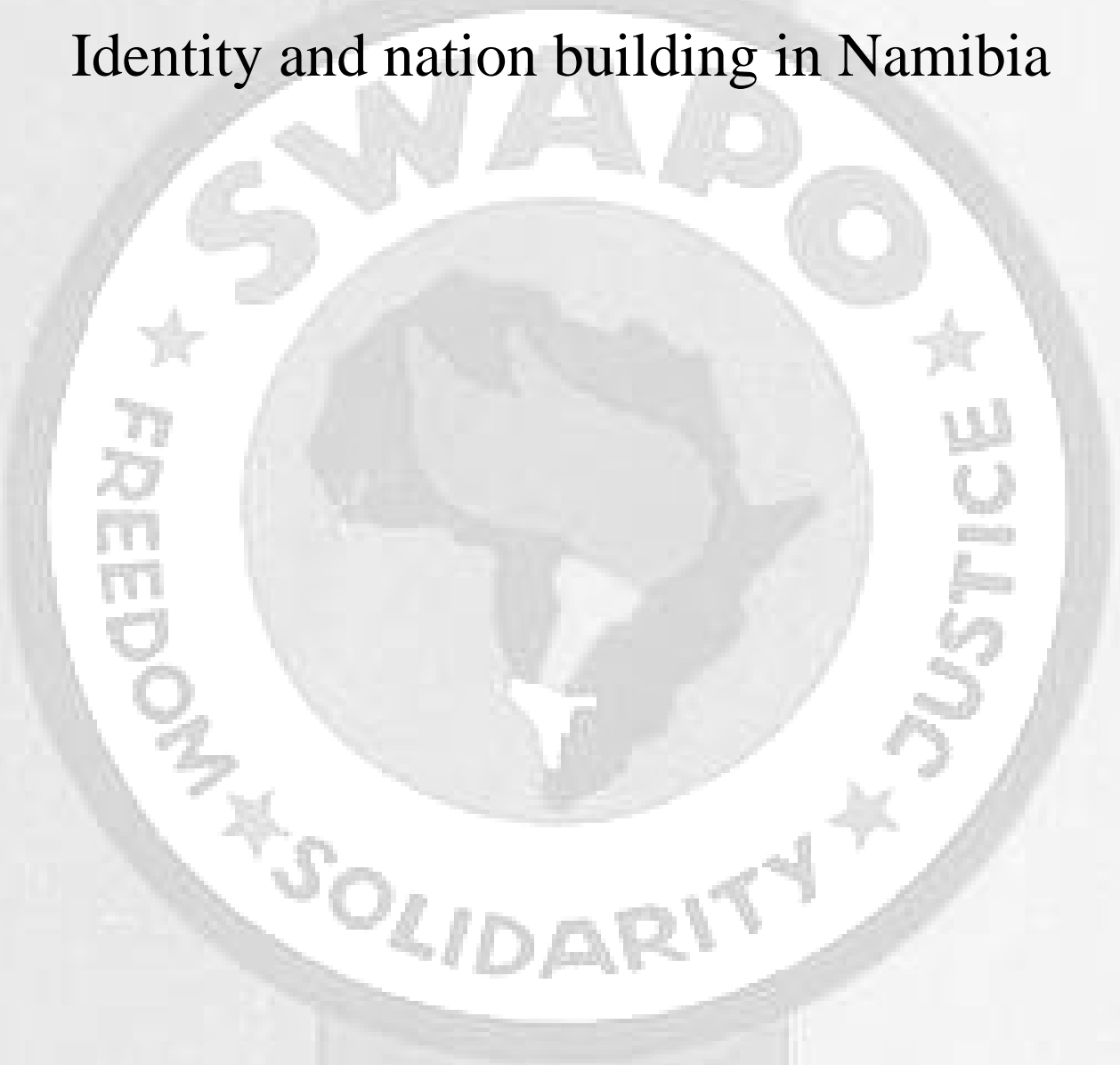


ONE NAMIBIA

Namibians?

Identity and nation building in Namibia



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ONE NATION

Preface

This thesis is the result of a one year research process and the final part of my study Human Geography at the University of Groningen.. The curiosity for Namibia developed in 1999 when I met a Namibian for the first time. I knew nothing about the country and I promised myself that would change one day. In 2003 I met the second Namibian at the University of Joensuu, who provided some basic information about and necessary contacts in Namibia and showed me the love he had for his country. A course in conflict resolution and management made me think about the ethnic problems of Africa. All these meetings and events led to the development of this research project and its topic. Despite the length of the period, it is still a fascinating field of research.

The research process knew many stages and emotions. Excitement, curiosity, discipline, frustration and confusion were all part of it. Of course there were other people to help me through it and this would be the place to thank them.

First, there is Joost van Rheen, my companion in many ways whom I would like to thank for a great time. Second is my family who was interested and supportive all the way and is probably happen when this project is finished. Nienke de Jong was there to share her know how with me and gave me re-assurance when I needed that.

In Namibia there were a great number of people who made a great contribution to this project. First I would like to thank the people from the UNAM Geography department, especially Susanne Albl, Prof. Becker and Pierre Smit, for their guidance, advise, contacts and friendship. Sandra da Cal was a great friend and assistant, as were 'Slim' and Alfred.

All the students who participated in the group discussion and questionnaire are thanked for their contribution, as are all the people from the in-depth interviews.

Last but not least I would like to thank Pieter Boele van Hensbroek, Peter Groote and in particular Peter Druiven from the University of Groningen for their academic guidance.

Marjolein de Haan

Summary

Namibia is in the middle of a process of change and is trying to answer questions like: What is the road we will take with this country and its diverse population? Namibia is a good location to get a better understanding of (re)construction of identity and nation building. The 'African ingredients' like a colonial past and a multi-ethnic society, are present. To avoid tribalism and civil war, a feeling of unity might be desirable and therefore nation building and a change in group identity will be needed.

The independence of most of the countries in the regions in the 1970's and their nation building project put a different light on the theory of nations and nationalism. The nation was seen as a construct in stead of a primordial existing entity. Africa showed the manufacturability of the nation. The nation was not the same as the nation-state model that was imported from Europe by the colonial powers. The heterogeneous population living within one state were influenced by the nationalism movement which were the anti-colonial movements. In order to create the nation state model the assimilation model for inter group relations was used.

Namibia got independent in 1990 when the nation state model was less dominant and the world was not in the grip of the Cold War anymore. The country had seen the problems and failing solutions of their neighbouring countries and adopted a different approach to shift the loyalty of the people and use a different inter group relation approach. In stead of ignoring the ethnic identity, the local and national identity could go hand in hand and the diversity is seen as an enrichment. The acknowledgement of the local identity has to lead to the reinforcement of the national identity.

To create a national unity the nation building process uses several nation building tools. A part of the tools are state building tools. The population has to accept the territory, government and law as being from them. This is the framework for the later nation building. The goal of this process can be the civic or the ethnic nation. Tools as education, use of history and symbols to create myths and a common memory and culture and language policies are used for this process.

In this research the use of these tools are being looked at, as well as the possible type of nation Namibia is. The policy '*Unity in Diversity*' is implemented in the cultural, linguistic and educational policies. There seems to be a shift of loyalty towards the national level among the research population, although that seems to be on a political level. The diversity makes an ethnic nation very difficult.

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List of abbreviations

AG: Administrateur-General, The Administrator-General of South Africa
ANC: African National Congress
CA: Constituent Assembly
CCN: Council of Churches Namibia
CoD: Congress of Democrates
DTA: Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
GDP: Gross National Product
HDI: Human Development Index
IGCSE: International General Certificate of Secondary Education
MPLA: Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola (translation from Portuguese)
NA: National Assembly
NC: National Council
NID: Namibian Institute for Democracy
NIED: National Institute for Educational Development
NYC: National Youth Council
OPC: Owamboland People's Organisation
PACON: Pan African Centre of Namibia
PLAN: People's Liberation Army of Namibia
SADC: Southern Africa Development Community
SWANU: South West Africa National Union
SWAPO: South West Africa People's Organisation
UDF: United Democratic Front
UN: United Nations
UNAM: University of Namibia
UNITA: National Union for Total Independence of Angola (translation from Portuguese)
USA: United States of America
USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Chapter 1: Research outline

1.1 Introduction

*The headline of The Namibian, January, 28th 2004: **Child thrown into jail for ‘not looking Namibian’**. A 14-year old girl, in the possession of a Namibian birth certificate and a Namibian passport was arrested at the airport on her way to London. Immigration officers decided that she did not look Namibian enough and thus she had to be an illegal immigrant. The big question now is; What does a Namibian look like?*

Namibia is in the middle of a process of change and this article is a clear example of the many questions that Namibia and its people are trying to answer: Who is Namibian? What does it mean to be Namibian? What is the road we will take with this country and its diverse population? These questions are subject to this research project.

This chapter will outline the context of this project, the research question and the process, including the methods that were used for data collection and analysis. The research was prepared in The Netherlands and therefore the proposal and the fieldwork that was carried out differ on some points. It is important to look at the choices that have been made during the process, the reasons for these choices and their influence on the outcome.

1.2 Context of the research

Namibia is Africa's youngest country. It gained independence in 1990, after being a German and South African colony for more than a century. The spirit of times after the end of the Cold War was very different from the sixties and seventies when most other African countries gained independence when the world was divided in two blocks and was dominated by the nation-state model. The nation state (the ideal form consisting of a homogeneous group of people governed by its own state) is a European concept that was exported to Africa by the colonial powers. The European powers defined the borders of the African states, not considering the different peoples and their relations within the new borders. These multi-ethnic countries did not have a nation when they gained independence. This is why nationalism in Africa can be seen as an anti-colonial movement that has to deal with the colonial borders and the population within these lines (Strand, 1991). These countries often had (and still have) problems with ethnic conflicts that result in problems from tribalism to civil war (Mazrui, 1993). The legacy of colonialism and the creation of the multi-ethnic state is an African phenomenon.

Namibia has the same legacy but got independent 20 to 30 years later than the rest of Africa. The Cold War was over and international political relations were more relaxed. The nation-state system was still in place but globalisation got more important, diminishing the emphasis on nationalism. Namibia had the chance to learn from the problems its neighbours had experienced. Despite this, Namibia's own multi-ethnic population and its colonial and Apartheid past is a challenge to the new born nation (Fosse, 1992).

The challenge is to create stability in order to function. The nation building process tries to create this stability. People have to shift their loyalty from the local/ethnic/cultural level to the national level. This way all citizens identify themselves with the same unit: Namibia. The people also have to accept each other as part of that unit so that the national identity 'Namibians' can come into existence. The question is how and if this shift can be established and what will happen with the local/ethnic/cultural identity.

Namibia is a good location to get a better understanding of (re)construction of identity and nation building. The 'African ingredients', i.e. a colonial past and a multi-ethnic society, are present. To avoid tribalism and civil war, a feeling of unity might be desirable and therefore nation building and a change in group identity (the loyalty shift) will be needed (Harlech-Jones, 1992). The presence of the African ingredients creates a dynamic process which is in an early stage in Namibia because it only got independent 15 years ago and is searching for a new identity and a way to coop with its diverse population. The article '*Child thrown into jail for 'not looking Namibian'*' shows that Namibia is in the middle of the nation building process and that the questions involved in this research are very much alive and relevant, making the country a good location for this research.

1.3 Research goal

The two central concepts in this research are 'group identity' and 'nation building'. The relation between these concepts is that the goal of nation building is to switch the loyalty of the people from local to national level and thereby changing their group identity. The goal of this research is to get a better insight in group identity formation and the nation building process in Namibia. This is formulated in the main research question. Because of the complexity of the subject, the difficult relation between the two concepts and the many factors involved, the main question is split up in 8 questions. This will give a better overview of the theory and data analysis and it will lead to the conclusion step by step.

1.4 Research questions:

Main question:

How do people in Namibia define their group identity in the changing context/society of Namibia and what is the role of nation building in this process of change?

Group identity:

1. Which factors do people use to identify their group identity, based on their ethnicity?
2. How do these group identity factors relate in their importance in relation to higher level identity factors as national and African identity?
3. Is there a process of change concerning the group identity?

Nation building:

4. Is there a nation building process in Namibia?
5. What are the actors in this process and what goal do they have?
6. To what extent is the Namibian population a nation?
7. What does it mean to be a Namibian?
8. What is the role of education in the nation building process?
 1. **people in this context means individuals with their own, different characteristics**
 2. **population means the collective of individuals, the people living in Namibia.**
 3. **for choice and focus of group identity factors, see 1.4.1.**

1.5 Research process

The research was carried out in three phases. All three go hand in hand, in a circle. The first phase consisted of the preparation. This meant literature search to get a better insight and understanding of both the subject and the field. It also included writing a research proposal. The second phase was the fieldwork, the actual data collecting. It was the challenge to translate the theory into the practise of data collection. The third phase is the writing of this thesis. The data has to be processed and linked back to the theory.

1.5.1 Phase 1: preparation

The destination was clear. It was also clear that Namibia, as a changing society, is an interesting playground for a Cultural Geographer. To get to a specified research question that is also a current issue is more difficult. The library of the African Study Centre in Leiden was a good source to get in-depth information about Namibia and my topic. With this information I came to a proposal and the research question (see §1.3).

Focus

During the preparation phase it was decided that the target population of the research would have a three-stage pattern. The first stage is the society of Namibia in general. The second step is the youth and the role of basic education (age 15-20 years old). Education was chosen because of its importance in the nation building process (see §2.6). The transformation from ethnic based education during Apartheid to the national system that was introduced since independence makes it an even more relevant theme. The third stage is the highly educated youth (age 20-30 years old). This group was chosen because of its high command of English, so language would not be a problem. They have access to information and are aware of processes in their society and are able to formulate their opinion about that. Students from all different backgrounds visit tertiary institutions in Windhoek.

The age and educational level is homogenous and thus not of influence for this survey. This youth are the teachers and leaders of tomorrow and will be of influence in the future.

The analysis of group identity of the youth in this research is focussed on identity factors such as ethnicity and culture. These are important factors in Namibia and are therefore important in the (re) construction of identity during the nation building process. Group identity factors like age, sex and social class are of importance as well, but are less focussed on. Besides nation

building, processes like modernism and urbanisation are of influence on identity formation. The focus on this research is not on these concepts but some attention is paid to it in the questionnaire. It is difficult to isolate these factors.

1.5.2 Phase 2: data collection

Phase two was the actual data collection. The data collection took place from September until November 2004 and in January and February 2005. In Namibia it was discussed what was useful and feasible in the Namibian context as the proposal was made in The Netherlands, not knowing the constraints and possibilities of the Namibian context.

The methods used are both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative methods will give a general idea about people's perceptions. The questionnaire was used for this purpose. The qualitative methods will give more inside information and understanding, provided by open questions in the questionnaire, the group discussions and the in-depth interviews.

Group discussion

At the University of Namibia (UNAM) a group discussion was held with 10 fourth year students in Political Geography. This was done to get a better understanding of the research topics 'identity' and 'nation building' in everyday life. It showed me the problems people encounter, which issues are alive, how students think about these issues and on what level they talk about it. This helped me to make a better translation from theory to practice and to keep some focus points in mind.

At the end of the research process a group discussion was held with 5 white students, who study in South Africa by correspondence. This was meant to be a focus group. Other focus groups would be organised at UNAM among three different ethnic groups. The goal was to see if the opinions and perceptions expressed in the group discussion and the questionnaire would differ when only people from the same ethnic group are present. Everything was organised but students did not show up. There was no time left to organise it again. During the school visits group discussions were held with the learners.

Pilot

After the group discussion at UNAM, the same group of students filled out the questionnaire. This way I could see if questions were understood as I wanted them to be. We discussed the pilot together. Students explained to me how they understood the questions that were asked and concepts involved like 'a traditional life' or 'ethnicity'. With the information from the pilot the final version of the questionnaire was made.

Questionnaire

112 UNAM Geography students filled out the questionnaire. I introduced myself during first and fourth year classes. Students could voluntarily come with me after class to fill out the questionnaire. Visiting hours and handing out questionnaires did not work.

The non-response error is present. The non-response error is the influence of refusals or non-contacts. When this is a specific group, the target population is not represented as a whole in the survey population. One ethnic group is known to stay on the background, resulting in lower participation from this group. This was noticeable at first, but later during the survey period this corrected itself. Only the students who followed their classes were reached, others are the non-contact group. The refusal was mainly caused by time limitation of the students and do not seem to occur among a specific group (Flowerdew, 1997). The focus was on students in the first and fourth year. This was done to be able to compare the two groups. The first year students come from their home region and interact a lot with people from their

language/ethnic group. Fourth year students seem to integrate more with students who have a different background than their first year colleagues.

UNAM is a black university because the white students often study in South Africa. Five students that study by correspondence in South Africa filled out the questionnaire by email. The snowball method was used here, meaning one respondent helps to recruit another respondent (Flowerdew, 1997).

The target population of the questionnaire (highly educated youth) are the third stage of the target population and a very specific group. The perceptions (see chapter 4) expressed by this group is not a reflection of the opinion of the whole Namibian population. It is also not meant to be.

The number (n=112) is very small and makes the representatively limited. It is not meant to be representative for the whole population and only gives an indication of the perception of students.

In-depth interviews

The in depth interviews were done to get a more inside understanding of the complex issues. Twelve interviews were conducted in total with academics, civil society, media and the government being represented. During the school visits, teachers were interviewed. The respondents were mainly put forward by the staff of the Geography department. This link was often needed because not all contact details are generally available or correct. Every respondent was asked for recommendation of new respondents. The snowball method was used here as well (Flowerdew, 1997). The danger could be that you stay in the same circle of people, but this method was the best option available.

Education: Schoolbooks & School visits

To get a better insight on the influence of education in the nation building process three strategies were followed. The first was in depth interviews with professionals from a directorate from the ministry of Basic Education, which makes the syllabi for the Namibian schoolbooks. The second was an analysis of the schoolbooks. The focus at first was on geography books. Because the geography books are mainly about physical and economic geography, history books were included as these turned out to be more relevant.

The history books tell more about the people, their relations and their history, which stories are chosen to tell and which not. The perception on history is important in the nation building process (see chapter 2) and the history books are a reflection of this perception. The third method was 4 school visits. The schools are a non-random sample, meaning they do not represent the Namibian school in general. Different types of schools were selected to get a selection of urban/rural, black/white/mixed and private/state schools to be able to look at the influence of these factors. During these visits teachers were interviewed, discussions held with the learners, lessons observed.

Observation

A lot of interesting things are said outside the research process. Interacting with students, friends and people on the street gives the researcher a lot of information. A lot of things are said between the lines and project what people really think. Interesting quotes are written down. Of course this is not an objective method, but it can be used as an illustration. For this purpose a collection of newspaper articles was also made.

Timing

This research was an evolving process. During the research I got to know the country and the topic better and better. During the research it became clear what was possible and what was not (see 1.4.2). To make this development possible the research methods were carried out in a specific order. The first 2 months (September, October) were used for the group discussion and the questionnaire. Students were needed for this, and they go back to their home regions at the end of the academic year in late October. The comparison in the questionnaire analysis between first and fourth year students thus concerns almost second and fourth year students. The questionnaire gave a general idea about the perspective of the high-educated youth. This information could be used in the interviews as well. November was the time for the in depth interviews. December and January are the summer holiday. This period was used for travelling around the country and for library visits. The travelling gave me a better understanding of the country and the people and the library visits strengthened the literature research, especially with African sources. The school visits were initially planned before the holiday. National elections took place in November and put the whole country upside down, what made me postpone the visits and reduce the number of schools. This also had its advantages. The public debate heated up and it was revealed what was under the surface. The last month (February) was used for the final interviews, library visits and a group discussion with white students. The observation was used on the sideline at all times.

There was enough time to investigate the research topic from various angles. The summer holiday was at first not taken into account, resulting in a lower number of school visits.

1.5.3 Phase 3: data analysis

The data that was gathered in Namibia have been analysed. The results can be read in chapter 4. The data of the questionnaire is processed in the statistical computer programme SPSS. Text analysis was used for the qualitative methods.

1.5.4 Problems and limitations

As written in §1.1, every research has its problems and limitations. This can be caused by time and money limitation. The research context can also cause problems and demand adjustments.

The intended homeland mapping for example was not possible. The intention was to make people draw a map of Namibia to see how accurate it is and on which part of the country they put emphasis or have more knowledge about. Unfortunately this was not of much use because there is no 'map tradition' in Namibia. The results would tell more about the education level of the respondent than about factual knowledge of the country.

Another difficulty was the analysis of the schoolbooks. The books that are used in schools are from different publishers and various years. The National Institute for Educational Development (NIED) could not provide an overview either. The National Library did have schoolbooks, but not a single series was complete. The schoolbooks that were used during the Apartheid era were not available in Namibia but only in South Africa. The analysis can be done with the non-complete collection but it will not be perfect.

Language

The national language in Namibia is English. All the interviews and discussions were conducted in English. The research focuses on the youth. They are educated in English. The written sources like newspapers and literature are written in English, Afrikaans or German. These are all in my reach of understanding. Language was not a constraint for the research.

Colour and sex

My position as a researcher is of importance. In the Namibian society skin colour is still of importance. I raised this subject during the group discussion. The students' opinion was that it was not an issue to most young and urban people, but it might be in the regions. My skin colour was not an issue during the interviews. Both black and white respondents were highly educated and saw me as a 'colourless' researcher. During the school visits in the periphery, people seem to be happy with the interest that is shown.

Being a woman did have its influence. During 2 interviews the respondents seemed more interested in me in a sexual way than in the interview, which made me abort the interview. These interviews were not the most important ones, but it does obstruct the research process. This was in my opinion a skin colour issue, as White European women are known to be 'easy'.

1.6 Contents guide

In chapter 2 the theoretical background of the research will be discussed. The most important concepts are group identity, nation, nationalism and nation building, which will be outlined. It will be seen how the nation building process works and if it has an influence on the group identity. To get a better understanding of the country and its people chapter 3 gives a geographical and historical background. It will help to understand the process that is subject to this research.

Chapter 4 shows the data presentation and analysis. In chapter 5 I will answer the research questions, in order to come to a conclusion.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

The state is the central element in global political organisation and we cannot imagine it being otherwise. It has not always been like this. The nation state model developed in Europe in the 19th century and spread over the world. For a lot of countries the state as a home for one group, the nation-state, was a foreign concept. The colonial powers created multi-ethnic states when they established borders on the African continent, whereby many groups ended up living together within one country. This diversity became an enormous challenge for the new African leaders after independence who needed unity and stability in their countries. This challenge was translated into the nation building project, that will change the social identity and inter group relations within the state. This is the link between group identity and nation building, the two central concepts of this research. To understand the concept of nation building, an understanding of nations and nationalism is necessary. These concepts will be explained in this chapter, both in the European and African context followed by nation building itself and its tools. The chapter starts with the dynamics of social identity.

2.1 Social identity

The nationalist movement and the nation building process have an influence on the social identity. The creation of a state, defined by a border, changes social relationships between groups that now belong to the same country. This paragraph will first describe the dynamics of social group relations and group identity, how this can be used and/or manipulated politically and what the role of borders and territoriality is in the creation, maintenance and manipulation of social group relations.

2.1.1 Inter group relations

Making categorisations is something every person does, thereby creating or reproduce the group he or she belongs to, resulting in the social or group identity (Brewer, 2003). This collective identity is the result of the construction of inclusion and exclusion (see also §2.1.3). The group identity is based on objective and subjective grounds. The first can be a common culture, language, religion or territory. The second is an emotional feeling of affection (Stavenhagen, 1996). The objective and subjective aspects of group identity are both used to determine the loyalty to the local and national identity.

'Social or group identities are categorisations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalise the self- representation' (Brewer, 2003, p.22).

The inclusion and exclusion mechanisms are important for the question: Who belongs and who does not? The own group is called the in-group. To be able to define the in-group, an out-group is needed because identity is a relational concept. You need to distinguish your own group from another group for your in-group identification. Once this distinction is made, it has a great influence on the behaviour of members of the in-group towards each other and between the in-group and out-group. The differences between the in-group and out-group are perceived to be greater than they are, so that the in-group identity will be maintained. The in-group is perceived as being better/greater etc. than the out-group. This in-group favouritism is important to maintain in-group harmony and loyalty. Out-group members will be treated according to the stereotype perception that the in-group has which often includes distrust.

That individual out-group members have personal characteristics is ignored. The in-group member will receive favouritism and the out-group member discrimination (Brewer, 2003).

In the multi-ethnic society of African countries, including Namibia, the nation building process tries to unite the different groups present in the state. How can this be achieved when stereotypes are persistent and others are treated with distrust? The contact hypothesis states that if ignorance and unfamiliarity promote hostility, opportunities for personal contact between members of opposing groups should reduce hostility. This contact should be based on an equal status of, and interdependence between the groups and try to promote inter-group acceptance and disconfirmation of stereotypes. Research has shown that contact alone is not always enough. A common goal is needed, as well as contact over an extended period of time. A common goal reduces the inter-group hostility because it creates a new inclusive group identity. This is operationalised by asking for an identity ranking. But when this goal becomes less relevant the sub-group identity remains available and there is no need to maintain the new inter-group identity (Brewer, 2003).

