The legacy of apartheid

Educational inequalities in post-colonial Namibia

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## Abstract
Namibia has been ranked as one of the most unequal countries in the world. As the headline indicates, the present thesis studies the educational inequalities that were implemented during the apartheid rule, but place emphasis on how these are being manifested and reproduced in post-colonial Namibia. This is analyzed through a racial perspective. The method applied is Grounded theory and the theoretical concepts are racialization and Bourdieu’s symbolic capital.

## Nyckelord
Namibia, Inequalities, Apartheid, Education, Grounded Theory, Race, Racialization, Symbolic Capital.
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Introduction

January 2012 marks the month of my arrival in Namibia. As I landed in the country, I realized that I did not know much about the context that I now found myself in; despite my attempts to read about its history, geography and current social structure prior to departure. Before my arrival, I was convinced that I had some knowledge about Namibia; and I did, just not to the extent that I thought. Thus, living in the country meant to leave aside, what I would now describe as artificial preconceptions, and instead make room for first-hand references.

Filled with excitement I landed in a hot and sunny summer-Namibia. It seemed wherever I turned, huge mountains were shaped before me. I was at a place where the sun is ever-shining and where tranquility was given a whole new meaning. However, pretty soon after my arrival, something very significant for the Namibian society would catch my attention. I was struck by the great disparities between the people. Wherever I went and whomever I spoke to, this became increasingly visible and ever clearer. It became evident that this young democracy is marked by colonialism and apartheid. It was as if traces of apartheid had been sprinkled and left on the streets. Apartheid was abolished legally, but was it in practice? Questions such as this left me in deep wonders.

Namibia has been ranked as the country with the highest levels of income inequalities in the world.\(^1\) This has been articulated as one of the main legacies of apartheid. However, 23 years has passed since the country gained independence. How are these inequalities explained, and by what means are they being maintained? My hope and ambition is for this research to serve as a brief introduction to the state of politics, and further, to the field of education in post-colonial Namibia.

Subject of inquiry and purpose

This study aims to contribute to the understanding of the educational inequalities that were created under the apartheid rule and how these manifest themselves today. Virtually all existing material on education in Namibia focuses on the era prior to colonization and during apartheid\(^2\); therefore my aim is to provide an analysis of educational inequalities along racial lines in post-colonial Namibia. Reaching independence, educational reform was one of the highest priorities for the new government. One of the cornerstones in the reform was “education for all”.\(^3\) In addition to the above mentioned, I aim to, as far as possible, study whether the requirements for this reform have been met.

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\(^1\) Herbert Jauch, Lucy Edwards & Braam Cupido, *A rich country with poor people* (Windhoek, 2009), p. 35.


Thus, questions to respond are; Are there, according to my informants, equal opportunities to access education? Do my informants identify any educational inequalities along racial lines in today’s Namibia? What legacy has the old educational system of apartheid left?

**Demarcations**

In the book *Basics of qualitative research* the authors Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss emphasize the importance of narrowing down a topic in order to make it workable. Education in its broadest sense is a lifelong process and thus a very broad subject to analyze. Understandably, the present study cannot cover all such forms of learning in Namibia. The first demarcation made was therefore to narrow down my focus to elementary school. Moreover; the complexity of education in Namibia and its inevitable relation to the socio-economic and socio-political arena has made the demarcations one of the hardest parts of the entire research. After careful considerations, I made the decision to focus on race, and the two major groups according to apartheid’s race classifications – the white and black population. My intentions are of course not to contribute to any differentiation of the groups; however, given the history, I do find this perspective necessary to look at.

The chosen topic is a widespread one, which means that the demarcations could have taken very different routes. As so often is the case, due to time restrictions, several important features have been left out. Two aspects that I have not focused on are gender and age. Not because these aren’t important, but simply due to the fact that each of these perspectives are broad themselves and would require time and space beyond the scope of this thesis. It should be noted that I have conducted interviews with people of different age groups as well as both females and males. However, focus in the analysis will not be placed on these perspectives, though had there been more space, they would have certainly added a lot to the research.

**Definitions**

Due to their central part of this study, the following definitions aim to present an authentic and unmodified description of the race classifications made by the apartheid regime. Thus, based on the constitution, the citizens of South Africa and Namibia were according to the Population Registration Act of 1950 classified in racial terms.

**Race** was defined by appearance. All members of the society were, based on the Act, classified along racial lines according to the three major officially recognized groups; whites, blacks and

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6 Amukugo, p. 4.
coloreds. A white person was by definition, somebody who appeared to be Caucasian. Though, even if a person by appearance did measure up to this description, he or she would not be accepted as white if one of his/her natural parents had been classified as a member of another race. According to the Act, a black person (previously called African and Bantu), was one who generally was accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa. A colored person was by definition a person who was neither white nor African. The colored and black people were additionally subdivided according to their ethnological (tribal) groups.

**Historical overview**

To understand the context, current inequalities and legacy of apartheid, it is necessary to examine the history of Namibia. Thus, a brief historical overview will hereby be presented. Before doing so, it should be noted that in describing the structures imposed by the South African government, it is necessary to use terms such as “white, colored, black and race”. However, by applying such terms certainly does not imply any acceptance of the definitions made by the apartheid regime.

The colonial era is divided into two, of which the first consist of the German rule and the second of the South African rule. Both eras are characterized by violent conquest, abuse of power, racial segregation and exploitation of cheap labor, which has left the country and the majority of its people in poverty and high levels of inequalities. The focus in this section will be placed on the second half of the colonial era, concentrating on apartheid and its legacy. Before apartheid was introduced, The Leauge of Nations had given mandate of Namibia (then called South West Africa), to South Africa. The mandate, which was later withdrawn in 1966, gave South Africa full power of the Namibian territory. 1948 marks the year the Nationalist Party gained victory in an all-white election held in South Africa, meaning only white people were entitled to vote. The mandate enabled the South African administration to introduce apartheid as the official government policy in both countries, thus implementing a constitution based on racial segregation and white domination in all spheres of life. Race became the dominant element in determining the rights of the people.

