676 pupils in the following classes:

Std 6: 2 boys, 7 girls.

Std 7: 136 boys, 245 girls.

Std 8: 85 boys, 201 girls.

Hostel- and schoolfee is 120 R/year out of which the school fund is 20 R. 26 teachers (50/50 female, male). Lack of qualified teachers in mathematics and science. Physics simply not taught since there are no teachers and no materials.

20 pupils are accommodated in each hostel room, 2 in each bed. Impossible to do orderly school work under such circumstances. Sometimes half of the pupils in a class do not have textbooks which have been lost during the year.

There is a lack of interest in education in the area. Parents expect children to help them with work. Difficult to convince them that education is important in the long run. Only something like 30% pass. In a few cases repeating is permitted. Some continue through correspondence courses. Pupils are motivated if one is successful in informing them what schooling is all about and to create favourable conditions: This is almost impossible today. The syllabuses must be changed. There have been irregular changes, but content is not adapted to Namibia. The methodology is wrong: No pupil activity, no discussion. The teachers are not educated for it, the pupils do not prepare themselves in order to participate, and there is a severe shortage of teaching aids and materials.

Class Std 7. Male teacher. Reading a book "16 Stories by South African Authors". Teacher distributes some copies to those who do not have the book. He does not have enough copies. 24 children in the class. 12 boys, 12 girls. There are 35 desks and chairs. A girl reads aloud. The teacher corrects her pronunciation now and then. Teacher marks performance in his book. Teacher speaks English rather well. Entire lesson in English. Children who do not have the book are doing other things, One boy is doing a math assignment, a girl is almost sleeping, another girl copies an assignment from another pupils work-book. Another girl is called upon to read another passage from another story. Some questions asked concerning content and understanding. No follow-up if questions are not answered. Is this an examination-lesson? A third girl is called upon and after that a boy. Questions again. Correction of pronunciation and correction if answers are not correct. Moving to and fro in the book. The boy who worked with a math assignment has finished his work. He is still in the classroom physically but where are his thoughts? The lesson ends.

Class Std 6. English. Older teacher, formerly missionary school teacher. Very fluent in

English. Speaks only English throughout the lesson. Preparation for an external visit next week. Control of class list in order to know how many will participate. Some abstentions. Prepares the pupils (only something like 15 present, half of them in uniform) for what is going to happen. The focus is on use of verbs, in present, past and future. Important to repeat the rules and to learn them by heart. Proposes an exercise during the weekend: Every pupil is invited to write a paper on a subject of preference. Teacher will correct the paper, so that the pupils may discover their weaknesses. Pupils will have to present a subject next week for the visitors. Teacher proposes a list of possible themes for the weekend exercise:

1. Town life is not good
2. My hobbies
3. Geography is a nice subject
4. Our Christian life in the school
5. Namibia will be free
6. After study I will ...

The themes are written down on the blackboard. Perhaps a good example of what can be meant by "fluency in English as a medium of instruction". To the observer the teacher is expressing herself very fluently and in a relaxed way and she is apparently communicating well with the children. It may be that what is said and written down is not "correct" in several respects from a formal point of view. To what extent does it matter? And to whom?

Teachers style seems informal and peaceful. Problems with understanding of English among the pupils. When the teacher insists on informing a pupil about the possibility for him to train his English during the weekend and that he has to tell the teacher on Monday how he has trained. The pupil does not understand and starts telling the teacher what he did last weekend.

4.4 Ongenga senior primary school, Std 2 - Std 6.

Principal Mr Hanfika. School situated close to the border of Angola in an area with semi-subsistence farming population. 484 pupils and 14 teachers (6 male, 8 female). Some children have to walk 10 kms to the school. Even this school has minimal building accommodation but we should not forget the shelter schools which are common in the area. Minimal classrooms and textbook facilities. The differences between the schools in Owambo and the schools in other parts of the country which we have seen is very striking, but these differences do not imply that there is not already a basic organization.