This sub-group identity is very often the ethnic identity in the African context. Whether these identities are primordial or created by the colonial powers is not important. They are of importance to the people because they can be a safe harbour when national politics fail or are not present. Nation building (see§2.5) will only work when *'there is something in it for them'* (Fosse, 1992). People have an alternative for the national identity the nation builders want them to have. This is why the ethnic identity is often seen as a threat to national unity (Thomson, 2000).

How can a more positive out-group attitude or even a new in-group be established in Namibia? The nation building process aims at a national identity, but reality is that the nation builder has to deal with two identities: the ethnic and national identity. Different models have been constructed to describe the relation between those two identities:

Fusion combines cultures to create a new culture and thus a new identity because people shift their loyalty from the old to the new group. This is difficult to achieve, especially when more than two groups are present.

Segregation will separate the different groups. This is caused by the dominance of one group (as in the Apartheid system) or the wish of a group to separate itself. This wish is often the result of a feeling of being marginalised, which can be caused by differences between groups in number, power or status. This will make the existence or creation of a national identity very difficult (Brewer, 2003).

In the assimilation model one group is the dominant group because of unequal power, status or number and other groups will give up (often by force) their culture in favour of the culture of the dominant group. When economical, political and cultural differences overlap we speak of internal colonisation what can lead to cultural assimilation, with the dominant culture becoming the national culture and identity (Özirimli, 2000).

These models are not able to deal with both ethnic and national identities at the same time. Assimilation was the model for nation building in the 1960's, segregation was used by the Apartheid system. Both were not successful. Assimilation led to ethnic tension and Apartheid to resistance (Stavenhagen, 1996).



Picture 2.1 Nation building in South Africa. Advertisement from an oil-company. Source: Marjolein de Haan

The slogan of South Africa is ‘*The Rainbow Nation*’ and Namibia uses the phrase ‘*Unity in Diversity*’. It is the expression of a policy that wants unity but also respects diversity (see picture 2.1). They can exist side by side and are not a contradiction to each other, as was the point of view in the sixties. The unity stands for the national unity with its national identity and the diversity is the various ethnic identities. The national and ethnic identity can have different relations. Integration combines the diverse elements into a unity, while retaining the basic identity of each group. An alternative to this can be for example a common public culture and a separate home culture. Multiculturalism is a relationship of mutual interdependence and respect. The identities do not mix, everyone maintains the own identity. The dual identity model states that the new inter-group identity and the subgroup identity can exist side by side. In a pluralistic society, individuals have more memberships in multiple social categories. Two persons can have similar and different memberships at the same time. This cross-categorisation can lead to more positive out-group attitudes (Brewer, 2003). These different models are also used in the questionnaire.

The ethnic identity is not seen as a threat in these models. The nation building projects of the sixties did not deal with the ethnic identity, which often resulted in ethnic conflict. The new African countries South Africa and Namibia try to find a way to deal with both identities in the hope it will benefit the country.

2.1.2 Identity politics

The options named above for how to deal with a multi-ethnic society are always a political choice. Identities are situational and hierarchical. It is important who is in charge of the situation. During the Apartheid era identity was used to suppress or benefit people. The in-group of the political elite, the Whites, would benefit, others not. The elite defined a person's identity. Picture 2.2 is taken in the Apartheid museum in Johannesburg, showing identities could change, depending on a political decision, deciding about the quality of a life. Your identity would define your amount of freedom, education level and job opportunities. The same policy was followed in Namibia.

1985 had at least 1000 “chameleons”

Political staff
PARLIAMENT – More than 1000 people officially changed colour last year.
 They were reclassified from one race group to another, by the stroke of a Government pen.
 Details of what is dubbed the chameleon dance “were given in reply to Opposition questions in Parliament.
 The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, disclosed that during 1985:

- 702 coloured people turned white.
- 19 whites became coloured.
- One Indian became white.
- Three Chinese became white.
- 50 Indians became coloured.
- 37 coloureds became Indians.
- 21 Indians became Malay.
- 17 Malays went Indian.
- 17 blacks became coloured.
- 10 coloureds became black.
- Two blacks became “other Asian”.
- One black was classified Griqua
- 11 coloureds became Chinese.
- Three coloureds went Malay.
- One Chinese became coloured
- Eight Malays became coloured
- Three blacks were classed as Malay.
- No blacks became white and no whites became black.

the Star, 21 March 1985

Picture 2.2 Changing identities
 Source: Marjolein de Haan

The actors of nationalism (see §2.3) try to influence the order of the identity hierarchy in favour of the national identity.

Identity can also be used to mobilise a group politically. Metaphors like “*The Rainbow Nation*” are an important instrument of mobilisation and consciousness-raising. This can also happen in a negative way when an identity is pushed aside by the mainstream identity (of those in power) (Bekker, 2002). Identities are hybrids whereby non-national influences/factors are of importance as well. Cosmopolitanism and modernism also influence identity (Paasi, 2003).

2.1.3 Borders and territoriality

The border symbolises the boundary between one state and the other and defines the territory over which the state has sovereign power. A boundary marks who and what is inside (in-group) or outside the territory (out-group). The state claims the right to control who or what is allowed in its territory, while other people and things may be excluded.

Territories are not natural or fixed but are created by people and can vary over time and space (Holloway et al., 2001). Colonialism brought different cultural groups, who were out-groups to each other, within one border, making it one in-group. This new in-group is a political in-group. Cultural borders are not as easily changed as political borders and it is to be seen if the cultural out-groups become one in-group. The in-group/out-group principle will be used to identify the perceived in-groups and out-groups in Namibia.

The borders do not just change lines of difference, it defines the states territoriality. This is an important mean of identification (see box 2.4) and is a nation building tool (see §2.6). Actors in the production of territoriality are politicians, army, police, journalists and teachers, as they defend the territory, write or teach about it. Important elements of territoriality are the naming of the territory, the design of symbols like the flag and coat of arms and the social practices like parades, flag days and education. The institutionalisation of the territory goes through administration, politics, economy, culture, communication and education through which the boundary, symbols and their meaning are produced and reproduced (Paasi,2003). This comes to operationalisation through the nation building tools in §2.6.

2.2 The European origin of the nation state

The creation of a border and thereby the establishment of a state has an impact on the social identity and inter-group relations, because the nation-state model implies that the people within the state are a homogenous entity. The implementation of this model or an attempt will be of influence in a heterogeneous population because relations will change or tried to be changed. This paragraph will further examine the nation state model and the force behind it: nationalism.

The nation-state model was born in Europe at the time of the French Revolution (1789). It was a period of social and political change that was accompanied by a growing consciousness of individual freedom and democracy (Özkirimli, 2000). Groups of people feeling they belonged together wanted to govern themselves, ultimately ruling their own state. This meant only members of one nation and all the members of this nation within the borders.

Box 2.1 The definitions of the European nation state model.

1. **The nation** is a group of people often sharing common elements of culture or a historical or political identity.
2. **Nationalism** is the feeling of belonging to a nation as well as the belief that a nation has a natural right to determine its own affairs.
3. **A state** is an independent political unit with territorial boundaries that are internationally recognised by other states.
4. **The nation state** is the ideal form consisting of a homogeneous group of people governed by its own state (Knox et al., 1998).

Until the second world war the nation state was seen as primordial, meaning that the nation was experienced as natural, immemorial and as an extension to kinship (Özkirimli,2000). People took the nation state for granted and accepted that identity and nationality are linked (Holloway et al., 2001). The question is if the model was also reality. According to Kohn, an early 20th century scholar and others, the nation state in Europe had two different starting points.

In Western Europe the rational nation was based on a political and social movement in the spirit of the Enlightenment from the French Revolution, while in Eastern Europe the organic nation was based on common cultural ground that was translated into a common political destiny. Meinecke distinguished two types of nationalism at the turn of the 20th century, that are related to the two types of nations from Kohn. Political nationalism is based on national membership, contingent upon loyalty to common institution and state given rights to citizenship. Cultural nationalism attaches it to social traits such as language, religion and customs (Özkirimli, 2000).

The cultural homogeneity is thus not always present but a feeling of common faith is. Despite the imperfection of the model it was exported over the world. The model, and not reality, was the basis for the nation building project in Africa from the 1950's onwards. In this report the "European model" will refer to the overlapping of cultural homogeneous and political entities.

2.3 Modernism: nation as an elitist creation¹

In the 1960's modernism changed the ideas about the nation state, based on a more global view instead of the European model. This paragraph will focus on modernism, the causes and the actors of the emergence of the nation will be discussed, as well as the post-modern debate and alternative ideas about the nation. This is important because changing ideas about the nation also influence the content of nation building projects.

For modernists the nation is a historical construction that appeared in the wake of the French revolution. It is the product of modern processes like industrialism and capitalism. In the modern era the nation became a necessity, a new organisation model in a changing world that needed uniformity for an efficient market and a standardised language for better communication and education. The decolonisation in Africa in the 1960's and the nation-building projects implemented here, were important for the development of the modernist view. It clearly showed that a nation was tried to be constructed and that nationalism can appear without a nation being present. The signs of the manufacturability of the nation state, caused doubts about the primordialism of the nation-state, leading to the development of modernists ideas that are now prevalent.

Modernists have the basic ideas of the nation as a construction and the nation as result of the modern era in common but may put emphasis on different factors. The political and cultural factors are discussed here as they are most relevant for this research (Özkirimli,2000).

Nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalism but the other way around (Hobsbawm in Ozkirimli, 2000, p.86).

¹After consulting many other sources, this paragraph is mainly based on the introductory work of Özkirimli, assistant Professor of International Relations at the University of Istanbul, because it gives a clear chronological overview of the subject. The foreword is written by Fred Halliday of the London School of Economics.

Political factors

Three modernists who focus on political transformation are Breuille, Brass and Hobsbawm. For Breuille nationalism is a political movement seeking or exercising state power and justifying such actions with nationalist arguments. To legitimise state action and to secure the support of the mass the collective character of society was stressed. Nationalism is important to the state because it promotes the idea of a common interest and mobilises support, also from groups excluded from the political process. The connection between state and society is citizenship.

Brass also sees nationalism as an instrument for elites to generate support from the mass. The nation is continually redefined and reconstructed because of changing conditions (as is the linked identity, which is situational, see §2.1). The study of ethnicity and nationalism is basically about politically induced cultural change. Identity formation is therefore variable. Media, communication and language are important means to communicate ideas/manipulations (Özkirimli, 2000).

The study of ethnicity and nationality is in large part the study of politically induced cultural change. More precisely, it is the study of the process by which elite's and counter-elite's within ethnic groups select aspects of the groups culture, attach new value and meaning to them, and use them as symbols to mobilise the group, to defend its interest, and to compete with other groups (Brass in Özkirimli, 2000, p.110).

Hobsbawm views the nation as a result of social engineering, which uses 'the invention of tradition' as a tool to stimulate and secure cohesion in a national community. The invention of tradition and thus the national cohesion was developed by the ruling elite to counter the threat of mass democracy and remain in power. Education, ceremonies and monuments became important ways to communicate national ideas. Rapid industrialisation caused fragmentation and required social cohesion. This is an example of a period of rapid social change where order and unity are needed (Özkirimli, 2000), as is independence after a long period of colonisation and changed social relations.

Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is reality, and in general an inescapable one (Gellner in Özkirimli, 2000, p.118).

Brass and Breuille see the nation as a political instrument from the elite using citizenship or politically induced cultural change as instruments to create support from the mass and to make nationalism look natural (primordial). Hobsbawm wants to add the perspective of the people to the understanding of the nation because he sees the nation and nationalism as a dual phenomenon.

Constructed essentially from above, but which cannot be understood unless analysed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist (Hobsbawm in Özkirimli, 2000, p.119).

The nation might be invented from above but it has to be accepted from below. The people might not think what the state or nationalist movement wants them to think. The national identity might not be superior to other identities and the national identity has a different meaning to different people and can shift over time.

As Bauer puts it; ‘*My people are those whom I see as my people, whom I name as my own, with whom I know myself linked by indissoluble ties*’ (Bauer in Balakrishnan, 1996, p.61). The sense of belonging might be created from above but has to be accepted and reproduced from below (Özkirimli, 2000). Aspects of these theories as the emphasis on national character with symbols and ceremonies, use of history, citizenship and education are used as operationalisation of the nation building process.

Cultural factors

Gellner puts the emphasis on culture. Modern age also changes the relationship between culture and power. Instead of a differentiation of culture between high and low-class, high culture is now spread over the whole society. This is the influence of modernism on identity. Society becomes more egalitarian and mobile and therefore culturally standardised. The industrial society needs the nation to be able to function (Özkirimli, 2000).

Nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population... It is the establishment of an anonymous, impersonal society, with mutually substitutable atomised individuals, held together above all by a shared culture of this kind (Gellner in Özkirimli, 2000, p.133).

Anderson also focuses on culture. He sees nationality and nationalism as a cultural artefact and not as an ideology. He calls the nation an *imagined political community*. It is not a community like a family or a village because most members of the nation will never meet each other. They are bound together because they speak the same language and have access to the same information. The invention of print-capitalism and the standardisation of language were important to make this possible. Power was not yet linked to the nation. Official nationalism was a reaction to the popular nationalist movement and developed when dynasties linked themselves to the cultural nation to remain in power (Anderson, 1983). Anderson claims that the word ‘imagined’ is not a synonym for falsity or fabrication. The nation is a creation, but that does not mean it is not real (Özkirimli, 2000).

Elite

For the modernist nationalism precedes the nation. This definition of nationalism states very clearly that the elite is the great nationalism actor. This elite can be an economical, political or military elite. The nation is needed by the elite to gain or remain in power. Nationalism is used to justify this. The nation means national cohesion, which is a requirement for stability. This cohesion has to be created but will benefit politics and economics but also keeps the elite in power. Stakeholders like lawyers, diplomats and officers are needed to build the state-apparatus. Writers, historians and journalists are actors for the unifying of the nation on cultural terms (Habermas in Balakrishnan, 1996).

Box 2.2 The definitions of the nation-state model derived from the modernist theory.

1. **Nationalism** is a political movement, seeking state power that is justified with nationalist arguments. Nationalism is an instrument for the elite, promoting the idea of common interest and in that way generating support from the mass.
2. **The Nation** is a construction, the result of nationalist measures, creating a sense of belonging.
3. **The Nation-state** is a construction, an aim.

Debate

Modernism is the most supported view on nationalism but the debate moves on. The new debate is post-modern. There is more attention for alternative histories and culture. According to Calhoun nationalists underestimate the importance of the institutions, networks and movements, (or the civil society, see box 2.3) that knit people together across lines of diversity internal to nations and states. The alternative history and culture are important for this knit (Calhoun, 1994). Hobsbawm also indicated that the people should not be forgotten. They are needed to reproduce the nation. Only then nationalism really reaches its goal (Hobsbawm, 1990).

Nationalist claims are one genre of answers to the question of what constitutes an autonomous political community capable of self-determination. These claims come in two versions. One stresses the ethnic or cultural similarity of its members of a political community, the other on their common citizenship in a specific state (Calhoun, 1994). According to the modernist the cultural similarity is also a construction. Smith does not agree with this and defines his ideas in the concept of ethno-symbolism. He thinks modernist scholars overlooked the persistence of earlier myths and symbols and their importance to the people. He states that the ethnic group, or what he calls an *ethnie*, is the predecessor of the nation and that the nation can not be understood without taking this into account (Smith, 2004).

The main discussion point is the antiquity of nations, also the title of Smith's book. The ethnic symbols and myths are important for the development of the nation, for modernist these symbols are manipulated or invented.

For Smith, the *ethnie* is not primordial but is formatted through coalescence and division. Once an *ethnie* is formed it is very durable, whereby forces as state making and religion are important because they institutionalise the *ethnie*. The first nations started as institutionalised self-conscious *ethnies*. This shows resemblance with the European model. This model was later used to ensure national unity, also if there was no immediate ethnic basis. The development to a nation can follow different process. Smith defined two different types of nationalism to get a more included understanding of the various appearances of it around the world (derived from Kohn's distinction). Territorial nationalism is based on the civic model, rejecting foreign rule and establishes a new state nation. After independence an effort is made to bring the different ethnic groups together and integrate them into a new political community (Smith, 2004). Hobsbawm criticises this by asking whether this is nationalism or state-ism (Hobsbawm, 1990). Ethnic nationalism is based on the ethnic model and will try to include ethnic group members in the boundaries of the ethnic nation. Africa clearly shows resemblance with territorial nationalism and the rational or civic nation (Smith, 2004).

2.4. African context²

The previous paragraph shows that there are more nation models and various paths to the nation-state (see box 2.5). This will have implications for the nation building process, which will be discussed in paragraph 2.5. In this paragraph it will be discuss how the European model is applied in Africa and the content and problems of the African context.

² With Africa or African context Sub Sahara Africa is meant. The common characteristics are the history of European colonialism, the multi-ethnic societies and related political problems. References to the region and these characteristics are a generalisation.

In Europe a cultural interpretation of political membership was needed. Cultural and political homogeneity led to the development of the nation state model. This homogeneity was not present in Africa. The invention of nation states was brought to Africa by the European colonial powers that divided the continent in the "Scramble for Africa". The lines that were drawn on the African map during the African Conference in Berlin in 1884 are still the lines on the map today (Mazrui, 1993). These lines are the borderlines of states, defining who belongs to the state and who does not. The border cuts through cultural and ethnic borders, threatening the groups that are now split up and it also joins different groups together within one border. In Africa hundreds of ethnic groups are squeezed into 50 states (Adam, 1995). The nation (understood as a group of people often sharing common elements of culture or a historical or political identity) is thus not the population of a state in Africa. The nation in Africa is the cultural or ethnic group, as this unit was the basis of cultural homogeneity and political organisation. The inclusion and exclusion of the nations in Africa did not correspond with the new borders. In other words; in the African context the political borders and the cultural borders do not overlap. The European model of the nation state where nation and state meet in the same territory was exported to Africa while it could not be applied here. The state exists in absence of the nation. It is a political and territorial unit but not a cultural community (Fosse, 1992). Despite all this, Africa did know a nationalist movement.

2.4.1 African nationalism

It is clear that African nationalism cannot be compared with the European nationalism. In the European model a nation has a desire to govern for its own state. In the African context this desire is also present but the nation is absent. In a world that is organised in nation-states, the desire of the population of colonial territories was placed in the nationalism doctrine (Calhoun, 1994). Two things need to be explained. Where does this desire come from? And How relevant is the nation in this form of nationalism?

African nationalism is not the desire of one nation to govern itself as according to the European model but a reaction against colonialism. The population wanted to rule itself. These populations was not homogeneous but was united in their struggle for liberty. The colonial borders were a context that was accepted and not changed. There was no other choice than building on the foundations of common elements given by the colonial powers because it was the only element of unity. This meets the description of Smith's territorial nationalism. After independence the new African leaders had to deal with various ethnic groups within their borders (see §2.4.3) (Mazrui, 1993). In South Africa and Namibia the anti-colonialism was empowered by the anti-Apartheid sentiment. The Apartheid system divided the population into ethnic groups. It was not in the interest of the colonial powers to unite the people within these borders. Segregation was the way of handling the cultural diversity (Strand, 1991).

This was not the objective of the new African leaders from which most supported the Africanism nationalism movement (see chapter 3). They wanted a country with a nation, a population that was not divided whereby the national identity could be a new form of integration (Fosse, 1992). The nationalist movement creates a national identity and the nation building project has to move the loyalty from the ethnic group to nationhood. This connects with the ideas of Breuilly and Brass who state that nationalism promotes the idea of common interest and generates support from the mass.

This was needed by the liberation movement to justify their struggle and to reach their goal. The national identity is needed to create a stability that was needed in the African context because of its heterogeneous population.

The desire to have a nation comes from the colonial oppression and the nation is relevant because it creates stability and unity. The common goal of liberty gave enough cohesion for the struggle, but more nation building will be needed on the long run, as proven by ethnic conflict in Africa since independence (Thomson, 2000)

2.4.2 African politics

In pre-colonial history the population density was low and the production of small economic surpluses hindered the formation of states in many parts of pre-colonial Africa. Lineage and kinship dominated pre-colonial social relations. Colonialism and the 'Scramble for Africa' led to the incorporation of Africa into the international modern state structure. This caused political and social problems. There was no African tradition of a hegemonic state and a link between state and society and strong political institutions were not developed because for the colonialists coercion was the legitimacy of power. The colonial power also created a new political, African state elite that caused inequality. This elite was created because the colonialists needed some local people in their administration. These people often led the liberation campaigns and form the first governments after independence (Thomson, 2000).

The liberation movements rose after the Second World War when values of self-determination and democracy became very important. Political and economic autonomy and economic development for the Africans were of great importance as well as national unity that was at the heart of African nationalism. Cultural pluralism and tribalism (see §2.1) were frowned upon by nation leaders. A slogan of the Mozambican leader Machel was: '*The nation is alive, the tribe must die*' (Thomson, 2000, p.35). The nation had priority and state power would be used to promote this process of nation building. African nationalism was a state-defined phenomenon, not a populace movement. This created a passive civil society while in a democracy, an active civil society is needed for people to participate in the public debate and legitimate state power this way (see box 2.3). People will then associate with this power and therefore with each other. The absence of an active civil society can be the downfall of nation building (Thomson, 2000).

Box 2.3 Civil society is:

- What knits society together.
- Social integration of the state, market economy, social networks, political participation provided by autonomous agents.
- The capacity of the people and society to organise itself makes them a source of political legitimacy rather than being object of rule (Calhoun, 1994).

Another outcome of the state-defined nationalism is the one party system, because political competition was suppressed as well. Many African countries have a one party system, which is not always seen as negative (by leaders and the people). That one party can set out a straight course to unity and development is the general argument (Thomson, 2000). Namibia has a multi-party system but the strength of ruling party SWAPO and its majority in the Parliament and Cabinet practically makes it a one-party system.

Another difficulty is the role of ethnicity. Colonial authorities were busy assigning Africans to tribes, Africans were busy building tribes to belong to. The colonial states wanted to deal with tribes as it was a system they understood and tribal leaders and their followers involved themselves in inventing tradition and symbols to bind the community together because the ethnic identity could be an advantage in this colonial political environment.

Competition between groups is restricted in the one-party system, but is not in the multi-party system (see also chapter 3) in which people can organise themselves among ethnic lines, what can cause tensions. Democracy is based on individualism but Africans tend to interact on a communal basis (Thomson, 2000).

In this respect clientelism is of importance. This system is a patron-client chain from president to peasant. The patron extends his security and resources to his clients and the clients return support and legitimisation. This often works among ethnic lines. This system can intervene with the modern liberal democracy. The support the client gives the patron can be a democratic vote, based on the communal system and not on personal choice. This can strengthen the political organisation among ethnic lines.

Ethnicity and clientelism might be a difficult in combination with democracy, ethnic groups are still important for the people because they continue to serve contemporary political and economic needs. It can also serve state and civil society because a multi-ethnic society demands balance and negotiation (Thomson, 2000).

So, African politics knows many difficulties: a foreign system, a weak link between state and society, weak political institutions and civil society, a strong political elite, often a one-party system, a multi-ethnic society, clientelism and ethnic tensions. The political elite is not new in politics because of their position in the colonial administration, but the transformation from liberation movement to leading political party has been difficult. A democratic tradition has to grow, and a balance between the Western and the African system has to be found.

2.4.3 African identity and ethnicity

As explained in §2.1, identity can be used for political purposes. Nationalism made a national identity necessary. For the new (nation)-state or its attempt to be, the loyalty of the people had to move from the ethnic group to the nation. With the first wave of independence in Africa in the 1960's and 1970's this was thought to be necessary because the ethnic identity was seen as a threat to statehood and the legitimacy of the state power because people did not identify themselves with the new borders. It is also a threat to the ethnic group because the borders were shared with other groups and the group itself was divided by the border (Mazrui, 1993). This change of loyalty and the creation of a national identity in the African context is not easy. African identities have a complex history and the ethnic identities seem to be strong.

The African identity is a reflection of its colonial history (see §2.6). Not much is known about the pre-colonial history of Africa. It is therefore not known how the African society was organised before the Europeans came. The context of group identification and the intensity of identity is also not known. The Europeans brought Africa into the international economic system, what destructed African society (Mandaza in Bekker et al. 2002). Long established identities were shaken, new identities invented.

The African identity today is formed by (anti)-colonialism and remembrance (or romantisation/invention of memory). The group identities became stronger when there was more contact with other groups. This evolved into an ethnic identity (Chazan, 1988).

Box 2.4 Factors of group identification related to ethnicity

Culture: a shared set of meanings that are lived through the material and symbolic practices of everyday life (Knox et al. 1998).

Ethnicity: a socially created system of rules about who belongs and who does not belong to a particular group based upon actual or perceived commonality (Knox et al. 1998).

Ethnic group: community of people who have the conviction that they have a common identity and common fate based on issues of origin, kinship ties, traditions, cultural uniqueness, a shared history and possibly a shared language (Thomson, 2000,p.58)

Regionalism: a feeling of collective identity based on a population's political territorial identification within a state or across state boundaries (Knox et al. 1998).

The first new factor of identity that was introduced by Europeans was religion. Africa knows the traditional religions, Christianity and Islam. In Southern Africa Christianity was introduced (Mazrui, 1993). The second identity was the ethnic identity, which is seen by some scholars as a colonial invention. It was in any case emphasised and politicised by the colonial powers and later in Namibia and South Africa by the Apartheid system that used ethnic stereotyping to create and maintain the boundaries between these groups. It limited the interaction and it promoted negative attitudes towards each other (LeBeau, 1991). Ethnicity is often related to tribalism. This is seen as a primordial entity, typical for Africa.