The geography of the country was redrawn along racial lines according to the Group Areas Act of 1950, which enforced physical segregation of the people by creating different residential areas for the different races and ethnical groups. In Windhoek, Namibia’s capital city, the strict geographical segregation included the force movement of black people from so called “white

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9 *Apartheid in Practice*, p. 41.
10 Omond, p. 21.
12 Ellis, p. 8.
13 Davidson, pp. 2-3.
areas” to a new and remote township created by the apartheid regime, named Katutura. This was followed by further laws that enacted racial segregation in schools and other institutions.15

Education in colonial Namibia was just like everything else, in line with the state policy of apartheid.16 In practice, this meant that education was racially segregated by separate schools for each racial group - whites, coloreds and blacks, with further segregation being made within the two latter groups.17 The people were thus forced to attend schools assigned for their particular racial group, with some rare exceptions being found in the case of a few private schools.18 The policy involved separate education systems (i.e. different curriculums) for each ethnic group19, with the white population receiving an education of the highest standard as opposed to black people, whose education was highly inferior to that of whites.20 The inadequate education for the black pupils was measured by the lack or shortage of qualified teachers, funds, limited facilities of equipment and textbooks, the unjust content of the syllabus and the overcrowded classes.21 One of the first decisions made by the South African government was to make education compulsory for white children between the ages of seven and 17.22 However, education for black people was regarded as a threat to colonization23, meaning it was not in the colonizers interest to have the black people educated.24 Education was therefore, for the black population not compulsory.25 Thus, in order for the black people to remain subordinate in the society, their education was highly restricted and for the majority of the people, completely absent.26

In 1962 a new political strategy was introduced in Namibia as a response to the increased demand for cheap and unskilled African labor. Bantu Education, designed specifically for the black population and legitimized through the apartheid policy, was implemented in schools and aimed to train the black people for unskilled labor and subordinate positions in the labor market as well as in the society as a whole. It was not by coincidence that greater emphasis in Bantu Education was placed on technical and practical skills at the expense of theory and academic subjects.27 One of the fundamental intentions with Bantu Education was for the black population to become good servants of the existing order28 by receiving an education designed to discourage critical thinking.29 The black population was thus, from an early age, taught to view apartheid and the

15 Davidson, p. 3.
16 Amukugo, p. 2.
17 Ellis, p. 8.
18 Omond, p. 77.
21 Mbamba, p. 13.
22 Ellis, p. 20.
24 Ellis, p. 15.
25 Amukugo, p. 66.
26 Ellis, p. 23.
27 Amukugo, pp. 182-183.
28 Amukugo, p. 62.
policy of Bantu Education as something natural to be proud of.\textsuperscript{30} Contributing to this, the history that was written in the textbooks and taught in schools claimed that the German colonizers who had invaded the country had “been invited by warring tribes” and that South Africa had brought prosperity upon Namibia.\textsuperscript{31} Education in colonial Namibia was thus designed in such a way to meet the functions of the colonial setup\textsuperscript{32}, meaning that the rulers transformed the educational system to suit their own purposes.\textsuperscript{33}

Towards the end of the 1970’s, the control of education had a slight shift. A federal government based on a “three-tier system” according to the three races was formed, with each “tier” being given a certain degree of autonomy. This political development meant that each “tier” became responsible for providing and financing education for their respective ethnic group. At first glance, this shift could be perceived as a step towards attaining a certain degree of equity between the ethnic groups. However, the country’s main resources were still in the hands of the white minority and the “tiers” remained under the control of the central government. This meant that the ambition to raise the people’s level of education in a situation with the limited funds of the “tiers” and yet the responsibility to provide and finance the education for their respective groups, could simply not be achieved. Thus, this political shift can be understood as a strategy with which the colonial state could ensure the continued reproduction of cheap African labor, without it appearing evident at first glance.\textsuperscript{34}

November 1989 marks the year when the first democratic election, held under UN supervision took place in Namibia.\textsuperscript{35} The following year on March 21\textsuperscript{st}, Namibia gained independence, which resulted in the formal end of apartheid and white-minority rule.\textsuperscript{36} However, the oppression that was imposed by the colonial rulers and the policy of apartheid should not be underestimated.\textsuperscript{37} This is being described in the book \textit{Elusive equity} where the authors Edward B. Fiske and Helen F. Ladd argue that consequences of apartheid persist in different departments of the Namibian society; education being one of them and continued poverty amongst the black population another. The authors write that the negative impacts of Bantu Education will take decades and generations to repair and continue by stressing that apartheid’s second legacy to education is the poor quality of governmental schools. This involves the limited resources concerning school facilities as well as qualified teachers. Still today, schools of the best quality tend to be located in the formerly “white areas”.\textsuperscript{38} Alex Davidson argues in \textit{Democracy and development in Namibia} that the fundamental ideology of apartheid, to this day, has left a significant tension in Namibia.\textsuperscript{39}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Amukugo, p. 184.
\item Ellis, p. 26.
\item Amukugo, p. 2.
\item Amukugo, pp. 183-187.
\item Davidson, p. 8.
\item Davidson, p. 1.
\item Davidson, p. 19.
\item Fiske & Ladd, pp. 52-55.
\item Davidson, p. 19.
\end{thebibliography}
continues by stressing that there is a clear and vibrant criticism alleging that reconciliation in the country only has benefitted white people and the new postcolonial elite.\textsuperscript{40} Furthermore, Namibia still faces issues of racially divided schools and is infamously characterized by a segregated society to an extent that is rare in the world.\textsuperscript{41} Consequently, the divisions that were once imposed during the colonial era are not consigned to the past.

The author of \textit{Education, Repression & Liberation}, Justin Ellis, predicted that when reaching independence, Namibia would face an educational crisis.\textsuperscript{42} Thus, it shall be my aim to provide an analysis of the field of education in post-colonial Namibia.

\section*{Ethical reflections}

It is always of great importance to take ethical reflections into account when conducting research that involves people, especially if the subject in question is a sensitive one. Prior to and during the process of this research, I have followed the ethical principles designed by the Swedish Institute of Research within the field of humanities and social science. The ethical principles cover the requirements of information involving the research, the informants' consent of participation, the usage of the interviews - meaning they will only be used in this particular study, and finally the confidentiality of all participants.\textsuperscript{43} Thus, before the interviews, each informant had received information about their rights and these four ethical principles.

The topic of my research is addressing a very sensitive issue, not only to the people of Namibia, but also to the society as a whole, partly because education was so mistreated during the colonial era, and partly because it plays a very current role in today’s policies of the country. This is something that I have been well aware of both prior to and during the research process. It has therefore been of utmost importance that each informant has been well informed about the subject of the research as well as their rights according to the ethical principles. It should be noted that my informants have expressed that it is important that the subject is being addressed, which most likely explains their willingness to participate, despite the sensitive nature of the topic.