Class Std 6. History. 41 pupils. 16 boys and 25 girls. Both observers present. The theme of the lesson is the "trek" of the "boers" from the south to the north of South Africa, with the help of a RSA textbook as always concentrating on European and RSA history.

The teacher has written an extensive syllabus in English concerning the theme on the blackboard. He is telling the story as a very good actor, captivating the interest of the pupils. The focus is upon an understanding from within of the living conditions and difficulties of the population on the march.

The teacher uses English but with frequent use of Kwanyama. Again: When Kwanyama is used it is obvious that the teaching is more intense and that the pupils listen more actively.

Suddenly all pupils raise and together with the teacher we leave the classroom. Why?

It turns out that the blackboard in the first classroom was not big enough. We enter an adjacent classroom where the teacher already has written the remaining parts of the syllabus on the blackboard.

The pupils copy the text on the blackboards in their notebooks. No spontaneous questions, but the teacher asks questions to fill in various details in his story telling. Repetition with standard questions and requested standard answers.

As an observer one cannot avoid to register the very fact that the problem is not so much the South African content, since one experiences as does the teacher and probably the pupils, that all this is at any rate the common history of the whole region. The interesting thing would be an articulation or insight into economic, social, cultural and political problems from the point of view of all the conflicting interests involved and related to the present situation.

But, as almost always in school - in all schools - the content is taught in some remarkable way in a vacuum. The conflicting and complicated real life relevance of all subjects being systematically evacuated creating instead a type of autonomous examination knowledge related in an unarticulated way to a basic and dominant ideology complete with references to the Christian faith, the Western civilization, the autonomous evolution of different ethnic cultures and free enterprise.

From a methodological point of view the most striking fact is the total passivity of the pupils who are not uninterested and obviously appreciate the entertaining presentation.

As far as the syllabus on the board is concerned, it is structured as a pure list of plain facts.

The teaching is totally examination oriented. When at the end of the lesson the teacher passes on to the (future examination) questions all pupils are very concerned to identify the correct answer in the text that they have copied from the blackboard, underlining the topic in their notebooks, rather than answering the question or discuss the matter.

Even if the syllabus text is in English, the teacher is constantly talking English and Kwanyama (mostly), sometimes switching between languages within a sentence, which seems absolutely "natural" to everyone in the classroom. The teacher tells us that he is doing this quite consciously, as the best solution within the given situation.

4.5 Some final notes of observation from Owambo.

The overall impression when we drive through Circuit 5 is that there is a total and

intense commitment to the transition under a SWAPO-leadership.

At least to the observers - even if not to the principals and to the teachers - the main question is how the region is going to develop from an economic and social point of view within the postulated new political surroundings.

To put it frankly: What role can the general school system play in the reorganization and in a dynamic development of the local farming tradition and the semi-traditional culture related to it? In areas where the way of life is only to some extent modernized, the features of modern life coexisting with a basic element of culture and social life derived from the past and essential for economic and social reproduction, the very fact that the formal school system does not at all relate to this structure in terms of societal functions, contents, methodology and output seems at least as important as the fact that dominates public discourse: the tremendous injustice of the distribution of resources between regions and authorities. In other parts of the country this non-modern Namibia is present in the schools in terms of exotic subject matter in the syllabuses of geography or social life, mostly presented with a semi-racist bias, concerning the Gods and manners of the Owambos, the Bushman etc. In this part of the country, the total destruction of the relevance of the "other Namibia" by the Missions and by schooling, amounts to something worse than exoticism: it is a survival problem.

This should be a main concern in all discussions regarding changes of contents and methodology towards an autonomous position adapted to the needs of Namibia proper. There seems to be a broad consensus among both internal-interim and exile prepared internal instances on the necessity of a Namibian stand, even if the relation between Cambridge International and/or Southern Africa Black States Certification seems to be an open question. Teachers, parents and pupils are eager to confirm this stand when the matter is discussed. But it is very difficult to find more clear-cut ideas among all these participants as to the role attributed to the "other Namibia" in the definition of what should be considered as properly Namibian. Visiting schools in the Owambo region tell us that this question cannot be avoided any longer.