The ethnic identity is an exclusive concept and means belonging to a group that you are born into, automatically excluding others. History, religion and mythology are important aspects (Töttemeyer, 1988). Language and cultural traditions are important elements of the ethnic identity. According to Manzo two people belong to the same nation when they share culture, time and territory (Manzo, 1996). Territory is an aspect of both ethnic and national identity, which are attached to a certain territory, making regionalism an important factor of identification. The aspects important for the ethnic identity are also found in some of the definitions for nation.

Paulston (in Harlech Jones, 1992) distinguishes three types of ethnicity. The first type is a basis for a personal identity. The second is the ethnic movement as a strategy for economic or political purpose. The third is ethnic nationalism. This is when an ethnic group in a state turns to separatism, which can for example be caused by forced assimilation or a feeling of marginalisation. This third type comes close to the concept of nation. The nation in this model is basically an ethnic group with political ambitions.

In the African context the first type of ethnicity, the basis for a personal identity is very strong, no matter if it is created or not created, colonial product or primordial. It is often experienced by the people as primordial and natural, just as the nation. The second type is a threat to statehood and nationhood. When people do not identify with the state but with their ethnic group, the state power is not legitimized. The nationhood is then far out of sight because people see their fellow citizens as others. Ethnic nationalism can lead to far more serious consequences as separation or civil war. The nation-state model can give cohesion and stability. The ethnic identity can challenge this, especially in the African context (Paulston in Harlech Jones, 1992). The nation building project tries to deal with this.

Box 2.5 Summary of 'nation-state' models.

- **primordial European model** = cultural homogeneous group + state
- **modernism model** = state + constructed nation
- **African model** = state + multi-ethnic population

Source: derived from theory

2.5 Nation building

The nation-state model that was exported to Africa could not be implemented as such but was still the aim because in the context of newly established African states unity is needed to achieve political and economic stability. The establishment of this unity is the goal of the nation building process. Unity can be achieved in political, economical or cultural sense or a combination of these factors. Mazrui describes nation building as a process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller units to the larger central political system. It is not clear if this is only a change of political loyalty or a cultural shift as well (Mazrui, 1993).

Mazrui; 'nation building as a process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller units to the larger central political system' (Mazrui, 1993).

Töttemeyer is very clear about this. Nation building should foster a common culture that is shared by all citizens, grown out of subcultures and transcend them (fusion or integration, see §2.1). This culture is a common set of values that are the guidelines in society. Ethnicity should be depoliticised and the recognition of this identity does not have to contradict a national identity (Töttemeyer, 1988). The main goal of the nation building process is to establish a shift in loyalty and thus the group identification of the citizens. This paragraph will further explore this process.

2.5.1 State building and nation building

Anderson (see §2.3) and Mazrui both use a model for nation building with a vertical and horizontal component. The vertical component is the state building component, the horizontal component is the nation building (see figure 2.1).

State building means the establishment of the state, its institutions and acknowledgement of its citizens. Mazrui goes one step further and names his vertical component the creation of a political community. This means that people accept each other as members of this community with equal rights. The horizontal component is the acceptance of the state. The acceptance of the state building is the goal of nation building in this model. The end result is the civic nation (Mazrui, 1993). Anderson's vertical component is the acceptance of the sovereignty of the state. The horizontal component is the creation of horizontal comradeship. This model leads more to the nation state model, depending on the content of comradeship (Anderson, 1983).

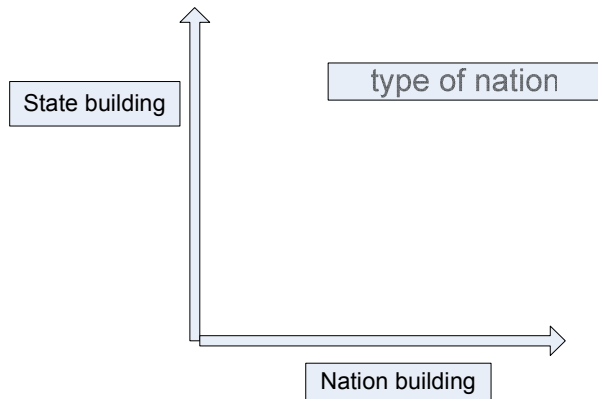


Figure 2.1: State and nation building and its result.
Source: Marjolein de Haan, derived from theory

2.5.2 Loyalty

Because of the nation state model, the cultural loyalty that the nation building is trying to achieve and the political loyalty that the state building has as its goal are intertwined. This fits in the European nation state model. This is different in the African context. There is no doubt about the political loyalty. The state needs to be accepted by its citizens to be legitimate (vertical component). The cultural loyalty is the point of discussion (horizontal component). Weber even asks if a cultural nation exists. A nation always has a common political destiny, no matter what leads to the emergence of the national sentiment. The cultural loyalty is not an easy discussion because in Africa the situation is constructed, where political and cultural borders do not match.

There are different combinations possible consisting of political loyalty and the cultural loyalty (see table 2.1). The European model is based on one political and cultural group. This is problematic in Africa. The difficulty of the nation building process in this model is the loyalty of the people towards that ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups and the multi-ethnic society. The question is if this loyalty and these factors of identity will go away in the light of nationhood. Mazrui's model only distinguishes a political loyalty and does not go into the cultural loyalty. To establish the European model in a multi-ethnic society will only work in the assimilation model. An alternative is the combination of one political and a multi-cultural loyalty. This can be multiple equal identities or multiple hierarchy identities (see models in §2.1). Ethnicity is often seen as an obstacle for nation building. It does not have to be in competition when both identities are accepted in a plural society. Individuals can adopt different identities (see §2.1) (Adam, 1995). Nation building does not have to mean the removal of differences but to harmonise them (Kashoki, 1992). This acceptance can be represented in the multi-cultural, integration or plural society model. It can also be a hierarchical model. This fits in Töttemeyer's idea, who wants to create a national identity that will be placed above the cultural identity (Töttemeyer, 1988). According to Mazrui the nation building process is widening the horizons of identity instead of transforming them in the African context (Mazrui, 1993). This view was not followed in the 1960's when assimilation in favour of the nation was the model. South Africa and Namibia could learn lessons from this time and seem to support Mazrui's view with resp. the 'Rainbow nation' and 'Unity in Diversity'.

Table 2.1 Loyalty model

political loyalty	single cultural loyalty	multi cultural loyalty	model
X	x		1. European
X			2. Mazrui
X	x		3. assimilation
X		x	4. multiculturalism, integration, pluralism

Source: own interpretation of the above described theory.

2.5.3 Different types of nations

The different combinations of loyalty lead to different types of nations (see figure 2.1 and table 2.1). The idea of the nation-state does not correspond anymore with the definition of box 2.1. This model was the goal for many African nation builders in the sixties, implemented by the assimilation model. It seems an unrealistic model in Africa. The second and fourth loyalty models are an option. The options for the fourth model are discussed in §2.1. South Africa and Namibia translate this into the 'Rainbow Nation' and 'Unity in Diversity'. Chapter four will show how the people perceive this.

The horizontal component, the cultural loyalty, can be shaped in different ways and different combinations of the vertical and horizontal component can be used. Just as Kohn and Smith (see §2.2 and 2.3), Mazrui shows that there are different kinds of nations. He gives the civic nation as alternative to the nation-state model. (Mazrui, 1993). Degenaar (in Du Toit, 1999) distinguishes two nations. The first is the cultural nation, based on ethnicity, common culture and language. The second is the civic nation is the loyalty towards the constitution and citizenship. Stavenhagen and Smith attach territoriality to the civic nation, which has a common law, economy and education system. All the nation-typologies have a lot in common. I will combine them and define two types of nations that can be the result of the state-building/nation-building co-ordination system of figure 2.1 (see box 2.6).

Box 2.6: Type of nation

Civic nation: is a group of people, living in the territory of a sovereign state of which they have national membership. This membership is the citizenship that gives them right and duties according to the constitution and common law to which they are loyal. The political community the nation is, is formed by the acceptance of the state, its institutions and other citizens.

Ethnic nation: is a group of people, bind together by common language, culture and history, trying to include all members of the nation in the political unit, for which membership is based on ethnicity.

This leads me to the integration of the state building, nation building, loyalty model and types of nations. The content of a nation building process depends on the type of nation that is wished for. The civic nation will only have political loyalty, the ethnic nation will have both political and cultural loyalty. The path to the civic nation in the state building/nation building axe will contain mostly state-building and the acceptance of the state building will be the nation building. The ethnic nation will need state building to create a framework for the nation building.

2.5.4 Ingredients of the nation

If the choice or outcome is the civic or the ethnic nation, according to Smith a few ingredients to build a nation are needed. The nation needs a self-definition. To speak in the terms of social identity, the in-group and out-group need to be known. The in-group is attached to a territory with a name and symbols. These symbols refer to certain myths, memories and traditions of the nation. The myths and memories are attached to the homeland. This is the territorialisation of the nation. The last two ingredients are more linked to state building, but are important because they are the framework for nation building: legal standardisation and the development of a uniform public culture (Smith, 2004).

Table 2.2 Main processes at work in the creation of a community according to Smith (p.17)

1. Self-definition
2. Myth and memory cultivation
3. Territorialisation
4. Development of a uniform public culture
5. Legal standardisation

Source: Smith, 2004

2.6 Nation building tools

The nation building process needs instruments to achieve its goals. The nation building tools are based on the ideas of the modernists (see §2.3). Breuilly names common interest and citizenship, Brass mentions media and language and Hobsbawm comes with education, ceremonies and monuments. This partly overlaps with the ingredients of the nation from Smith (see table 2.2). In this paragraph symbols, territoriality, citizenship, history, language and education are highlighted. These tools are used in the research as operationalisation of the theory.

Symbols

To create a sense of belonging symbols are used. People have to relate to these symbols that unites them all. The flag, coat of arms and the national anthem are important to create a deep sentiment. They symbolise the sovereignty of the state and the characteristics of the nation. Political power is celebrated in symbolic happenings like military parades, national holidays and ceremonies (Holloway et al., 2001). The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in Namibia claims *'that over time the symbols get deeply embedded in the memory of the people and are a source of national dignity, patriotic pride and loyalty'* (Fosse, 1992). The map can be a symbol and a logo. It shows the territory and gives the nation that has to be build territoriality (Anderson, 1983).

Territoriality and state design

Territoriality is maybe the most important symbol as it characterises the nation-state (see also §2.1.3). This territoriality is also a characteristic of ethnicity (see box 2.4). The nation builders want to match the national borders with the cultural/ethnic/nationhood borders. In the African context ethnicity was seen as a threat to national unity. The state model is important to keep the balance between different groups. A unitary state gives a clear signal of one government to all. Everyone has the same government and the same rules. A federal state leaves more space for regional freedom. This can be re-legitimising the state but it can also deepen tribal identities, just like decentralisation.

In Namibia decentralisation is implemented to bring democracy closer to the people (see chapter 3). To avoid ethnic strongholds the administrative units are not to match with the ethnic/cultural borders (Diescho, 1994). State building can be a tool of nation building (Castell, 1997).

Box 2.7 Forms of governance

Federal state; a form of government in which power is allocated to units of local government within the country.

Unitary state; a form of government in which power is concentrated in the central government (Knox et al., 1998).

State building and nation building are linked strongly together in the constitution. In the Preamble of the Constitution of Namibia is stated that; '*the people of Namibia will strive to achieve national reconciliation and to foster peace, unity and a common loyalty to a single state*' (Diescho, 1994).

Citizenship

The constitution also states who is a member of the state and who is not. Citizenship can be based on two principles. The first is the *ius-sanguinis* principle. This principle is based on blood relations. Citizenship and thus nationality is defined by the nationality of the parents. The *ius-soli* principle is based on the place of birth (Kooijmans, 2000). Both principles indicate a relation with the country. The first is more orientated on the nation, the second on territory. Creating good citizens (meaning being loyal to the state) is institutionalised by programs of education, welfare and social policy (Holloway et al., 2001).

History

History is important for the sense of belonging. Memory is vital to the sense of identity and a common memory is important for the group identity, so this is crucial to the nation as well. A usable past is a history that serves the interest of elite's who use selective aspects of the past to manipulate mass emotions (Smith, 2004). History is problematic for the nationalist elite because it always shows its construction and not its primordialism. The story of nationalism is the national identity, acts of heroism and struggle, all uniting the nation (Calhoun, 1994). Renan described 'forgetting' as a crucial factor in the creation of a nation (Manzo, 1996).

The diversity of the population does not make it easier when all these groups perceive their own past. The state has to build its own past. The territory of the state gets historicalised and the history territorialised (Melber, 2003). This links the history, territory and national identity together. Education and museums are good mediums to communicate history, tradition and symbols (Lindskold, 2000).

Language

Language is an important indicator of group identity. It is the expression of the cultural framework of a group and preserves its historical achievements of the culture as well as maintaining inter-generational links with ancestors and honouring those who fought to preserve the language in the past (Mazrui in Bekker, 2000). Language is symbolic for unity as it is clear who belongs to the linguistic group and who does not. It seems a natural indicator. The Apartheid system used language as a decision tool to distinguish ethnic groups and its members. Very often the new African states adopt the language of the coloniser because it is a language that is shared by most people. This is a political choice.

Education

The implementation or choice of the state model, history and language need to be communicated. The symbols are an important example of that. Education is another important medium. Two goals of education in Namibia are *'to develop an awareness and appreciation of the diversity of cultural heritage which contributes to the Nationhood of Namibia (p.238) and develop an understanding of the societal goals of Namibia with particular emphasis on national reconciliation and national unity'* (Adeyemi, 2000). Children will be socialised with the national symbols and rituals, in the context of the Namibian society and will learn about the national history.

2.7 Review

This research will try to reveal how the nation building process in Namibia works and examine the tools that are used. The perception of the people of Namibia about the inter-group relations and the social identity in the country will tell how these relations and identities are perceived and if and in what way they are changing. This will give an idea about the political and cultural loyalty of the people and the type of nation Namibia is 15 years after independence. Loyalty, identity and nation building are operationalised by aspects of the theory. Examples are language policy, the role of education, identity ranking, use of symbols and ceremonies, homeland mapping and the nation building tools. This will be discussed in chapter 4. To get a better understanding of the processes and perceptions, background information is needed on Namibia, the research context. This will be provided in chapter 3.

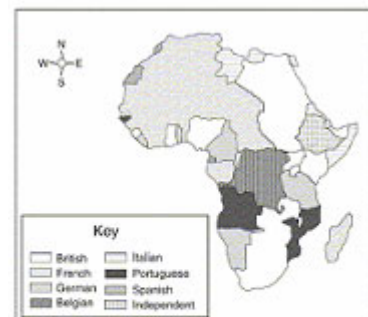
Chapter 3: The Namibian context

This chapter will provide some background information to Namibia. This information is needed to be able to fully understand the research context. It explains why identity and nation building are interesting research topics and the difficulties that are related to these topics in Namibia. The history of Namibia is for example the reason for many social problems today and the reason why nation building is desirable. These and other topics that are relevant for this research like politics and the education system will be discussed in this chapter. The chapter will start with a general introduction to the country and its people, followed by the site and situation of Namibia, its history, the importance of the Sub-Saharan region for Namibia's politics, history and population composition and ends with Namibian governance.

3.1 An introduction

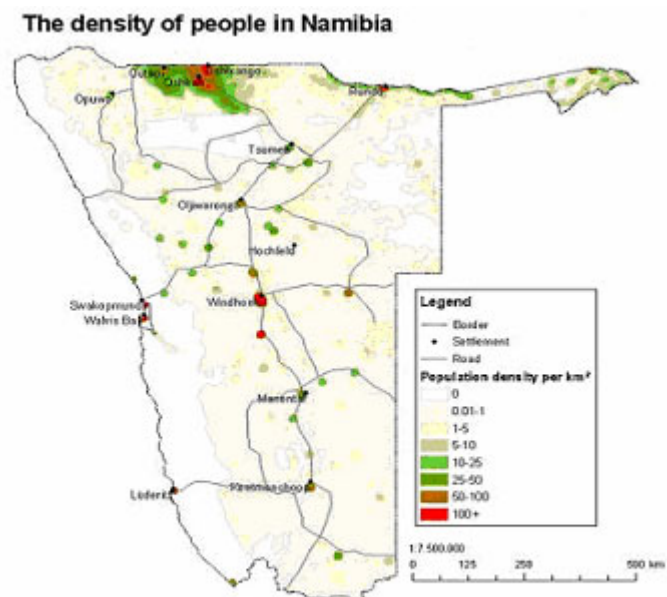
In 1488 a Portuguese expedition arrives at Cape Town. It is the first European contact with Southern Africa, and the start of a huge impact on the continent (see map 3.1). This impact logically started at the coastal areas with Angola and Mozambique as the scene of slave trade for centuries. Namibia was unattached for a long time because of the inaccessibility of its desert coastline with uninhabited coastal sand dunes and Skeleton coast, named after the many shipwrecks that the rough Atlantic caused (see § 3.8 colonial traces and landscapes). In 1652 the Dutch build a fortress in Cape Town. This town became the centre of Southern Africa and of European settlement (Cheers, 1999). Namibia's first contact with Europeans was the missionaries who arrived in 1840, often with Cape Town as their basis. Some European traders arrived at the scene but the number of White settlers remains low. Unlike the fertile Cape colony, the Southern part of Namibia consists of the Namib and Kalahari Desert. The inaccessibility of the coastline, the harsh climate, unfertile grounds and low population density (see map 3.2) make the area uninteresting for the colonial powers for a long time. In 1884 the European influence becomes official when the Berlin Conference makes Namibia a German protectorate (see map 3.1). Some White settlers start to farm with extensive cattle herding, the only possible means of existence in the dry savannah. In the very low populated south, there is little resistance.

The German control does not go beyond 'the red line' (see red line map 3.3). This red line is the border of their policy zone, which contains the northern part of Namibia. This is where a majority of the



Map 3.1: Colonial powers in Africa in 1914

Source: Texas Education Agency, 2005



Map 3.2: The density of people in Namibia.

Source: University of Cologne, 2002

people live, along the border rivers, living from cattle, fishing and simple agriculture (see map 3.7). These people were well politically organised in kingdoms, long before the Germans came. The Germans did not interfere in this region because the level of organisation and amount of people could cause too much resistance that they would not have been able to handle and gain and maintain control (Bayer 1998).

The picture of the low populated south and the majority of the population located in the north is a logical consequence of the physical environment. The south and central parts are dry and have a high evaporation rate, having limited means of existence. The areas among the Northern border rivers are the most suitable for settlements with the highest rainfall and lowest evaporation and do indeed accommodate the majority of the people (see map 3.2). The different population groups will be described in §3.5. The next paragraph will first describe the site and situation of Namibia.

3.2 Site and situation

Namibia is a Sub-Saharan country on the west coast of the continent (see map 3.4). Its neighbours are South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola (see map 3.3). These countries are not just neighbours but play an important role in the history of Namibia. This paragraph will discuss the establishment of the territory in which these peoples are gathered together and the country's regional relations.

As most African countries the borders are a heritage from colonial times. They were drawn at the African Berlin Conference in 1884, the time of the 'Scramble for Africa'. These borders defined the German colony of Southwest Africa. The border with South Africa is the Orange-river, the border with Botswana the 20° eastern longitude in the southern part and 21°E.L. in the northern part. The northern border consists of the Kunene River, the Kavango River and the Zambezi River. The Caprivi-strip was also assigned to Deutsch Südwestafrika and was an attempt to connect the territory with *Deutsch Ostafrika* (German East Africa) now Tanzania. The existence of the Victoria waterfalls was forgotten leaving the Germans with no connection and the Caprivi-strip. The Caprivi-strip borders Namibia with Zambia and Zimbabwe (Bayer, 1998).



Map 3.3: Namibia, Red Line and borders
Source: Thinkquest Educational Foundation, 2005



Map 3.4: Namibia's location in Africa.
Source: Simplemaps, 2005

The borders of the Caprivi-strip and the border with Botswana are clearly colonial borders because they are straight lines (see map 3.3 yellow line). The other borders are rivers (see map 3.3 blue line) and seem to be natural borders (see §3.8 colonial traces) but these borders were also defined by the colonial powers, in the north between the Germans and Portugal and in the east and south with the British. The Caprivi-strip was a part of Bechuanaland (now Botswana) before 1884.

These borders cut through the traditional home regions of most of the groups present within Namibia, leaving a part of these groups on the other side of the border. Every group needs an other group to define itself. It is difficult to make the neighbouring countries 'the other' when almost every population group of Namibia relates to groups on the other side of the border (see §3.5). In the national context these borders have to help to accentuate the Namibian nation as one group, (see §2.1). The positive part is the good relation with the neighbouring countries but the close link is a problem for the national unity. The question is; who is the neighbour, the people on the other side of the border or the other groups within the national border? This is important matter in the nation building process. So, the neighbouring countries of Namibia also play an important role in its history and thereby the reality of today because of the strong ethnic and historical links.

3.3 Namibia and the Sub-Sahara African region

Namibia was the last existing colony on the continent. The long history of South African rule tied the country to its former coloniser, especially economically. The Namibian dollar is linked to the South African Rand, which is also still an official currency in Namibia. South Africa is still Namibia's most important trading partner. Half of its food supplies are imported from South Africa. As in the neighbouring countries, mining is very important for Namibia's economy. The Namibian government managed to get some control over the foreign (often South African) companies that were mining their natural resources as diamonds, copper and uranium. The fishing industry is another important sector. The GDP per capita (Gross Domestic Product) of Namibia is half of that of Botswana and South Africa but much higher than the neighbouring countries in the north and the average GDP of Sub-Sahara Africa. A negative aspect is that inequality is high. About 20% of the population is unemployed and a lot of people live from small-scale self-subsistence farming.

Rural life is still very important in Namibia but the country does go through an urbanising process (see §3.8 rural life). In 1975 20,6% of the population lived in an urban setting, while 39, 8% is expected in 2015. This is the lowest urbanisation rate in the region (see §3.8 Windhoek). The urbanisation process can influence the nation building process and the group identity of people (see chapter 4).

The spread population, the great distances and the harsh climate do not make economic development easy. AIDS is another problem that will limit development. In Namibia 20% is infected. Botswana, which is known as the success story of Africa is even worse off with 37%. The infant and child mortality rates in Namibia are very low, compared to all neighbouring countries, which can be an indication for improved health care. The education level is rising as well. About 80% of the population is literate, an average percentage for the region, but the youth literacy is 90%, indicating that more children go to

Human Development positions
119. South Africa
126. Namibia
128. Botswana
147. Zimbabwe
164. Zambia
166. Angola

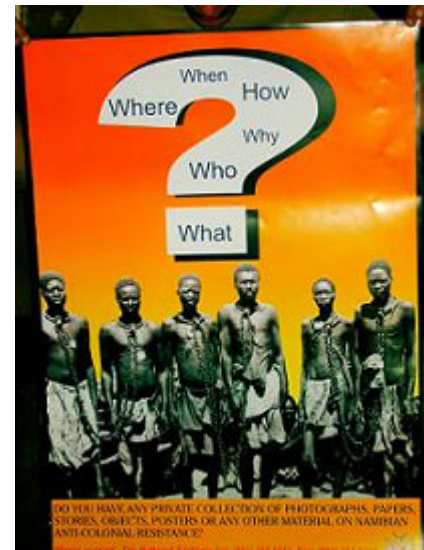
Figure 3.1: HDI-positions of the Sub Sahara African countries. Source: World Development Index database

school. Namibia is number 126 on the Human Development Index (see figure 3.1). South Africa is doing better on position 119. Botswana is following on number 128 (all statistics are from 2003, World Development Indicators database, 2005). The next paragraph will discuss the history of Namibia and the role of the Sub Saharan region.

3.4 History

Namibia is looking for its national history, written by Namibians as is illustrated by picture 3.1. This paragraph will focus on the colonial history that defined the territory of Namibia as we know it today and the road to independence because this is the history Namibia relates to as a nation and is important for the construction of a national identity.

In Africa the main focus is on the colonial history and the struggle for independence. Not much is known about the pre-colonial history because there are no written sources of this time. The first sources are diaries of missionaries and traders. These sources are all not African and often tell the history of the Europeans in Africa (Appiah, 2003). It is known which groups were present in Namibia at the time of German arrival and approximately when these groups came to Namibia. Not much is known about the social and political relations between these groups. From the diary of trader Andersson the power of Jonker Afrikaner leader of the Nama group the Afrikaners is known. He ruled a large part of the country in the mid-19th century. There were many clashes between him and the Hereros, fighting over grazing land and cattle. This paragraph will discuss the colonial history and the road to independence.



Picture 3.1: Looking for history
Source: Marjolein de Haan

3.4.1 Colonial history

The colonial history is much better documented. The colonial history starts with the first presence of the Whites. The first Whites were missionaries and traders. South Africa became an important source of White immigrants. The British presence in the Cape pushed 'the Boeren' (farmers) of Dutch descendents further into the interior, looking for a place to establish their own Republic.