Some of the people that I have interviewed are public people, whom due to their profession and involvement in the liberation struggle are known by their society. Some of them did express a wish to use their own names in the final product of the research; however, according to the principle of confidentiality, private data that can identify the informant should in all cases be avoided\textsuperscript{44}, which is why I decided not to use their personal names.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[40] Davidson, p. 17.
\item[41] Davidson, p. 5.
\item[42] Ellis, 10.
\end{footnotes}
**Method**

Peculiar to qualitative research is that it is closely linked to its empirical data, which also corresponds to the characteristics of the method Grounded Theory. Since I have conducted a qualitative research, it seemed advantageous to work with Grounded Theory as a method. Thus, this section aims to provide a brief introduction of its basic premises. One fundamental characteristic of the method is *coding* of data.\(^{45}\) In my case this started with me breaking down my empirical material, consisting of transcribed interviews and field notes from my observations, in order to explore the ideas therein and thereafter construct concepts out of the data. These concepts were subsequently developed into categories, which crosscut the interviews and observations, and represent what is indicated by the data. As Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss explain in *Qualitative Research*, the point with the categories is to identify the findings of the data.\(^{46}\)

One of the ambitions with the method is to develop a theory derived from the data, and when doing so the researcher continues to gather empirical material until *theoretical saturation* is reached.\(^{47}\) Theoretical saturation is achieved when the categories are so well developed that the collection of new data no longer supplies them with further information.\(^{48}\) However, as stated by Corbin and Strauss, the purpose of a qualitative research can vary between researchers. The authors argue that there does not exist a specific way for researchers to practice qualitative analysis.\(^{49}\) In applying Grounded Theory, the researcher should simply stay within the general guidelines and use the method flexibly according to his or her abilities and to the realities of the study.\(^{50}\) The course of the procedure is therefore not meant to be based on a set of methodological rules, but rather be up to the researchers themselves to define.\(^{51}\) The aim with this thesis has not been to generate a new theory; nevertheless, Corbin and Strauss emphasize that Grounded Theory can be used as a method even if the aim is not to implement the step of theory generation.\(^{52}\)

One of the advantages with Grounded Theory is that it allows you to work with multiple data collection methods.\(^{53}\) As indicated above, my empirical material consists of qualitative interviews and observations. Apart from this, I have in addition also studied historical material from the National Archives as well as daily newspapers. However, the latter do not count for my primary empirical data and have therefore not been coded and analyzed in accordance with Grounded Theory.

\(^{45}\) Corbin & Strauss, p. viii.

\(^{46}\) Corbin & Strauss, p. 160.


\(^{48}\) Corbin & Strauss, p. 263.

\(^{49}\) Corbin & Strauss, p. 53.

\(^{50}\) Corbin & Strauss, p. 327.

\(^{51}\) Corbin & Strauss, p. 53.

\(^{52}\) Corbin & Strauss, p. xf.

As described above, my analysis of the empirical material began with me coding the transcribed interviews in accordance with Grounded Theory. Based on these codes, I eventually developed categories that represent my findings; which in turn will be presented in the analysis.

**Interviews**

A qualitative interview is a form of interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, of which the material that is created therein is described as a social construction. Since qualitative interviews can provide a unique source of information about people’s inner worlds, the researcher can through interviews of this kind gain knowledge about social and cultural patterns that cannot be accessed anywhere else than with the interviewee. This became very apparent upon my arrival in Namibia, as I realized that my knowledge couldn’t all be gained from books, but must rather be obtained by being in the society and interviewing the people therein.

During my research, I have conducted interviews of the semi-structured character. Alan Bryman describes in the book *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder* that semi-structured interviews are characterized by leaving much room for the respondent him-/herself to discuss the research subject that is in focus. The advantage of this approach is that the researcher will receive good information about what the interviewee perceives as relevant and important in regards to the topic, which in my opinion is highly valuable. During semi-structured interviews the researcher often uses an interview guide, which I have done as well. The interview guide contains an overview of topics and general questions that the researcher intends to cover. It should be stressed however, that this approach intends to give the researcher room to deviate from the interview guide to ask questions that are not included in there, emphasizing the importance that the interviewer does not get locked in the themes and questions contained therein. Bryman writes that restrictions of this kind are not considered consistent with how qualitative interviews ought to be conducted. Since the focus in semi-structured interviews is placed on how the respondent perceives their world, questions in an interview guide should not be too specific, as this may prevent alternative ideas and approaches to arise. In my case, this approach meant that the interviews were given much room to capture unexpected aspects, independently of me. In all cases, I ended up using the interview guide simply as a guide, making sure that I covered the themes in there but would give much room to the respondents to talk freely about education, apartheid and contemporary Namibia. Furthermore, all interviews were recorded and thereafter transcribed and coded in accordance with Grounded Theory.

A description of the informants participating in this research will be presented in the analysis.

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56 Bryman, pp. 300-306.
**Observations**

To write about specific observations made by me in Namibia is not possible, since my entire stay in the country has been based on observations. Yet in retrospect, I can conclude that my observations during political meetings with the official party of the country, while visiting some of the informal settlements outside of Windhoek, at different schools, in taxis, during my different trips around the country, at the university, while volunteering at a school centre in Katutura for six months, at social gatherings and while comparing different residential areas have in all provided the most useful information. The observations raised concerns and ideas, which in turn were developed into interview questions and thus addressed during the interviews.

Bryman speaks of four different roles that a researcher conforms to while conducting observations in qualitative researches. With the exception of the political meeting with SWAPO, where I acted as a participant observer; I have adopted the roles of a full participant and complete observer. Full participant means that I have been engaged in the field that I was observing without the members therein being aware of my status as a researcher. The latter case means that I have not been engaged in the environment while observing.\(^{57}\)

**Theoretical concepts**

The theory of racialization has become widely used in terms of discussions of racial and ethnic relations. It is argued to have become a core concept in the analysis of racial phenomena. The theory of racialization can be applied to analyze whole institutions such as educational or legal systems as well as entire nations, religions and countries. The authors of *Racialization* Karim Murji and John Solomos write that a situation of race relations exists whenever ethnic or group boundaries are defined in terms of race, i.e. when they are “racialized”. Moreover, the authors write that the theory of racialization can be applied for describing any situation where race appears to be the key factor in the way things are defined and understood.\(^{58}\) Seen against this background, the theory can concern a wide range of economic, political and social structures.\(^{59}\) In the context of Namibia, racialization emphasizes the process by which people came to be differentiated and defined in terms of biological features. Thus, by using the theory of racialization, it contributes to an understanding of the “race-making” and “race-thinking” processes that were implemented in the country during apartheid, and further if such processes are maintained in post-colonial Namibia. In other words, using racialization as a tool enables me to study the ways in which the idea about race was constructed, maintained and used as a basis for exclusionary practices in Namibia. More specifically, the theory contributes to examine whether current actors and policies in the country articulate and reproduce the colonial practice.

\(^{57}\) Bryman, pp. 286-288.