On the way back and before leaving the Circuit we stop at Okahenge and Ondeshifil-wa.

5 Classroom observations in Rehoboth schools

After an extensive session with the staff members of the Rehoboth administration we went to visit two schools, corresponding to the wish of the administration to show us a school manifestly considered as a very good one, and our wish to visit a "normal" countryside school. In both cases we were guided by two subject advisers from the staff, but classroom observations were conducted without the presence of the advisers. Our visits were not announced, as was the case in all instances during our stay in Namibia. It should once again be emphasized that we have no guarantees that the schools that we visited can be considered as a "fair" although limited sample.

5.1 Visit to Ruimte Primary School in the centre of Rehoboth

Principal Mr de Beer. Both observers agree that this is the most "beautiful" school that

we have seen so far in the urban middle class areas of the non-white population. (We were not admitted to visit schools of the Administration for Whites.) The school is very beautiful not only in the sense of accommodation and facilities, the decoration and the flowers, the well ordered and pleasant environment but also from a pedagogical point of view, since there was not only talk about a proper pedagogical style but a long time experience of it. This does not mean that the methods employed are beyond discussion if one is reflecting upon their general application in other settings, and with other (fewer) resources.

Class Std 4. History-lesson. 32 pupils, 16 boys, 16 girls. Male teacher. Medium of instruction: Afrikaans. The topic is present day Namibian history. (It is indeed rare to listen to a lesson that has something to do with what actually happens!) The process towards independence of Namibia is described according to the view of the enlightened opinion of non-radicals among non-whites, if one dares to say so. Or how responsible people - South African administrators and national people on duty - are leading the people towards independence within the framework of international agreements. Magistral exposition in rather technical terms of all the complicated instances and processes over time. Interaction with pupils by putting questions on issues, dates and names. All according to the official version, apparently politically neutral and well informed. Pupils are clearly accustomed to a rather sophisticated approach. Many answers even to complex questions. Even if this may be a repetition, the knowledge has not been acquired through rote learning. The pupils answer in firm voices, with a distinct pronunciation and with well formed sentences.

Class Std 4. English as a subject. 30 pupils. 21 boys (!!). The teacher exercises oral English with the help of a coloured poster representing a romantic version of an outdoor local family scene. The pupils should tell their own story related to the picture. Several pupils chosen by the teacher talk and finishes a rather nice and complete story using a few sentences in English. Different pupils use different sentences and often with some originality. They speak up and one has really a chance to hear and to understand what they are saying. The same internalized discipline as in other schools, but at the same time a type of second degree spontaneity and creativity is noticeable: It does not look disciplined or trained. Teacher is absolutely fluent, completely unconventional, acts and moves like a theatre workshop instructor. A remarkable fluence among the pupils, considering their age - after only a few years of instruction in English as a subject and without using English as a medium in the school or at home.

The teacher explains that she is working mainly with the "direct method", exposing and eliciting talk. She emphasizes that if English is to be introduced as a medium in schools the type of teaching that she uses will be an absolute must. Otherwise the medium is going to silence the pupils.

Class Std 2. English. 16 pupils. The lesson starts in the classroom and the teacher tells the children in English that they are going to bake a cake. She produces a large poster illustrating the cake and how to bake it. She is very warm and friendly and the children are very relaxed but attentive. Instead of only talking about the cake something completely unexpected happens. The teacher tells the children that they are actually going to bake a cake and she accompanies the children that (happily and orderly) walk to a kitchen annex of the staff room.

Some other teachers pass but nobody seems worried about what is going on in the staff

room. It seems accepted - even normal.

The teacher produces all the ingredients and with the help of the poster explains what she is going to do. The children stand around her at the table. A lot of practical advice is given and questions are asked and answered individually and in chorus. A lot of fun. But it is teaching, and the medium is English and it seems to work.