The British annexed the harbour of Walvis Bay (see map 3.3) in 1878, but did not intervene in the rest of the country. In 1884 the country, except for Walvis Bay, fell under German rule. The Germans made protection treaties with different groups of the population to get control. The police-zone in the North (see red line map 3.3) was the border of German control. The Germans did not intervene north of the line because the majority of the people lived there and resistance could be expected. South of this border land was taken from the native population and given to the Whites.

In 1904 the Hereros went into resistance at Waterberg (near Okakarara). They lost 75% of their population in this battle. The Namas started a guerrilla war that lasted 3 years and cost them 50% of their population (Bayer, 1998). This uprising is often seen as the first national resistance, although some historians claim it was only a primary resistance.

The First World War brought an end to German power in South West Africa. The South African army brought the territory under British rule. After the war South Africa got mandate over South West Africa from the League of Nations. It had to prepare the territory for independence in the future. South Africans took over the farms of the Germans and confiscated the diamond fields. In 1922 the Native Administration Proclamation Act pushed the native population to marginal areas. This way, they were indirectly forced into migrant labour. Especially people in the South had to provide the labour for farms. People north of the police zone lived under a different administration. They worked in the mines as contract labourers. The people started to resist and organised themselves (Bayer, 1998).

3.4.2 Resistance and the road to independence

The colonial oppression, white supremacy loss of land and people lead people to resistance. It took until 1990 before independence was a fact. Before 1990 many UN resolutions, more dividing policies, war and international problems had to play their part in the process. The process started with the anti-colonial wave on the African continent in the 20th century.

This resistance was influenced by Pan-Afrikanism, the growing consciousness of the black race in the Americas and Africa. Afrikanism was of influence in the first few decades of the 20th century. One version of Afrikanism was based on African students, later important leaders who studied in the United States and people of black American churches came to Africa. The version that is of importance in the research context was inspired by the joined anti-colonial movement on the continent. Pan-Afrikanism was a movement towards national independence because it rose in a time when the nation state model dominated, which also explains the slogan from figure 3.2. Labour movements were one of the first hotbeds of resistance towards the colonial powers (Mazrui, 1993). In 1957 Namibian migrant labours in Cape Town organised themselves in the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC) with Toivo ya Toivo as their leader. He later became one of Mandela's fellow prisoners on Robben Island. From the beginning the OPC had the intention to be a national organisation, not just a labour movement and had the potential to be because the workplaces of the migrant contract workers were one of the few places that people from different groups of the Namibian nation could meet. The OPC wanted to follow the South African party the African National Congress (ANC, established in 1912) and become a nationalist movement.

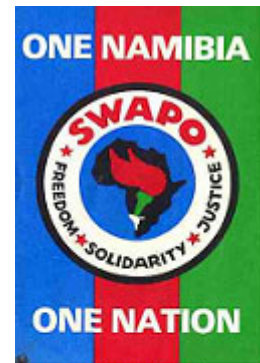
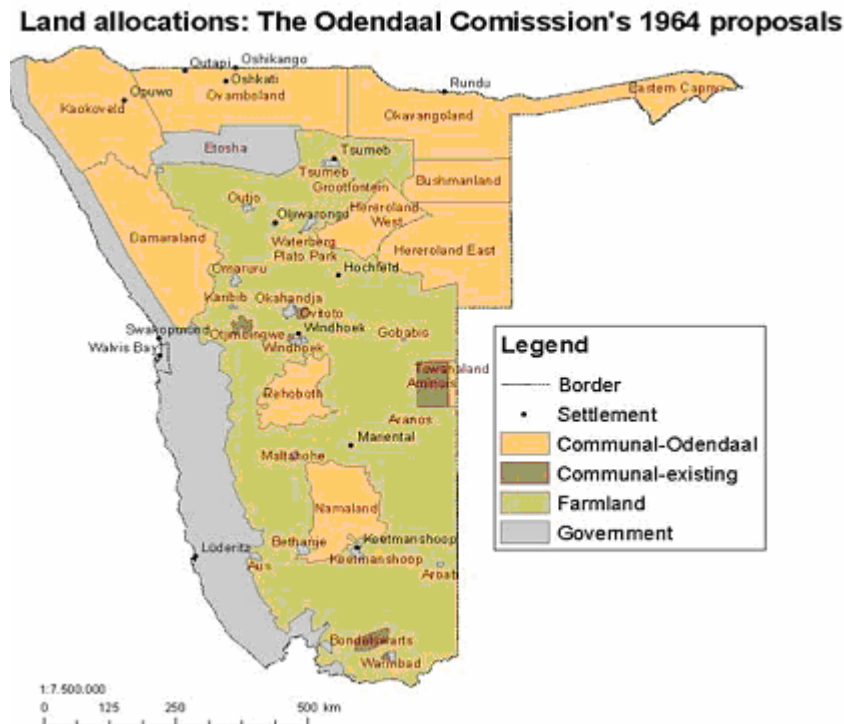


Figure 3.2 SWAPO poster showing SWAPO colors, slogan and aims. The torch is a socialism symbol, the hand is holding the torch is namibia and the fire is burning of Africa hope. It shows the link between SWAPO and the Pan-African movement
Source: Marjolein de Haan

The ideas and resistance that originated in the Cape spread to other parts of the country, including Namibia (Cliffe, 1994) (see figure 3.2). The OPC moved to Windhoek in 1959. In 1959 the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO, the succession of the OPC) were founded.

Despite the labour resistance, Apartheid was introduced in Namibia in 1964 to gain more control and tighten Namibia closer to South Africa. Apartheid was based on segregation or separate development as the government liked to call it. The different population groups, also called nations by the South-African government, could follow their own path of development. Every 'ethnic group' was put in a so-called tribal homeland, according to the Odendaal plan. Ten non-white homelands were established (see map 3.5).

Some of these groups already had a reserve. Every homeland would have its own legislative and executive authorities, staffed by appointed traditional leaders. The homelands were designed to divide the population and to marginalise the black population. They were given the land with the lowest potential and had a very low budget for education and health care. The Coloured people did not get their own homeland because they were already concentrated in the cities. They would get their own townships there. The policy was implemented in 1968. The South-African president could declare the homelands as self-governing and later independent. This was not the line the nationalists and the UN had in mind because it meant Namibia would crumble into pieces, leaving the Whites with the biggest share (Kaela, 1996).



Map 3.5: Land allocations, the Odendaal Commission 1964 proposals
Source: University of Cologne, 2002

Because the diplomatic way and the involvement of the UN did not bring independence, SWAPO started the armed struggle for independence in 1966. This had a great influence on SWAPO's people and organisation. The prominent leaders went into exile. SWAPO's army, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) was trained in Tanzania and Zambia. Civilians went to refugee camps in Botswana, Zambia and later Angola. SWAPO was declared the only legitimate representation of the Namibian people by the UN in 1973, with Sam Nujoma as its president. In 1971 the International Court of Justice declared that the South-African presence in Namibia was illegal (Cliff, 1994).

The leaders of the Catholic, Lutheran and Anglican Church condemned the Apartheid regime and supported the nationalist movement. The church could and did provide a network for publicity, communication and organisation to support SWAPO. The churches suffered repression as well as the people and could identify with them (Bayer, 1998).



Picture 3.2 Protest poster
Source: Marjolein de Haan

After independence the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) took care of the returned SWAPO exiles, voters' education and international election observers (Cliff, 1994).

The independence of Mozambique and Angola in 1974 changed the political balance in the region, influencing the struggle for independence. Both countries now had a Marxist government, which was seen a threat by South Africa. The government party in Angola, MPLA, supported SWAPO and was backed up by Cuban troops when South Africa and Angolan opposition party UNITA, which was more western orientated, launched an invasion. Both the MPLA and SWAPO were given political and diplomatic backing as well as military training and arms from the USSR (Cliff, 1994). This support from the socialist countries influenced SWAPO. The South African withdrew from Angola and South-Angola was now a basis for SWAPO to launch military operation in North-Namibia (Kaela, 1996).

Other Namibians were forced to do their service in the South African army, fighting their future fellow citizens and their own people (dividing ethnic groups). This is often not written in the history books (Cliff, 1994) In 1978 the UN accepted Resolution 435, which had to end the fighting, allowed the SWAPO-fighters back in Namibia, reliefs of political prisoners, gave the right to political organisation, elections and the right to self-determination for the people of Namibia. In 1980 it was clear that this was not going to happen when the AG-8 plan from the South-African government stated that every ethnic group had to have its own ethnic government. A year later, the US-government linked the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola to Resolution 435. This finally happened in 1988, ten years after the acceptance of the Resolution. The first elections were in October 1989 (Bayer, 1998).

The role of the region

It is clear that the neighbouring countries play an important role in the history of Namibia. South-Africa was seen as a coloniser. This view was supported by the international community since 1971. The South-African presence was an obstruction on the way to independence. The Apartheid regime that was introduced by South Africa divided the population among ethnic lines. Because Namibia was treated as an integral part of South Africa, it has strong economic ties with this southern neighbour, though South Africa being the dominant partner. Political relations got better when ANC got in power (Kaela, 1996). The other neighbouring countries were important for the independence struggle. The struggle basically took place in the South of Angola. Angola and the other bordering countries were a safe harbour for exiles, training camps for the PLAN and education centres of SWAPO.

The international arena was of influence as well. Namibia was high on the UN-agenda. The UN set up a UN Council for Namibia and a UN Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, Zambia. The political composition during the Cold War was of importance as well. SWAPO got support from the eastern block for weapons and education. Young people were sent to universities in East Germany, Moscow and Cuba.

This and the socialist government in Angola were reasons for the United States to intervene in the process and make the position of Namibia depend on the USA-USSR relations. The end of the Cold War made political relations looser and both parties wanted a solution. Independence was a fact on 21st of March 1990 (Cliff, 1994).

3.5 The people(s) of Namibia

The history described above is the history of the Namibian people, which is a very diverse group. This paragraph will describe the different groups and the problematic heritage of the Apartheid system of categorising the people.

Almost all the population groups in Namibia migrated into Namibia the last 1000 years and settled down here. The dense populated area around the northern border rivers is the area of the Owambo, Kavango and Caprivians. All groups are Bantu groups. The Owambo's originally come from the big Lake District in East Africa and came to Namibia in the 16th century. Many Owambo's live in Angola because the colonial border cut through their territory. The same is the case for the Kavango's who arrived in the late 18th century. A lot of Kavango's from the Angolan site fled to Namibia during the Angolan civil war. The Caprivians came from Zambia and are farmers and fishermen. These three groups live from what the rivers brings them and are self-subsistent (see §3.8 rural life).



Map 3.6: Immigration patterns of Namibian population groups
Source: Maho, 1998 and Bayer 1998

The Herero are a Bantu group as well. The Himba live in the North West and are a traditional Herero group. In central Namibia we find the Herero and in Eastern Namibia and Botswana there is a Herero group called the Banderu. These groups live from extensive cattle herding and lost a lot of land to white farmers (see map 3.7). The Himba/Herero group was the biggest group before the 1904 genocide (see §3.4.1). A part of the Herero still live in Botswana, where they fled to after 1904. This was not the first conflict. The Nama, coming from South Africa, were pushed northwards by the new White presence. The Nama used to be called the Hottentotten by the Cape-Dutch because of the click sounds in their language. They come from the area around the Orange-river and moved up north. This caused conflicts with the Hereros over grazing land. The dry savannah and limited amount of water limited the number of people able to live off the land. Therefore lack of grazing land and water were subject to conflict, but the limited number of people also limited confrontation in pre-colonial and colonial times (Bayer, 1998 and Maho, 1998).

are one of the last hunters and gatherers, but are now often employed as farm workers (Bayer, 1998).

Categorising the inhabitants of Namibia

The Apartheid-regime distinguished 10 ethnic groups (see table 3.1 and map 3.5) and gave each group a 'homeland'. Each non-white person had to belong to one of the ethnic groups. The indicators used to categorise a person were not uniform but the designed categorisation is still often used. In the new constitution everyone is equal and in census or any other administrative means is not asked for ethnicity. Language is now used as an indicator (see table 3.1), although this categorisation can be problematic because not all groups are in fact a linguistic group.

The Nama and Damara share the same language but are not one ethnic group. The Nama used to consist of different groups calling themselves Witbooi Hottentotten, Bondelswartz, Veldschoendrager, Topnaar. These names are not used anymore, but can be traced in family names.

The Himba (Kaokoveld) and the Herero used to be one group. One part stayed in the north-west (now Kunene region), the rest migrated further to the east (Omaheke region, see map 3.8). Both groups still speak the same language. The Herero's are more modernised, what is seen in their dressing. The Himba still live and dress traditionally. Some Himba would categorise themselves as Herero while Herero will categorise them as Himba.

The Caprivians are a geographical category, created by the colonial border. It is a border area between 5 countries and has a rich ethnic composition. Ethnic groups living there are the Basubiya, Mafwe and Batswana. The first speak the language of West-Zambia, the last the language of Botswana. All these groups now have a common regional identity: Caprivian. The Coloured are the descendants of different combination between black and white. This mixed heritage is not always easy, but the Coloured now see themselves as a group instead of a mix. The Rehoboth Baster belong to this category, but are categorised as Basters anyway.

The Whites are not just the Whites but consist of Germans, Afrikaners, British and some Portuguese (Maho, 1998).

Group	% of whole population	Language
Ovambo	50,1	Oshiwambo*
Kavango	9,3	Kavango*
Herero	7,5	Herero
Damara	7,5	Khoekhoegowab
Whites	5	Afrikaans, German. English
Nama	4,8	Khoekhoegowab, also called Khoikhoi
Coloured	4,3	Afrikaans
Caprivian	3,7	Caprivian**
San	2,9	San*
Rehoboth Basters	2,5	Afrikaans
Kaokolander (Himba)	0,8	Herero
Tswana	0,6	Setswana
Other	1	
Total number	1.900.000	

Table 3.1: Population groups of Namibia, their number and language

* collective of different dialects

** collective of different languages spoken in Caprivi-region

Source: (Töttemeyer, 2004, numbers based on 2001 census) (Maho, 1998)

Each of these groups brought their own language to Namibia of which some are closely related (see table 3.1). With colonialism and later with independence the choice of language became a political choice. Giving a language the status of national language is recognition for the group that speaks this language, but a step back for other languages and its speakers. As there was no state known before colonialism, the first 'national languages' arrived with the colonisers. The first national language was German. The lingua franca was Afrikaans. In 1915 the South African languages English and Dutch were introduced. In 1925 Dutch was replaced by Afrikaans. The standardisation of the indigenous languages started with the missionaries, whom learned these languages and translated the Bible. With independence a language policy had to be adopted (see §3.6.2), as well as a new national language. One of the indigenous languages would disadvantage other language groups. Afrikaans, still the lingua franca, was the language of the former oppressor and associated with Apartheid. Finally, English, although a European but also an international language, without a historical, political meaning in Namibia was chosen (Maho, 1998) (see also § 3.7).

3.6 Governance

The structure of the state institutions and the constitution are important for the nation building process. Namibia is a sovereign, unitary state and is based on the principles of democracy. The unitary model was chosen to stress the unity of the country and was a reaction against the dividing policy of the Apartheid-regime and its homelands. The new democracy makes sure that the voice of the people is heard and that the Namibians rule themselves. The constitution gives all the citizens equal rights. This paragraph will discuss the Namibian government structure and the constitution. Namibian politics also has its difficulties and question marks, which will be discussed. The decentralisation act is important in the light of nation building, as well as the position of the traditional leaders and will be given some attention as well.

3.6.1 Government structure

The first elections of 1989, led by the UN, elected the Constituent Assembly (CA), which decided on the legal basis of the State of Namibia and its institutional structures.

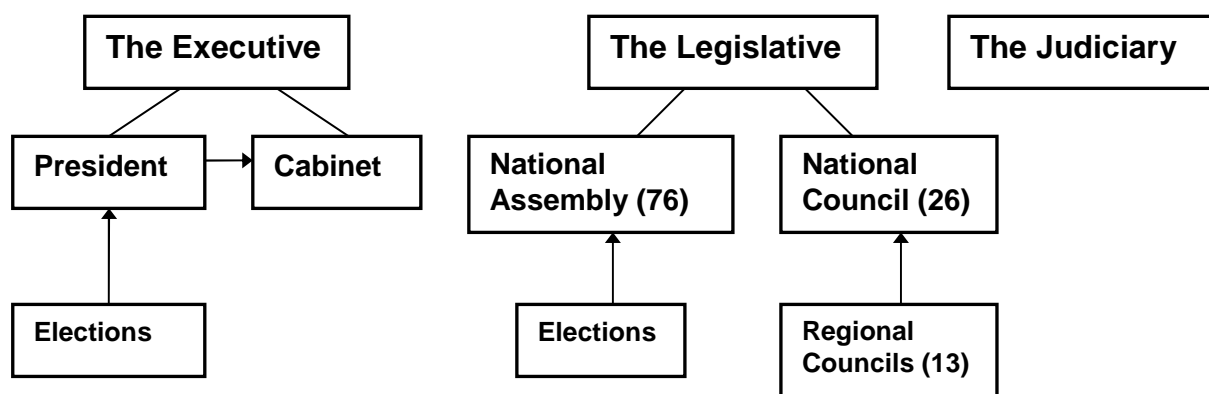


Figure 3.4 Government structure
Source: derived from Hopwood, 2004.

The president is elected through the national election and can serve maximum 2 terms of 5 years. The President elects the Cabinet's ministers. The National Assembly with 72 members is elected by a proportional representation system. Six members are elected by the President but do not have the right to vote. The National Council has 26 members, 2 from each region. They are chosen by and among the members of the Regional Council. The members of the National Council are expected to raise regional concerns, as they are the only representatives of territorial constituencies. The judiciary power is with the independent courts (see figure 3.4). The lower levels of governance are the regional and local councils. Their responsibility is assisting and advising the national government (Hopwood, 2004).

It is sometimes questioned who really has the power because of the strong position of the president. He can select the Cabinet, appointed 6 members of parliament and appoint judges. A lot of members of parliament are part of the cabinet, making the line between legislative and executive power diffuse.

The power of the president as executive president seemed to be designed for Nujoma. In 1998 a clause was added allowing the first president Sam Nujoma to serve three instead of two terms. This led to strong debate.

The National Council has not enough power to provide check and balances. SWAPO is the biggest party and Sam Nujoma has always been the party leader during his presidency (Hopwood, 2004). The distinction between state and party is therefore not clear, this in combination with the lack of a democratic tradition, no public debate and a small civil society (see interviews). The growing majority of SWAPO (more than 2/3) gives SWAPO all the power, making Namibia practically a one-party state. The power of SWAPO is much discussed. The party finances are based on the number of votes per party at the previous election. This gives the biggest party, SWAPO, the greatest budget. It is argued by some (see chapter 4) that businesses that depend on government orders support SWAPO and that a party membership can help to get a job in the public sector. It is also questioned if not only traditional leaders who are SWAPO-supporters are recognised by the government.

Another concern is ethnicity related to politics. In many African countries the political parties are related to an ethnic group and are not based on political ideas. This can lead to ethnic conflict, internal colonisation and marginalisation. In Namibia this is not the case but there is reason for concern. SWAPO claims to be a national movement and gets support from all the regions and thus most population groups. SWAPO started as the Owambo People's Organisation and is still often seen as an Owambo party. SWAPO gets a lot of support from the 4 regions, which used to be the homeland Owamboland, but this is not the only support base. The SWAPO Cabinets have Ministers from different backgrounds but the Owambo participation is rising. The CoD is now the biggest opposition party, also led by an Owambo. This is not the typical African structure (Hopwood, 2004, interview Hunter). CoD gets support in the Caprivi, Hardap, Karas and Khomas region. Caprivi and Rehoboth (Hardap) used to be SWAPO regions. CoD was founded out of dissatisfaction with SWAPO. Two opposition parties, Nudo and UDF seem to be ethnic parties, resp. Herero and Damara, both led by Chiefs. The Republican Party is considered a White party. Concerns were raised by respondents in this research about more money flowing to the Owambo region, ethnic favouritism for example for jobs etc. This debate is also visible in the media. In two articles in the *Republikein* last June, concerns were raised by opposition leaders on these topics. They pointed out that 84% of the scholarships were assigned to 'a certain ethnic group' (Owambo's) and 89% of the army is Owambo, as well as the police, diplomatic corps and public services. The main question is if every citizen is treated equally, as demanded by the constitution (*Republikein*, 2005).

3.6.2 The constitution

The constitution and the rights it protects are a great change compared to rules from Apartheid regime. Chapter three makes clear that Human Rights are part of the constitution.

The goal of the Constitution is 'to reconcile and integrate divergent groups within a single territorial unit, thus developing a national identity. It was hoped that a common goal would supersede group interest and inequities' (Tötemeyer, 2004, p.12).

Box 3.1 Articles of the constitution relevant for nation building

Article 3 – Language

The official language of Namibia shall be English

Nothing contained in this Constitution shall prohibit the use of any other language as a medium of instruction in private schools or in schools financed or subsidised by the State, subject to compliance with such requirements as may be imposed by law, to ensure proficiency in the official language, or for pedagogic reasons.

Article 10 – Equality and Freedom from Discrimination

All persons shall be equal before law.

No persons may be discriminated against on the grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status.

Article 14 – Family

Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, colour, ethnic origin, nationality, religion, creed or social or economic status shall have the right to marry and to found a family. They shall be entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

Article 19 – Culture

Every person shall be entitled to enjoy, practise, profess, maintain and promote any culture, language, tradition or religion subject to the terms of this constitution and further subject to the condition that the rights protected by this Article do not impinge upon the rights of others or the national interest (Source: Constitution of Namibia).

Everybody is equal now. Race, ethnicity, colour etc. is not an issue anymore for the law, in contrary to the Apartheid system. Although the Apartheid system emphasised different cultures, everyone is free to express their culture and use a language other than the national language, only now by their own choice. To secure the national interest, these choices can never interfere with the national interest (see article 3 and 19 in box 3.1).

The Constitution is the basis for nation building (see interviews chapter 4). The fact that now everybody is equal, under the same constitution, same government and same educational system is an important fundament for the nation. Because the context is now national, people can orientate and relate to this national context.

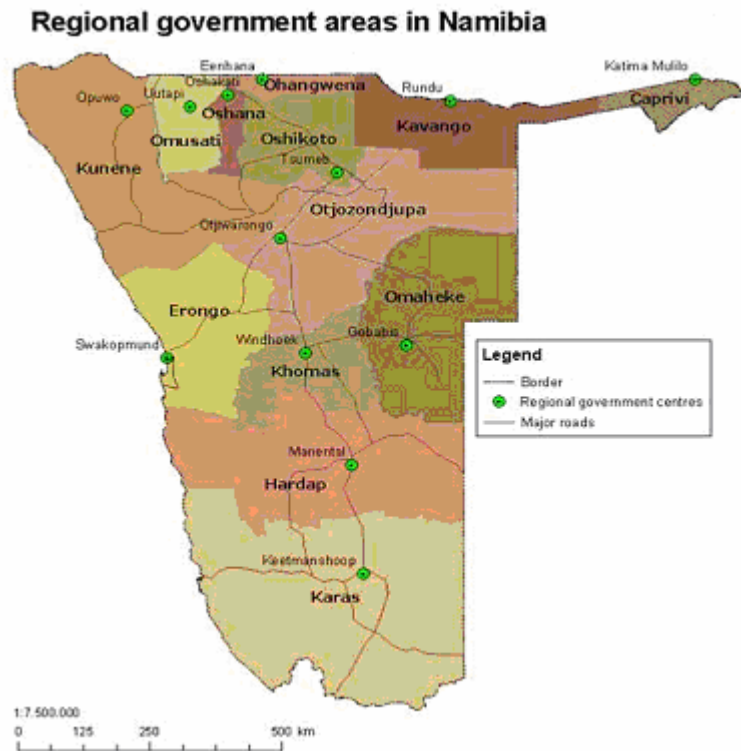
3.6.3 Decentralisation

As stated, the structure of government institutions is important for the nation building project. The choice for a unitary state was clearly a reaction against the Apartheid system that used deconcentration of power to divide the people. Decentralisation is on the political agenda because of the introduction of democracy and to stimulate the participatory democracy. The argument against decentralisation is the fear that it will be a threat unity and makes separation attempts easier. In 1995 a group in the Caprivi region tried to cut itself off from Namibia.

For these reasons decentralisation is a topic much argued about in Namibia, leading to disagreement within the Cabinet. The first Delimitation Commission was appointed in 1991 and drew the borders of 13 new regions (see map 3.8), not based on the ethnicity, race or colour of the inhabitants according to chapter 12, article 102.2 of the Constitution (Töttemeyer, 2004), in order to prevent separation or fear for separation. The Regional Councils of the new designed regions are as second tier of government and were a compromise to the opposition in the Constitution Assembly. In 1992 the Regional Councils Act was approved, followed by the decentralisation policy in 1996.

Decentralisation in the independent state of Namibia would be a free choice, based on social-economic criteria. The regions have to comply to national laws, ideas and values and had to be implemented in accordance with the requirements of nation building and in the framework of the unitary state: *One of the targets is to uphold the values of the national system, resulting in national stability, based on unity in diversity* (Ministry of Regional, Local Government and Housing, 1997).

The new system will start with delegation of power. Not the whole Cabinet seems to agree. Some ministries have not internalised the policy yet, let alone implement it. The reason for this is not clear (Ministry of Health and Services 2005). The decentralisation policy is not just a policy but it is a policy of locating power. The legitimacy of the power by the whole population is important for the nation building process.