\(^{59}\) Murji & Solomos, p. 12.
of racial discrimination in the education sector. If so is the case, this can be referred to what the authors call a re-racialization.⁶⁰

Oskar Engdahl and Bengt Larsson write in Sociologiska perspektiv that many studies have been done on so-called “élite theories”, where societies are considered to be divided between an élite and a huge mass. In such societies the people are continuously governed by an élite, and although the society undergoes changes, new elites always emerge.⁶¹ The authors describe something called élite circulation and exemplify this with changes in the government where policy makers are replaced, though the basic structures of the society remains the same.⁶² The élite consists of a group that dominates the policies and economy in the country, whereas the mass is made up of consumers, workers and the rest of the population.⁶³ Engdahl and Larsson write that one sociologist who has developed the concept of élite theories is Pierre Bourdieu. According to Engdahl and Larsson, one of Bourdieu’s focal points is to explain how inequalities and domination in a society are formed and reproduced.⁶⁴

According to Bourdieu, a society can be described similar to a playground with rules that set the framework for the structures within it. In order to participate on the playground, it is required that the individual owns resources that are recognized within the particular society. Bourdieu refers to these resources as capital.⁶⁵ According to him, there are four different types of capital; economic, social and cultural.⁶⁶ Economic capital sets the framework for the individual's ability to spend; social capital manifests itself in a large social network and personal contacts, while cultural capital consists of knowledge and experience, which can be reflected in one's choices of entertainment as well as educational qualifications.⁶⁷ These together are defined as symbolic capital when recognized by the state or the élite of the society.⁶⁸ In other words, the state owns the authority to determine what defines a person and further, the factors that surround him or her. The state is therefore regarded as the true symbol of power.⁶⁹ According to Bourdieu, the state of a society is therefore defined by the distribution of economic and cultural capital among its members.⁷⁰ Bourdieu argues that the primary differences between people's position in society stem from their total volume of capital. The distinguishing factor is thus based on those whom obtain both economic and cultural capital and those who are most deprived of such resources.⁷¹ An individual’s position in society is defined by the volume of economic and cultural capital he or

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⁶⁰ Murji & Solomos, pp. 7-11.
⁶⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, Praktiskt förnuft (Gothenburg, 1999), pp. 97-98.
⁶⁹ Bourdieu (1999), pp. 103-104.
she possesses. Consequently, the definition of symbolic capital indicates a collective recognition. Two other key elements in Bourdieu's theory are the family and inheritance. According to Bourdieu, the family plays a crucial role in the reproduction of the state of a society, since it is through the family that economic, cultural and social capital can be transferred between generations.

Moreover, Bourdieu argues that the education system contributes to reproducing the distribution of cultural capital and thereby also the reproduction of predefined orders in a society. In the book _Praktiskt förnuft_, Bourdieu illustrates how the mechanisms of the education systems reproduction work by drawing a parallel to the physicist James Clerk Maxwell. Maxwell imagined a demon that would make a selection from the _more or less_ warm – i.e. the _more or less_ fast molecules which he had before him. The demon placed the fast molecules in one container, in which the temperature rose - and the slower molecules in another container, in which the temperature dropped. Bourdieu argues that, by doing this, the demon maintained the order which would otherwise have been repealed. According to Bourdieu, the education system works in the same way as Maxwell's demon. What the education system does is to maintain the preexisting order, i.e. the difference between students who have more versus less capital. Thus, Bourdieu stresses that the education system creates and maintains an already predetermined social order according to predefined positions and structures.

Bourdieu furthermore, argues that there is a paradox. While the members of the society are in competition with each other, they agree on the notion that the society’s principles are worth fighting for. They therefore defend the society from external threats and attempts to denigrate its values and structures.

**Previous research**

A lot has been written about the educational system in colonial Namibia, however not much research has been done about post-colonial education in the country. When searching for material on the subject, I found that nearly all works that have been written, were published during the colonial era or in the 90's, with the latter also focusing on colonial education. Elizabeth Magano Amukugo provides a very detailed and useful research on education in colonial Namibia, thus working as an extension to already existing materials on the topic. Apart from this, I have read Isaac Bangani Tabata’s book _Education for barbarism_ for knowledge about Bantu Education, Justin Ellis work about colonial education in Namibia and Eward B. Fiske and Helene

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74 Bourdieu (1999), p. 120.
75 Bourdieu (1999), pp. 31-33.
77 Amukugo, pp. 5-6.
F. Ladd’s *Elusive equity*, which is written quite recently, though it mainly focuses on education in South Africa and its efforts to create a racially equitable educational system in the post-apartheid era.

Magnus Berg’s *Förlåta men inte glömma* and Herbert Jauch, Lucy Edwards and Braam Cupido’s book *A rich country with poor people* have been very useful in providing a good overview of the Namibian society and its history. I have also been reading Alex Davidson’s work, which deals with democracy and development in post-colonial Namibia.

The books of Amukugo, Tabata, Ellis, Fiske and Ladd have provided useful information in understanding the educational system in colonial Namibia. Likewise have the books of Berg, Jauch, Edwards, Cupido and Davidson helped to gain a better understanding of contemporary structures as well as the background and history of the country. However, as mentioned, none of the works above place emphasis on education in post-colonial Namibia and there are, as far as I have found, not many studies within the field of education that look beyond the colonial era. Furthermore, in order to attain a more comprehensive picture of contemporary Namibia, cross-references will be made between the previous research, the theoretical concepts and my empirical material in the analysis.

**Analysis**

Before introducing my analysis, I will provide a brief presentation of the informants participating in this research.

**John** is born in Namibia and works for the government and the ruling party SWAPO.

**Henry** is also born in Namibia and works for the Ministry of Education. Henry used to work as a teacher between 1994 and 2007.

**Rosalia** is born in Namibia and has worked as a teacher since 2004. She teaches at a school in an informal settlement in Windhoek.

**Selma** is born in Namibia, spent 16 years in exile and was politically active in SWAPO during the liberation struggle.

**Tangeni**, also born in Namibia, has spent some years in exile, has been active in SWAPO, and spent 10 years as a political prisoner on Robben Island. Tangeni is the political leader of one of the oppositional parties in Namibia.

**Barbara** is born in South Africa but moved to Namibia in 1978. Barbara works as an author on current topics concerning Namibia and South Africa.
Denise is born in South Africa but moved to Namibia in 1969. She used to work as a teacher in Namibia but has now retired.

Monica used to work as a teacher and a principle at a school during apartheid. She practiced teaching between 1984 and 2002.

The aim with this analysis is to create an understanding of some of the dynamics concerning education in post-colonial Namibia. Thus, the analysis is a summary of my empirical data, and by covering different aspects of the field of education and the complexity it carries, I hope to provide a nuanced picture of the subject in question.