After observing these classes we think that one conclusion might be that given a certain group of children, resources and certain teachers it is possible to shape a teaching situation which has eliminated some of the worst aspects of schooling moving in the direction of a school-framed creativity. This does not indicate a revolution, but points to the fact that something is possible, that some tried. One should look at the factors beside individual capacity and will to change on the one hand, and the good conditions on the other hand, that contribute to the "miracle". A miracle at least in comparison to the dominant model where not only first degree reactivity is excluded (pupils are not expected to do anything but receive and reproduce) but where second degree creativity is rarely observed and not highly valued (pupils using tools offered to initiate variations within the frames). Naturally such a valuation implies that learning for mastery is better than learning for reproduction. But such a valuation may eventually be correct even outside a typical Western middle class context.

5.2 Visit to Usib Primary School

This is a countryside school appr. 40 kms from Rehoboth. We are accompanied by two subject advisers which have some trouble finding the school. Principal: Mr Opperman.

Class Std 1. Experimental class using English as a medium (?). The female teacher is married to a technician at Rössing Uranium and has three children. Only 12 pupils in the class sitting on a carpet on the floor, the teacher sitting in front. Reading English from a textbook with short texts, like a mother-tongue first reader. The teacher puts simple questions based on the text (in English) to the pupils. Pupils form sentences as answers, somewhat uncertain, but it works. The pronunciation and fluency of the teacher is limited - the pupils' even more. But the animating style is giving confidence to all involved - they try their hardest. The classroom is nice with minimal equipment. Farms all around. Pupils point to objects and situations through the window. Even these pupils carry a lot of text- and notebooks.

Since I want to know more about the background of the children all of them are invited to tell the foreigner - sitting down with them - their names, age, and the occupation of their fathers and mothers. Sometimes by themselves, sometimes with the help of the teacher the information is provided. All the pupils are 8 or 9 years of age, except one child that is 11 years old. All the fathers are construction workers in Windhoek, the mothers looking after the children and the small farm (helped by the children). Except one child whose mother is a teacher.

Rather interesting if one reflects upon the proper needs of education of children of farmers in the countryside. What will be the future occupations of these children? It seems very important to note that rural does not

necessarily mean agriculture. This is true not only taking into consideration the combination between farming and contract labour, but in a more general sense.

Class Std 4. History. 19 pupils; 7 girls. A very unusual lesson. Teacher and pupils are discussing on the basis of information provided by the teacher. The syllabus of the theme taken up is a mimeo produced by the teacher.

Social relations are as between workers on a plant: relaxed, interested, free, to the point, result oriented. For the first time one feels that not all discipline has to be of the internalized oppressive type. The result is less nice and quiet but seems more productive. This cannot only be a question of temperament. Teacher is more formally qualified than usual (Std 10 + LSOD), but not that much unconventional. What makes the difference?

Class Std 2+3. 17 pupils; 4 girls. The female teacher has received her training at Khomasdal. We arrive late, just in time to note that the schoolday closes with a prayer. As almost all teachers all over the world this teacher explains that you cannot learn the job at a training college. Its too academic, and too theoretical. The real learning comes through your own experience as a teacher. At the same time she expresses her wish to have a bursary to be able to upgrade her knowledge, but she wants to return to the same school and the same job afterwards.

One general point can be made from the discussions with the teachers. They like their small countryside school. They feel as a team, and regard themselves as collectively responsible. The principal is said to be excellent in promoting that spirit, and also to be helping teachers in their practical work and to create better conditions in general. Nobody wants to leave and go to an urban school, although all of the teachers are living in Rehoboth, travelling together in the car of the principal every day. In town there are more children. It is impossible to know them all, there is less team-work, less influence on school decisions and much more competition and formalism.

It is not the first time that teachers are emphasizing their desire to stay in a school in the countryside, often because they were born there, have an attachment to the area, even perhaps a small farm. They do not like urban working conditions etc. Worthwhile to consider...

The other point to make is that some characteristics of the typical urban middle class well-to-do Rehoboth school, as far as creativity and originality is concerned, are also apparent in this very different rural setting, even if it is not rural in terms of pupils or teachers. There is something special about this school.