Map 3.8: The regions of Namibia, not based on ethnic categorisation, designed by the Delimitation commission in 1991. Source: University of Cologne, 2002

3.6.4 Traditional leaders and African politics/history

An addition to the institutional structure of Namibia is the traditional leaders. These are the leaders of different (sub)groups within the Namibian population, originating from pre-colonial times. During the Apartheid era the regime categorised the different groups and made traditional leaders take the role of political leader. The question was what to do with these positions when independence was gained. It was decided that the traditional leaders are the leaders of traditional communities and are important for their social organisation. For many people these leaders are the link between them and the government.

For these reasons it was decided to legally recognise traditional authorities in the Traditional Authority Act of 1995 and the Council of Traditional Leaders Act of 1997. The traditional leaders are important to maintain social stability.

They are cultural leaders and have an advisory position within the national interest. This way the government tried to combine modernity (democracy) with traditionalism (autocratic traditional authority) (Töttemeyer, 2004).

3.7 Education

Education in Namibia started with the missionaries. They started to teach in Dutch, the formal language of the Cape-Colony, but soon switched to the indigenous languages. During German rule (1884-1915) education for Whites, Coloured and Blacks was already separated. The Germans educated their own children, the missionaries took care of the rest. This separation continued with the coming of the South Africans. During the Apartheid era the separation grew bigger. The Whites had much more money available than the blacks, influencing the quality of education. The general policy was to focus on the own culture and language. Education was used by the Apartheid system to create a new race-based class system.

The blacks had to do low-paid jobs, while the Whites were educated to do the high profile jobs (Maho, 1998). In 1976 the UN Institute for Namibia was established in Lusaka. SWAPO saw education as an important tool for national liberation, nation building, democracy and social reconstruction. SWAPO educated people here to manage the country after independence (Zeichner, 1999).

Box 3.2 Goals of educational reforms:

- To develop an awareness and appreciation of the diversity of cultural heritage which contributes to the nationhood of Namibia.
- To develop an understanding of the societal goals of Namibia with particular emphasis on national reconciliation for national unity (Adeyemi, 2000).

When independence was a fact, Namibia adapted the Cambridge education system. Students take exams for the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE). This certificate is internationally recognised and gives access to university (www.cie.org.uk). In this way the country had a good education system from the start, later to transfer it into a Namibian system. The first 3 years are taught in the indigenous language. This was decided under the influence of the UN. Research results indicated that learning how to read and write is best done in the mother language. This policy was much criticised because of the Apartheid history. This system used mother language education to divide people (Maho, 1998).

The language policy was not the only change. The educational reforms had 4 major goals: better access, equity, democracy and quality (see box 3.2). Namibia is doing well, especially compared to other African countries. The new university has to higher the quality of teachers. The education system is national, not ethnic based, although a lot of white children go to private schools. In total 85% of the children have access to a school within 5 km. The enrolment is 90% and the literacy is 60% -80%, depending on the region. The access is still a problem because of the low population density and great distances (Mendelsohn, 2002).

3.8 Picture gallery

Colonial traces



The harbour of Lüderitz, the first German harbour



Shipwreck at Skeleton coast



The Okavango-river, border with Angola

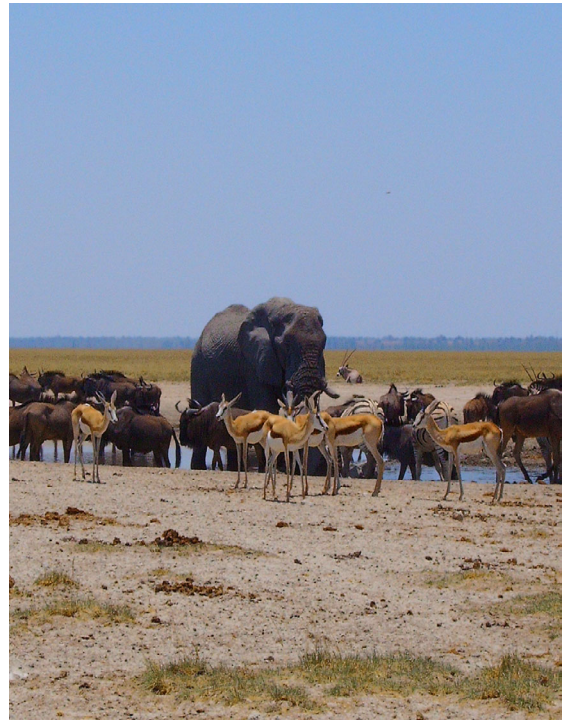


The Alte-Feste in Windhoek, old German seat of power

Namibian landscapes



Dunes of the Namib desert



Animals in Etosha national park, a salt pan



The Savanne of Central Namibia



The Oshana's of Northern Namibia

Windhoek



The Centre



Katutura, the township



The slums next to the township

The rural life



The Kavango-people



The Himba people



The market in Oshakati, Northern Namibia



Kavango village



Caprivian-village and meeting place: the big tree

Source: Marjolein de Haan

3.9 Review

Namibia is characterised by diversity in terms of a diverse population with different cultures, languages and histories but also the landscape and means of production. The colonial and Apartheid history are an important factor in the difficult social relations in which differences are politicised. The search for history is now focussed on the parts that all have in common in order to unite the population. The presence of related groups in neighbouring countries does not make that easy, although these countries were a tremendous help on the road to independence. The unitary state, decentralisation, language policy and education have to help to unify the country and make it function as one entity. This will be further analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Analysis

The theory about identity and nation building, the African context and the research field have been studied in chapter two and three. In this chapter the perception of the people of Namibia is the central issue in the analysis of the gathered data. Chapter one described the used methods of the fieldwork; namely the group discussion, the questionnaire among university students, in-depth interviews, schoolbook analysis and school visits, supported by observation, literature research and media watching. The data that was gathered with these methods will be analysed and will be used to find an answer to the formulated research questions which are the guidelines for this chapter. This chapter is set up in the order of these questions (see § 1.4).

4.1 Identity in Namibia

The nation building project is about shifting loyalty from the local (ethnic/cultural) to the national level. As discussed in chapter 2, there are different combinations of political, single cultural and multiple cultural loyalty. The shift of identity is hard to distinguish because this research is only a picture at a given moment in time. The indications of a shift are only available by indirect information. Another limitation is that the research can only give an indication about the loyalty formation of university students in October 2004. The loyalty formation will be an indication for the type of nation Namibia is in the perception of the students, which is the topic of this paragraph.

4.1.1 Identity factors

In the questionnaire the students were asked what the most important aspects are of their ethnic group identity (question 15). This identity is important in the African context and can be an alternative or threat to the national identity (see §2.1). It will also give an indication which factors the nation building process should focus on because they are a chance or very persistent on the local level identity or can be an opportunity. The identity factors from which the students can choose are based on 2.4 and related identity aspects.

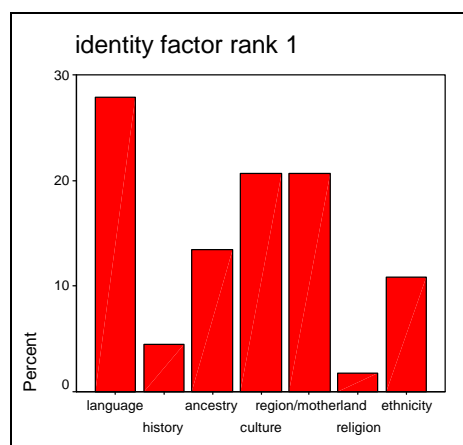


Figure 4.1: identity factor rank 1
Source: questionnaire

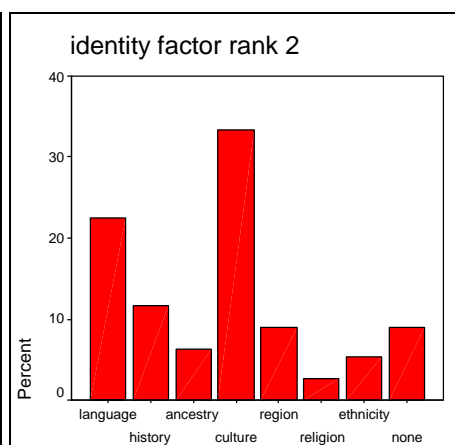


Figure 4.2: identity factor rank 2

Figure 4.1 and 4.2 show the outcome of question 15. Language and culture are the most important identity factors in both rank 1 and 2, followed by the region.

The Owambo, Herero and Kavango are mainly focussed on language. For the Owambo and Kavango the region is of importance as well. The Herero are spread over Northwest and Central Namibia and Botswana and lost a lot of land to the Whites during colonialism, which can be a reason that they do not have an attachment to their region. For the Caprivians culture and region are most important. The Caprivians are a geographical group but a culturally diverse group (see §3.5). The Khoikhoi focus on ethnicity, while they consist of two ethnic groups, the Nama and Damara. The Coloureds chose history and ancestry. Their mixed ancestry is a historical product, making this choice logic. Their language Afrikaans is a lingua franca and they do not share a region or culture. For the Whites language and history are most important. The first year students are more focussed on language and the fourth year students on culture. According to the group discussion respondents first year student tend to hang out with people from their language group, because they are not comfortable speaking English and it feels safe. Otherwise, there is not much difference between the two. The rural respondents focus on culture and region whereas the urban students focus on language and ancestry. Their culture can be influenced by the urban environment and the city is not the ancestral homeland. It is the ancestors that give them the identity and the language is an important mean for the continuation of the group.

Language is a logic factor, as it is clear who belongs to the language group and who does not. In Namibia ethnicity and language are closely linked because the Apartheid system used language as an indicator for ethnicity. Culture is important for a group and passed on from generation to generation. The cultural group is linked to a particular region, which is an important aspect in Africa because this is related to the ancestors. The home of the ancestors is your home and this is the place you are born and will die.

Student during the group discussion

'The region is very important to us, because this is the place of the ancestors, of our people. You have to be buried where you are born. If I saw Namibia as my homeland it would not matter if I will be buried in the North or South. But it does matter to me. This tells me I'm more a Kavango than a Namibian'.

The place of upbringing is closely related to identity factors as history, ancestry and region. The importance of the region is confirmed by the perception on the importance of the place of upbringing (question 11). The place of upbringing is for almost all the students also the original region of their cultural group. For the vast majority of the students the place of upbringing is important or very important. Overall about 60% chose the very important category. The Caprivians are most connected to their place of upbringing (90%), while the Khoikhoi differ by stating the importance as neutral. More than half of the White students is neutral about the place of upbringing.

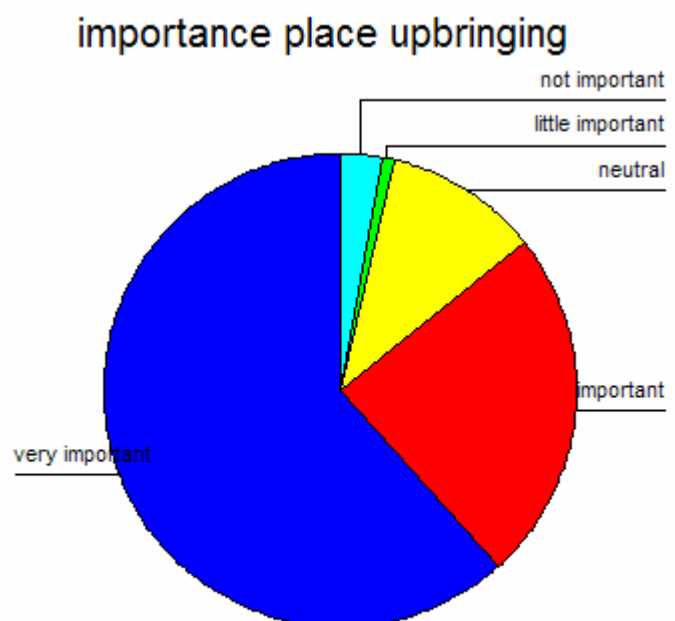


Figure 4.3 Importance place of upbringing
Source: Questionnaire

The first year students find the place of upbringing more important than the fourth year students. 70% of the rural students find their place of upbringing very important. The urban students are more divided between neutral, important and very important.

Language, culture and region are the most important identity factors for the ethnic (local) identity. The background of the ethnic group is of influence, as is the urban or rural background.

4.1.2 Identity ranking

The policy of Namibia is '*Unity in Diversity*', allowing space for multiple identities. An important question is the hierarchy of these identities because this will show if the high-scale (national) or low-scale (local) identity is more important. This was the subject for question 37 in the questionnaire in which the students had to rank the importance of different scale identities. The question does assume a multiple cultural loyalty which is done to avoid people from choosing while they actually cannot choose and because the multiple cultural loyalty is very likely to be more realistic than the single cultural loyalty.

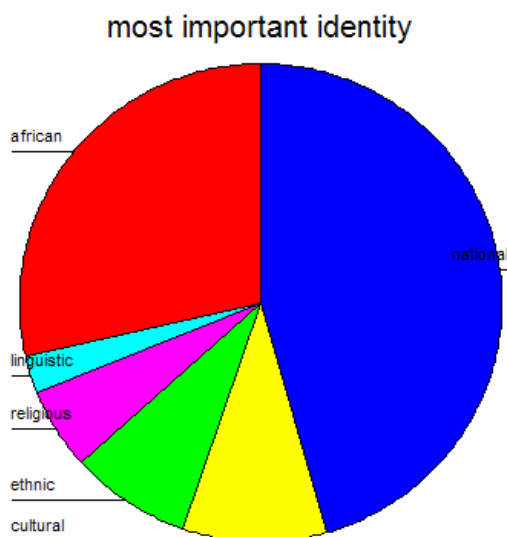


Figure 4.4 Most important identity
Source: Questionnaire

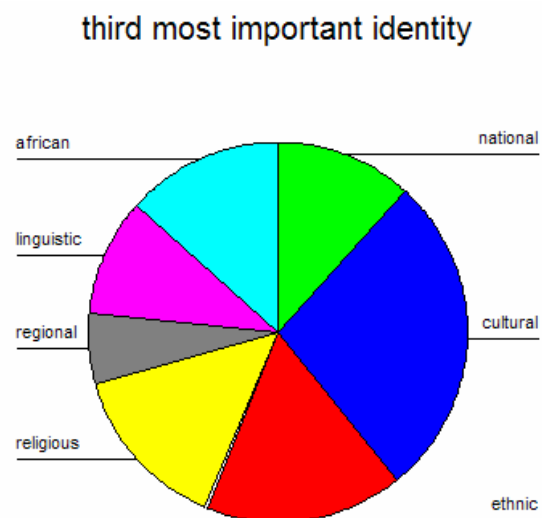


Figure 4.5 Third most important identity
Source: Questionnaire

The pie charts show clearly that the two most important identities are the African and national identity, which makes them the top of the identity hierarchy. 45% of the students state that the national identity is most important to them, 28% feels this is the African identity. In the 3rd and 4th rank the cultural identity is most important, followed by the ethnic identity. The high-scale level identities are most important.

The Herero only name the national and African identity for the first rank and for 80% of the Owambo's these are the main choices as well. The Khoikhoi have their ethnic identity as a priority. The Whites do not live in a particular region and the African identity is often seen as Black identity which can be a reason why they are focussed on the national identity (see 4.2.4). Both the urban and rural students follow the same pattern. The national identity is important for the White students, followed by culture, language and ethnicity. The regional and African identity seem of no importance at all. Religion seems important as well. It has a place in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th rank. The national identity is important for the White students, followed by culture, language and ethnicity.

The regional and African identity seems of no importance at all. Religion seems important as well. It has a place in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th rank. The religious identity is not connected to specific ethnic groups and can become a part of the national identity.

The high-scale identities are most important to the students. This is slightly affected by ethnicity, not by other factors.

The lower scale identities came very clearly in third and fourth place but many students and even more their family do hang on to tradition and the region is the third important factor for their ethnic identity (question 15, §4.1.1).. Regionalism (the lower scale identities) is looked at in both positive and negative ways. Some of the in-depth respondents (the experts) do not see it as a problem. Hunter and Töttemeyer see it as enrichment for democracy in which culture should not have a role. Botha thinks the racial issues are a greater threat.

Mr. Bankie: *'Namibia has wise leadership who took the path of Pan-Africanism'*.
Mr. Vogt: *'Africanism is Bantu-ism and will marginalise people'*.

The opinions about Africanism and the promotion of the African identity are divided as well. It can be seen as an enrichment, a new level of identity or a facilitator for the national identity. Botha and January feel Africanism and nationalism is a difficult combination. Vogt thinks Africanism is Bantu-ism and will marginalise other groups.

The African and regional identity are complex issues on which the implications of it are not agreed upon.

The identity ranking showed that the students' national identity is favoured over the local identity. The students are born before independence but live in the country of Namibia their entire adult life. To check if their focus is really on the national level, two questions were asked. The first question is which historic event was most important to them (question 33). History and attached myths, heroes and a common memory are important for a group (see §2.6). The question can reveal if a national or local event is most important. The Namibian independence is by far the most important event and clearly national. Two other events that were mentioned were Ongulumbase and Cassinga (see picture 3.2).

Ongulumbase in Owamboland was the place where the armed struggle between SWAPO and South Africa began on the 26th of August 1966. The refugee camp Cassinga was bombed by South Africa on the 4th of 1978, killing 600 people (Bayer, 1998).

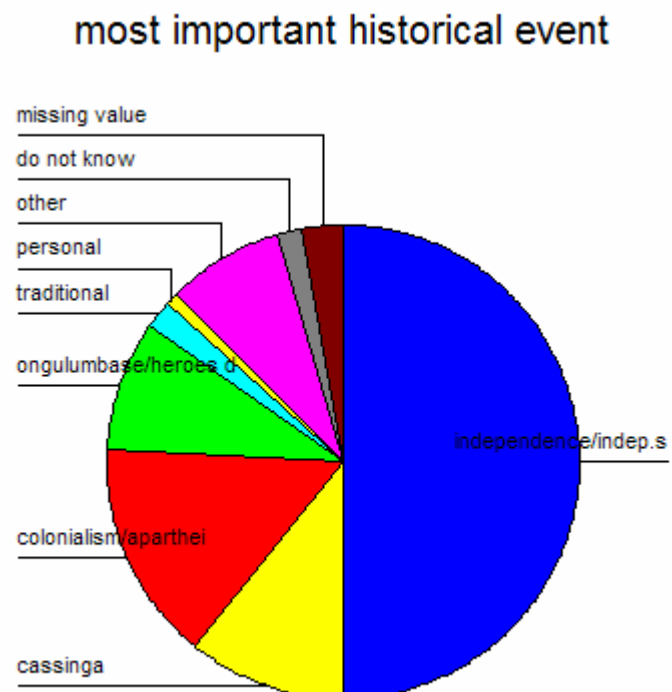


Figure 4.6 Most important historical event
Source: questionnaire

Cassinga and Ongulumbase are related to the independence struggle but took place in Owamboland. These events were mentioned by Owambo students.

The second check question was an alternative to the homeland mapping (see §1.5.4). The students were given a map of Namibia and were asked to draw a circle, by the size of their own choice, around the area they considered their motherland (question 13). Almost all the students circled the region they came from, mostly the administrative region, and sometimes the region around their town/village. Only a few circled the whole country. This shows a very strong feeling of regionalism. For the Whites, the whole of Namibia is their motherland, not the region they come from. The answers from the children from mixed backgrounds showed they took the question very literally as “where my mother and father come from”. This might be an indication the question is not understood/asked correctly.

The check question on history supports the national loyalty while the homeland mapping shows more loyalty towards the lower scale identity.

The loyalty issue is present in the media as well. There are opinion articles about the nation building process, loyalty, reconciliation and tribalism. There are also reports of events that show loyalty to a certain scale identity.

Namibian, Nov. 23 2004: Diplomatic relations between Herero-speaking Namibians and Germany took centre stage at the weekend....The meeting was overshadowed by a verbal attack launched by Herero Paramount chief Kuaima Riruako against forces that he claimed aimed to divide the Herero people. “The reconciliation is between our people and the German government”, Riruako said on Friday. Mbumba (Minister of Information and Broadcasting) argued that reconciliation negotiations should be a matter handled by the governments of both countries...

Namibian, Jan. 26 2004: Last week /Gaseb, chief of the !Oe#Gan, said the Damaras have largely been ignored in the genocide talks because of their silence. ” We want to call on other tribes who have also been affected like the Nama and Owambo to organise themselves also”. We want the dialogue to be a national event. It must not be limited to the Herero people only. People in the north and South must also reveal their part in the war. They have a history.

Republikein 21 feb. 2004: “Hy wys daarop dat die Damara-volk verlede jaar uitgesluit was van die Bremenkonferensie en se dat geen melding gemaak word van die mense van die voormalige Ovambo en die Kavango wat ook onder die Duitse kolonialisme gely het nie. Hoe is dit moontlik om op ‘n 100 jaar oue geweer te sien of dit teen Herero’s, Namas of Damara’s gebruik is?”

Namibian, feb 2 2005 : We are not Namibians, say 15 treason-accused. We are Caprivians, not Namibians. Our tradition, our culture has nothing in common with Namibia and its people.

There are negotiations with Germany about a compensation for the 1904 genocide that killed the majority of the Herero and Nama. The Namibian government wants the negotiations to be national but The Herero want to negotiate with the Germans themselves, claiming it was a Herero tragedy. Other groups do not agree with this as they suffered from the genocide as well or from the German occupation in general. Another case is the 1995 attempt of a group in the Caprivi-strip to separate the Caprivi from the rest of the country (the third type of ethnicity, see §2.4.3). The accused are now on trial, a case that is widely covered in the media, raising the ethnic question and discussion. The students rank their national identity very high but the national interest is not for all the first concern looking at the newspaper articles. Malan believes the Caprivian attempt to separation was a response to failing integration which is based on exclusion rather than inclusion (Malan, 1993).

Republikein, aug. 10 2005: Sowat dertig onwettige plaasbesetters het onlangs van die plaas af "getrek" nadat die polisie weens die diefstal van altesaam 14 beeste toegeslaan het. 'n Heel ander prentjie oor dié gebeure is egter die week in Windhoek deur Nafwu, die vakbond vir plaaswerkers, geskets wat opnuut beweer het dat die werkers op onmenslike wyse behandel is en dat die plaaseienaar hulle in die padgordel gaan aflaai het. Die drie gesinne wat steeds op die plaas woon, is daarna gekonfronter, maar het besluit om mnr. Awaseb aan beledigings te onderwerp. Die groep het na mnr. Awaseb verwys as 'n "muzorotua" die Herero-skelnaam vir 'n onderdaan of slegte mens Mnr. Awaseb het sy trekker en sleepwa beskikbaar gestel sodat hulle wel van sy plaas af kan padgee. Mnr. Awaseb het ook daarop gewys dat die mense nooit sy plaaswerkers was sedert hy die plaas verlede jaar van 'n wit boer gekoop het nie. Die werkers het geweier om vir 'n Damarasprekende "muzorotua" te werk en is nooit deur hom in diens geneem nie.

Identity is also a highly political issue and the loyalty towards the nation or the ethnic group can be a political choice (Du Pisani). Vogt states that a person is identified in many ways by others, not having any influence on that. These identifications are often based on stereotyping or history. This identification by others can also push a group into certain political behaviour. According to Vogt, the Herero fall into the identity trap, meaning that groups that feel marginalised put emphasis on their ethnic identity hoping to create a voice (Hunter). It is interesting that the Herero students all chose the national or African identity as most important. The trap is that they are not heard because open emphasis on the ethnic group is not politically correct. Hunter explains that by saying that in Namibia it is all about 'being on the winning side' which is SWAPO. Loyalty is very important in this perspective. An example is the San (who feel marginalised) wearing SWAPO t-shirts or the Basters focussing on a part of their history that can be explained as national instead of the parts in history they wanted to be independent. Botha wants to stress that identity is very flexible and will change with time, place and context.

Ethnicity is still a force in the political arena and is politicised.

4.1.3 Loyalty shift

The use of language is also an important indicator for a loyalty shift because it is an important identity factor (questions 17-23). The mother language of the student is related to their ethnicity. Only one student names English as his mother tongue. This is likely to change because the students indicate that they will learn their children English (36%) or English and their mother language (27%). The students are a special group in society because they have a good command of English and are able to teach their children English while others are not meaning it has to be seen as the start of a changing process. The majority (77%) wants their children to learn English at school, 20% wants them to learn English and Afrikaans and another 20% English and the mother language. One fourth will not teach the mother language at school or at home. Another change is the use of English that is replacing the use of Afrikaans. This can be concluded from the questions about the knowledge of languages from the students and their parents. The students also use English as a daily language (50%), while for the parents this is only a few.

Another important identity factor is culture. To find out how important the culture is and if there is a process of change, the students were asked about their and their families' lifestyle (question 10). The family in the rural areas is living more traditional, the urban students are more modern. Most students consider themselves being modern and traditional. The Herero are divided between mostly traditional, traditional and modern, mostly modern and only modern and think their parents are a bit more traditional according, more for the Owambo's and the Kavango's parents.

The parents are a bit more traditional according to the students, a bit more for the Owambo and the Kavango. Whites see their lifestyle as modern or mostly modern. Their parents as well, with sometimes a bit of tradition left.