After coding and analyzing my empirical material according to Grounded Theory, I developed categories and themes that crosscut the interviews and represent findings that were frequently occurring in the data. The categories that have derived from my data and which will be covered in the analysis are; Post-colonial Namibia – The past is present, Colonial education, Education today, Constitution versus practice and lastly Race or economy? In order to provide an analysis on educational inequalities today, it seemed logical to first present what my empirical material says about Post-colonial Namibia, which is thus the first theme to be addressed.

**Post-colonial Namibia - The past is present**

During all of my interviews, one of the first things I would ask the informant was to tell me briefly about their impression of the Namibian society today. This turned out to be a good way of opening up the dialogue. In the following quotation, Tangeni expressed his impression according to the following:

> You see here, people tend to think very much in racial terms. Actually it’s quite a racist society, despite what has happened. Because there is so much preoccupation with race and almost everything is explained by race. [...] As far as the apartheid regime is concerned, people come here to this country and they say immediately; immediately they recognize the racist nature… They pick it up, it’s so easy for them. But Namibians, they are a little bit more accustomed to it, so much that we in a sense have accepted it. [...] We have lived, for many many years, under rules which were based on race; it didn’t just start with apartheid.

The central concept in the quotation above is race. Tangeni describes the society as being quite a racist one, emphasizing that racism still characterizes the society. What is described here is also a paradox with reference to the colonial history when expressing “despite what has happened”. The statement implies that there shouldn’t exist any racism today but is later being contrasted by suggesting that Namibians are somewhat accustomed to it. Tangeni explains the persistency of racism by arguing that associations with race are still current. He also points out that the racism appears more evident to external people than to Namibians themselves, and explains that the reason for this is that Namibians are used to it. My informant Selma however, gives a very different description to the one above:
I think that the racial discrimination has totally ended. What our constitution states is that everybody is equal before the law. So as long as we have the law that defends us, it is fine. I don’t really see any racial discrimination in the society today. What I can see perhaps is inequalities in economy, because some have a lot and some have nothing. That is still there. That is what we have to address now.

I interpret this as Selma believing that because the constitution is no longer based on racial discrimination, it does not exist in the society either. Therefore, the constitution appears to be the focal point and the foundation for Selma’s argument above. Selma was during the liberation struggle a member of SWAPO, which is the governing party in Namibia and has been so since independence. One could question whether the informant’s former engagement with the party has anything to do with the response that she gives. As mentioned, SWAPO is the former liberation movement in Namibia and therefore carries a very significant pride. To question whether SWAPO has succeeded with eliminating the racial stratifications that were fundamental to apartheid can therefore, to a former SWAPO member be very controversial. In the quotation, Selma is arguing that she doesn’t recognize any racial discrimination in the society today. However, I ask myself if this is a case of Selma simply being loyal to the party. What would it mean to the party that has governed Namibia for the past 23 years, if the country is still being described as a society characterized by racial segregation and discrimination? Tangeni is also a former member of SWAPO but reasons nothing like Selma at all. By arguing that Namibia is a racist society with prevailing occupations of race, I perceive it as if Tangeni is criticizing the system, which in turn is a system maintained by SWAPO. Tangeni left SWAPO after the country became independent and is now the leader of an oppositional party. Could the reason for his break with the party be because he feels that SWAPO has not reached its goals of peace, justice and democracy?

The income inequalities amongst the citizens are however acknowledged by Selma and the word “still” implies that this is a prevailing issue with an historical attachment. As mentioned, it is evident that Selma and Tangeni’s impressions of the Namibian society differ enormously. Tangeni is acknowledging racism as peculiar to the Namibian society whilst Selma recognizes none of that. Yet, they are describing the very same society. Moreover, could Selma’s argument about racial discrimination not existing today, be related to Tangeni’s suggestion about Namibians being accustomed to racism? Selma continued her argument:

I live in a free country now. We have democracy, people can say what they want, we are free to stay wherever we want to stay and this is really what I wanted, what I was looking to achieve. So the political situation in Namibia today is fine and we are a multi-party society. Today there is no case of somebody being part of another party and then being arrested because of that.

The quotation above appears to be a constant parallel between now and then. Selma is making references back to her time during the liberation struggle. Terms such as “free” and “democracy” are measured by the achievement of political freedom. In my interpretation, Selma believes that

by SWAPO officially being in power, the goal of democracy is achieved, making the party’s acquisition of political power the determining factor. Moreover, what appears in the quotation above is an explanation to why Selma doesn’t experience the current society as racially discriminating, by her comparing the level of racial discrimination during apartheid to now. In other words, according to my interpretation, Selma bases her argument that there exists no racial discrimination in Namibia today on her previous experiences during the time of apartheid, and refers to the racism then when describing the current society as free and democratic. This could to some extent be related to Tangeni’s previous statement about Namibians being somewhat accustomed to racism, which according to him can result in them not noticing contemporary forms of racial discrimination in the same way as external persons tend to do.

When mentioning the headline of this thesis, “The legacy of apartheid” to Tangeni, he expressed the following:

Poverty is one of the legacies of apartheid. Because apartheid was also for the purposes of pursuing enrichment of a few; they did it in racial terms. So it’s undeniable and unpreventable outcomes was going to be poverty according to race, as if poverty is going to have a black face and a continued black face.

This has been addressed during lectures at the University of Namibia as well. Poverty has indeed, remained racial in Namibia, with a vast majority of the poor belonging to the black population.79 Magnus Berg writes in his book Förlåta med inte glömma that one of the aims of the apartheid regime was to create an army of cheap and defenseless labor.80 The unpreventable outcome of such a system is going to be poverty in one way or another, and because the setup of the system was based on racial premises, the result is implicitly going to be poverty along racial lines. The quotation above addresses this matter by Tangeni stressing that one of the legacies of apartheid is poverty according to race, making poverty a “racial issue” by associating it with a black face. During my interview with Monica, she also raised the issue of the apartheid regime creating an army of cheap and defenseless labor and described a consequence of this setup:

Obviously, without education you can’t get a decent job. So that’s why you find a lot of black people doing the manual jobs today, because they didn’t have access to education back in the days of apartheid. So that’s the result.

Monica is describing what I have indicated previously in this thesis. That is, the lack of access to education for black people during apartheid. The informant points out the vicious circle of having been neglected access to education and describes that the result of this is that the manual jobs in the country are being conducted by the black population. Thus, the issue occurs on the labor market. Because the majority of the black population was excluded from education during apartheid, and education, just as Monica points out is the key to accessing a “decent” job, they

79 Two-day Seminar, University of Namibia, 2012-03-01, 2012-03-02.
are now left to carry out the lower ranked jobs in the society. Thus, in accordance with the headline of this category, Monica implies that the past becomes inevitable.