6 Visit to schools in Gobabis by Staf Callewaert

6.1. Preprimary and primary school Nosobville, Gobabis (Administration for Coloureds)

A brief presentation of the school by the principal mr Louw. New buildings erected in 1984. Good condition. Situated at some distance from Gobabis City, within coloured

and black township area. 210 pupils and more could be recruited if more accommodation would be available. Majority of the pupils are coloured. Important social problems with parents, mainly from the black township. Very open and dedicated atmosphere with principal and teachers. Typical parents are construction workers and housewives.

The school has 9 teachers, all qualified. 5 coloured and 4 white (RSA-educated, one former Rhodesian).

The pre-primary school is in a new normal house. 17 pupils. Arranged as something in between a family house and a school class. Full scale accommodation from all aspects. Plenty of material for play and learning. Well to do middle class atmosphere: Perfect order and everything is nice with flowers and colours.

Class Sub B + Std 2. Needlework. Needlework is organized as individual women homework in a Western middle class family and only for female pupils. But setting as in the classroom. No link to production. Relaxed relationship between teacher and pupils combined with total teacher control and pupil respect.

Class Sub A. Reading a textbook in mother-tongue. The teacher has organized the class according to a principle of streaming based upon the results of June examinations. One group has already left for home (the best group). Another group (girls only) are sitting at their desks reading silently. A third group (three boys) is sitting on a carpet between the row of desks and the blackboard. The teacher is working with them, they are reading aloud, and the teacher is supervising them.

The teacher explains that this is the only way to help all the children and make teaching effective. Gentle and relaxed interplay within the framework of unreluctant submission to the rules of the game, the work at stake and the social relations. Facilities and teaching aids seem optimal. Pupils dresses are perfect, all textbooks are available etc.

Class Std (?). Laboratory for practical work. Very well equipped classroom with all possible kinds of instruments. Teacher is surrounded by a group of pupils discussing ongoing work. Real discussions as in a workshop and pupils are highly interested. Teacher operating as an instructor. All boys. All involved. Communication as in a peer group without visible authority, other than the work at stake.

The teacher has been trained at Khomasdal and finished his training in 1982. He is critical of the academic bias of his education. There was no preparation for the kind of practical work that he is doing now. All the same: he is functioning very well.

Class Std 1. Ortography. Pupils are sitting in groups of 4 around individual tables (desks have been put together). This corresponds to a group-oriented methodology according to the teacher. She uses a streaming model but with groups composed differently, according to the subject and to individual progress. A look in the notebooks of the pupils demonstrates an unbelievably perfect handwriting style common to almost all - everything is identical. Relaxed and controlled atmosphere.

Class Std 5. Mathematics. 20 pupils, which seems to be the average class-size, with the exception of special arrangements. Only 6 boys. The teacher repeats the exercise $1\frac{1}{2} + 3\frac{1}{4}$. Proceeds analytically, explaining every step as a mental operation, repeating the

name of the operation and the elements, and letting the pupils supplement the discourse of the teacher. Very traditional, but fine. Teacher states that repetition again and again by teacher and/or by pupils is thought to enhance routine. Low percentage of boys at that level due to drop-out during the year (not primarily because of examination failure) maybe because of social problems of the family mostly for black pupils. The distance of the culture of the home and the culture of school is too big for the black children (15%).

Class Std 2. History. 23 pupils. 16 boys. Teacher uses his own mimeo on the theme (the history of transport, especially postal transport of letters, goods etc.). Lesson in classical style: a good actor performing his role, interrupting his performance by short questions, where the audience has to participate. Entertainment principle: He succeeds rather well. Pupils passive but listening. No link to anything relevant today or to the pupils. Seems rather paternalistic and the accomplishment is below the capacity of the children. History is presented as the history of technical progress, with the heart transplantation of Dr Barnard in RSA as its peak. Distributes a handout concerning the Owambo people for the next lesson, in the form of brief questions and answers: a description of a primitive culture in ethnological terms as in a travel guide. Nothing about current economy, politics, etc.

6.2. A summary

The school looks like a typical middle class school in a European provincial town. School facilities are perfect and the attitudes of the pupils adapted. Social relations of teaching are relaxed and disciplined. Sophistication of methodology, mostly with the small children. More traditional teaching on academic subjects with older pupils. Schooling communicates basic attitudes, ideology, and skills - but according to a school definition of reality, rather abstract in its relation to everyday life, except for future middle class people able to make a living on the grounds of this type of "vacuum-packed" school knowledge.

A large number of teachers demonstrate a technical and methodological awareness within the framework of the content (which is not questioned) and within the social relations of the classroom. They act according to their awareness by using already classic devices and methods.

There are good reasons to combine these remarks with the fact that observations of teaching at Khomasdal TC reveal the same kind of attempts to teach the trainees, also in practice, a more active and complex style of teaching.

All this is noted in comparison to the observed absence of the same elements in the majority of the classrooms visited, with the exception of the classes in Rehoboth (cf. section 5 above, pp 13-16) and probably also the schools for whites, that we were not permitted to visit. And all this is said by an outsider-observer also in relation to his observations of other African schools, where the overall impression would tend to focus on

- a massive lack of all possible facilities,
- a wide gap between the everyday life and culture of the pupil and the school,
- a survival methodology of rote learning as the most common procedure.

Obviously the schools under the Administration for Coloureds (if we extrapolate our observations and combine them with statistical data of a more superficial kind) are "better" schools, in terms of the existing system (and without considering schools for whites), since they have better facilities, a higher percentage of formally qualified teachers, a more middle class oriented pupil population, a certain tradition of pedagogical and methodological sophistication combined with higher enrolment, lower drop-out and lower fail-rates.

This does not mean that these characteristics are possible to duplicate and/or are even desirable in all schools under the present conditions or in a future system. It only means that under certain conditions it is possible to obtain different results, and that this is an element to consider also in discussing possibilities for the future.

7 Final notes

There are obviously some characteristics common to the schools under the Administration for Coloureds and Rehoboth, that we visited. The characteristics may well be common for many of the schools under those administrations. And they are in some ways also related to the teacher training observed at Khomasdal.

Generally speaking we have to do with populations that for a long time and from the beginning of their formation have adapted a Western way of life and thinking, presupposed by the modern type of schooling that their children are exposed to. As a part of these environmental conditions in a broad sense, the distribution of material and cultural resources in a country administered by South Africa, has confirmed and even to some extent enhanced the better living conditions, the larger participation in middle class occupations of these groups, partly as a consequence of given dynamics, partly as the result of a conscious policy.

If one is adopting Western middle class norms, the schools under these administrations must be said to have better accommodations and facilities of other kinds, more positive attitudes toward the school among the children and their parents, a larger percentage of formally qualified teachers all in comparison to the black majority. But there also exists a pedagogical tradition that is in some kind of harmony with the present situation, perhaps not unrelated to specific Cape Town traditions, where a number of teachers got their own education.

Even if the ideological base of this tradition is not completely different from what we regard as the dominant ideology of the system in power, the leadership strongly opposes the proper apartheid ideology in all matters concerning education and schooling. This is partly evident already in the majority statement in the report of the 1985 Education Committee.

The living conditions, needs, proper traditions, and actual resources of the black majority in Namibia are very different from the conditions of these smaller populations. Therefore their interesting specific achievements in matters of schooling may constitute more of a problem than a solution for a future system of education at a national basis.

Looking at apartheid in the RSA within the system of education, one could expect that the differences between the ethnical groups defined by the system of apartheid, also

in Namibia, would be articulated according to specific ethnical and cultural traditions. For many reasons this does not seem to be the case, at least not in Namibia, as far as we have seen. Except for the two populations, and even in regard to them, it looks as if apartheid in fact only is leading to one single westernized formal school system, basically of a type that fits the white population. The other populations impeded both of doing something different and of achieving the same. Their system of education is but a crippled version of the same formula.

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