The male students find themselves more modern than the female students. The first year students also think of themselves as more traditional. The first year students think their parents are mostly traditional to traditional and modern, while the fourth year students think of their family as traditional and modern and mostly modern. The first year students also think of themselves as more traditional.

The attitude of the people is important to make a loyalty shift possible. The students were asked about their view on the future (question 28).

More than half of the student is positive about the future of Namibia. 10% thinks the situation will be changed in 50 years but do not know how. 12% thinks it will be the same, 8% think things will be worse. The fourth year students are much more positive (42%) of whom 22% believes in unity. The rural students have less faith in a positive future, 11,3% thinks the situation will get worse, against 1,8% of the urban students. The Owambo's are the least afraid conflict will arise, the Kavango the most. The Caprivians are most convinced the country will be united.

The White students hope that there might be less emphasis on ethnic groups and hopefully less racism as the level of education of the majority of the population might have increased in general. The experts agree that the youth has the future and will have to work hard to create dialog, tolerance and integration but are positive.

Students had to think about their personal future as well (question 12). Most of the students prefer to live in Windhoek. Windhoek is most popular for reasons as job opportunity, further education, and opportunities for children and better facilities. Swakopmund is popular for its climate. The own village or region is chosen for two reasons: it is home and students want to help the development of their own community. The rural students more often would return to the own village or region because it is home or to help development, the urban students prefer to stay in Windhoek, but Windhoek is popular among all groups. The Herero are most likely to return to their village, just like the male students. To help the development of the own region can be understood as regionalism, but also as nationalism because in the end it benefits the whole nation.

The use of language is switching to English.

The students are more modern than their parents, depending on ethnicity, sex and year of study.

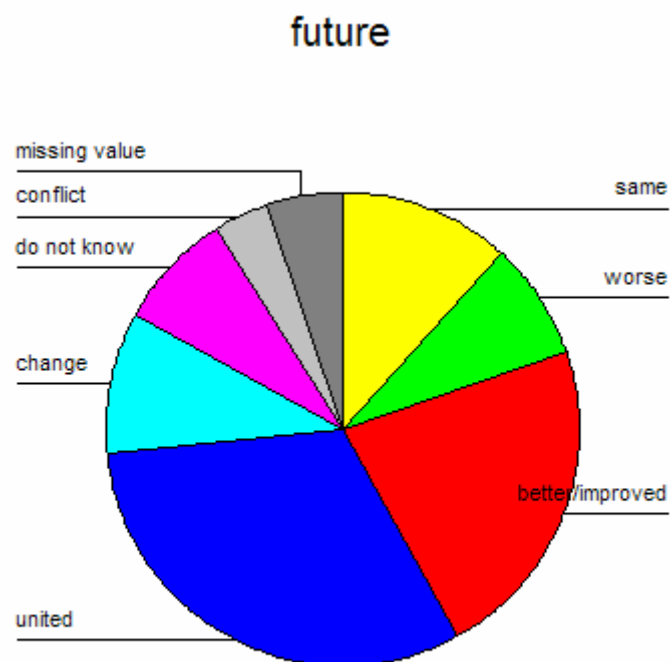


Figure 4.7 Future
Source: Questionnaire

The students are positive about the future, depending on ethnicity, year of study and having a urban/rural background.

4.2 Nation building in Namibia

The nation building process in Namibia will be discussed in this paragraph by looking at the nation building tools that were distinguished in chapter 2. In the modernist theory we found that nation building is an elite project, implemented from above and therefore the policy, symbols and actors will be looked at because these are used implementations. Hobsbawm however stated that nation building only works when it is reproduced from below (see§2.3). The perception of the people is of great importance and central in this research and will be discussed as well in this paragraph. The research focus on education will be outlined in the last section of the paragraph.

4.2.1 Symbols and territoriality

As discussed in chapter two, symbols are a very important nation building tool. The symbols are a representation of the territory and are connected to the country's history, nature and culture. People will relate to and thus share these symbols. Symbols are a clear example of a nation building tool that is implemented from above and are a political choice.

Symbols

The flag is probably the symbol people would first think about. The National Flag in Namibia is presented as a symbol of struggle for national unity and symbolises peace, unity and a common loyalty to Namibia. The National Flag represents the nation in every aspect. *The sun* symbolises life and energy, the colour gold represents warmth and the colour of the plains and the Namib Desert. *Blue* symbolises the Namibian sky, the Atlantic Ocean, the marine resources and the importance of rain and water. *Red* represents the Namibian people, their heroism and their determination to build a future of equal opportunity for all. *White* refers to peace and unity. *Green* refers to Namibia's vegetation and agricultural resources. The representation of the natural and thus neutral characteristics, the people and the wish for peace and unity are clearly present.



Figure 4.8 Namibian flag

The National Coat of Arms is the official emblem of the Government service as a statutory body. The Coat of Arms is depicted on all official publications and stationery. The national coat of arms shows the Namibian flag, standing in the centuries old sand of the Namib Desert where the famous plant the Welwitschia is found. It is an old plant, able to survive without water for a few years. The fish eagle has excellent vision and is thus also a symbol of the farsightedness of the country's leaders. The two Oryx antelope on either side of the shield are indigenous, specifically to the semi-arid parts of Namibia. They are renowned for their courage, elegance and pride. The headband refers to the traditions of the people and the diamond shapes symbolise the importance of diamonds to the country's economy. The motto '*Unity, Liberty, Justice*' enshrines the key principles embodied in the Constitution.



Figure 4.9 Coat of arms

The text of the national anthem is clearly focussed on the fight for independence. It refers to love and blood, which is often used to express the bond with a country and the willingness to die for it. The important aspects of nation building: loyalty and unity are also mentioned, but diversity is named as well, but is put in a positive light. The black group discussion students knew the text of the anthem. An anonymous source said a lot of White people do not know or want to know the text and keep attached to previous national anthems from German and South African time.

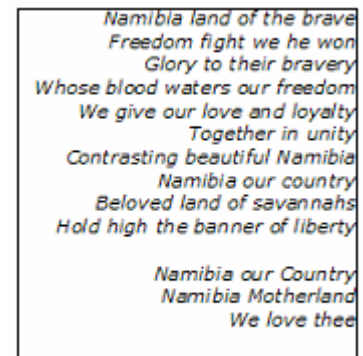


Figure 4.10 Text national anthem

These symbols are official symbols, known by many. Other symbols are important as well, because they show how a country is portrayed, for example illustration on money. The Namibian banknotes all show an animal on one side and Hendrik Witbooi on the other. Hendrik Witbooi was a Nama leader and rose up against German forces and is therefor seen as one of Namibian founding fathers. This is contested by historians who say it was only a primary resistance, not a national resistance. This illustrates the political and nationalistic use of the symbols. The coins in Namibia show different plants and trees, typical for Namibia. Symbols also return in for example telephone cards, showing the President, the fish river canyon or the flag.



Figure 4.11 Namibian banknote

The Namibian symbols refer to the natural characteristics a lot. The money shows flora and fauna and the colours of the flag represent natural characteristics. Companies or government institutions also use mainly natural characteristics in logo's (see picture 4.1.1). Street names also tell who is considered important. The names of the streets were changed from the German names to the new names after independence. The new names refer to important persons in the independence struggle, politicians and leaders of neighbouring or friendly countries including Mugabe and Fidel Castro (see picture 4.1.2). This also shows the political orientation of the leaders. The names of many companies start with NAM, showing the state control (see picture 4.1.3). The last two examples show very clearly that symbols are political.



Picture 4.1: Symbols in every day life. Source: Marjolein de Haan

An interesting point for the symbolism of territoriality was the attempt to make students draw Namibia (see § 1.5.4). The university staff advised me not to do so because students are not in touch with maps a lot prior to university, so the information would not tell me much. It does tell me that the symbol 'the map' is thus not used a lot.

Ceremonies

Ceremonies and monuments are symbols as well. This is a difficult point in Namibia because they are also political. Mr. Vogt worked for the monument committee but felt that the new government did not understand that different places have different meanings for different people. The Namibian history is as divided as its population, making conservation difficult. Vogt states that conservation is confused with nationalism and in this way the government can define the national culture, including those who can identify with it but automatically excluding the rest. Hofmann makes a related comment by saying that most symbols are dominated by the SWAPO-image. This related to chapter 2, explaining that history and symbols can be used by those in power. There are indications that the Whites do not feel independence is also their independence and will not participate on Independence Day. It is independence from South Africa and from the Whites, so there are a lot of mixed feelings (Hofmann). Many met had to fight on the South African side, wanted or unwanted. The hero for one group is the enemy for the other group. This makes it difficult to have national memorial days because the different groups that now form the Namibian population in the past were not one group and sometimes had conflicts. The 26th of August is also such a day. In the national context it is Heroes' day but the Herero have a memorial day for the death of their leader Maherero. The Nama celebrate their contribution to the national struggle (Hunter). As indicated in §2.6 museums can be a good medium to communicate national unity. According to Du Pisani not much is done with this opportunity, as museums are very much the same as in South African times.

Territoriality

The symbols have to represent the territory and the people living in it and create a connection between them. The people have to accept the territoriality they live in as theirs and identify with it as part of their nationality. More than 3/4 of the respondents accept the borders as they are (question 32). There were some attempts to change the border. Five years ago a group in Caprivi wanted to separate the region from Namibia and two years ago a group of Kwanyama (the biggest Owambo tribe) wanted to include the Angolan part of their kingdom into Namibia (Töttemeyer). The quotes from the students also represent these issues but most of them believe the border should stay where it is.

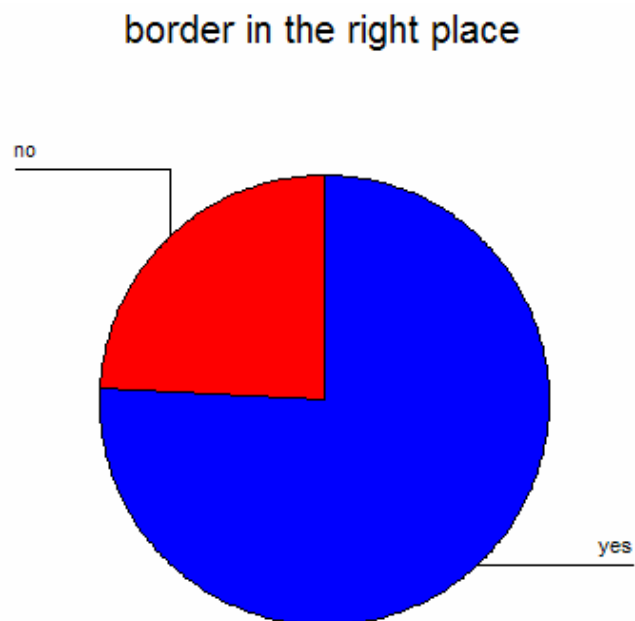


Figure 4.12 Border in the right place
Source: Questionnaire

Box 4.1 Reasons from students why border is not in the right place.

- No, because the northern border between Namibia and Angola should be changed because some of our grandfathers are Namibians by birth but now regarded as Angolans.
- No, the strip of Caprivi should be cut of.
- No, 60 km into Angola because that is where it previous was before colonisers changed it. All Kwanyama should be Namibians.
- No, colonialist cut across ethnic, cultural and linguistic ties of Namibia in the north, east and south.

Symbols, ceremonies and expressions of territoriality are a nation building tool implemented from above, thus political, and are explicitly or implicitly visible everywhere. The effect of this is not measured. The symbols and ceremonies are not by all experienced as inclusive. The borders are accepted as they although there have been attempts to change them.

4.2.2 Policy

'We need a sense of belonging. This cultural attachment does not mean you cannot belong to a nation. The different identities should be in harmony. The national identity should supersede all other identities' (Namibian Institute for Democracy, 1996). This quote is from Hage Geingob, first prime minister of Namibia. He clearly expresses the view of the government on the identity issues. This paragraph will look at the policies connected to the nation building policy (NID, p.14)

Constitution and citizenship

Many respondents from the questionnaire and in-depth interviews state that the nation building policy is the Constitution (see box 3). The Constitution makes every citizen equal and gives equal rights. Human, cultural and linguistic rights are secured. For many Namibians the unity is established by the fact that all the people share the same law, government and educational system.

The objective answer to the question who is Namibian is given by the Constitution. By law you can be Namibian when you are born in Namibia or when your parents are Namibian. You can also become Namibian through marriage or naturalisation. Both the *ius-sanguinis* and the *ius-soli* principles are applied (see §2.6). The citizen policy is part of the state building because it is an institutionalisation of the population.

Language and media

The language policy is very important in the nation building process. A neutral language is chosen, to give no advantage to any group. The languages of the people are protected by law and have a part in the education system (see box 3.2). The mother language is used in the first years of education. The slogan '*Unity in Diversity*' is exercised with this right (article 3, box 3.1) because diversity is respected and protected. This is one of the clearest signs that the ethnic nation is not the goal for the Namibian nation building project. In the media, the radio is most important because it is widely spread. The national radio is translated in all the national languages, but the texts are the same. Television is too expensive and the Namibian Broadcasting Co-operation is said to be a SWAPO apparatus (Hofmann).

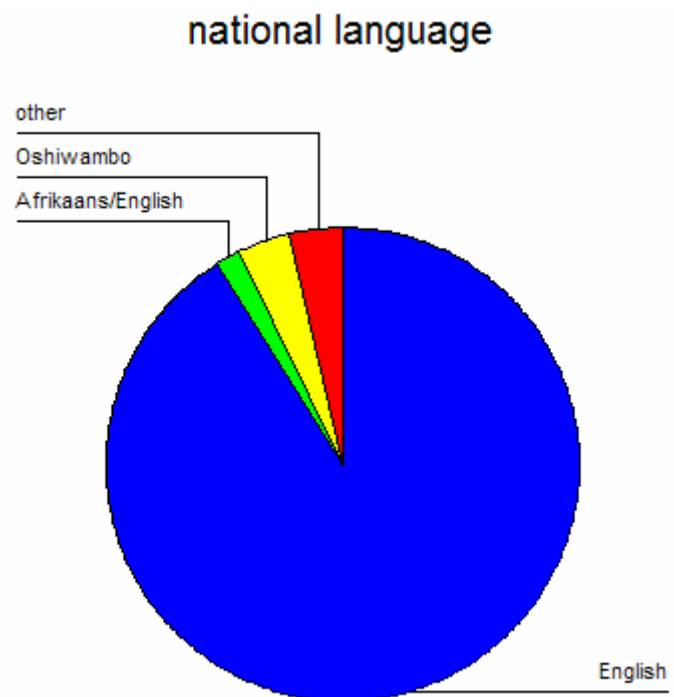


Figure 4.13 National language
Source: Questionnaire

The newspapers are only available in German, English/Oshiwambo and Afrikaans. This is also not accessible for the illiterate.

The students fully agree that the national language should be English, which means they have accepted the policy (question 23). That does not mean everybody speaks English. Since independence the youth is educated in English, so the overall level of the language should improve this way.

State model

The choice of state model is important for the nation building process and is a territoriality tool. Namibia is a unitary state to focus on unity and centralise the power. The implementation of the decentralisation policy met a lot of resistance because it reminded people and government officials about the ethnic division during Apartheid. More respect for the regional identity can lead to a better national unity (Boele van Hensbroek). This way decentralisation can contribute to nation building. The same argument, decentralisation, is used in two systems (Apartheid and democracy) to divide or to unite.

In Namibia it has to promote participatory democracy. The fear is it will cause division, maybe leading to separation. Prof. Töttemeyer calls decentralisation his baby. He drew the lines of the new regions and designed the policy. He met a lot of resistance and was accused of Bantustan-ism (Apartheid policy of the homelands). He states that identity is dual in Namibia: political and cultural. They can go hand in hand but should not overlap in politics, which is the reason why the regions are not based on cultural borders. Budack would claim the opposite stating decentralisation will not work because it is not based on cultural borders. Töttemeyer states that that is why there are Traditional Leaders and Council. The question is who will really have the power: the people, ethnic groups by clientelism or the leading party (Hunter)? The decentralisation is not yet implemented far enough to be able to give an analysis on this.

Culture

'*Unity in Diversity*' is the central slogan. This implies a political and multi cultural loyalty. In chapter 2 it was outlined that the multiple cultural loyalty (not to be confused with multiculturalism) can follow different models.

Culture is implemented in the National Development Plan 1 (for 1996-1999) It is stated in the report that the cultural promotion and development plays an important role in strengthening national unity and identity. The objectives are construction of cultural centres, art & craft centres, festivals, making promotion material for popularisation of Namibian symbols and upgrade the theatre. In my opinion the objectives described in the report are about high culture, meaning arts, music and theatre. All the implementation will be things you can touch, not discuss.

Social relations

There are two slogans you often hear in Namibia: '*Unity in Diversity*' and '*One Namibia, One Nation*'. These seem contradictory but it is explained that the '*One Nation*' is one because of the '*Unity*' but is characterised by '*Diversity*'. The students were asked about which model discussed in §2.1 they preferred for the social relations in their country (question 30), which also indicates if they want a single cultural loyalty or a multiple cultural loyalty (see §2.5.2).

Almost half of the students want a multicultural society. The other half is divided between the choice for an overall Namibian culture or integration on all levels. Segregation and assimilation is not an option. First year students do not believe so much in integration, 9%, while 34% of the fourth year students does. The first year students believe more in the national culture (35% versus 18% of the fourth year students). Most of the ethnic groups follow about the same pattern, only the Caprivians deviate. Of this group only 18% wants a multicultural society, for 50% of the other groups, but 27% of the Caprivians would like integration on public level but segregation on personal level. Only 3% of the Owambo chose this option, others did not at all. The majority of both the rural and urban students prefer a multicultural society. More urban than rural students choose a national culture. 8% of the male students' names integrated at a public level as the best option, while female students choose this category. Both groups focus on multiculturalism. The multicultural society or a public culture is seen as the best option for the future to the white students. Among the in-depth interview respondents the multi cultural option is most popular, followed by integration. Strauss stresses here it has to grow naturally, which is also the view of the Cabinet according to him. An interesting remark from Botha is that multiculturalism is more practical. 80% feels that the government and the people are responsible for the multi-ethnic society (question 31). Only 10% thinks it is a problem only the government should deal with. The government and the people both are responsible for this. Only part of the Owambo and Kavango think the government should deal with the diversity of the population. This is also the group that identifies most closely with the government (Botha). The majority of all groups agree that it should be the government and the people. The experts from the in-depth interview also agree that all should work on it. Töttemeyer stresses it is a natural process and Strauss feels it should be let go of because the wounds of Apartheid are still raw.

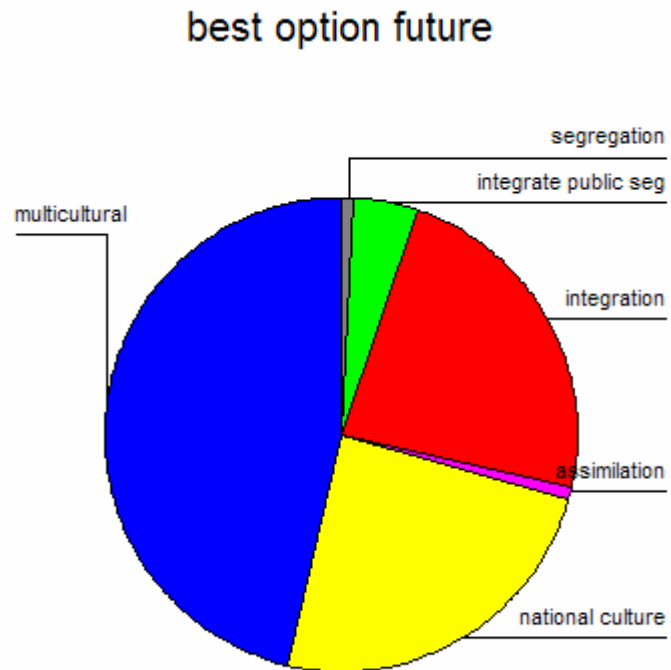


Figure 4.14 Best option for the future

The Constitution and the language policy are contributing to the nation building project.
 The national language seems to be accepted.
 The decentralisation policy is controversial.
 The multicultural model for social relations is most popular, followed by integration, influenced most by the urban/rural background.

4.2.3 Actors

As explained in chapter two, the elite is the great nationalism actor. This elite can be military, economic or political. In Namibia the liberation leaders and the people they educated in exile are now the political elite and the engine of the nation building policy. They implement nation building tools as education, symbols, territoriality and language policy. To discuss this policy an interview was conducted with Mr. Strauss from the Directory of Culture.

Another important actor besides the political elite (government) is civil society of which different elements will be discussed.

Government

There is no specific nation building policy but there are of course policies that are linked to the process. The Ministry of Basic Education and Culture has a directory that is responsible on heritage and culture. Mr. Strauss is deputy head for the directory of arts. They take care of the art galleries and the art college, which is more institutionalized culture. The government has a representative for SADC and UNESCO who focus on education, culture, information, and science. The emphasis now is on heritage protection. At a national level the emphasis is on cultural diversity and respect for all cultures, equal status for all. You can practise your own culture as long as you do not offend others.

The cultural diversity policy is implemented by organizing cultural festivals. This starts at schools and in villages and continues at regional, national and SADC. This can take place anywhere in the country, it's not a Windhoek thing. People have to travel the country to get there, getting to know the country and meet people from all over. Ignorance is dangerous. People are afraid of the unknown. You have to get people to know each other. The fear for each other goes down while pride for the own group rises.

We (the Cabinet) want the nation building to be a natural process. It should not be forced. We hope people are proud of Namibia. It is all about tolerance. People can have a multiple identity, it's all free. Of course there are mechanisms. The symbols are very important, people have a Namibian passport. The government just wants Namibia to be a place where we all like to be. Besides the reconciliation as important nation building policy, we have affirmative action, black- and women empowerment. We don't encourage integration, it has to happen naturally (Strauss).

Government policy is to foster cultural diversity and tolerance and fight ignorance. A way to to this are the cultural festivals. The nation building process has to be natural.

Civil society

Hunter distinguishes the churches, media and the unions as important factors of the Namibian civil society. Representatives of the church (CCN) and media (Allgemeine Zeitung) were interviewed in addition to a youth organisation (NYC) and a Pan-African centre (PACON). Mrs. Hunter from the institute for democracy (NID) was interviewed to get an insight perspective. Parts of civil society are or were linked to SWAPO, for example the unions, church and parts of the media. According to Hunter civil society is trying to be critical but finds that very difficult. Du Pisani finds civil society as churches and labour unions important but disappointing in Namibia. He believes the public debate is also missing, which is needed as a counterbalance for politics. Civil society is small and fragmented and their engagement in nation building is limited. This part of the paragraph will describe what civil society thinks about that itself.

Church

According to Rev. Nangula E. Kathinidi the church is a national institute. At the local level you are a Catholic or Lutheran church, but we are all Christians. Some churches are mixed churches and in this way an integration tool. In 2002/2003 there was a lot emphasis on the reconciliation policy.

To participate in that the CCN initiated an exchange programme between churches: visiting each other and preach in each other's church to create a better understanding. This was accepted because the church preached about freedom.

The church was important for the liberation struggle and is important for the nation building process now. People were mobilized in church because they got educated and the people in exile went to mission schools. The church also made a political point against Apartheid. But on the other hand, the Dutch Reformed church was the force behind the Apartheid. We try to contribute by programmes as the exchange initiative.

There is still a difficult relation with SWAPO. I'm a supporter but as CCN we try to be neutral. We have a good relation with the government and there is indirect support. During the struggle we were close (Rev. Nangula E. Kathinidi).

Media

The media also has a relation with politics, in history and at present explains Mr. Hofmann from the German Allgemeine Zeitung (AZ). During South African time his newspaper was under censorship. In the mid 50 and later again in the seventies the AZ was critical towards Apartheid. South Africa replaced some editors in reaction to that. The media helped independence by promoting and integrating the idea of independence by the people.

The Namibian (an English/Oshiwambo language newspaper) was established in 1985 and was a mouthpiece (not a party newspaper) for SWAPO. The Republikein was the DTA party paper and AZ was more focussed on DTA. The New Era is a government newspaper but there is space also for opposition parties.

The media can be used as a nation building tool but only the elite and literate have access. The AZ is limited by language and the Namibian and New Era are the only two in the official national language (English, which not everybody is able to read). The New Era goes to the far corners of the country by government distribution. Radio fills the gap as 40% of the people have access to TV. The radio is there in all 11 national languages and presents the national news in the regional language. The NBC is SWAPO (Hofmann).

National Youth Council

"We are autonomous umbrellas organisations for youth organisations with the aim to foster a spirit of national identity and unity, awareness of social, political and health issues. We were established by the Ministry of Higher Education, as they are responsible on youth and we have an advice function to them. The NYC is for everybody, no matter colour, tribe or religion. We have cultural groups, churches and SWAPO and DTA youth league. Some people look at us as a SWAPO-organisation but we are not. Everybody is welcome. People should also see the difference between us and politics".

"We try to implement our goals by our activities during which people mix. We organise for example cultural festivals where people show each other their culture so they can learn about each other. People should integrate. There are different cultures and beliefs so they should integrate, people should learn and accept and tolerate each other" (Kazapua).

Pan African Centre

“PACON was established in 2000 after a conference about the origin of African civilization. The centre was opened by the Honourable Sam Nujoma, who is also a patron. The building is on lease from the government, we get money from the Ministry of Basic Education and for projects we attract donors. The Garvey movement (Pan-Africanism) influenced Nujoma and you can call SWAPO a Garveyist party. Garvey was in South Africa where he had an influence on the ANC and Butulezi. From there it came to Namibia.