What is being described by Monica in the quotation above can be related to Katarina Mattsson, whom in the book *Rasismer i Europa* describes that immigrants are seen as less worthy on the labor market in Scandinavia, due to the fact that they are assigned with characteristics that disadvantage them.\(^81\) Although the case that Monica raises is different to the one argued by Mattson, similarities can be drawn. Monica is, similar to Mattson, indicating tendencies of the non-white population being marginalized on the labor market due to characteristics that disadvantage them. The informant is arguing that the issue concerning the black population on the labor market is due to the lack of education. However, the question that could be raised is, whether this is an issue exclusionary to the lack of education. Does a non-white person in the country have the same chances of acquiring a job as a white person does, or are the people of Namibia, still today, being racialized on the labor market? Reaching independence, the government of Namibia implemented a policy named Affirmative Action. The policy serves to promote equal opportunities for all citizens of Namibia in employment and works to eliminate discrimination on the labor market.\(^82\) The policy was implicitly implemented in a response to previous discriminatory laws and practices against the non-white population on the labor market. In my interpretation, the implementation of this reform implies that the issue concerning discrimination of the non-white population within the labor sector goes beyond the aspect of lack of education. Thus, one could argue that the implementation of Affirmative Action implicitly implies that tendencies of subordination of the non-white population are still occurring in the country, and therefore calls for policies such as the one mentioned.

Moreover, I find that the reasoning of symbolic capital plays a central role in this argument. According to Monica, the white population has been and is still dominating the higher ranked jobs on the labor market (resulting in economic capital) due to their access to education in the colonial times. The question is whether this hierarchy will continue to live on, even if the non-white people get an education. With the access to education (i.e. cultural capital), acquisition of economic capital and social capital (being surrounded by people who had the same accesses as they did – since they were segregated according to these terms) the white population has received a result based on privileges that only they have had access to. The result of this is a racialization on the labor market which is being maintained by the education system. This can in turn be related to Bourdieu, who argues that an educational system in a society tends to reproduce and maintain predefined orders in a society.\(^83\) In the case of Namibia, the predefined orders are those set out by the apartheid regime, which aimed to keep the black population uneducated to maintain the order of white supremacy and divisions along racial lines.

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82 Jauch, Edwards & Cupido (2009), pp. 53-54.
83 Bourdieu (1999), pp. 32-33.
As indicated above, all the quotations are making references to the days of apartheid. Thus, the category *The past is present* appeared inevitable to the empirical material and plays a central role in the description of post-colonial Namibia. Although I have not been in the country during the time of apartheid, I can relate to Tangeni’s earlier argument about external people tending to recognize the tensions along “racial” lines in the society today. Apart from that, my observations told me that the colonial history of the country is indeed something that is commonly discussed in everyday life as this appeared as a frequently occurring topic at for example the university, on the radio and in the daily newspapers.

**Colonial Education**

The second category remains us on the track of history and apartheid as I will address quite a contentious topic. *Colonial Education* derived from the very mixed reactions concerning the education during apartheid. Rosalia expressed her views on the matter in the following way:

> In those days, although we were colonized, it used to be quality education. You would say that you were satisfied with what you got. […] In those days, the government used to provide books, rubbers pencils frequently. […] But now, the government doesn't provide stationeries anymore, so it’s up to either the teacher or the school.

When Namibia became independent, the government described the colonial education according to the following features; “(1) Fragmentation of education along racial and ethnic lines, (2) unequal access to education and training at all levels of the education system, (3) irrelevance of the curriculum and teacher education programmes to the needs and aspirations of individuals and the nation.” Rosalia who was educated during the time of apartheid received the type of education that is described according to the features above. Despite the definitions made by the government, Rosalia argues that the education in Namibia today is significantly worse than to the one provided during apartheid. I have not found any literature that describes benefits with the colonial education; nor have I found studies that examine whether the quality of education today is worse than the one provided during the colonial times. Nonetheless, when I on several occasions addressed this matter with people in Namibia, I found that Rosalia’s opinion is not an exclusive one, but is rather shared by many. Rosalia continued on the matter:

> The education system has overall changed for the worse since independence; like the lack of stationeries – the most basic part, and the system itself was excellent…it was excellent. Even the books we were using were excellent. Ok the teachers were not that educated, some didn’t even have diplomas, but we learnt a lot. […] They shouldn’t have changed the system; they just did it because that’s the system of colonizers, because it’s something that is attached to apartheid. But it was apartheid then and they are bringing it back! It’s just going on in a circle, nothing is changing.

In both quotations, Rosalia is expressing a criticism towards the current government by stating that they don’t provide today’s schools with basic facilities and labels this lack of maintenance as a reproduction of apartheid. Thus, the last statement emphasizes patterns of reproduction,
however she does not quite describe in what sense the current government is supposed to reproduce apartheid.

Tangeni also addressed this matter during our interview:

> The distribution of books to schools before independence was more effective than this government is doing, but that itself is not saying that apartheid was better. So we must remember, if the new regime fails, it does not mean that apartheid was better.

Tangeni is acknowledging and stating the same thing as Rosalia is emphasizing. Both informants are, based on the higher grade of maintenance provided by the former government in terms of providing the schools with necessary facilities, expressing benefits with the old education system. Likewise are they both criticizing the current government for failing to meet the basic needs of the schools. Tangeni is, however, elaborating his argument one step further by stating that his reasoning solely refers to the higher grade of maintenance by the former government, emphasizing that this, by no means, suggests that the system of apartheid itself was better.

John describes his experience during his school years and emphasizes that the education was distorted:

> In terms of the curriculum… in the subject History, in the history classes, I started to notice things. The history that we got taught started with when the colonizers came to our country, and they would also try to diminish our own history, our own cultures while they described the white colonizers as brave warriors. So we could see that it was a one-sided history, that it was taken and manipulated.

John is addressing something that has been presented previously in this thesis. That is, the taken of the subject of history by the colonizers and adapting it to fulfill purposes that would serve their own policy. Barbara also shares her experience on education in South Africa:

> I grew up in South Africa and it was very white, we also had very good facilities, it was really good and disciplined. We were max 20 people in the classes. But interaction, it was so far removed I had no perception of the ‘other’ schools.

Barbara is expressing benefits with her education during apartheid and is also stressing that it was “white”. Her positive reflects on the education must be measured against the fact that education of the white population was ranked as a priority by the apartheid regime. During the time of apartheid, great emphasis was placed on education for white people and the quotation above illustrates just that matter.

**Education Today**

The last category *Education Today* does with its subcategories *Constitution versus practice* and *Race or economy?* make up the most central theme for this thesis.

During my interview with Monica she explained that during the time of the transition, the education system in the country went through some rapid changes. She explained that the new
government was quick to change things such as the Constitution and the curriculum, however emphasized that the integration between the black and white people happened very slowly. One of the major changes, according to Rosalia, was the addition of black children in classes.

The previous system of apartheid had excluded the majority of the population from education, which implicitly meant that the existing schools during the time of the transition were inadequate and only appropriate to the proportion of people who attended school during apartheid. As Rosalia pointed out, children who had previously been neglected education were now attending school. However, the new government had failed to build enough schools to cater for, the now, higher number of people attending school. Rosalia expressed the matter in the following way:

One change that has been made is that they are adding kids to the classes. But it's not working, they just want to take the kids from the streets and put them in schools without providing any kind of security. [...] So the classes are very overcrowded, like me, I've got 45 learners in my class. You know, there aren't enough schools for all these kids.

As argued by the quotation above, the outcome of the lack of building additional schools was, and still is, overcrowded classes and thereby an unsustainable educational system.

**Constitution versus Practice**

Reaching independence, the new government established a new Constitution based on democratic values and principles. The headline of this category demonstrates the paradox that all of the informants expressed regarding what is stated in the Constitution about education, contrary to what the reality actually looks like. Tangeni addressed this issue during our interview by reading out a small section concerning education in the Constitution:

> It says, article 20 in the Constitution ‘all persons should have access to education, primary education shall be compulsory and free of charge’, it says it in the constitution, but it's not like that on the ground. It's just a direct break with the Constitution. Somehow the government found a way of still making people pay. They provide a class of 30 with 10 books and say ‘yeah, the government can only afford for the 10’, so the schools must find another way of collecting money so they say ‘the parent of every child must pay so and so much for the child’ and the government says that it's not them, it's the schools that charge money. So as far as the government is concerned, they are not charging the children or parents any money, it's an arrangement between the schools and the learners.

Just like Tangeni describes, the Constitution states that all individuals have the right to education and that primary education shall be compulsory as well as free of charge.\(^8^4\) Henry also raised this topic during our interview and expressed his views according to the following:

> Unfortunately, the same legacy that was then is still prevailing because you still find youngsters that are running around in the streets; they do not have the so-called free education that we talk about. We are talking about education for all, but still a lot of Namibians are not literate. When we talk about free education it means that all of us should have access to education but now to attend school obviously you have to pay for it and that's one thing that many Namibians cannot afford.

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Both Tangeni and Henry state that this in fact, is an issue concerning the acquisition of capital. What is being described by both informants is in line with Bourdieu’s argument about the education system contributing to maintaining and reproducing the differentiation between those who obtain capital and those who lack of such. As argued by Bourdieu, the education system thereby contributes to maintaining and reproducing predefined differences according to positions determined by capital.\textsuperscript{85}

Denise was not reluctant about expressing her skepticism on the suggestion that education would be free:

> It isn’t free, it isn’t free. In our days during apartheid; it didn’t matter, the books came from the government, the textbooks came from the government. Today however… the children in classes are forced to share books, three or four children on one book. This is public schools. And they need their uniforms, they need their shoes, and these all cost. And I know that they say that they’re not allowed to do it but there are schools that say ‘sorry we can’t keep that child because the school fees haven’t been paid’ and there are not meant to be any school fees.

Not only is Denise arguing that education is not free of charge; but she is, in line with Rosalia and Tangeni, also addressing the issue of the current government not providing public schools with basic facilities such as books.

Henry elaborated on the matter concerning the Constitution:

> When we look at our budget, the biggest chunk goes to education, but there are still some schools that do not have the basic facilities. The biggest chunk of that budget still has to go to certain areas, to start building schools that are not there. […] So for me, investments, sometimes is only a thing on paper. You hear in these nice budget-speeches that so many millions are being invested in education, but how much of that money really reaches the schools that need it? […] We like to put things on paper, but when it comes to implementation, not much is being done.

Barbara suggests that there is a direct loophole in the Constitution:

> You see, the policy with education is one thing, but then each school has their own policy. I suppose there’s a little loophole there, in the policy.

Similar to Henry, Monica is also describing that many of the young people in Namibia neither have or are attending school, and continues by stressing a further issue:

> Technically there should not be anybody younger than 23 that haven’t attended school. But looking at the society today, that is not the reality; there are still quite a number of children who don’t go to school, their parents don’t send them to school. […] One of the problems of our education system is that we don’t have schools. We literally don’t have enough schools to cater for all our youth. So even if they could all afford it, all of them can’t attend it, because there simply is not room and we are not building enough schools.

Judging by the statements above, it can be concluded that all of the informants oppose that education would be free of charge in Namibia, despite that the Constitution states it to be. Although the policy aims to bring free education to all, the instruments which should have been

\textsuperscript{85} Bourdieu (1999), p. 31.
implemented to support and maintain the law have, as indicated by the data in this study, been insufficient.

Tangeni argues that it is difficult to technically blame the government for schools taking charge, since the Constitution *per se* does not suggest such procedures. Though he does blame the government for not providing sufficient resources and continues by arguing that their lack of maintenance is the reason for why schools are forced to charge money. Tangeni implies that this is a way for the government to “get away”, which in turn makes this a complex issue difficult to solve. At the end of the day, the one’s suffering is the ones whom the Act is initially referring to – the children. Henry argues that attending school does cost and continues by stressing that this is something that a lot of Namibians cannot afford. A direct consequence of this is that a large number of the young population still is unable to attend school.

By criticizing the education system, the informants are implicitly criticizing the current government, since it is a system upheld by the government. All of the informants are stating that the government is failing to meet the requirements set out in the Constitution, which, as mentioned previously in this thesis, was one of the highest priorities for the new government when reaching independence. As stressed in the data above, there are not enough schools to cater for, the now, higher number of people attending school, as the government has failed in their responsibility to build additional schools after the abolition of apartheid. According to the informants, the government is also failing in providing the schools with basic facilities in order to make them function. Thus, since the schools are not receiving sufficient support, they are left to charge the students or the parents of the students. This is where the issue occurs. Because the Constitution states education to be free of charge, it becomes complex to blame the government, as the fees appears to be an arrangement between the schools and the learners. However, as Monica points out, the issue is not exclusionary to fees. She argues that even if the people could afford to pay for school, the primary issue of lack of schools in the country still persists.

**Race or Economy?**

This last category will present the interdependent relation between the issue of race and economy, and the complexity it carries. Henry expressed his views on the subject in the following way:

But there are inequalities in education along racial lines today and I will say that it is perpetuated by the people themselves simply because some white people have started their own private schools in the sense that it should only cater for their own people, making it very difficult for a black kid to enter because what they’ll say is for example “to have entrance to this private school you must be able to speak Afrikaans” or the issue of finances… The majority of the white people, in the past, their ancestors have accumulated a lot of wealth, so to enter these private schools you have to have money. The few people who can afford to enter these private schools can only be people from the upper class including the ministers, their children. It’s all got to do with the money, if you have the money, but it’s difficult to draw a line.
It has previously been concluded that education is not free of charge. The quotation above is stating that access to education rather is a matter of economy, and furthermore whom the economy belongs to. However, as Henry underlines, it is not only a matter of capital. The informant is indicating that economy and race, within this context, are interdependent and that it, due to the history of the country, is difficult to draw a line between the two. Henry is also indicating tendencies of maintenance of segregation along ethnic lines and argues that this is being perpetuated by the people themselves.

Barbara is, similar to Henry, also addressing the interdependence between race and economy:

I think there are more white people going to private schools, because again, the language issue. They want to continue speaking Afrikaans, and of course the issue of economics.

By stressing that a higher number of white people attend private schools due to their access to finance, the informant is implying that acquisition of capital has a racial attachment.

Rosalia expressed her views on the matter of race and economy according to the following:

Even if the children of today didn’t live during the apartheid era, if a child wants to go to a good school, it depends on the parent; if the parent can afford it. And the parent’s history is a history of apartheid. […] So where does it start… Money is also a race question in this country. The white minority and the black élite that has grown. So it boils down to what was going on in the past actually! […] You know education, it’s something you can talk about for hours and hours because it’s all connected, like a circle.

As argued by Bourdieu, the family is one of the most important prerequisites for accumulation and transfer of capital. Thus, the family plays a crucial role in maintaining the social order and reproduction of the structures in a society. It is within the family that accumulation of capital occurs and that capital is transferred between generations. Bourdieu argues that the family, therefore, is the most important subject of reproduction strategies. Rosalia emphasizes the important role of the family in the quotation above and states that the children in Namibia only can attend school if their parents can afford it. The significant role of the parents can, in turn, be related to Monica’s previous quotation about the majority of the black population being neglected education during apartheid. As stated previously, the outcome of their lack of education is a vicious circle of persisting poverty according to race. As already concluded, education is not free of charge and as stated by several of the informants above, a large proportion of the black population cannot send their children to school, because of the fees it requires. The outcome of this is a continuation of lack of education amongst the black population; a complex issue which is being reproduced and maintained by the educational system in the country. Thus, the educational system contributes to maintaining and reproducing the differentiation between those whom obtain capital and those who lack of such, and thereby also to the predefined orders of stratification in the society.

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86 Bourdieu (1999), p. 120.
Furthermore, Rosalia is acknowledging the interdependent relation between race and economy in Namibia by stating that “it’s all connected, like a circle”. The past becomes inevitable and the family plays a crucial role, making it difficult to distinguish between race and economy.

Henry elaborated on the topic:

So to say ‘there is racial discrimination in Namibia’ is very hard to prove, because the Constitution per se is not racially discriminating. The thing is, who owns the economy? If you accumulated the wealth for the past decades, you will still have that wealth. The wealth is still, with the white minority; let me use that word… and also the upper black people, the ministers, the elite.

In the book *Transitions in Namibia*, the author Henning Melber explains that the postcolonial élite that has emerged in the aftermath of independence, to this day, tend to argue that apartheid is accountable for the inequalities and marginalization of the poor in Namibia. However, Melber stresses that this no longer provides an accurate explanation of the existing disparities amongst the citizens in the country. Instead, Melber sees an attitude of self-enrichment amongst the members of the upper class and a lack of political means to facilitate the poor and redistribute the wealth in the country. The author expresses a critique against the current government and argues that they pursue an active policy which redistributes inequalities amongst the members of the society. Henry is addressing this matter in the quotation above, by stating that the wealth of the country lies in the hands of the white minority and the post-colonial élite. Apartheid is abolished and the country has a new Constitution based on democratic values, which should not be undermined; however, apart from the post-colonial élite, the economy of the country still lies in the hands of the white minority. Consequently, those who lack capital are being marginalized and denied basic rights in the society; and as concluded, the majority of those who lack capital are the black population. Thus, it is a matter of capital; however, as argued by Rosalia in the quotation above, capital is, within the context of Namibia, a question of race. And as illustrated above, the issue of economy plays a crucial role in determining the access to education.

**Conclusion**

One conclusion that can be made is that Namibia, indeed, is a society characterized by élite circulation. The people of Namibia were during the colonial eras governed by an élite, and although Namibia underwent changes when gaining independence, a new post-colonial élite emerged. In practice, this has meant that changes have been made in the government, including the replacement of policymakers; though structures in the society remain similar. As stated by the data above, the post-colonial élite that has emerged dominate the policies and the economy in the country. Consequently, inequalities and domination of a few are not only characteristic features.

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of the Namibian society, but are also being reproduced and maintained in accordance with this élite circulation.

Peculiar to the Namibian society is also the central role that apartheid still plays. The history of the country is inevitable for its presence and for the description of post-colonial Namibia.

When it comes to education, it has been made clear through the empirical material in this research, that this has an inevitable relation to symbolic capital. Since education is not free of charge, despite the Constitution stating it to be, attending school becomes a matter of economy. However, because a vast majority of the black population was excluded from education in the past, this has left prevailing consequences of poverty, creating a vicious circle of a high number of the black population still today, being denied access to education. As demonstrated, there is still a vast majority of the population who cannot afford the fees associated with education; and this is an issue mainly concerning the black population. It is against this background that I conclude, that there indeed, exist educational inequalities along racial lines in Namibia.

The outcome of the former system of apartheid is a continuation of lack of education amongst the black population; which has shown to be a complex issue maintained and reproduced by an insufficient educational system, upheld by the current government.

It has been made evident, through the data in this study that the government is failing to provide the schools in the country with basic facilities in order to make them function. During the time of the transition, the government failed in their responsibility to build additional schools, resulting in a major lack of schools to cater for, the now, higher number of people attending school contrary to the time of apartheid. Thus, the primary issue of lack of schools in the country still persists.

Since the schools are not receiving sufficient support, they are left to charge the students or the parents of the students, creating a vicious circle since education is meant to be free of charge in the country.

The inequalities between the rich and poor are explained partly by the history of colonialism and apartheid, but also by the politics after independence. Additionally, it can be concluded by the data in this study that capital, in Namibia, still is a question of race.

The empirical material in this study allows me to state that the current government is reproducing and maintaining, not only educational inequalities, but overall inequalities between the population in Namibia.

Lastly; the system of apartheid is indeed, outlawed, but as the results of this study has showed, the system always went far deeper than that.
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