It had its greatest influence in the countries that have access to the sea. A lot of African leaders were in exile, fighting for liberation outside their own country. This fits in the Pan-African way. It facilitated nationalism, which can be seen as the start of Africanism in Namibia. But after independence there was xenophobia for Pan-Africanism. Maybe people were afraid it would damage the national unity. This was changed in 1995 by the President himself and SWAPO chose the Pan-African way. Africanism is an economic need and no African country can oppose the idea. But people are too suspicious of each other, although the sense of brotherhood is strong among Africans. The literate are less open towards each other”.

“This centre is trying to change this through education. I know of centres like this in Ghana and Uganda. We're busy with the movie about Nujoma. We want to build a documentation centre. PACON is an educational movement, not political. I try to go to colleges and UNAM to talk to students and give lectures. For most it's the first contact with Pan-Africanism. I want to tell them what Pan-Africanism is about, the great personalities, so they are aware of the history. And I want them to be more internationally exposed and make them see the importance of it. I would like this to be integrated in the high school history curriculum Pan-Africanism is not an anti-white but a pro African movement, but a lot of people from the West see this as unseparable. Pan-Africanism and nation building go hand in hand, it is not a single agenda. Pan-Africanism is the international view on Africa, a context in which African states can develop” (Bankie).

The government is also involved in Pan-Africanism. Mr. Strauss is one of the board members of PACON; “SADC and the African Union are seen as a Pan-Africanism development. We wanted a parliament, which is there now, a bank and an army are coming soon. Then economic development is also an issue. We defined a Pan-Africanism master in developing studies. It re-defines our reality, makes us go back to our cultural roots. One student will influence his extended family and each year we want more students. We need to find balance again after Apartheid. Namibia is a Christian country, conservatives do not change fast. In regard to education, we try to spread new teachers as much as possible” (Strauss).

Discussion

Analysing the statements made by the actors of the nation building process a few aspects are worth to be discussed. The government does not have a clear nation building policy but does implement aspects (education, language and symbols) that are very important. There is no identity forced upon the people as during Apartheid but people are being socialized in the national context. The civil society is committed but has a loyalty problem. The CCN representative said herself that they are independent from SWAPO but it is difficult to be critical because they worked closely together during the independence struggle. Mrs. Hunter confirms this. The NYC says to welcome everyone but a few weeks after the interview a media scandal arised about its connections with SWAPO. Parts of the media are not independent and a lot of organisations are financially dependent on the government.

All these factors make it difficult for the civil society to develop in its full means and guide the nation building to a next level where people organize themselves and get committed this way.

SWAPO

Another difficult issue is the role of the leading party SWAPO. In the media there were a few articles last June that covered a discussion in Parliament on ethnicity and tribalism. Mr. Venaani from opposition party DTA says that the resources are not equally distributed, just as jobs in the civil services and the distribution of scholarships (89% goes to one ethnic group). The name of this group is not mentioned but is clear to everyone. Mr. Gurirab from the CoD says that if nationalism is not the goal, people will return to their ethnic identities. It is the job of politicians to prevent this from happening.

There is a lot of debate about the role of the government and more specific the role of SWAPO. Questions rise about their agenda and maybe a hidden agenda. The students from the group discussion were of the opinion that the government did a good job, although some students found distribution of resources unequal. It was already indicated that the way history, symbols and ceremonies are being handled are not inclusive according to some of the respondents from the in-depth interviews.

According to Mr. Vogt the government depends on the ethnic identity and has to filter through to the majority of their voters who are the Owambo. In his opinion nationalism in Namibia is the cultivated Owambo-identity and is confused with race. The Owambo do not vote because they'll have the majority anyway and non-Owambo do not vote for the same reason. Leaders are aware of the fact they depend on their ethnicity. It's ethnography under the flag of democracy (Vogt). This does connect with the opinion of some students saying a Namibian is black.

Du Pisani thinks that SWAPO is the integrative party, and a dividing party, trying to ensure Owambo hegemony. The government and state are dominated by SWAPO so people do not understand the difference. He states that nation building is a elite project and all the political parties are initiated by elites. The people don't really have a voice. The first phase of nation building is rational reconciliation where the white and black elite emerges. The second phase, which we are entering now has to be more transformative. This is material based. That's why all these issues like land reform and empowerment are present. This is the test now. The elite project has to go down to the people, more inclusive. This will have implications for identity as well. Cultural festivals are popular now, in an attempt to try to keep the memory alive and to involve the people. It is re-traditionalisation and romanticising the pre-colonial period. It is political. History is used to reinforce the independence struggle. There is an attempt to link historic periods. This is manufacturing history. It is an unimagined, mystified history for political purposes. This is unavoidable but not done in the right way. The anti-colonial ideology is not tolerant to competitive/alternative history and it is not inclusive (Du Pisani). Appadurai agrees with Du Pisani on the cultural festivals, calling it museumising of groups (Appadurai in Fairweather, 2003).

Töttemeyer and Hunter do not agree on the previous statements that SWAPO is not inclusive or pushing an Owambo hegemony. Hunter thinks SWAPO is a national movement and wants everyone on board, but does not accept opposition and critics very well. In her opinion they want unity for the sake of the country and themselves. Ethnicity seems to get more important though. Every cabinet there are less non-Owambo members.

The opposition is getting organized among ethnic lines. UDF has a chief as leader and they're not even trying to get other group's support (Hunter). Töttemeyer agrees that politics are getting more ethnic but points at the opposition parties NUDO, UDF, SWANU, RP which are ethnic-based parties. SWAPO is a national party for example by assigning members from all linguistic group as member of Cabinet (Töttemeyer). It is a fact that 98% of the people in the Owambo regions vote for SWAPO but SWAPO is also the strongest party in the majority of the regions throughout the country (Keulder, 2000).

The role of SWAPO is much discussed but no clear answer can be given. Ethnicity still has its part in Namibian politics.

4.2.4 Perception of the people

The previous parts of this paragraph discussed the tools of nation building that are implemented by the actors, and the actors themselves. The perception of the people is also of great importance and that is what this subparagraph will focus on. Without support of the people, the nation building process will fail. This paragraph will also tell what type of nation Namibia is according to the respondents.

The Namibian nation

The majority of the students answer no to the question if all people living in Namibia are Namibians (question 26). They mostly refer to foreigners as tourists, refugees and diplomats. The objective or political definition of membership is used. The respondents from the in-depth interviews focus on both the political definition of citizenship and the emotional attachment, which is a subjective definition of membership. Mr. Strauss believes there is a small group in Namibia that truly thinks of themselves as Namibians and are at the forefront of the nation building process.

Box 4.2 Do you feel that all people living in Namibia are Namibians?

Yes, if they perceive themselves as Namibians and have what it takes to be Namibian	No, most of them come from neighbouring countries where they escaped war. e.g. Angola
Yes, we are all Africans just divided by boundaries.	No, we have white people who don't want reconciliation.
Yes, because we all share on what Namibia is providing	No, because they are unfamiliar with any Namibian culture

A majority of 65% thinks of the Namibian population as a nation (question 27). The independence contributes to this feeling. The fact that all the people are free and share a democratic country, a government and a common goal of making Namibia a success makes it a nation in the eyes of many. The common goal is important for the creation of a new inter-group identity (see §2.1) The first year students are more positive. 75% of them sees Namibia as one nation, only 60% of the fourth year students.

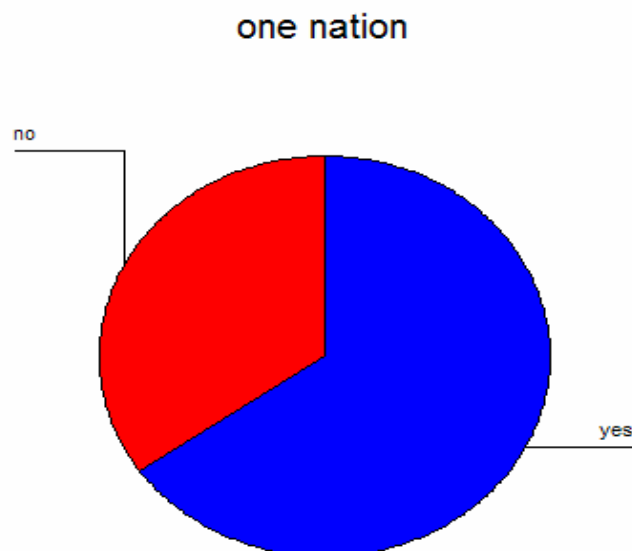


Figure 4.15 One nation
Source: questionnaire

All the ethnic groups follow the same pattern; only the Herero and Khoikhoi are a bit more negative. Although the rural students were more negative about the future, in both groups about 65% thinks of Namibia as one nation. “Namibia is not one nation because the differences are considered to great” is a reason to answer no. Most of the White students answer the question with no, being not as positive as their UNAM colleagues. They feel the differences are too great.

Mr. Du Pisani: *'No, we invoke one nation. The term one nation, one Namibia was a SWAPO-party slogan which is now nationalised'.*

Mrs. Hunter: *'It is not a cultural nation, but they have more in common than they think'.*

The in-depth interview respondents are more divided. Some say Namibia is a nation but also stress the diversity, some distinguish the cultural and political nation, in connection with the different types of nation distinguished in chapter 2 and some see the nation as a clear creation or a wish, which is linked to the modernist ideas.

Namibia being one nation in the perspective of the students does not mean it is all peace and harmony.

65% thinks there is no problem with diversity, 33% thinks there are problems (question 29). The Kavango and Caprivians are most positive. 80% does not see a problem with the diverse population. The Herero are most negative, 62% think the diversity is a problem. That means that diversity is seen as a problem.

The first year students are more negative then the fourth year students.

diversity a threat

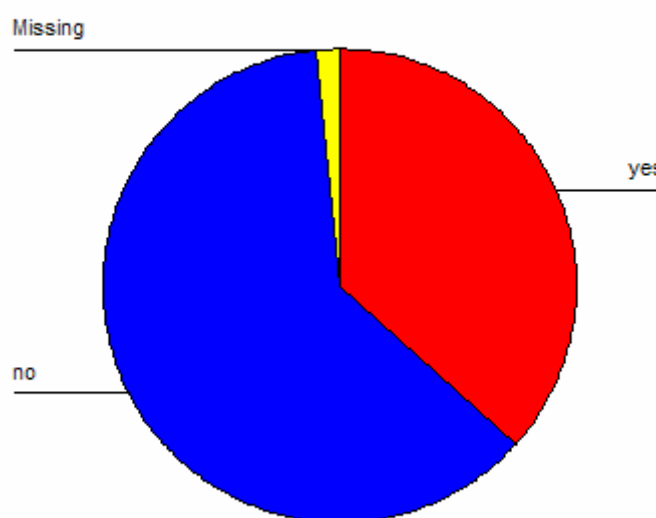


Figure 4.16 Diversity a threat
Source: Questionnaire

Box 4.3 Do you think the diversity of the people in Namibia is a problem?

Yes, political instability, people vote for their neighbours	No, because we consider ourselves Namibians
Yes, people separate themselves from others	No, we have a culture of tolerance
Yes, the unity which is supposed to be lived is not real or has not been reached	No, because people from different tribes work together, marry each other and attend school together
Yes, people at grass root will receive changes or information late compared to those in the city	No, our population is small so we need it No, diversity is good
	No, because they are all human beings

To check how positive the students really are, two check questions were asked about how people get along and if the diversity is a threat.

The students are also very positive about people getting along (question 34). Students name freedom, unity, a shared system, law and a common goal and a cultural of tolerance.

Others are of the opinion that the differences are too great and name problems of tribalism and racism. Respondents who think people do not get along name issues as differences, racism, prejudgement. People do not get along. Half of the respondents think it is, the other half thinks globalisation and a common goal will bring people together.

Despite the problems, diversity is not seen as a threat to national unity by the majority (question 35). The questions about diversity and its problems are answered in a 35% negative-65% positive proportion. The first and fourth year students agree on this topic.

The male students are more positive then the female students. 74% of the fourth year students does not see diversity as a threat. The rural or urban background does not seem to influence the opinion about the diversity of the population and related problems. 80% of the Caprivians do not see diversity as a threat, 50% of the Kavango do. The Whites, who consider the diversity as a problem, are more divided about the question if this is also a threat. The diversity can also be an enrichment, different people do have the same rights and forces like globalisation are important aspects as well.

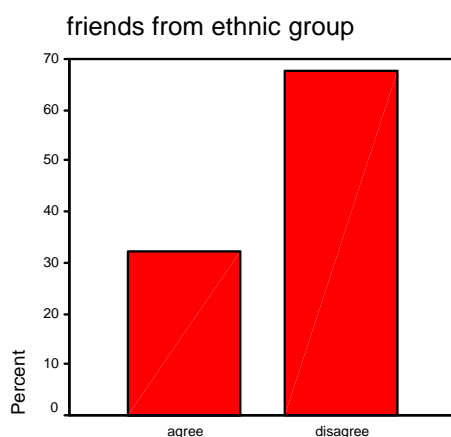
Box 4.4 Do you think the population diversity is a threat to Namibia's future and development?

Yes, because the bigger will overlook the small ones	No, because we have common goals
Yes, because of tribalism amongst ethnic group	No, because we are learning from different cultures
Yes, the Owambo will benefit more in future	No, because we are all one Namibia
	No, because people become more educated every year

To see if the situation is as positive as the students' portrait, they were asked about their personal relationships with other people (question 36).

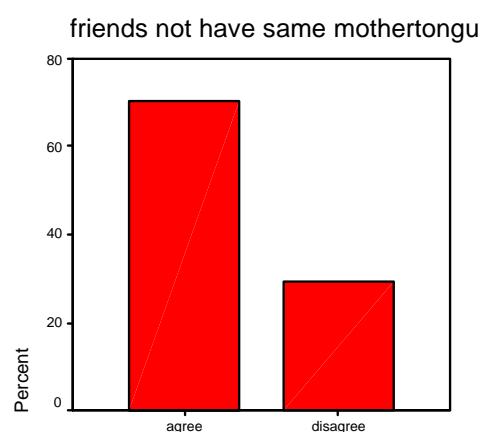
The students have friends from different ethnic groups. These friends have another mother tongue then the students themselves, which corresponds with the different regions. Friends are also from different religions. Religion is not linked to ethnicity and not a strong group identity factor. From these results it seems that the students practise their positive attitude in their personal life. In the personal context 30% is not so much integrated, 70% is.

40% of the students want to marry a partner from the same ethnic group, 60% does not agree with this statement. The parents, by the opinion of the students, are just as divided as the students. 60% would not have a problem with a partner of a different group.



friends from ethnic group

Figure 4.17 Source: Questionnaire



friends not have same mothertongue

Figure 4.18 Source: Questionnaire

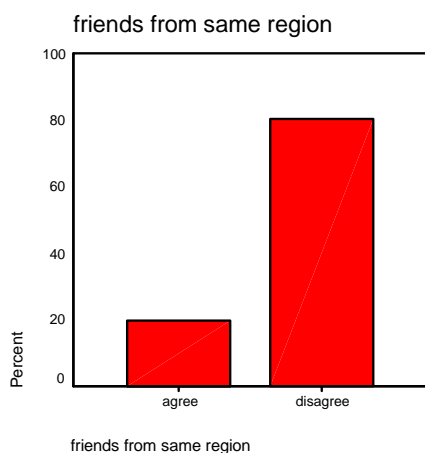


Figure 4.19 Source: Questionnaire

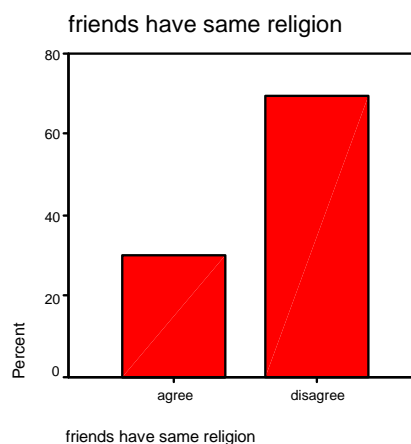


Figure 4.20 Source: Questionnaire

The students from first and fourth year have similar outcomes on the questions about their social relations, as do the rural and urban students.

The urban students do more often have friends with different mother tongues. The rural parents would more often have a problem with their child marrying a partner from another ethnic group. They would also prefer a traditional ceremony. The urban students would like a multi-ethnic society for their children more often. Most of them want to marry a partner from the same ethnic group 63% of the Caprivians want to marry a partner from the same ethnic group, the Owambo's have the lowest percentage with 37%. The Herero's claim their parents would have no problem with it. The other groups are split up in half.

45% of the Caprivians have friends from the same ethnic group, this is the highest percentage. The Herero have the lowest percentage. The Kavango have most of the friends who speak a different mother tongue and who's friends come from different regions. Most of the students want their children to grow up in a multi-cultural society, for the Herero this is 100% of them. 63% of the Caprivians want to marry a partner from the same ethnic group, the Owambo have the lowest percentage with 37%. The Herero claim their parents would have no problem with it. The other groups are split up in half. Most of the friends come from the same ethnic group and have the same mother tongue and come from the same region. Mr. Strauss also sees children mix and integrate and things children do not see the difference unless adults point it out to them.

Religion is not so much a deterrent. Most want to marry a partner from the same ethnic group. For the Whites, most of the friends come from the same ethnic group and have the same mother tongue and come from the same region. Religion is not so much a deterrent. Most want to marry a partner from the same ethnic group. All the parents would have a problem with a marriage with another ethnic group. The girls have slightly more friends from the same ethnic/linguistic group. The girls also more often than boys prefer to marry within their own ethnic group. The parents of the male students more often have no problem with a partner from another ethnic group than the parents from the female students. Mr. Strauss says that mixed marriages are a fact, which is an improvement because it was forbidden during Apartheid.

White schoolgirl: 'Maybe a black boyfriend would be ok with the parents but not with the grandparents. We do not know enough about each other. They hate us. The Herero want money from us, why? They want things the other way around, the blacks being the boss and the white being the worker. We do not really discuss it at school'.

Black schoolboy: *'It is ok to go home with each other. It is OK but I do not feel comfortable and I will be at my best behaviour. My dad is ok with it but is afraid the parents of the white child are not'.*

From all the questions above it is clear that integration is not happening overnight. The White population has a special position in this matter. Botha made it clear that in his opinion racism and not ethnicity is the biggest problem. Bankie feels not many White people take him seriously and that they act as members of their group. When the Whites do not behave according to the group rules, he has to make a choice, making integration very difficult (Bankie). Hofmann claimed he, as a German Namibian, did not feel part of national ceremonies. Hunter says that the whites did not lose or win much from independence and can continue their lives. Old ideas are still alive, especially in the rural areas (Hunter). The students from the group discussion also felt that the White do not want to be part of the new society. They were even surprised when I joined them at the same table in the cafeteria. A white girl said: "They have their independence now", showing clearly she does not feel part of it. Stereotypes are very persistent and people treat each other according to them. Botha says: The blacks are too much socialised by white racism and the whites seem to forget about that.

He also agrees that whites do not feel national celebrations as theirs and that they do not want to engage the national identity. People tend to fall in old patterns: the whites are colonialist and are the reason for everything that is wrong. The whites claim that things go wrong because of black corruption. The black perception of the Whites is that they do not want to share.

The students are positive about Namibia's situation. Despite all the differences they do see Namibia as a nation. Diversity is a problem but is not considered a threat by the majority. The social relations of the students legitimize the positive attitude. The White population has a special position.

Being Namibian

It is not yet clear what a Namibian is and what it means or involves to be Namibian (question 24). For the last question 30% would argue you have to be born in Namibia or be a citizen. For 13% more subjective factors are central like feeling you belong to the country or to one of the cultural groups. For 7% being free is the most important aspect. The rural students focus more on being a citizen and being proud, the urban students chose a sense of belonging and being free.

Box 4.5: What does being Namibian mean?

- It means just like other Africans or blacks
- Born in Namibia and have Namibian culture
- A proud citizen with peace and harmony.
- It means a person who knows Namibian culture and tradition.
- It means you should be patriot.
- Sharing the same nationality and working together for better Namibia.

Some respondents are talking about Namibian culture, sharing a nationality etc. Are there characteristics the Namibians share? Being friendly is mostly named and the diversity is emphasised. The quotes show Namibia is a land of contrasts: traditional/modern, black/white and the different cultures. Some students describe the Namibian population as black. 95% of the people is black but it does exclude the white population.

The White students themselves focus on the diversity as a characteristic. The respondents from the in-depth interviews see more common characteristics: obsession for land, meat and church are new aspects, compared to students. They are common characteristics that could be used to build on.

Box 4.6 Describe a typical Namibian

- Very friendly people and most of them survive in agriculture.
- Impossible! There are various cultures
- Traditional and modern
- Friendly and helpful
- Ranging from dark complex to light.
- Namibia has a variety of people from different cultures.
- Black

The identity ranking has to give an indication about the loyalty of the students. The national identity is important to the students. The respondents of the in-depth interviews were asked to put this in a wider perspective. Do the experts think there is a national identity and what is the content of it? The national identity and culture is a complicated topic. Kazapua names Christianity as an identity everyone has in common, Hunter states that the present national identity is an anti-colonial identity and Töttemeyer names it a political identity. Hofmann and Du Pisani see the demand for it but think it does not exist yet.

Most of the students give an objective definition to Namibianness. Some do acknowledge the common goal and feeling of belonging. The typical Namibian is hard to describe because of the diversity but common elements can be found.

Du Pisani names the nation building process a state-project and an elite project. He says there is no emotional nation building. The elite project now has to go down to the people and be more inclusive. If this happens it will influence identity as well.

4.2.5 Education³

Education is a nation building tool and is mentioned by many as the way to communicate national history and symbols and create unity by socialising the students in a national context. Two goals of education in Namibia are *'to develop an awareness and appreciation of the diversity of cultural heritage which contributes to the Nationhood of Namibia (p.238) and develop an understanding of the societal goals of Namibia with particular emphasis on national reconciliation and national unity'* (Adeyemi, 2000).

The main contribution of education to nation building is the fact that everyone receives the same education and is treated equally. This may sound very simple, but the Apartheid system used education to divide people. Being under the same roof again has a great meaning to educational developers, teachers and students spoken too. The use of the new national language English in combination with instruction in the mother tongue during the first years is a good reflection of the *'Unity in Diversity'* policy.

³The respondent of the UNAM questionnaire are referred to as *students*, the children at the visited high schools are referred to as *learners*.

Curriculum development

The Apartheid system had different curriculum for Black, Whites and Coloureds with the goal to maintain status and economic differences. Soon after independence the curriculum was changed. The National Institute for Educational Development (NIED) is a Directorate from the Ministry of Basic Education who is responsible for this. The curriculum for the first ten grades was national but for the last two grades (11 and 12) the Cambridge system was chosen. This way Namibian students can study around the world.

There has been a lot of critic about this decision saying that one foreign system was replaced by an other, costing a lot of money. Mr. January, CEO Curriculum Development at NIED, says there was not much choice, it was Cambridge or maintaining the Apartheid system. Now NIED is working on the "Namibisation" of the system by putting the curriculum in the local context and by giving a correcting the own exams. This has to be implemented in 2006. The curriculum includes all the policies that are subscribed by the Ministry.

Geography and history are compulsory because they serve the nation building process and democracy. It includes a lot of history that is focussed on reconciliation and the independence struggle (January). In primary school the children learn the symbols and analyse them (Simalumba). The curriculum for social sciences includes national unity, learning about all the social groups in Namibia, tolerance and diversity. It will refer to current events, such as multicultural education because *'We can not avoid the subject of diversity but we do not want to get political'* (Sampson). Value objectives are positive attitudes towards and critical tolerance of other social, cultural and political values and beliefs, appreciation of our Constitution and democratic behaviour. The syllabus for second grade environmental studies show that Namibian children learn about aspects of culture and the national symbols at an early age.

The curriculum is used to teach learners about symbols, different cultures, unity and tolerance.

School visits: the teachers

The curriculum design has a nation building function but that will only work if it is implemented at the schools. Four schools were visited to talk to the teachers and ask their opinion about the role of education in nation building. The state school in Gobabis is more rural and mainly educates Herero, Tswana and Damara learners. According to the history teacher at the Wennie du Plessis highschool in Gobabis education is important for the nation building process. He says: *'You have to bend the tree when it is young'*. He thinks that the government does not take this change. Culture is not preserved and the national culture is not emphasised. The result of this is a vacuum in which the children become neglected to their surrounding. He thinks it is hard to change people, especially the Herero. There might be some progress in Windhoek, but outside the capital life is very different.

The school in Rehoboth is also a state school and have learners from a Baster and Nama background. Mr. Oorlam and Mr. Rickerts from the Rehoboth High school also think that culture should be incorporated in the curriculum but says NIED is not listening. They acknowledge that education is important to nation building. Their school has an exchange program in the North and cultural festivals. He thinks the history lessons are objective and Namibian.

St.Paul's College was founded by Dutch missionaries and is now a private school which is visited by White children and Black children from the new elite.

Mr. van Rensburg from St. Paul's College in Windhoek thinks the syllabus is not objective but says it is a SWAPO version. History is rewritten and used politically. There will be more attention for culture and the Namibian context with Namibian examples in the new syllabus which is the big difference from the South African system. The other differences are the learner centred approach and the critical thinking. This school has an international bias.

The German private school has mainly White students from a German, Namibian German and sometimes Afrikaner background. At the German Private School the curriculum is focused on Germany because this is what the parents want. One history teacher says the syllabus is too packed, subject like arts and sports are important too and not much is done to help nation building. He did discuss for example the issue of land reform in his class, but the homogeneity of his students does not make that very interesting. An interesting point at this school is that the German government pays for a few children from Katutura (the black township of Windhoek) to go to the German school because they want to contribute to integration, not to everyone's approval. In my observation the children did not mix a lot during breaks.

The teachers from the state schools think education is not used enough for the nation building process. They think history lessons are objective but I observed some subjective elements. The private school do not use the national curriculum which is of course not useful for the nation building process. The diverse population of the schools (except the German school) is a good addition to create a '*Unity in Diversity*' awareness.

School visits: the learners

The learners from Wennie du Plessis High School say they are Namibian, but are also member of their cultural group, which is very important. They acknowledge that they have mixed friendships but that dating is a problem because their parents are more tribe orientated. This will be easier for their future children. They integrate more than their parents so it is getting better but they think differences are too big for a national culture. This might happen in the far future. It helps that different cultures meet in the classroom. '*We learn most from each other but also a bit from the books*'.

The children at the Rehoboth High school also say they are Namibian and member of their cultural group. Their parents would also be more focus on the local identity. They integrate, especially inside the classroom, but there is not enough integration outside school. They also think Namibia is not one nation because there are too many differences. They do think it is important to learn more about each other in order to unite. The history lessons are not Namibian enough because the focus is too much on South Africa and SWAPO, which does not correspond with the opinion of their teachers.

The students from St. Paul's College think that history is not always objective and a few black student want to learn more about their history in stead of only about colonial times. The students from this school are more focussed on their Namibian identity. This school has a mixed population in racial terms and is located in Windhoek. They are more integrated then their parents. One boy says he is Namibian as can be because he is from a very mixed background that he has no attachment to one of the cultural groups. The students think there is not enough attention for nation building. The school has no cultural festival, not much is taught about various cultures and teachers try to avoid the issue.

The students from the German High School also feel the issue is not discussed at school. From the reaction in the classroom it was very clear that not much is talked about it and in one class my question about (racial) mixed marriage leads to consternation. The friends and family are not always helping the integration process (Bankie) because mixed friendships or relations are not always accepted. A lot of students see themselves as Germans. The difference from the other 3 schools is that a lot of students do not identify themselves as Namibians, not even in combination with their cultural identity.

It can be that a lot of students are only staying temporarily in Namibia, this is unknown to me. The students are not very interested in learning about other cultures in their country and feel that many do not want to integrate anyway. They do integrate more than their parents do.

The children claim to have two identities, Namibian and cultural. They are more focused on the national identity while their parents focus on the cultural identity. The school is important for the integration process but education in general could be used much more for example by teaching about various cultures. The learners from the German school are much less interested in other cultures and integration. They do not see Namibia as one nation.

None of the visited schools is truly rural and the division is more Windhoek or non-Windhoek schools. The influence of the rural/urban component can thus not be determined. The state schools were ethnically mixed, but not racially. These were also the schools where I found the history lessons not completely objective (see History, also difficult for the teacher's to be objective) and the learners did comment that the Whites did not want to integrate. The contact these children have with Whites is mostly non-personal, for example their parents working for a White farmer. The mixed population at St. Paul's did seem to help to overcome stereotyping and integration. The homogenous population of the German school could be of influence on the non-interest for other cultural groups and integration. The private schools do not follow the national curriculum and are thus not nationally focussed.

The homogenous or heterogeneous population of learners seems to be of influence for the attitude towards nation building and integration.

Schoolbooks⁴

The social studies, geography and history books are nowadays set up in a way that students learn about their own home environment, region, country, continent and the world. Various topics return every grade, but on a higher level of understanding. I scanned the schoolbooks that were available to me, for elements that are useful or contra productive for the nation building process.

Social studies

Social studies grade 6 teaches about the historical movement and changes. It starts with the presence of the San and carries on with the immigration of the rest of the current population. This is typical, because mostly only the Whites are seen as immigrants. The Bantu and Whites have an equal position in this book, explaining the changes both of the groups brought to the country. The book for social studies grade 4 has the same approach. They show important historical figures and all groups are represented in a neutral way. All the cultural groups are presented in this book. Assignments encourage students to learn more about their own and other cultures and exchange their information. The book, as a lot of other books uses pictures of Namibian people with speech bubbles.

⁴ For references of the schoolbook see schoolbook references.

The people represent all the cultures and colours in the country. This book is written mostly in the third person: *In Namibia there is, In Namibia you can find.....*

Geography

The geography books are not specifically used for the nation building process. The subjects are mainly about economic and physical geography. The books do use Namibian examples and maps and also the speech bubbles with different Namibian people are present. It will be more Namibian after 2006 when the new curriculum syllabus is implemented.

History

The history books are most interesting. The learners from the visited schools already indicated they did not always agree with the content of their history lessons. The new history books try to show African history from an African perspective. A part of the book for grade 8 is about pre-colonial history. These two aspects are exactly those the students were commenting about. The book starts with the Namibian Constitution and the national symbols. This clearly serves the nation building process. The book is written from a “we” and “our” perspective. Unity is very explicitly addressed. The fact that every historic story is told from a certain perspective is also mentioned. This book also discusses the arrival of every group into Namibia, the reason why they came and why they settled down in their particular regions. This is connected to their way of life, which is explained as well. The conflicts between the non-White groups are discussed which might give future UNAM-students the idea that the groups were not one big happy family before the whites came and that differences and stereotyping already existed before. The book of grade 9 also starts with the Constitution and the governmental design of Namibia. It continues where the book of grade 8 stopped. Both books have part on Namibian, African and world history. An interesting paragraph is saying: *Witbooi struggled for the unity of the Namibian communities under his leadership*. You can explain this as nationalism or as a way to gain and remain power (which for the modernists is equal). Witbooi is portrayed on the Namibian banknotes, has streets named after him and is considered important, while maybe he was seen as the enemy by the groups he was dominating. The 1904 uprising is presented as *The War of National Resistance*. In the schoolbooks from the South African time the action of Witbooi and the Herero is called revolt and rebellion. The ethnic homelands, that nowadays is explained as forced upon Namibia by South Africa is presented as: Various ethnic groups preferred to administer certain matters for their own groups. The books are much more focussed on European history and geography and mostly contain a special chapter on South Africa.

History, also difficult for the teacher's to be objective

- Typical was that one of the history teachers could not explain to me how the situation was before colonialism, *'when everything was changed'*, as he said to his students. One student reacted to that by saying that the arrivals of the Whites was the start of all the problems.
- A teacher from Wennie du Plessis High school asked his students what the Germans did to their grandparents: taking land, cattle and put our people in the city.

It is interesting to see how the view on history education differs between teachers, learners and students. The students from the group discussion claimed that before colonialism all the groups present in Namibia were living in harmony and were one happy family. The colonialists and in particular Apartheid divided them and created stereotypes, still persisting today and causing many problems. Mr. Botha does not agree with this. There has been conflict over resources, for example between the Nama and Herero before White presence. Economics changed with the arrival of the Oorlam and the transition caused conflict.

(This name not used anymore. The Oorlam (meaning 'civilized', was a good educated Nama group. Nowadays the group can be traced by family names) An other prominent picture is the 1904 uprising being national resistance. This is also a debate among historians. Du Pisani calls it a romanticised narrative. According to him the different living styles in the north and south caused competition, friction and a struggle for hegemony. He thinks 1904 was primary resistance as the name Namibia was only used in 1960. The memory is short and now focussed on colonialism resulting in a re-traditionalising and romantcising of the pre-colonial period to reinforce the independence struggle.

This is a clear example of politicised history and thus of history as a nation building tool. This anti-colonialism ideology is not tolerant to alternative histories and is exclusive, living the Whites out (Du Pisani).

The learners claim they do not learn enough about other cultures in their country and about pre-colonial history but these topics are present in the books. History is presented in a neutral way. The schoolbooks are different from the South African-time books, because it is more nationally focused, has Namibian examples and less chapters on South Africa.

4.3 Review

This chapter analysed the data gathered during fieldwork. A lot of issues are covered but it still is only a summary of all the information and opinions that have been collected. The identity factors, ranking and the perception of the Namibian nation are clear. The role of the actors is not always clear and it will be difficult for every researcher to find the truth, if there is any. The focus on education was very usefull because it showed the use of nation building methods in practise and the bias between actors (government and teachers) and their subjects (learners). The next chapter will use the results from the analysis to come to a conclusion.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter is the final part of this thesis and will draw a conclusion to this research project. To do that the questions from the first chapter will be used to get to a conclusion step by step. Strength and constraints and suggestion for further research will also shortly be discussed.

5.1 Research questions

The first three questions deal with the identity formation and ranking of the university students. These questions are discussed in §4.1. The identity factors language, culture and region of the ethnic or local identity are strongly emphasised by the students. This is reinforced by the importance of the place of upbringing.

These identity factors are the lower scale identities that had to be ranked together with the high scale identities. The high scale students were clearly most important to the students, although one from the two check questions did not support that as well as some topics in the media. It was more difficult to determine a shift in group identity. The changing use of language is a clear sign that for the students and their families it is changing. The students are getting more modern, which can have an influence on their cultural identity in the future. The students are positive that the situation in Namibia will change for the better.

1. Which factors do people use to identify their group identity, based on their ethnicity?
2. How do these group identity factors relate in their importance in relation to higher level identity factors as national and African identity?
3. Is there a process of change concerning the group identity?

§4.2 covered the rest of the research questions and focused on the nation building process behind the identity formation and the detected shift. The actors involved are very broadly the people, the government and civil society. In theory their goal would be to create a national identity and unity in order for the country to function and for the elite to remain in power. A characteristic of nationalists is that they want to make it seem a natural process so it is hard to determine the real goal. The policy is very clear: *'Unity in Diversity'* and *'Unity, Liberty, Justice'*. This is implemented via the Constitution. The media and the in-depth interviews did raise subjects that question the intention of those in power. Nationalism, ethnicity and power is not out of play but are hard to measure.

The students want their society to be multi-cultural, which is also the view of the government. It is hard to determine if the government follows the wish of the people are that the students got socialized with this idea. Multiculturalism does not mean that there will be one overall identity, while the national identity was most important in the identity ranking.

This is connected with the question if Namibia is a nation. The checklist from Smith in table 2.2 can function as a checklist to answer this question. The myth and memory cultivation is being worked on. The schoolbooks contribute to that and the students were focused on national history as the most important historic event. Only the White population has a different position in this matter. Territorialization is measured by the position of the border which is accepted by most students as it is but who not name Namibia their homeland. The region is a very strong factor for the local scale identity and can be constrain for this ingredient. The uniform public culture is in progress as the state framework is build and all Namibians fall under the same law, government and educational system.

This also covers the 'legal standardization' ingredient. The last ingredient defined by Smith is the self-definition which involves the in-group and out-group. The identity ranking from the students suggests that the national identity is most important and should be the in-group but the group discussion, in-depth interview and media watching showed the opposite. The definition the students gave to being Namibian were mostly political. The answer to the question 'to what extent Namibia is a nation', is not a clear answer because it is difficult to weight the different sources. The foundation (state building and nation building implementation of tools) is laid and a political nation is growing as the emphasis is put on the political national identity.

The content of this identity is the membership of the country. The content of the national cultural identity is more difficult. Respondents are able to name some characteristics but find it difficult because of the diversity of the population. According to others, including the government and some in-depth interview respondents, the national cultural identity is a plural identity. In my definition (box 2.6) this is not the content of a cultural national identity which is part of an ethnic or cultural nation. People may identify with Namibia as their country but do not always identify with their fellow citizens as the ethnicity and racial discussion shows. The national identity can be political while the cultural identities can be in a multicultural relation.

The nation building process is present. All the nation building tools that were distinguished from the modernist nationalism theory were found present. The students already have a different perspective as their parents which can be a sign that the implementation of the tools are working. It will take maybe a generation more to really see the effects because these people are born after independence and will be socialized in the national context and have parents that were educated in the national system. The research has shown that education is believed to be a good tool that is not used in its full potential yet.

The changing use of language can be of help for the nation building process. Another opportunity is religion. It was not an important factor for the ethnic identity but did have a good position in the identity ranking. The vast majority of the Namibians are Christians, which can be a useful tool to create an inter group identity. Politics will play a major role in keeping all the groups involved or marginalize groups, which of course will be a threat to the nation building process.

4. Is there a nation building process in Namibia?
5. What are the actors in this process and what goal do they have?
6. To what extent is the Namibian population a nation?
7. What does it mean to be a Namibian?
8. What is the role of education in the nation building process?

5.2 Conclusion

The main research question was:

How do people in Namibia define their group identity in the changing context/society of Namibia and what is the role of nation building in this process of change?

The loyalty of the research population is shifting towards the national level.

This loyalty is likely the loyalty towards the state because people do not accept everyone else as a fellow citizen and is sometimes committed to the ethnic/cultural group in stead of the national level. The in-group and out-group is politically defined but not culturally and socially experienced. This is not necessary in the African loyalty model with one political and a multiple cultural loyalty. This leads the way to the civic nation, which is confirm by the checklist of nation's ingredients. The nation building tools are present and implemented and there is a result. According to the theory this shift will not happen by itself, suggesting that some tools seem to be effective, although it is hard to measure if the loyalty shift is caused by the nation building process.

5.3 Strengths and constrains

Of course no research is perfect and complete. Time and money are the most common constrains that limit the research options and every research has to narrow down the topic. Of course this was also the case in my research project and I therefore I will shortly discuss my ideas about the strengths and constrains of my research.

The strength of this research is that the goals set for the amount of time available for the fieldwork was well balanced. There was enough time to use different methods and talk to various people who all have a different connection with the topic. In my opinion this resulted in a thesis that covers all important aspects of the topic. The reading done before departure helped to get more in-depth with my respondents. The focus on one group was a good approach in the sense of accessibility, in-depth and relevance.

One of the constrains was mobility. Distances are great in Namibia and there is no public transportation. This was one of the reasons to work in Windhoek. The school visits were also partly determined by this because a two day trip would involve too much costs. A very important issue is the socially desirable answers that are hard to detect and prevented, although check questions were used. The topic contains difficult concepts that can mean different things from person to person. The survey was not big enough to be able to see correlations or significant deviations. The described results are general tendencies.

5.4 Future research

The areas that have not been focused on are good potential topics for future research. This research is limited to a certain group at a given point in time. It would be interesting to see the perceptions of different social classes, age groups and from people from different regions and the rural areas. This means that an overall survey can give a more representative overview of the Namibian perception. Another option would be a longitude research to monitor the changes in identity formation and national perception of a particular group.

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Windhoek: Gamsberg

⁵ Many more schoolbooks were analyzed but these are the books that are referred to in the text.

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Ministry of Health and Services 2005

home: www.healthnet.org.na

link: www.healthnet.org.na/grnmhss/htm/DECENo1.htm

last accessed on 20-08-2005

Simplemaps 2005

home: <http://www.simplemaps.iofm.net>

link: <http://www.simplemaps.iofm.net/namibia.jpg>

last accessed on 15-07-2005

Texas Educational Foundation 2005

home: www.tea.state.tx.us

link: <http://www.tea.state.tx.us/student.assessment/resources/online/2003/grade11/ss/no51.gif>

last accessed on 15-07-2005

Thinkquest Education Foundation, 2005

home: <http://library.thinkquest.org>

link: <http://library.thinkquest.org/16645/media/maps/namibia/gif>

last accessed on 15-07-2005

University of Cologne, 2002

home: www.uni-koeln.de

link http://www.uni-koeln.de/inter-fak/sfb389/e/e1/download/atlas_namibia/

last accessed on 15-07-2005

World Development Index database, 2003

home: <http://hdr.undp.org/>

link: http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/data/cty/cty_f_AGO.html

last accessed on 15-08-2005

Google search

figure 3.3:

link picture 1: <http://www.economist.com.na/2001/210901/images/cattle.jpg>,

last accessed on 15-07-2005

link picture 2: [http://www.namibia-](http://www.namibia-travel.net/nampics/bushman1.jpg)

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link picture 6: <http://www.orusovo.com/guidebook/images/Herero.jpg>,

last accessed on 15-07-2005

figure 4.8:

<http://paulnoll.com/Locations/visiting-Namibia-flag.gif>

last accessed on 20-08-2005

figure 4.9:

http://www.flvw.de/pics/medien/big_image_1092656728229.jpeg

last accessed on 20-08-2005

figure 4.10:

http://www.grnnet.gov.na/Nam_Nutshell/Symbols/National_Anthem.htm

last accessed on 20-08-2005

figure 4.11:

<http://www.atsnotes.com/shop/namibia-1.JPG>

last accessed on 20-08-2005

Appendix A: in-depth interview respondents and visited schools

Mr. Bankie	Pan African Centre
Mr. Boele van Hensbroek	Political philosophy lecturer University of Groningen
Mr. Botha	History lecturer UNAM
Dr. K.F.R. Budack	Ethnologist, Namibia Scientific Society
Prof. Du Pisani	Political commentator and Prof. of politics at UNAM
Mr. Frederiks	Advisor Minister for Traditional Authorities
Mrs. Hunter	National Institute for Democracy
Mr. January	National Institute for Educational Development (NIED)
Mr. Kazapua	National Youth Council
Rev. Nangula E. Kathinidi	General Secretary Council of Churches Namibia
Mr. Sampson	NIED
Mr. Simalumba	NIED
Mr. Strauss	Deputy director of Culture and Heritage directory
Prof. Töttemeyer	Academic, Member first delimitation commission, SWAPO-member, ex MP and deputy minister at the ministry of Local and Regional Government and Housing
Mr. Vogt	Specialist in heritage preservation

Deutsche Hohere Privat Schule	Windhoek, German private school
Rehoboth High School	Rehoboth, state school
St. Paul's College	Windhoek, private school, previously missionary
Wennie du Plessis High School	Gobabis, state school

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Questionnaire students UNAM: Identity and nationbuilding

Dear student,

Just like you I am a student in geography. I study at the university of Groningen in the Netherlands. I came to Namibia to do research for my master thesis.

This questionnaire is an important part of that research. You help me a great deal with filling in this paper. Thank you. All the information you give me will be treated confidentially and will only be seen by me. Only the general results will be published in my master thesis. If you have any questions, if you are interested in the research or its results do not hesitate to contact me:

medehaan@hotmail.com

Marjolein de Haan

Introduction

1.Age: 15-20 30-35
 20-25 >35
 25-30

2.Sex: male
 female

3.Fields of study: _____

4.Year of study: 1st 4th
 2nd 5th
 3rd

Motherland

5.Place of birth and upbringing: _____
 (please state name of the village/town and name of the province)

6.Place of residence: _____
 (please state name of the village/town and name of the province)

7.How long have you been living in your current place of residence?
 Less than 1 year
 Between 1 and 4 years.
 More than 4 years.

8.What is the place of residence of your parents/family? _____
 (please state name of the village/town and name of the province)

9.In what kind of setting did you grow up? You can give more than one answer if there are more houses in the family. Shortly explain the situation, where you stay when and for what purpose.

Farm/homestead Town Windhoek
 Village boarding school/ hostel missionary school

More than one answer, explanation: _____

10.What way of life do you live?	And your family?
<input type="checkbox"/> Traditional	<input type="checkbox"/> Traditional
<input type="checkbox"/> Mostly traditional	<input type="checkbox"/> Mostly traditional
<input type="checkbox"/> Traditional and modern	<input type="checkbox"/> Traditional and modern
<input type="checkbox"/> Mostly modern	<input type="checkbox"/> Mostly modern
<input type="checkbox"/> Only modern	<input type="checkbox"/> Only modern

11. How important is your place of birth/ upbringing to you?

- Not important
- A little important
- Neutral
- Important
- Very important

12. Where would you like to live in the future? Why? (state specific place)

13. Please circle the area which you see as your motherland/fatherland on the map on the last page.

Group identity

14. To which ethnic group do you belong?

- Herero Kavango
- Owambo Caprivi
- San/Bushmen Himba
- Khoeikhoei Afrikaner
- German English
- Coloured Other: _____

15. Why do you feel you belong to this group? Because of:
(you can choose more than 1 category)

- Common language** **nr.** _____
- Common history** **nr.** _____
- Common ancestry** **nr.** _____
- Common culture** **nr.** _____
- Common region/motherland** **nr.** _____
- Common religion** **nr.** _____
- Common ethnicity** **nr.** _____

Please rank the chosen categories. Number 1 is most important.

16. What is your religion?

- Roman Catholic Orwana
- Dutch Reform Methodist
- Lutheran None
- Anglican Other: _____

Could you please answer the following questions for you and your parents?

17. Which language is your mothertongue/ homelanguage?

You: _____ Parents: _____

18. Which other languages do you have knowledge of? (that you can basically communicate in)

You: _____ Parents: _____

19. Which language do you speak at home with your family?

You: _____ Parents: _____

20. Which language do you use the most on a daily basis?

You: _____ Parents: _____

Nation-building**21. Which language would you teach your children?**

22. Which language(s) should your children learn in school?

23. Which language do you see as the national language? Do you think everybody should be able to speak it? _____

24. What does being a Namibian mean?

25. Imagine a foreigner who has never been to Namibia wants to know what the people are like. What answer would you give? Describe the typical Namibian:

26. Do you feel that all people living in Namibia are Namibians?

ε Yes, because: _____

ε No, because: _____

27. Do you feel that all the people living in Namibia are one nation together?

ε Yes, because: _____

ε No, because: _____

28. How do you think this will be in 50 years?

29. Do you think the diversity of the people in Namibia is a problem?

ε Yes, because: _____

ε No, because: _____

If yes, explain the most important problems: _____

30. For the future of Namibia it is best that:

ε Different groups live their lives separate from each other. (segregation)

ε People should integrate on a public level but segregated on personal level.

ε People should integrate on all levels (integration)

ε That one culture will become dominant. (assimilation)

ε That a mixture of all cultures will become the overall Namibian culture.

ε That all cultures are equal and can live side by side. (multiculti)

31. Choose one of the 4 options:

ε It is the governments job to deal with the diversity of the population.

ε It is the people's job to deal with the diversity of the population.

ε It is both the governments and the people's job to deal with the diversity of the population.

ε Nobody has to deal with it as it is no concern.

32. Do you think the Namibian border is where it should be? If no, please explain what should be different and why.

33. What is the most important historical event for you?

Intergroup relations

34. Do people from different groups get along?

ε Yes, because: _____

ε No, because: _____

35. Do you think the population diversity is a threat to Namibia's future and development?

ε Yes, because: _____

ε No, because: _____

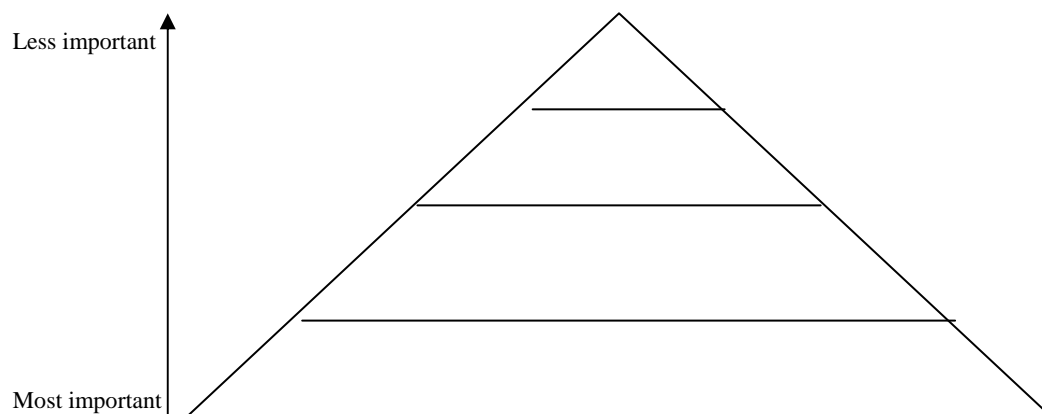
36. Do you agree with the following statements?:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|------------|
| 1. Most of my friends are from the same cultural/ethnic group | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 2. Most of my friends do not have the same mothertongue | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 3. Most of my friends come from the same region | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 4. Most of my friends have the same religion | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 5. I want to marry a girl/boy from the same ethnic group. | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 6. My parents will have no problem with me marrying a girl/boy from a different ethnic group. | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 7. I would like my children to grow up in a multicultural society. | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 8. If people want to talk to me, they should speak my language. | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 9. For my wedding, I want a traditional ceremony | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 10. For my wedding I want only the state ceremony | ε agree | ε disagree |
| 11. For my wedding I want both ceremonies | ε agree | ε disagree |

Identity ranking

37. Please pick out the 4 kinds of identity which are most important to you. Then rank them in the figure.

- ε National identity (being Namibian)
- ε Cultural identity
- ε Ethnic identity (being Caprivi, German, Ovambo)
- ε Religious identity (being Catholic)
- ε Regional identity (coming from Damaraland)
- ε Linguistic identity (speaking Afrikaans, Herero)
- ε African identity (being African, from the African continent)



Comments: