Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children



Ministry of Education Arts and Culture Republic of Namibia



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SCHOOL DROP-OUT AND OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN IN NAMIBIA: A National Review

December 2015



United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization





School Drop-Out and Out-of-School Children in Namibia: A National Review

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REPORT

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FOREWORD

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At the age of 6, children enter the schooling system and embark upon a further journey of acquiring the skills and emotional confidence they need to contribute to society. It is beyond doubt that education plays a formative role in children's experience, character and confidence building. While almost all children are enrolled in Grade 1 in Namibia, attendance rates drop significantly, almost down to 90%, by the time they reach Grade 5. Numbers of children at school begin to fall even more quickly in Grades 6 and 7 so that slightly less than 8 out of 10 children move on to secondary phase.

In response, the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture is making considerable efforts to create an enabling environment, both at level of policy formulation as well as implementation, which will ensure that all children in Namibia meet the constitutional requirement and complete at least 5 years of schooling through the Universal Primary Education. But this is not the final frontier of our goals. In order to provide quality education for every child in both primary and secondary phase, the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture has recently introduced Universal Secondary Education and has policies in place that focus specifically on the most marginalised and vulnerable children who are also at greatest risk of dropping out of school. This is in line with Namibia's commitment to the Sustainable Development Goals that place a focus on quality education and the second phase of education – secondary education.

In order to improve access to education, the Government of Namibia needs robust information on who these children are, where and how they live, whether they have ever attended school and what are the main barriers hindering their access to schools. The "School Drop Out and Out of School Children" 2015 National Review presented here goes a long way in equipping us with the kind of knowledge we need to more efficiently and effectively tackle the problem of out of school children. This Review is not merely a statistical and analytical blueprint: it is first and foremost, a call to action to agree on priorities in deploying strategies which will lift barriers to education for the most marginalised children. It furthermore demonstrates that we need innovative tools and cross-sectoral collaboration if we are to achieve the coveted goal of ensuring that children complete school.

Achievement of the education-related targets of the Sustainable Development Goals represent much of what Namibia has strived for since independence. To fully realise quality and equitable education for all, the root causes of exclusion must be addressed — in specific contexts, and for specific subpopulations of children highlighted in this Review— and structural barriers dismantled. The Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture is ready to assume both leadership and responsibility in this process and deploy its skills to redress the socio-economic push factors which drive children out of school whilst recognising that multisectoral cooperation with a strong focus on solidarity and shared responsibility is the only sustainable way to achieve these interconnected and transformative goals. Our efforts, streamlined and data driven, must be focused on country ownership, empowered communities and joint leadership. Our ability to engage other sectors and deploy context specific pull mechanisms through innovation will determine the rate of our success.

Honorable Katrina Hanse–Himarwa, MP Minister of Education, Arts and Culture

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PREFACE

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The global Out-of-School Children Initiative (OOSCI) – a partnership between UNICEF and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics with support from the Global Partnership for Education – aims to significantly reduce the number of children out of school. The Initiative works with governments to determine how many and which children are out of school, assess the barriers that keep them out and develop innovative strategies to help deliver children to the classroom at the right age and ensure that they are receiving quality education. In 2015 the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture, with the support of UNICEF, decided to launch its own OOSCI study in order to understand why, despite progressive policies and increased access to education, many Namibian children still do not complete secondary education.

In the past 15 years, millions of children around the world have gained access to educational opportunities but many of the most vulnerable children remain excluded, as is the case in Namibia. They tend to come from the poorest households and often have to work to support their families while some drop out due to cultural practices, including (forced) early marriages, disabilities and stigmatization. The Out-of-School Children Initiative works by uncovering the barriers children are faced that lead them to exclusion and deny them an education. The aim is to make a significant and sustainable reduction in the number of children who are out of school by developing comprehensive profiles of excluded children using innovative statistical methods. The data are gathered from varied sources including official Ministerial databases, population censuses and household surveys. The information are then analysed using the "dimension of exclusion" framework which permits mapping of barriers and helps identify causes for children dropping out of school. Such a holistic approach allows for the formulation of sound policies and tailored interventions which will address the root causes of exclusion.

Namibia is a member of the Eastern and Southern African cohort of countries which take part in the OOSC Initiative with the support of UNICEF and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics. As Namibia is classified by the World Bank as a middle-income country, it was decided to focus not only on the phenomenon of children being out-of-school in the primary and the junior secondary school phases, but also for the senior secondary phase. The action oriented objectives of this report were to identify and consolidate the main issues facing out-of-school children in Namibia as well as to inform the direction of further systematic research into the problem of out-of-children in the country. The report features a detailed description of the at-risk children followed by a quantitative breakdown of the seven dimension of exclusion as they apply to the Namibian context. Bottlenecks and barriers which keep children out of school have been complemented with a comprehensive set of recommendations designed to ensure that all children complete at least a full course of quality basic education.

We sincerely hope that the completion of the OOSC Initiative national report for Namibia will significantly bring us closer to the desirable goal of no child left behind.

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Micaela Marques de Sousa UNICEF Representative in Namibia

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has been supporting the Government of the Republic of Namibia, in particular the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture (MoEAC) in its efforts to ensure that children in Namibia have access to quality education and that no child is left behind. We hope that the publication of this landmark study on out-of-school children will help uncover key barriers which keep the Namibian children out of school and point the way to policies and interventions that will help make sure all children can attend school and learn.

Specials thanks goes to UNICEF Namibia for providing financial support and to the University of Stellenbosch Research on Socio-Economic Policy (ReSEP) for their work in developing this publication. We also acknowledge the technical support from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics and the UNICEF Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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NATURE OF THIS REPORT

1. This report is based on an analysis of available data, mainly from the 2011 census and data from the Educational Management Information System (EMIS). These are excellent data and could help to illuminate the quantitative dimensions of the problems of out-of-school children well. These quantitative data were supplemented through literature reviews and qualitative and quantitative fieldwork in selected districts to get a fuller picture of the nature of the problem, including interviews with school principals, parents, community based organisations, out-of-school youth, and a questionnaire administered to school children, as discussed in the report. Together, this allowed a nuanced insight into the nature of the problem of out-of-school children.

DIMENSIONS OF EXCLUSION AND RISK OF EXCLUSION

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- 2. The UNICEF–UIS conceptual and methodological framework developed as part of the global initiative on out–of–school children adopted for this study distinguishes different dimensions of exclusion, including direct exclusion from school for children of the age groups associated with different school phases, but also the risk of dropout and thus exclusion, based on the experience of older cohorts.
- 3. The picture which emerges from the analysis is one of fair access to school and only limited exclusion of children from the school system. Yet there are still areas of concerns, as the summary of the findings reported in the table and the summary graph illustrate. (Note that the dimensions in this table are not ordered by number, but by the nature of the exclusion.)



▼ Figure A: School age children by school status, 2011

4. At the time of the 2011 census, pre-primary education was not yet well established. This has since improved, so that the picture presented in this respect is now somewhat dated. Yet access to pre-primary is still an issue.

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5. A source of concern is that some children clearly start school late. The highest enrolment in the school system only occurs at age 9. Such children are also at higher risk of dropping out later.

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- 6. There is still a substantial number of children who never enrol in school, despite all efforts to ensure all children receive education.
- 7. Many children drop out of school early. A factor which contributes to this is the high level of repetition found in much of the school system, despite a policy which limits repetition to one grade per phase, i.e. twice in primary school and once in junior secondary school.
- 8. Those most at risk of dropping out are those born in poor circumstances and from more isolated regions. This is a considerable source of inequity in the education system which has consequences also for children's life chances.
- 9. The UNICEF–UIS conceptual and methodological framework developed as part of the global initiative on out–of–school children adopted for this study distinguishes different dimensions of exclusion, including direct exclusion from school for children of the age groups associated with different school phases, but also the risk of dropout and thus exclusion, based on the experience of older cohorts.
- 10. The picture which emerges from the analysis is one of fair access to school and only limited exclusion of children from the school system. Yet there are still areas of concerns, as the summary of the findings reported in the table and the summary graph illustrate. (Note that the dimensions in this table are not ordered by number, but by the nature of the exclusion).

Tab	le A : Summary of findings on dimensions of	exclusion, 2	011
Dimension	Description and age taken to be appropriate for grade in September, at the time of the census.	Number	% of reference group
Not in school			
1	Pre–primary aged not in school (Age 6)	13 082	28%
2	Primary aged not in school (Age 7–13)	36 084	11%
3	Junior secondary aged not in school (Age 14–16)	25 308	18%
6	Senior secondary aged not in school (Age 17–19)	29 294	34%
	At risk of dropping out		
4	In primary school and at risk of dropping out before completing primary education	41 900	13%
5	In junior secondary and at risk of dropping out before completing junior secondary	34 500	30%
7	In senior secondary and at risk of dropping out before completing senior secondary	22 800	65%

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BOTTLENECKS AND BARRIERS

- 11. Amongst socio-cultural factors, the effect of learner pregnancy seems particularly pervasive, despite policies which encourages pregnant girls to continue with school. It appears that many school girls still drop out due to pregnancy. This problem is exacerbated by the combination of high levels of learner pregnancy and strong prejudice against pregnant girls continuing in school in many cases.
- 12. Amongst economic demand-side factors that affect school attendance, it is apparent that though parents profess to place great importance on the education of their children, this support is not equally strong in more rural regions and amongst poorer children, and that such support is often not translated into practical support for the school or for their children's school attendance.
- 13. Poverty and unemployment do not appear to play a strong direct role in dropout from school, but may have an indirect influence when combined with the additional financial and other demands and the unattractiveness of sending children to schools that are further away, as become necessary for many at higher grades. It is also related to child labour in the household, which is still a factor affecting school attendance more than enrolment or dropout. It appears to mainly play a role through involvement in seasonal agricultural activities, and may contribute to weak performance at school and thus, perhaps, also early dropout.
- 14. Distance always plays a big role in Namibia because of the size of the country and the distribution of its population. It is impossible to take schools to all children, but as a result there are major issues regarding school transport and hostels which revolve around this, with major consequences for the equity of the educational system. These are rather intractable problems, but they need constant attention.
- 15. Also on the supply side, one important factor limiting school enrolment is the prohibition on children who fail grade 10 to repeat that grade, unless specific conditions apply. Annually, about 16 000 children drop out after grade 10, more than in any other grade.
- 16. A related but more generic problem is high repetition throughout the school system, though it is to some extent limited by the rule that a child may only repeat once in a school phase. This is symptomatic of a bigger problem of weak quality education that is also revealed in the systemic tests, the grade 10 and the grade 12 examinations, and also evident in SACMEQ.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

- 17. Namibia has committed itself to "education for all" and the sets of policies and strategies that accompany this. Perhaps most important in terms of its translation in practice has been the recent move to make primary education free (it was already compulsory), and now also to extend this to secondary education. This may be one of the reasons why costs do not appear to play such a large role in school enrolment, as discussed in the previous chapter.
- 18. A similarly important policy which is very relevant to school drop-out is the policy relating to pregnant learners. This policy aims to make it possible for such learners to remain at school as long as possible and to return to school after the birth of the child.
- 19. Repetition policy in Namibia is aimed at avoiding excessive repetition, by limiting it to once per school phase. However, this is supposed to be accompanied by

additional support for children who are repeating, but this does not appear to have occurred in practice. The limit on repeating grade 10 is in particular an important restriction to continuation in school for many, and will thus be discussed again in the recommendations.

POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

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20. Despite rapid economic progress which has reduced poverty substantially, poverty is still endemic in Namibia, The grant system has been very successful at reducing poverty, particularly amongst children, but its reach is constrained. One of the manifestations of poverty is high levels of stunting and malnutrition, which is one of the reasons why the school feeding system in primary schools targeted at poor children has been such a success. It may also have increased school enrolment and attendance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Remoteness and dis	tance
Recommendation 1	Early grades need to be taken closer to the population wherever it is feasible. Not being able to serve young children
	with schools near their homes is an important source of
	inequity in the education system. It has serious repercussions
	for their social, emotional, and cognitive development.
Recommendation 2	In particular, where feasible, schools which only offer the
	first few grades, and not the full primary phases, should be
	extended to higher grades to make it possible for children
	to remain in the same schools near their homes for the full
	duration of their primary schooling.
Recommendation 3	More school hostels need to be provided to ensure that private
	"hostels" or children having to live in private arrangements
	near schools but away from their parents can be avoided.
Recommendation 4	Hostels need more money and their quality needs to be
	improved to make it more attractive to children who have
	no other alternatives to remain in school whilst attending
	public school hostels.
Recommendation 5	Particular attention needs to be given to the large proportions
	of out–of–school children in the Kunene Region in particular,
	but also in the Kavango Region.
Recommendation 6	Further investigation is needed to find solutions for the low
	school participation rate amongst the San and Ovahimba
	communities.
Recommendation 7	Further attention needs to be given to ensuring the official
	pregnancy policies are implemented and, perhaps, more
	importantly, supported by teachers and education officials.
	Currently this policy is being blamed by many for "creating"
	the learner pregnancy problem in schools, and prejudice
	makes it difficult for girls who have become pregnant to
	return to school, or if they do, to be fully accepted.
Recommendation 8	Greater attention needs to be given to sex education to reduce
	learner pregnancy.

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Examinations and cu	ırriculum
Recommendation 9	Currently it does not appear as if the systemic tests in schools
	are really adequately used to inform interventions that would
	improve quality and thereby reduce repetition and retain
	more children in schools.
Recommendation 10	The Junior Certificate is a necessary corrective and needs to
	be retained, despite the fact that so many children fail grade
	10. The solution is not to avoid the examination or replace
	it by another a year further in the school system, but, rather
	to use it as information to implement qualitative reforms in
	the school system.
Recommendation 11	The restriction on children not being able to continue in
	school if they have failed grade 10 needs to be abolished.
	or, at the very least, the age limit for repeating needs to be
	relaxed. This would require that more additional places need
	to be created in the school system, but is an important way
	of ensuring that children do not drop out of school whilst
	there are prospects that they can progress further
Pacammandation 12	Consideration should be given to the establishment of a grade
necommentation 12	10 curriculum with a parallel route for children who might
	he interested in the vocational or technical career nath. This
	would be difficult to implement in all schools but should be
	considered as a way of assisting some children to receive
	considered as a way of assisting some children to receive
	appropriate vocational of technical rather than only academic
	a school, based with a distance, based curriculum may be
	a school-based with a distance-based curriculum may be
December 10	More attention peeds to be given to mathematics education in
Recommendation 13	more attention needs to be given to mathematics education in
	failing the grade 10 and the grade 12
Sahaal fooding	
	School fooding poods additional attention and more finance at
Recommendation 14	school level as it is an important source of putrition
	for many poor children in a country where melnutrition
	ior many poor children in a country where manutition is
	food purchases indicate that the casts of reising this need
	not be extrememical
D	For the destruction of the expended to expended to expendence the structure of the structur
Recommendation 15	school requiring should be expanded to secondary schools,
	along similar lines as the successful primary school feeding
ECD and pro primer	
LCD and pre-primar	y cuucation
Recommendation 16	that the former chould not be consistent on, but it is important
	that the focus should not be on simply expanding numbers
	but on the quality of such development, and ensuring such
	quality for centres and classes that serve the poor.

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Involving the commu	ınity
Recommendation 17	To improve quality of service delivery in schools it is essential there should be more community involvement. Moreover, such involvement is of particular importance for dealing with matters related to learner pregnancy, bullying, and violence in schools. The communities around the school can also play a very important role in supporting schools to address the issues of out of school children in the neighbourhood. Without the support of parents and the community education
Data	cannot flourisn.
The availability of go better perspective or which data can still in	od census and EMIS data helped to make it possible to get a n the issue of out–of–school children. There are two areas in mprove, however.
Recommendation 18	A dedicated investigation is needed discover more about disabled children, as available data in this area are weak.
Recommendation 19	In the census and surveys, greater attention should be given to removing ambiguity in responses regarding whether individuals are attending school. It is currently not quite clear whether some individuals are in pre-primary schools or even in ECD centres rather than in primary schools. More worryingly, the distinction between attending schools in the conventional sense, i.e. up to grade 12, and other educational institutions (vocational or technical training, or even universities) becomes blurred at higher ages.



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INTRODUCTION

THIS REPORT: METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

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This report is about the problem of out–of–school children in Namibia, to investigate both the magnitude and the nature of this problem. It therefore adopts the methodology followed in the reports of UNICEF and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) on Out–of–School Children (OOSC) around the world. As Namibia is a middle–income country, it was decided to focus not only on the phenomenon of children being out–of–school (OOS) in the primary and the junior secondary school phases, but also for the senior secondary phase. National studies in several countries are based on the UNICEF–UIS Methodology on OOSC. The objective of this report is to identify and consolidate the main issues facing out–of–school children in Namibia. Its primary purpose is to inform the direction of further systematic research into the problem of out–of–children in Namibia, which is the focus of the UNICEF–UIS Global Initiative on OOSC. The objectives of the wider OOSC initiative are threefold:

- To develop a profile of the magnitude of out-of-school children in Namibia through analysis of existing data sources;
- The identification of barriers and bottlenecks which contribute to children being denied the right to education;
- The evaluation of existing strategic and policy responses dealing with school participation; and
- To suggest key policy and other recommendations to address the of out-ofschool children phenomenon.

The report is based on an overview of secondary literature, qualitative and quantitative analysis of available data sources (in particular, the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture's Education Management Information System (EMIS) data, Census 2011, and the National Household Income and Expenditure Survey of 2009/10, NHIES), and fieldwork carried out specifically for this study to gain further insights for this study. The fieldwork had the following components:

- Interviews with 60 parents in three regions (Khomas, Omaheke, and Kavango) to enlist their understanding of the problems of OOSC;
- Interviews with 22 representatives of community-based organisations, to access their understanding of the problems of OOSC;
- Interviews with 99 OOSC adolescents in two regions (Khomas and Erongo);
- Interviews with 29 school principals in the Khomas, Omaheke, and Kavango regions.

Questionnaires filled in by 6 657 grade 7 or grade 9 learners in most of the schools in the Khomas, Omaheke, and Kavango regions. However, due to administrative glitches and time constraints related to the school terms only a much smaller sample of these questionnaires was eventually returned. Permission that the children could fill in these questionnaires first had to be obtained from parents and the school authorities (the Ministry and UNICEF were extremely helpful in this process). These questionnaires asked children about some of their characteristics (age, gender, home language), the possessions in their home (in order to determine their socio–economic status, using an asset index created through Multiple Correspondence Analysis), about their own and their parent's expectations of school, and then, finally, about any person other than a sibling they may know who has left school, and about the sibling preceding them in age.

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None of this fieldwork entailed random samples, and none of it is representative of the populations from which it was drawn. Nevertheless, together the fieldwork gave a rich canvass of the impressions of these various stakeholders about some of the issues behind the OOS phenomenon in Namibia. This is used to enrich the text throughout this report; a separate background report gives more details than are used in this report.

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A study such as that contained in this report is limited by the nature of the data available, which in the case of Namibia was not a severe constraint. More representative surveys would have required much additional resources, and then still would not have yielded full answers to many of the questions. Though this report contributes substantially to what is known about out-of-school children in Namibia, it is in the nature of things that this can never be the full picture, and that there are still areas that require deeper investigation.

COUNTRY CONTEXT (GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC)

Namibia is a higher middle–income country situated in the south–western part of Africa bordering Angola, Zambia, Botswana, and South Africa. It gained political freedom from South Africa in 1990 after a long liberation struggle and has since progressed well in terms of both its economic situation and the consolidation of a democracy that offers civic freedoms to all citizens. The country's large size (825 000 square kilometres, larger than Pakistan and more than three times the size of the United Kingdom) and relatively small population (2.2 million) makes it one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world, with fewer than 3 persons per square kilometre. Just over 40% of the population lives in urban areas. The main urban centres are Windhoek, the capital city, but other urban areas include Swakopmund, Walvis Bay, Otjiwarongo, and Oshakati.

The country is marked by large physical contrasts. It includes the Namib Desert along the entire western coast and the Kalahari Desert along the central eastern border with Botswana and is characterised by frequent droughts. Though small, the population is ethnically heterogeneous, as is illustrated by the fact that education is offered in 14 languages in the lower grades of primary school, though English is the language of instruction in all public schools from grade 4.

Namibia has high levels of economic inequality and still relatively high poverty rates for a country at its level of economic development. Despite its upper–middle income country status (per capita GDP was US\$5 840 in 2013), its poverty rate is 29% and its Gini coefficient of 0.60 ranks it among the most unequal countries in the world. Namibia is blessed with rich natural resources and has a well–developed infrastructure, despite the challenges of extreme distances between major population centres. The World Bank Overview of the Namibian economy (World Bank 2014) notes Namibia's economy is closely linked to South Africa's economy through trade, investment, and common monetary policies. Although the services sector has accounted for 55–60% of total GDP since independence, the primary sectors—mining, agriculture (mainly livestock) and fishing—have been the economic mainstay and provide most export revenues, though tourism also contributes considerably.

Broad labour force participation is relatively low at 70% (68% among women) and broad unemployment (including discouraged work seekers) high at 34% (29% for men and 39% for women) (NSA 2013b).

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In the decade from 2002 to 2012, the economy grew at a healthy 5.0% per annum, and private consumption expenditure at 6.1% (calculated from NSA, 2013a: 25, Table C3). Preliminary figures indicate that similar economic growth rates have been sustained since (NSA 2015: 17, 21, Tables 1, 10). This growth was an important reason for the decline in poverty shown in Table 1 for the period between the two most recent Namibian Household Income and Expenditure Surveys.

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Table 1: Poverty decline from 2003/4 to 2009/10Source: Namibian National Statistics Agency 2012: 5							
	Lower- (severe) po N\$3 330.48 per a	-bound overty line adult equivalent	Upper–bound N\$4 535.52 per a	d poverty line adult equivalent			
Date	2003/4	2009/10	2003/4	2009/10			
All ages	19.1%	15.3%	37.0%	28.7%			
Children 0–15	23.6%	18.3%	43.5%	34.0%			

One important source of inequality is the very large earnings differential between skilled and unskilled workers, which has its source in differences in access to and quality of education. Though access has improved, educational outcomes are still highly unequal, in terms of continuation to higher levels of education and performance in education.

Among the socio–economic issues that Namibia has to deal with is the severe HIV/AIDS epidemic that has frustrated efforts to reduce child and maternal mortality. Despite declines in HIV prevalence, new infections remain high. Namibia also has very high tuberculosis incidence and stunting levels of children under 5 are extremely high for a country at its level of development (24% are stunted and 8% severely stunted (Ministry of Health & ICF International 2014: 131).

DEVELOPMENT AND THE EDUCATION SECTOR

Namibia's Vision 2030, adopted in 2004 (NPC 2011: 41), lists one of the strategic objectives as 'providing full and appropriate education at all levels' (NPC 2011: 41). The current (fourth) National Development Plan For The Period 2012/13 to 2016/17, also gives high priority to education and the creation of a skilled labour force. The Ministry of Education's Strategic Plan 2012–2017 is, in part, a summary and a reaffirmation of a detailed earlier plan titled 'Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme' (ETSIP), released in 2007. The strategic plan organises the priorities for the sector within various strategic themes and link these to strategic objectives and performance indicators.

The right to education is enshrined in Article 20 of Namibia's Constitution as well as in the Education Act, Act 16 of 2001. Education is compulsory up to the completion of grade 10 or up to the age of 16 years, whichever comes first. Primary education is provided by the state free–of–charge, and this will be extended to secondary education from 2016. Namibia has expanded access to education in recent years through its Universal Primary Education programme which focuses on the Millennium Development Goal of primary education for all citizens. It spends about a quarter of its national budget on education.

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After 25 years of independence, Namibia's education system is still characterised by large inequalities in access to and quality of education. Burton et al. (2011: 7) attribute this in part to the persistence of consequences of the discriminatory Bantu Education Act of 1953. While the country has made significant strides in its quest to provide universal access to primary education (primary school net enrolment rates were 99.7% in 2012), its secondary school net enrolment rate was a mere 57.8% (Ministry of Education, 2013). The country struggles with retention of learners in the secondary school phases. This attrition of learners is concerning and is the subject of a number of governmental interventions and scrutiny by researchers. In Chapter 1 those groups of children most vulnerable to dropping out or never enrolling are identified.

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Education quality

Educational quality in Namibia is relatively weak. In the 2007 SACMEQ¹ tests, conducted in 15 countries of Southern and Eastern Africa in Grade 6 level, Namibia still performed poorly, despite strong improvement since 2001. Importantly, with located in isolated rural regions performing almost half a standard deviation below the SACMEQ average in mathematics and almost as much in reading, which converts into the equivalent of more than a full year's learning backlog. Regional differences are even larger between urban regions such as the Khomas and Erongo regions, and some rural ones, as Table 2 shows. In SACMEQ in 2007, 40% of Grade 6 children in cities were taught by a language teacher with a degree, as against 20% in isolated rural areas and 25% in small towns.

Table 2: Mathematics and Reading scores in SACMEQ III, 2007 Source: Own calculations from SACMEQ data							
	Mathematics score	Reading score					
Isolated/rural areas	448	464					
Small towns	492	524					
Cities	521	572					
Total Namibia	471	497					
Caprivi	459	490					
Erongo	524	579					
Hardap	483	510					
Karas	511	550					
Kavango	456	482					
Khomas	523	575					
Kunene	479	503					
Ohangwena	448	463					
Omaheke	469	496					
Omusati	450	462					
Oshana	457	471					
Otjozondjupa	489	527					
Oshikotu	475	501					

Schools in Namibia are often geographically widely dispersed, which influences school types, distribution and location of schools and raises questions about boarding schools. The low levels of educational attainment in rural areas are confirmed by differences in educational attainment of rural and urban youth of the age group 20–24 in Census 2011, i.e. those who most recently passed the school–going age. These figures are affected by migration, but are nevertheless illustrative: 27% or rural youths in this age group have not completed primary education, as against 11% of

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¹ The SACMEQ average scores for the 2001 tests were set at 500 and the standard deviation at 100.

urban ones; only 42% of rural youths have completed Grade 10, as against 73% of rural ones; and only 17% of rural youths (or those who have not moved away from the rural areas) had achieved grade 12, as against 45% of urban ones.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SEVEN DIMENSIONS OF EXCLUSION IN NAMIBIA

The conceptual and methodological framework (CMF) was developed by UNICEF and UIS in 2011 as part of the global initiative on out–of–school children. This is an adaptation by UNICEF and UIS of a methodology developed by CREATE (Consortium for Research on Educational Access Transitions and Equity) and documented by Lewin (2007). Although the CMF developed in 2011 comprises just five dimensions of exclusion, Namibia elected to assess seven dimension of exclusion. The first five dimensions of exclusion refer to children of pre–primary age who are not in pre–primary or primary school (dimension 1); children of primary age who are not in pre–primary, primary, or secondary school (dimension 2); children in primary age who are not in primary or secondary school (dimension 3); children in primary school at risk of dropping out before completing primary school (dimension 4); and, children in lower secondary school at risk of dropping out before completing that phase (dimension 5).

For a study such as this one, which also includes attention to senior secondary school, two dimensions should be added: children of senior secondary age who are not in primary or secondary school (dimension 6); and children in senior secondary school who are at risk of dropping out (dimension 7).² While dimensions 1, 2, 3 and 6 can be quantified directly from survey or census data, those children at risk of dropping out (dimensions 4, 5, and 7) should be identified in a different manner. The different dimensions of exclusion can be presented schematically as follows:

Diagram 1: Derived from UNICEF and UIS, 2011



2 For the sake of comparability with other studies, the numbering of the first five dimensions remains unchanged with the addition of the additional two dimensions relating to senior secondary school, though according to the logic of the conceptual framework dimension 6 should have followed after dimension 3.

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In Namibia, children who turn six before the start of the calendar year qualify to enter grade 1. However, since the census which will be used for much of the data analysis was conducted in August, it would mean that most grade 1 children would already have turned 7. Thus, for this methodology, the school ages are defined as follows: The pre-primary age is set to be 6. The primary ages are then taken to be 7 to 13 inclusive (grades 1 to 7), junior secondary education ages 14 to 16 (grades 8 to 10) and senior secondary education ages 17 to 18 (grades 11 to 12). However, as ages are only provided in full years in the data (census and NHIES), the "appropriate" ages for grade do not exactly coincide with the learners who actually entered school in the correct year. To illustrate, some of those who were already 6 when the calendar year 2011 started and should thus have entered Grade 1 in that year, would still have been 6 at the time the census took place in August 2011.

A final methodological caveat is in order: the method for determining the risk of dropout for junior secondary school, for example, is aimed at determining how many children "have entered lower secondary school but who fail to progress to the end of the cycle" (Lewin 2007: 23). Yet this cannot be exactly determined from survey or census data for previous cohorts, as such data do not give an indication of whether a person had entered a certain grade, only whether they have completed it. Thus, for junior secondary, the assumption is made in these calculations that those of the cohort studied who had a highest completed grade of grade 7 had not entered grade 8 and failed, thus that those who entered and had not completed junior secondary were only those who ended up with grade 8 or grade 9 as the highest grade completed.



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CENSUS DATA ON OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Figure 1 below shows, for the adult population of different age groups, what proportion has reached at least each level of education shown. Thus, one can see that of the age group 80 to 84 who were still alive at the time of the 2011 census ³ (the bottom line on the graph) only 40 per cent had reached at least grade 1, whereas this proportion is 91% for the youngest group considered, those aged 20 to 24 (the top line).

This shows the progress in school access in the 60 years between these two sets of birth cohorts – but it also indicates that even amongst young adults who should have started their school careers in the post–independence period, about 9% did not even attain grade 1.

Once children do attend school, however, it appears that most persevere till at least completing primary school: The proportion attaining at least grade 7 amongst 20 to 24–year–olds is 80%, which should be contrasted to 47% of the 50 to 54–year–olds and the 15% of 60 to 84–year–olds who are still alive.

Clearly, despite high repetition rates still being common, there has been considerable progress in school attainment and particularly completion of primary education.



▼ Figure 1: Percentage of selected age groups that have completed at least the education levels shown, Census 20112009/10

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³ In Namibia mortality still varies greatly by socio-economic status and did so even more before independence. Thus it is likely that those who survived to higher ages are more commonly from more affluent parts of society who also would have been more likely to have achieved more education. Thus the lines for the older groups in the figure are most likely to lie above where they would have been if mortality had been similar between rich and poor.

To summarise the implications of the data from Figure 1 and similar census data for the younger cohorts (not shown), there are some important issues that still need to be addressed with regard to school access and attendance:

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- A significant proportion of Namibian children do not even attain grade 1, i.e. they never go to school (or fail grade 1 and leave).⁴ For the age group 20–24 years in the census, that was still the case for 9% of children. For younger age cohorts, the percentage did decline to 6% among 12-year-olds, but it appears to be rising again for younger children. However, because many children start school late, the figures for the younger age cohorts may be slightly exaggerated. However, the indications are that there is still need for further efforts to get all children to attend school at the lowest grades.
- Starting school late is still quite common, as Figure 2 shows. From this figure
 it is apparent that the proportion of children at school peaks at age 10 or even
 higher, and not at the age group grade 1 children should have been in the
 census, namely 7 years. This will be discussed further later.
- Dropping out is prevalent in children from the school system long before they have completed senior secondary school, but in some cases even before completing primary school.
- Due to high rates of repetition, there is much inefficiency: children who may remain at school for ten years often leave having attained only grade 7 (completion of primary) or grade 8.

The census question on whether children were "attending school" was clearly misinterpreted in many cases where it referred to older children or youths, particularly in 2011. Thus, more than 10% of 23–year–olds indicated they were attending school; even many persons who were in their thirties or even older gave this response. This should perhaps better be interpreted as those who were engaged in some form of education. For purposes of this study that may be the appropriate focus, as it is not necessarily desirable that all older youth remain engaged in school rather than, for instance, vocational training. However, this does affect the interpretation of time trends, and also comparison between EMIS and census numbers.

Table 3 sets out the numbers and proportions of each age group at school and not at school for both 2001 and 2011. As in Figure 2 above, this appears to point to some stagnation in progress in school access and attendance over the decade 2001 to 2011. This also has some implications for future trends, as it may indicate that further progress in school attendance is likely to be difficult to achieve.⁵

Gender differences are very small, and for the age group under 50, they favour girls and women: a smaller proportion of them have never attended school. However, above age 50 a greater percentage of women than of men have never attended. Thus, it appears that the gender bias favouring men has now disappeared and no longer affects initial access to schools.

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⁴ The census also asks whether individuals ever attended school. The figures for those who indicated that they never attended are lower than for those who indicated that they did complete any grade, rising from about 63% among ten year olds to 84% amongst 25-year-olds, and then stabilising at that rate. It is possible that some may have attended but not have successfully completed even Grade 1. But if the "don't know" responses are also included, the difference disappears. It is likely that most such responses were given where the individual concerned was not the person who responded to the census question and the respondent did not actually know whether the person concerned had ever attended.



According to the census, just over 21 000 Namibian children aged 6 to 19 have a disability, 3.3% of the population in that age group. Amongst children in this age group with disabilities, about 65% attend school, as against 79% of those without disability, which implies that there are 4 600 more children with disabilities not attending school compared to what would have been expected if they had not been disabled.

This differential in school attendance between children with and without disabilities does not vary much by age. A substantial part of the differences in school attendance arises because the proportion of children with disabilities who never attend school is high, at 16%, whilst this proportion is only 6% amongst other children.

COMPARING CENSUS AND EMIS DATA

There are two main sources of data for the size and age composition of the schoolgoing population. The one is the 2011 population census, the other the Annual Census of Schools, also referred to as the EMIS data, as this is the main data component of the Education Management Information System in Namibia.

These two data sources are not in full agreement: there appears to be either an undercount in Census 2011, or an over–count of numbers of children at school, as EMIS numbers exceed census numbers for most ages. However, the age patterns are similar, and the discrepancy is not very large. There are some incentives for schools and principals to over–report learner numbers in the Annual Census, yet these incentives are not as strong as in some other school systems in the region as inspectors are closely involved in the census of schools and verify most of the figures. Thus, a census undercount may be responsible for a bigger part of the discrepancy, as discussed in the earlier footnote.

It is normal for censuses to have some undercount, but the Namibian Statistical Agency (NSA) does not adjust for this in its reporting on the census. The NSA acknowledges that there is some undercount in its report Namibian Population

⁵ However, the numbers in Table 1 and all figures based on census data should be interpreted cautiously. For the age group 5–19, the census records just over 724 000 children, whereas the United Nations Population Division (2012) estimates the size of this group as 795 000, almost 10% larger, for the previous year, 2010, and the Namibian Statistical Agency allows for a somewhat smaller undercount in their population projections. If the UN Population Division estimates are accepted and provision is made for further growth of this age group between 2010 and 2011, the census may have undercounted children by about 11%. Thus the number of out-of-school children could be larger than the table shows. Moreover, the under-count would have been larger in more remote communities and amongst nomadic people, which implies that the actual problem may be further understated by the census data.

Projections 2011–2041 (NSA 2014: 49), where they allowed for an undercount by adjusting the population census numbers upwards by 3.5% for boys and 9.8% for girls aged 0–4, and 2.4% for boys and nil for girls aged 5–9. However, adjustments for undercount were made only for the age group under 10, which seems likely to leave some undercount unadjusted for and does not solve the matter of the discrepancy between census and EMIS numbers.

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However, there is agreement between the EMIS numbers and the census that there has been quite slow growth of school enrolment relative to the population of school–going age between 2001 and 2011. It is clear that in the 2011 census, even more than in 2001, there was some confusion on the question whether people were "attending school", because of confusion both between forms of pre–school and school ⁶⁴ and between formal schooling in grades 1 to 12 and other forms of post–school education, e.g. NAMCOL, university, etc.

Thus the number of 5-year-olds who were reported to be "attending school" rose between the two censuses from 0 to 6 072, and those older than 25 "attending school" from 7 466 to 19 328. That probably also means that some of those in the age group 15 and older who the census recorded as "attending school" may in fact have been attending other forms of education or training. In the core school-age group 6 to 15 where other forms of education and training are less common, the 2011 census enrolment numbers were about 12% lower than those of EMIS, as against only 6% in the census a decade earlier. But both census and EMIS provide evidence of relatively slow growth in enrolment, 12.0% and 7.0% respectively over a decade for the age group 5–25, and –0.7% and 6.2% respectively for the core age group 6–15 in which the census numbers are less likely to be affected by confusion about the term 'attending school'.

Table 3: Enrolment according to Census and EMIS, 2001 and 2011The EMIS numbers do not reflect any enrolment at school above the age of 25, yet in the twocensuses those above this age who indicated they were 'attending school' numbered 7 466and 19 328 respectively.							
Age 5–25 Age 6–15							
EMIS 2001	526 829	408 536					
EMIS 2011	590 211	433 945					
Census 2001*	518 641	383 031					
Census 2011*	555 139	380 403					
Census 2001 'undercount' against EMIS	8 188	25 505					
Census 2011 'undercount' against EMIS	35 072	53 542					
% Census 'undercount' against EMIS 2001	1.6%	6.2%					
% Census 'undercount' against EMIS 2011 5.9% 12.3%							
Growth EMIS 2001–2011 12.0% 6.2%							
Growth Census 2001–2011	7.0%	-0.7%					

While census figures imply a growth of about 35% in the period 1991 to 2011 in the population of school–going age (here taken to be 5–19), EMIS numbers indicate that actual growth of enrolment in these age groups in almost the same period (1992 to 2012) was only a little higher at 44%, indicating only marginal improvement in school enrolment. Thus on the available evidence there has not been great progress in absorbing children in the school system; most of the growth has simply been a result of growth in the population.

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⁶ Despite there being a separate response category 'pre-primary' that could have been selected.

Enrolment trends based on the data from EMIS largely reflect very stable rates of school entry, grade progression, repetition, and dropout. Figure 3 shows the enrolment from 1992 to 2013, largely by school phase, although grade 10 is shown separately because of the importance of the grade 10 examination as the entry gate to the highest two grades. The same numbers are shown in Table 4.

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There has been virtual stagnation in the numbers in the lower primary phase and even largely also in the higher primary phase, but more growth in subsequent phases. The more than threefold increase in grade 11 and 12 (growth of 214%, or 5.6% per annum), despite the hurdle that the grade 10 examination sets, is encouraging, though it comes of a low base. Strong growth was also recorded in grade 8 and 9 (130% growth over the period). The somewhat lower growth in grade 10 can perhaps be accounted for the policy of limiting repetition in grade 10 of those who have failed the examination.



▼ Figure 3: Enrolment by grade groupings according to EMIS, 1992 to 2013

Source: Derived from EMIS data, Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture

Figure 4 below shows that the number of children enrolled has risen in all age groups, when one compares those who reached school–going age shortly after independence and those who were born in 1994 or later, i.e. who reached school–going age in 2000 or thereafter. However, the patterns for the youngest age cohort shown, those born in 2000, show little further increase in numbers. It appears as if the growth of numbers at school has stagnated. The two strong deviations from the patterns relate to the years 2005 and 2006, which are years for which the age tables in EMIS seem to have been incorrect (these tables are in fact inconsistent with the other EMIS numbers).

Table 4: Enrolment by grade groupings according to EMIS, 1992 to 2013 Source: Derived from EMIS data, Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture							
Gr 1–3 Gr 4–7 Gr 8 & 9 Gr 10 Gr11 & 12 Total							
1992	192 630	147 283	48 371	22 050	12 673	423 007	
1993	193 022	150 693	49 890	22 660	19 195	435 460	
1994	196 533	161 943	53 539	24 052	23 900	459 967	
1995	185 740	173 816	54 585	25 398	22 811	462 350	

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1996	178 477	186 478	55 192	24 847	24 076	469 070
1997	174 223	198 781	58 169	24 585	25 619	481 377
1998	169 875	211 204	62 226	22 556	24 446	490 307
1999	171 863	207 341	70 169	22 343	22 784	494 500
2000	175 910	209 957	77 599	22 510	23 514	509 490
2001	181 167	212 489	80 226	25 266	24 928	524 076
2002	184 840	216 955	83 017	27 868	26 101	538 781
2003	186 229	219 606	85 207	29 142	27 311	547 495
2004	180 079	220 712	87 014	28 889	28 295	544 989
2005	180 442	221 385	89 367	30 142	28 499	549 835
2006	178 431	221 757	89 215	31 188	31 560	552 151
2007	183 877	223 349	91 762	32 086	33 514	564 588
2008	183 447	222 510	93 668	36 593	33 401	569 619
2009	182 452	223 857	95 049	36 167	37 939	575 464
2010	181 473	224 561	99 221	33 931	41 003	580 189
2011	181 632	227 045	104 749	36 160	40 376	589 962
2012	187 841	227 597	108 843	34 231	39 756	598 268
2013	196 069	226 120	111 420	34 644	39 832	608 085
Growth over period	1.8%	53.5%	130.3%	57.1%	214.3%	43.8%
Annual rate of growth	0.1%	2.1%	4.1%	2.2%	5.6%	1.7%





Source: Derived from EMIS data, Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture

The census numbers also show only modest growth in the numbers attending school in the decade between the two most recent censuses.

PROFILES OF EXCLUDED CHILDREN

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Table 5: "Attending school" and not attending school by age according to Census 2001 and Census 2011									
Source: Derived from Census 2001 and Census 2011									
Age		Census	2001			Census	s 2011		
	Not at school	At school	Total	% at school	Not at school	At school	Total	% at school	
6	30 111	19 383	49 494	39.2%	33 736	16 236	49 972	32.5%	
7	10 531	37 860	48 391	78.2%	11 268	32 635	43 903	74.3%	
8	6 563	41 914	48 477	86.5%	6 315	40 693	47 008	86.6%	
9	5 702	44 009	49 711	88.5%	5 194	40 638	45 832	88.7%	
10	5 043	43 811	48 854	89.7%	5 842	42 086	47 928	87.8%	
11	5 136	46 872	52 008	90.1%	7 287	47 767	55 054	86.8%	
12	4 747	40 136	44 883	89.4%	6 317	41 715	48 032	86.8%	
13	4 829	38 791	43 620	88.9%	7 307	41 836	49 143	85.1%	
14	5 232	35 691	40 923	87.2%	7 586	38 251	45 837	83.5%	
15	6 570	34 564	41 134	84.0%	9 381	38 546	47 927	80.4%	
16	8 833	33 285	42 118	79.0%	10 869	36 673	47 542	77.1%	
17	11 434	28 438	39 872	71.3%	12 947	31 523	44 470	70.9%	
18	16 982	24 448	41 430	59.0%	20 148	29 774	49 922	59.6%	
19	20 342	17 402	37 744	46.1%	26 158	22 844	49 002	46.6%	
20	26 035	10 985	37 020	29.7%	31 395	16 182	47 577	34.0%	

Figure 5 shows the pattern of enrolment for 2012 and that there are more female pupils in the system up to grade 5, but due to different drop-out rates and repetition rates the situation changes after grade 5, with more male pupils in the system. The figure clearly shows that there is very high drop-out after grade 9.

The greater number of pupils in grade 5 and grade 8 than in the preceding grades is the result of a high repeater rate in these grades, and greater enrolment of boys than girls in some of the higher grades reflects the fact that boys repeat more on average and thus remain more years in the systems that girls for each grade attained. Figure 6 shows the same trends, but using enrolment from the five years, 2008 to 2012.

This is useful to confirm that the latest enrolment patterns are in fact part of a pattern that reflects past decisions on school access and enrolment, pass rates, drop-out and repetition, and completion of grade 12. Patterns appear to be quite stable, implying there is no great trend for enhanced enrolment at higher grades.

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▼ Figure 5: Enrolment by grade and gender, 2012







Source: Derived from EMIS data, Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture

As the patterns and numbers enrolled over years varies little, the high dropout can to some extent be shown in pseudo survival rates, as in Figure 7. The number of boys and girls in each grade is shown relative to the number in grade 1.

Here it is apparent that more girls reach the higher primary grades and early secondary grades, but more of them then subsequently fail grade 10, so that the gender ratio is almost equal in grades 11 and 12.

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Source: Derived from EMIS data, Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture

Table 6 shows repetition and dropout rates for boys and girls. As grades 11 and 12 together form one cycle, there is not really repetition in or dropout from grade 11, and as there are no failures in grade 12 (everyone simply gets allocated marks based on the final examination), there is also no repetition in grade 12. Thus data are shown only for grade 1 to 10.

It is evident that there is little dropout before grade 7, the last year of primary school, but it increases strongly in grade 8 and again in grade 10. Boys drop out a little more than girls. The negative dropout rate in grade 3 (i.e. drop–ins) is probably related to children who had earlier dropped out after grade 2, but subsequently returned again to grade 3 after a year or more's absence, or it could be a result of errors in the data. The grade 10 examinations that determine who can go on to the last two years of school have a large effect on dropout rates.

Repetition rates are high from grade 1 onwards, despite the restriction that a learner can only be asked to repeat once in each school phase, and then jump to even much higher levels in grade 8 and beyond. Throughout primary school boys are more likely to repeat, thus leading to a situation that fewer of the weaker performing boys get to the higher grades, perhaps explaining their somewhat better performance in the higher school.

Despite limitation on school places in grade 10, a large proportion of children do repeat this year, having failed the examinations. Because of the grade 11 and 12 cycle, there is virtually no repetition in grade 11. Moreover, as there are no failures in grade 12 (everyone simply gets allocated marks based on the final examination), there is also no repetition in grade 12.

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Table 6: Repetition and drop rates by grade and gender, 2011 Source: Calculated from EMIS data							
		Repetition			Dropout		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	
Grade 1	16%	22%	19%	5%	6%	5%	
Grade 2	11%	16%	14%	2%	1%	1%	
Grade 3	9%	14%	12%	-3%	-2%	-2%	
Grade 4	10%	15%	12%	2%	3%	3%	
Grade 5	18%	24%	21%	3%	3%	3%	
Grade 6	13%	15%	14%	3%	7%	5%	
Grade 7	11%	12%	11%	5%	6%	6%	
Grade 8	30%	31%	31%	14%	16%	15%	
Grade 9	26%	25%	26%	9%	11%	10%	
Grade 10	23%	20%	22%	23%	25%	24%	

It is possible to derive gross and net enrolment from the census data.⁷ For primary school, the gross enrolment rate (all those enrolled in primary school, irrespective of their age) expressed as a proportion of the primary age group is 98.1%. This shows that the number of learners in primary school is close to the number that there should be, because those of primary age out of primary school is almost balanced by the number of under– and especially over–age learners in primary school.

The net enrolment rate, indicating what proportion of the primary age group is actually in primary school, is relatively low at 77.7%, reflecting the reality of a substantial number of out of school children as early as primary school, as this report will discuss in greater detail. At secondary school, the gross enrolment ratio is only 73.6%, and the net enrolment rate a low 52.3%, reflecting both children not being at school or being over–aged in primary rather than secondary school.

DESCRIPTION OF AT RISK CHILDREN

In order to better understand the barriers to school participation in Namibia, it may be useful to identify which children are particularly vulnerable to exclusion from education. Namibia's National Policy Options for Educationally Marginalised Children (2000) identified thirteen groups of children most likely to be educationally marginalised:

- 1. Children of farm workers
- 2. Children in remote rural areas: San
- 3. Children in remote rural areas: Ovahimba
- 4. Street children
- 5. Working children
- 6. Children in squatter areas
- 7. Children in resettlement camps
- 8. Children in refugee camps
- 9. Children with special educational needs

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⁷ It is also possible to do so using a combination between census and EMIS data, but the inconsistencies between census and EMIS data means that this is likely to give inflated numbers.
- 10. Overage children
- 11. Young offenders
- 12. Orphans
- 13. Teenage mothers

The first three groups are affected most by physical isolation, given their location in remote areas. This makes education more expensive than it would have been otherwise because in addition to the costs of uniforms, parents would have to pay for transport to schools as well as accommodation at schools for their children. The San and Ovahimba have historically been semi–nomadic, with negative implications for school attendance.

Some progress in enrolment has been made in recent years, partly because of the introduction of mobile schools but also, possibly, because of larger clusters of these groups settling for longer periods of time for access to government and other services. Nevertheless, as Figure 8 shows, school attendance rates are extremely low amongst the San, and also quite low amongst Otjiherero speakers, which include the Ovahimba, whilst leaving school early is particularly problematic amongst speakers of Nama/Damara.





Source: Derived from EMIS data, Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture

To attract qualified teachers to teach in more remote areas, the Ministry of Education introduced a financial incentive scheme in 2009. For this purpose, schools were classified into four categories, with Category 1 the most remote schools where teachers are considered to face the greatest hardship because of remoteness and thus receive the largest incentive; Category 2 somewhat less remote; Category 3 slightly remote (receiving the lowest incentives); while Category 4 is not remote and mainly urban. Teachers there receive no incentives.

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Data from Namibia's Education Management Information System reveals large differences in (pseudo)⁸ survival rates between grade 1 and 12 by these school incentive categories (shown below in Figure 9).



▼ Figure 9: (Pseudo) survival rates in Namibia from grades 1 to 12, by category

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Clearly, those children in more remote schools have much lower chances of survival to grade 12 (1%) than those in urban schools (58%). The finding is consistent with the expectation that schools in rural areas are likely to provide a lower quality of education, secondary school education is less accessible than it would be in urban areas and the household factors associated with poverty which affect survival rates are more pronounced in rural areas.

The next chapters of this report discuss the sociocultural and economic barriers to school attendance in Namibia, based on in-depth interviews with adolescents, parents, principals and community-based organisations about their experiences of out-of-school children. These interviews overwhelmingly identify poverty as a main driver of dropout. This, in conjunction with low levels of parental education and norms in certain areas and weak quality of education in sparsely populated regions, are possibly the main underlying reasons why Namibia struggles with learner retention in secondary school.

CHILDREN OF PRE-PRIMARY AGE OUT OF SCHOOL (DIMENSION 1)

In the Global Initiative On Out–Of–School Children UNICEF/UIS Regional Report (2014) for Eastern and Southern Africa, Namibia was reported as having the fourth lowest rate of out–of–school children in Dimension 1 (the pre–primary age) of the 18 countries for which data were available around 2006(UNICEF & UIS 2014a: 21, Figure 4). In Namibia, children qualify to enter pre–primary education if they have turned 5 before the end of the previous calendar year. As indicated earlier, though, the census was taken in August 2011, thus most – but by far not all – of those that entered at the correct age would have turned 6.

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Source: Van der Berg et al. (2014).

⁸ These are not strictly 'survival' rates, as they simply reflect the numbers in the different grades and do not track the same children over time. However, as numbers in the different grades have changed little in recent years, these can be regarded as an approximation of survival over time.

Thus children in Dimension 1 are children aged 6 who are not attending either pre-primary or primary school. Altogether 13 082 (28%) fell into this category, as against 33 195 6 year olds who were attending pre-primary or primary school (almost equally divided between these two school types). Kunene (61%), Zambezi (49%) and Omaheke (45%) are the regions with the highest proportion of 6-year-olds out of school, whilst the large Kavango province (before it was divided into East and West Kavango) contained 20% of all such out of school pre-primary aged children. There appears to be almost no gender differences in access to pre-primary schools.

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Table 7: Pre-primary aged children (6 years) out of school, in pre-primary and in primary schools by region, and younger children in pre-primary schools, 2011 Source: Derived from Census 2011								
	005	In pre– primary	In primary school	Total	% 00S	% of OOSC	Pre– primary younger than 6	
Erongo	392	1 165	847	2 404	16%	3%	102	
Hardap	512	646	477	1 635	31%	4%	276	
Karas	293	523	468	1 284	23%	2%	118	
Kavango	2 576	1 579	1 922	6 077	42%	20%	114	
Khomas	984	2 351	2 179	5 514	18%	8%	632	
Kunene	1 407	490	395	2 292	61%	11%	542	
Ohangwena	1 492	2 787	2 231	6 510	23%	11%	171	
Omaheke	726	571	322	1 619	45%	6%	1 016	
Omusati	990	2 073	2 476	5 539	18%	8%	143	
Oshana	406	1 352	1 640	3 398	12%	3%	693	
Oshikoto	978	1 690	1 729	4 397	22%	7%	387	
Otjozondjupa	1 203	1 070	962	3 235	37%	9%	502	
Zambezi	1 123	558	588	2 269	49%	9%	285	
Total	13 082	16 855	16 236	46 173	28%	100%	4 981	
Girls	6 355	8 550	8 313	23 218	27%	49%	2 526	
Boys	6 727	8 305	7 923	22 955	29%	51%	2 455	

According to the census, there were altogether 38 102 children in pre-primary schools, some of them older than 6 years at the time of the census. This number is higher than the 13 459 enrolled according to the EMIS data. The difference can be accounted for by the fact that most day centres, nursery schools and kindergartens also offer pre-primary education, and census respondents may have included these. Such non-public pre-primary school offerings make the issue of the quality of pre-primary education offered even more intractable.

While pre-primary education is relatively new in Namibia and has only been actively promoted by government in the last few years, its growth is likely to be quite rapid. It is important that such growth should not be at the cost of quality, as pre-primary education has to lay the foundation for the important primary phases, where quality is already seriously deficient. Moreover, it is important that both access and quality of pre-primary education should be equitable, for "early inequitable provision will exacerbate inequalities in later phases of education" (UNICEF and UIS 2014a: 21).

CHILDREN OF PRIMARY AGE OUT OF SCHOOL (DIMENSION 2)

Census data as reflected in Table 8 show that the 43 639 children recorded as being out of school in the primary school ages constitute about 13% of all children in this

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age group (7–13).⁹ In Kunene a massive 42% of all primary aged children are out of school, and this proportion is also inordinately high in Omaheke at almost one–quarter of children (23%). Even in the mainly urban regions of Khomas and Erongo it is still as high as 10% and 9% respectively.

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Along with the problem of some children never entering primary school at all, or dropping out before completing their primary education, is also the issue that some children enter school late. Along with grade repetition, this leads to children being over-aged for their grades. The final two columns of Table 8 show the number of children in the primary age groups that have never entered school.

Of these 18 466 children (42% of those out of school in the primary age group), about 3 000 may still be entering primary school late. While high proportions in the second last column may reflect the prevalence of late entry or never entering school (e.g. Kunene with 85%, Omaheke with 66% and Zambezi with 61%), low proportions may reflect another problem, dropping out of school whilst still in the primary age group.

Subtracting those that never entered from those out of school leaves just over 17 000 children who already before they turn 14 have left school, temporarily or permanently. Of such drop-outs, 17% are in Kavango, 14% in Ohangwena and 13% in Khomas. Some of the dropouts in Khomas may have moved there from other regions, either in search of jobs or accompanying their families. Migration in itself may also be disruptive to children's education. More boys of primary school age have not yet entered school and more boys already dropout in primary school, so that 54% of the out of school children in Dimension 2 are boys.

So it appears that of the almost 36 000 primary school aged children not at schools (i.e. Dimension 2) can broadly be grouped into those who have not yet entered but are likely to enter late (approximately 3 000), those who will never enter (about 15 000), and those who have already dropped out (18 000). (Figure 11 at the end of this chapter provides further perspective on this categorisation.)

Table 8: Children of primary school age (7–13) in and out of school by region and by gender, 2011 Source: Derived from Census 2011									
	Out of school (OOS)	At school	Total	% of all children OOS	% of all OOSC	Never entered school	Never entered as % of OOS	Left school	
Erongo	1 125	15 860	16 985	7%	3%	273	24%	852	
Hardap	1 020	10 318	11 338	9%	3%	410	40%	610	
Karas	675	9 503	10 178	7%	2%	180	27%	495	
Kavango	5 849	34 907	40 756	14%	16%	2 892	49%	2 957	
Khomas	3 102	34 592	37 694	8%	9%	888	29%	2 214	
Kunene	5 433	8 646	14 079	39%	15%	4 605	85%	828	
Ohangwena	4 331	44 280	48 611	9%	12%	1 943	45%	2 388	
Omaheke	2 192	8 884	11 076	20%	6%	1 457	66%	735	
Omusati	2 893	41 197	44 090	7%	8%	1 109	38%	1 784	
Oshana	1 649	24 059	25 708	6%	5%	491	30%	1 158	
Oshikoto	3 036	28 824	31 860	10%	8%	1 367	45%	1 669	
Otjozondjupa	3 239	17 552	20 791	16%	9%	1 912	59%	1 327	
Zambezi	1 540	13 729	15 269	10%	4%	939	61%	601	

9 It is also likely that the figure would be higher if the undercount is considered, as discussed earlier, especially as this is likely to be largest in isolated rural regions.

Total	36 084	292 351	328 435	11%	100%	18466	51%	17 618
Girls	19 649	143 342	162 991	12%	54%	10 020	51%	9 629
Boys	16 435	149 009	165 444	10%	46%	8 446	51%	7 989

One of the consequences of late entry and high repetition rates is that many children are old for their grade:

"Late entry produces immediate problems of over–age in education, which is strongly associated with the risk of dropping out ... and is directly linked to Dimension 4. The problem of over–age learners intensifies over time as grade repetition increases." (UNICEF & UIS 2014a: 13)

Table 9 and Figure 10 show that the over-aged problem grows at higher grades. In grade 1 already, 33% of children are old for their grade, rising to 56% in grade 7. Even more disturbingly, 22% of children still in school in grade 7 are already at least 3 years too old for their grade.

This creates severe heterogeneity in classrooms. It reflects that many children start late and then also repeat once in each of the two phases within primary school (children can only be held back once in each phase, i.e. lower primary in grades 1 to 3, and then again upper primary in grades 4 to 7. This is a reflection of poor quality of education in many Namibian schools.

Table 9: Primary school children by age category for each grade, Census 2011 Source: Derived from Census 2011									
Grade	Appropriate age in census taken to be…	Underage	Appropriate age	1 year overage	2 years overage	At least 3 years overage			
1	7 years	30%	36%	16%	5%	12%			
2	8 years	30%	35%	19%	7%	8%			
3	9 years	26%	33%	23%	8%	10%			
4	10 years	24%	33%	20%	10%	13%			
5	11 years	25%	29%	21%	11%	15%			
6	12 years	22%	28%	20%	12%	17%			
7	13 years	20%	24%	21%	13%	22%			

Another way of expressing the same problem is to consider children aged 13 years attending school, who should be in grade 7 (i.e. have completed grade 6) if they were appropriately aged. According to the census, only 20% of them had completed grade 6, while another 31% were one year behind.

Remembering that the census took place in August, some of those in grade 6 may have entered school at the right age and are thus not strictly speaking behind. That still leaves 49% that are even further behind: Almost one-quarter had not even completed grade 4 at age 13.



▼ Figure 10: Primary school children by age category for each grade, Census 2011



Overaged children also sometimes seem to be the target of humiliation at school. In addition to grade repetition, being overaged is often due in part to the fact that some children are kept at home past the minimum school enrolment age in order to tend cattle or help around the house. Just more than half the principals interviewed regard this as a significant problem whilst the others do not consider it very important. Such learners are usually from the remote areas. Late enrolment could, according to some school principals, relate to the fact that parents may not be aware of the exact age at which their children need to start school.

CHILDREN OF JUNIOR SECONDARY AGE OUT OF SCHOOL (DIMENSION 3)

Table 10 below shows that about 18% of junior secondary age children are out of school, but this proportion reaches as high as 45% in Kunene and almost a third in Omaheke. In addition, more than a third (about 40 000 out of 113 000) in this age group that are in school are still in the primary grades. Again, a substantially higher proportion of boys are out of school than girls, and more of those who are in school have not yet progressed beyond the primary grades.

Table 10: Children of junior secondary school age (14–16) in and out of school by region, 2011 Source: Derived from Census 2011								
	Out of school	In school	Total	In primary school	% OOS	% of OOSC		
Erongo	893	5 654	6 547	1 249	13.6%	3.5%		
Hardap	896	3 662	4 558	897	19.7%	3.5%		
Karas	598	3 445	4 0 4 3	793	14.8%	2.4%		
Kavango	4 347	12 431	16 778	6 065	25.9%	17.2%		
Khomas	2 128	13 723	15 851	2 715	13.4%	8.4%		
Kunene	2 319	2 788	5 107	1 264	45.4%	9.2%		
Ohangwena	3 525	17 756	21 281	8 091	16.6%	13.9%		
Omaheke	1 304	2 876	4 180	981	31.2%	5.2%		
Omusati	2 442	17 399	19 841	6 808	12.3%	9.6%		
Oshana	1 415	10 843	12 258	2 929	11.5%	5.6%		

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Oshikoto	2 337	11 542	13 879	4 595	16.8%	9.2%
Otjozondjupa	2 031	5 991	8 022	1 867	25.3%	8.0%
Zambezi	1 073	5 360	6 433	1 883	16.7%	4.2%
Total	25 308	113 470	138 778	40 137	18.2%	100.0%
Girls	11 509	59 383	70 892	17 732	16.2%	45.5%
Boys	13 799	54 087	67 886	22 405	20.3%	54.5%

It is to be noted that the differences between the numbers reported to be in school in EMIS compared to those in school according to the census grow from about age 16, probably because the term "school" is reported broadly by respondents in the census. So the data may underestimate the out-of-school phenomenon at this age and beyond, though some of those included are likely to be in other forms of education (e.g. distance and vocational and technical education).

CHILDREN AT RISK OF DROPPING OUT OF PRIMARY AND JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL BEFORE COMPLETING THOSE SCHOOL PHASES (DIMENSIONS 4 AND 5)

Dimension 4 refers to those children in primary school but at risk of dropping out of primary school before completion of grade 7 while Dimension 5 refers to those in junior secondary school but at risk of dropping out before completion of grade 10. To determine the risk that children will drop out before completing primary school, the age group 19 to 23 was considered; an age group that should already have completed primary school and where it is unlikely that much further change should take place in their primary completion status. For this group, 13% dropped out after starting primary school and before completing it. If this can be taken to be an indication of those at risk of dropping out, it means that about 41 900 children in primary school at risk of never completing it.

One way of assessing who is at most risk of dropping out is to run logic regression models on the age groups that are used for comparison purposes, here taken to be the age group 19 to 23, to determine what factors would have predicted their dropping out. This could be taken as a rough indication of the factors which may still be associated with the risk of dropping out. This is done in Appendix Table 1, in four different models, applied to the census 2011 data. The difficulty in modelling this is that the household circumstances of those in this age bracket may differ from what these were at the time they were in primary school. Thus the models which also include their possessions (e.g. possession of a freezer in their household) have to be interpreted cautiously. Similarly, the household size and composition (dependency ratio) included in models 3 and 4 are not invariant over time: such youths may have since migrated, or the household may have changed.

Nevertheless, what is apparent is girls have a substantially lower risk of dropping out before completing primary education compared to boys. It is almost as large as the effect of being born in a rural area, which increases the risk of dropping out considerably. This coefficient changes for models 2 and 4, when other regional dummies are included. These also show, relatively to Khomas, that the region of birth is an important predictor of dropping out without completing primary education. Larger household size seems to offer some protection against dropping out, once other things are considered, including possessions (stove and freezer) that are associated with a lower risk of dropout. Where the dependency ratio is higher, the risk of dropout increases. ۲

For Dimension 5, the risk of dropping out before the completion of junior secondary school, the age group considered are those aged 22 to 23 in the census. Here the question is what the risk is that those children of junior secondary age will not complete this phase. For the cohort looked at, that was 30%. Applying this to the population of that age, it would appear that about 34 500 would be at risk of never completing grade 10, if the experience of the comparator cohort is indicative.

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Again, Appendix Table 1 shows logit models for the risk of dropping out of junior secondary school. It is apparent that the risk for girls now turns positive and significant, although its magnitude is small. This indicates that girls who have survived primary school have a slightly higher probability than boys of dropping out before completing grade 10. Two factors may be at play here. In the first place, it is likely that because fewer girls dropped out in primary school, those who have remained would fare somewhat worse at school, thus accelerating dropout.

This is supported by the pseudo survival rates by gender shown in Figure 47, which indicates that the advantage that girls have in surviving is dissipated by grades 11 and 12. Secondly, it is possible that learner pregnancies may have a role in this regard, increasing the risks for girls in this age group more than for boys.

Rural children remaining in school to this phase still seem to have a higher risk of dropping out in this age group, despite the fact that they have already dropped out more in primary school. The other variables have similar signs as in the models for primary schools.

CHILDREN OF SENIOR SECONDARY AGE OUT OF SCHOOL (DIMENSION 6)

Dimension 6 refers to those children of senior secondary school age who are out of school.

Table 11 shows that there were almost 57 000 children of senior secondary school age in school in 2011, and about 29 000 out of school. Of those in school, almost 36 000 – thus the majority – were actually still in previous school phases. However, here data complexities make strict interpretation of the data difficult. First, 3 163 of those who indicated they were out of school had already completed grade 12, and are thus not strictly part of the out–of–school problem.

This does not much affect the overall magnitude of the out of school phenomenon. However, there is also a slightly different complication. Altogether 3 950 of those who were reported to be in school also indicated they had completed grade 12. This points to the likelihood that the term "in school" has been interpreted broadly by some respondents, and could include enrolment in other forms of education, including vocational training and even university.

Another complexity that relates to grade 12 is that Namibia does not apply any promotion criteria to grade 12, i.e. anyone who writes the examinations can claim that they have completed grade 12, but this says nothing about the quality of the pass. This uncertainty adds to the existing ambiguity on how the term "in school" has been interpreted and has a special bearing for Dimension 6 since for preceding dimensions, progression to the next grade at least indicates the learner has met the promotion requirements.

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Ignoring these two groups of senior secondary aged children who have completed grade 12—and because of their relatively small numbers it does not affect the analysis greatly—about a third of senior secondary aged children are out of school. In Kunene this number is almost two-thirds (64%). The gender differences are somewhat more muted than in earlier school phases, but more girls than boys do reach these higher grade levels.

Table 11: Children of senior secondary school age (17–18) in and out of school by region, 2011 Source: Derived from Census 2011								
	Out of school	In school	Total	In school but earlier grades	% OOS	% of OOSC		
Erongo	1 362	2 392	3 754	1 050	36.3%	4.6%		
Hardap	1 342	1 316	2 658	615	50.5%	4.6%		
Karas	1 004	1 422	2 426	691	41.4%	3.4%		
Kavango	4 582	6 119	10 701	4 634	42.8%	15.6%		
Khomas	2 954	6 949	9 903	2 743	29.8%	10.1%		
Kunene	1 987	1 117	3 104	826	64.0%	6.8%		
Ohangwena	3 651	9 176	12 827	6 849	28.5%	12.5%		
Omaheke	1 351	1 138	2 489	743	54.3%	4.6%		
Omusati	2 912	10 068	12 980	6 866	22.4%	9.9%		
Oshana	1 835	6 407	8 242	3 594	22.3%	6.3%		
Oshikoto	2 645	6 063	8708	4156	30.4%	9.0%		
Otjozondjupa	2 396	2 541	4 937	1 564	48.5%	8.2%		
Zambezi	1 273	2601	3 874	1 594	32.9%	4.3%		
Total	29 294	57 309	86 603	35 925	33.8%	100.0%		
Girls	14 297	29 302	43 599	17 083	32.8%	48.8%		
Boys	14 997	28 007	43 004	18 842	34.9%	51.2%		

CHILDREN AT RISK OF DROPPING OUT OF SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL BEFORE COMPLETING THAT PHASE (DIMENSION 7)

Dimension 7 refers to those in the senior secondary age group still at school but at risk of dropping out before completing grade 12. This proportion, again taken for the age cohort 22–23, was 65%. Applying that to the current senior secondary age cohort, 22 800 can be regarded at risk of not completing Grade 12.¹⁰

The models in Appendix Table 1 show that the risk of dropping out before achieving grade 12 after having completed grade 10 are now much larger for girls, reflecting that more girls have reached this stage, but also perhaps that learner pregnancy may play a role.

¹⁰ This high proportion may be reflective of limitation in using census or survey data for such analyses. The census only indicates what the highest grade level is that a person has completed, and not whether such an individual has attempted the following grade before leaving school. Thus, for the comparator group (the cohorts aged 22-23) considered in the determination of the at risk percentage, it is unknown whether someone who stated that their highest grade achieved was grade 10 ever started with senior secondary and then dropped out, as was assumed but which appears unlikely based on the EMIS data on dropout in grade 11. A similar argument applies in the transition from primary to junior secondary for those who have completed exactly grade 7, as the census does not tell whether they ever entered grade 8, but again it was assumed they did. However, this assumption is less controversial at the lower level.

Similarly, for those born in rural areas, the probability of dropping out, which was high in the previous school phases, is now actually less than for those born in urban areas. This may simply reflect the fact that more dropout has occurred earlier amongst those from rural areas, thus those still in schools are a smaller and more select group.

SUMMARY: DIMENSIONS OF EXCLUSION AND RISK OF EXCLUSION

The picture that emerges from the above is one of fair access to school and only limited exclusion of children from the school system. Yet there are still areas of concerns, as the summary of the findings reported on above as shown in Table 11 and the summary graph in Figure 11 illustrate. (Note that the dimensions in this table are not ordered by number, but by the nature of the exclusion.)



Figure 11: School age children by school status, 2011

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Firstly, it is clear that at the time of the 2011 census, pre-primary education was not yet well established. This has since improved, so that the picture presented in this respect by Figure 11 and Dimension 1 in Table 12 is now somewhat dated. Yet access to pre-primary is still an issue.

A second aspect that is a source of concern is that some children clearly start school late. The highest enrolment in the school system only occurs at age 9. Such children are also at higher risk of dropping out later. A third concern is that there are still a substantial number of children who never enrol in school, despite all efforts to ensure that all children receive education.

A fourth area that needs attention is the tendency for many children to drop out of school early. A factor that contributes to this is the high level of repetition that is found in much of the school system, despite a policy that limits repetition to one grade per phase, i.e. twice in primary school and once in junior secondary school.

Finally, it is of concern that those most at risk of dropping out are those born in poor circumstances and from more isolated regions. This is a considerable source of inequity in the education system that has consequences also for lice chances of children.

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Source: Derived from Census 2011

Table 12: A summary of findings on dimensions of exclusion, 2011 Source: Summary from previous sub-sections						
Dimension	Description (and age taken to be appropriate for grade in September, at the time of the census)	Number	% of reference group			
	Not in school		I			
1	Pre–primary aged not in school (age 6)	13 082	28%			
2	Primary aged not in school (age 7–13)	36 084	11%			
3	Junior secondary aged not in school (age 14–16)	25 308	18%			
6	Senior secondary aged not in school (age 17–19)	29 294	34%			
	At risk of dropping out					
4	In primary school and at risk of dropping out before completing primary education	41 900	13%			
5	In junior secondary and at risk of dropping out before completing junior secondary	34 500	30%			
7	In senior secondary and at risk of dropping out before completing senior secondary	22 800	65%			

CHAPTER 2 BARRIERS AND BOTTLENECKS

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SOCIOCULTURAL AND POLITICAL DEMAND-SIDE ISSUES

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A number of sociocultural problems prevent children from attending school in Namibia. These include a low demand for education in certain households, norms surrounding child labour and learner pregnancy, violence against children, high HIV infection rates, substance abuse, and disability. Although all of these problems often coexist with poverty, they are not economic barriers to school attendance, thus, making it more appropriate to discuss them separately.

Migration

Migration from rural regions to the more urban regions of Erongo and Khomas has led to the mushrooming of informal settlements on the outskirts of towns and cities. Cities Alliance (2014) reports approximately one quarter of Namibia's population resides in informal settlements, though this is not supported by official data. The haphazard expansion of urban areas in this form is difficult to manage from a service perspective and as a result, children residing in these settlements are at risk of not participating fully in school because schools are full or because of health issues. Refugee children living in camps are vulnerable to exclusion from education for the same reasons but are more disadvantaged from a legal perspective due to their refugee status.

Substance abuse

15% of the out–of–school children who answered questions about the area where they went to school explicitly mention alcohol abuse as one of the defining characteristics of the area. 30% of the respondents reported that one the main challenges facing Namibian youth was alcohol and drug abuse. More than half of the parents interviewed were of the same opinion (52%). 22% of schoolchildren participating in the survey knew someone who had dropped out due to substance abuse. The numbers suggest that alcohol and drug abuse is a serious problem affecting school attendance in Namibia. One OOSC mentioned that their school was surrounded by taverns and shebeens that played loud music during school hours and that learners would sometimes dodge classes to drink and smoke cigarettes there. Peer pressure to experiment with alcohol and drugs and easy access to alcohol and drugs are cited by some community–based organisations as being some of the main challenges facing Namibia's youth.

The prevalence of violence in communities is often linked to alcohol and drug abuse. Burton et al. (2011) find that 79% of youth who have easy access to marijuana also have easy access to guns, knives and other weapons. Of those who had easy access to alcohol only, 15% had easy access to firearms and 44% had easy access to knives and other weapons.

Violence against children

Children who feel unsafe in their learning environments are unlikely to perform well and could possibly avoid going to school altogether to avoid violence or harassment. A number of OOSC respondents reported that being punished and humiliated (when failing tests) by teachers and being bullied as some of the school characteristics that they did not like. 41% of the CBO respondents in our qualitative survey stated that bullying, sexual harassment or rape was one of the leading causes of school dropout in Namibia.

Burton et al. (2011: 15) interviewed 381 children in schools across Namibia and found that many Namibian learners have been victimised in one form or another. Figure 12 below summarises their results by gender. Female learners are more likely to

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experience physical violence at school, while males are marginally more likely to have been forced to do something wrong against their will. The same study also reveals that approximately 71% of learners had been subjected to corporal punishment, despite the practice being outlawed in 1990.



▼ Figure 12: Victimisation by gender in Namibian schools

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Source: Adapted from Burton et al. 2011.

SACMEQ III (2007) data on behavioural problems at school, as reported by school principals and shown in Table 13 reveals that intimidation of learners and use of abusive language are problems in 87% and 89% of schools in Namibia respectively.

Table 13: Behavioural problems not present in Namibian schools as reported by principals, 2000 and 2007 Source: SACMEQ III 2008							
% of principals reporting that the behavioural problem below never occurs:							
Absenteeism	5.2%	2.0%					
Arriving late at school	2.4%	0.9%					
Skipping classes	27.4%	25.1%					
Dropping out of school	7.9%	10%					
Classroom disturbance	28.1%	24.6%					
Cheating	30.7%	29.3%					
Use of abusive language	18.4%	11.3%					
Vandalism	32.0%	20.1%					
Theft	33.8%	25.7%					
Intimidation of learners	26.7%	13.3%					
Intimidation of staff	61.2%	53.0%					
Injury to staff	93.2%	87.6%					
Sexual harassment of learners	64.0%	62.0%					
Sexual harassment of teachers	34.7%	93.6%					
Drug abuse	83.7%	78.0%					
Alcohol abuse	63.5%	65.9%					
Fights	8.1%	2.4%					
Health issues	6.9%	1.6%					

BARRIERS AND BOTTLENECKS

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Physical violence is not confined to the school environment. Namibia's Ministry of Health and Social Services (2008) reports that a quarter of young children under the age of 12 years who have had sex were forced to engage in it. Burton et al. (2011) find that violence against children within the home is widespread and that quite often children are also exposed to violence in community settings.

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Figure 13 shows the prevalence of bullying as a reason for siblings or non–family members dropping out by asset quintile and affiliation, as reported by schoolchildren. Children in quintile 5 are least likely to know someone who dropped out due to bullying.



Figure 13: Schoolchildren who report someone they know dropping out due to bullying

Source: Answers to questionnaire administered to Grade 7 and 9 children in three districts

Violence against children appears to be rather widespread in Namibia, particularly in its northern regions. Besides the physical trauma, the impact of violence against children can manifest itself as depression, anxiety, fear or hostility which can negatively affect education outcomes. The out–of–school children reports of personal experience of violence in schools offer some insight into the failure of monitoring and enforcement at a number of levels in the education system. Children's safety in schools should be a priority.

Learner pregnancy

Learner motherhood is another serious issue affecting school participation. The issue of learner pregnancy has been a source of some concern for the Namibian government in recent years. Figure 14 below shows the percentage of women between the ages of 15 and 19 years who have either given birth or were pregnant at the time of the Demographic and Health Survey (NSA, 2013: 64). 19% of women in this age group have begun bearing children. Of more concern was the fact that 40% of those pregnancies were as a result of non–consensual sex. Figure 13 below reveals marked differences between wealth quintiles, with the lowest wealth quintile more than three times more likely to contain childbearing adolescents than the wealthiest quintile. Learner pregnancy has a strong regional dimension as well, with three regions (Kavango, Kunene, and Omaheke) reporting that more than one third of teenage women had been pregnant by 19 years of age.

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▼ Figure 13: Learner pregnancy and motherhood by age, region, and economic status

Source: National Statistics Agency 2013

In 2009 Namibia's Cabinet approved the "Implementation of the Policy on Pregnancy Among Learners" which specifically granted pregnant teenagers the right to stay in school until the day of delivery and to return as soon as they are fit and willing. However, the policy has not been implemented consistently (Burton et al., 2011: 49) with some schools complying with the policy but others insisting that pregnant learners leave as soon as they show signs of pregnancy.

In the parent interviews conducted for this study, 42% of parents mentioned learner pregnancy as one of the main social problems facing young people in Namibia, while 16 of the 99 out–of–school adolescents interviewed said that they had had dropped out of school because they had fallen pregnant. In further interviews, 11 of the 22 community–based organisation respondents mention learner pregnancy as one of the main reasons children drop out of school.

School principals in the Kavango region, where learner pregnancy rates are extremely high, were unanimous in their feeling that this was a major reason for children dropping out. Traditional norms which accept and even celebrate learner pregnancy were cited as the underlying reason for this region's high rate of learner pregnancy.

Adolescent pregnancy is often precipitated by a number of socioeconomic factors such as low levels of education, little information about sex and sexual abuse as a consequence of physical and financial vulnerability. Extremely young mothers and their children are not only at risk physically (during pregnancy and after) but are also limited in their ability to pursue educational opportunities.

School children's responses to the questionnaires suggest that children living in the poorer regions in which these questionnaires were conducted (Omaheke and Kavango) are much more likely to drop out of school because they fell pregnant than children living in Khomas. Table 14 shows even the richest 20% of children in Kavango are

BARRIERS AND BOTTLENECKS

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Table 14: Percentage of learners who report knowing someone other than a sibling who dropped out of school due to falling pregnant Source: Answers to questionnaire administered to Grade 7 and 9 children in three districts								
Quintile	Quintile Kavango Khomas Omaheke							
1	46%	41%	47%					
2	42%	52%	47%					
3	58%	40%	54%					
4	55%	42%	47%					
5	5 59% 41% 56%							
Total	51%	42%	50%					

much more likely than even the poorest children in Khomas and Omaheke to know a female child other than their siblings who dropped out due to falling pregnant.

The Legal Assistance Centre (2008) extends a number of possible reasons for the prevalence of high learner pregnancy rates in Namibia. These include too little information about and limited access to contraceptives, non-consensual sex with learners or teachers, alcohol abuse by learners which could possibly result in risky sexual behaviour, and teachers who abuse their positions of authority.

Awareness of the costs of learner pregnancy can be alleviated with education about sexuality. While it is hoped that schools will play an integral role in counselling on matters pertaining to sexuality, it is quite often the case in remote, rural regions that teachers are not trained specifically to deal with learner queries about sexual matters. Teenagers are, therefore, unaware of the options available or not confident enough to use that information to their benefit pre and post–sexual encounters.

The absence of information about sexuality is not restricted to the school. Lukolo and Van Dyk (2015: 396) find that some parents in Namibia are quite often unable to educate their children about sexuality, either because they do not have the resources to do or because they feel uncomfortable broaching the subject and are unsure of what to say. Their study suggests that schools and peers are seen to be the main sources of information about sexuality for teenagers. While education on sexuality by schools is encouraging, it may be that a child's peers are perceived to be more approachable and information sharing about sexuality may also be more spontaneous. Given the strong influence that peers have in a child's understanding of his/her world, it is perhaps not unsurprising that many teenagers' knowledge of sexuality (particularly in poorer, more remote regions in developing countries) is likely to be compromised.

HIV/AIDS

According to the Namibian Demographic and Health Survey (2013), 3.6% of men and women aged 15 to 24 years are HIV–positive. Given the low prevalence of HIV infection amongst young people, there appears to be little regional variation in prevalence, though the Zambezi region's prevalence rate of 16.3% for males and 19.2% for females contrast to national averages of 3.6 and 4.4% respectively.

AIDS can affect school attendance in a number of ways. In addition to the economic hardship forced on families when medical expenditures increase as a result of HIV– infection and reduced labour market participation, children could also be called on to look after ill family members. In the event that a parent dies from AIDS–related complications, children become more vulnerable to missing school and are more

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susceptible to exploitation and food insecurity. UNICEF (2012: 101) reports that in 2012 there were 70 000 children who had lost one or both parents as a result of AIDS. Such children are at much higher risk of dropping out of school.

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Disability

Namibia is a signatory to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities since 2007. Nevertheless, disability prevents many children from attending school either because access to classrooms is restricted or because of stigmatisation because of disability. One parent respondent reported one of her children leaving school due to suffering from epilepsy and classmates being scared to be around her child. The decision to leave the school was mutually agreed upon by the parent and the school principal. One community–based organisation respondent also expressed concern about access to schools for the disabled as well as the stigmatisation of disabled children in classrooms. Principals also report that learners with special needs, including the visually impaired, often enrol late, leading to them being overaged when they leave school.

ECONOMIC DEMAND-SIDE ISSUES

The perceived value of education affects a household's decision to enrol and keep a child in school. In interviews conducted with parents and adolescents, both parents and children disagreed strongly with the statement that education was not required for children to get a job. On a scale of 0 to 10 (where 0 was "disagree strongly" and 10 was "agree strongly"), parents and children respectively gave very low scores, of 0.73 and 1.87, indicating disagreement, to the statement that education was not needed to get a job. As encouraging as this finding is, the samples are derived from Namibia's more affluent regions, whose sentiments could possibly differ from those regions where educational attainment is low.

The overwhelming response from interviews with out-of-school adolescents suggests a disconnect between the intention to attend school and actually attending. Two-thirds of the 99 OOS adolescent respondents either left school of their own accord (46 respondents) or were forced to leave by their parents or grandparents (20). Some parents suggest that boredom and peer pressure may lead some young people to exit school early and turn to crime in some instances.

Principals were generally of the view that the problem lies more with parents being completely absent, rather than them not wanting a good education for their children. Principals' assessments of parental support of the education of their children varied greatly across schools and regions. In Kavango it seemed as if parents generally understand the importance of education, and want their children to not only finish grade 12, but also to continue to further studies. Even parents living in rural villages seem to value education in general enough to attempt to send their children to the town schools for a better quality education.

The schoolchildren questionnaires reveal that the value that parents place on education is correlated quite strongly with socioeconomic status. Table 15 shows the percentage of grade 7 and 9 children who reported that both their parents and they themselves consider passing grade 10 as being important or very important. In general, poorer parents and children (quintiles 1, 2 and 4 of the sample of children)¹¹ are slightly less likely to consider passing grade 10 as important as richer parents children and children.

¹¹ Quintiles were determined by considering assets that children reported were present in their house. These were used in Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) to generate an asset index, and thereafter children were grouped into wealth quintiles.

The difference between poor and rich is particularly large in Kavango and especially Omaheke and quite small in Khomas. This could possibly be because poor parents and children in the more affluent Khomas are more likely to see the rewards of education than their counterparts in the largely rural Kavango region. Whereas almost 95% of children and parents attached great importance to passing grade 10 in Khomas, only 88% in Omaheke placed similar importance on passing grade 10.

Table 15: Percentage of parents and children who both view passing grade 10 as

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Source: Answers to questionnaire administered to Grade 7 and 9 children in three districts							
	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5	All quintiles	
	91.2%	93.5%	92.9%	95.8%	94.6%	94.5%	
KIIOIIIdS	34	107	184	380	755	1 460	
	86.8%	84.6%	96.4%	95.9%	96.7%	91.4%	
Kavango	243	240	193	218	153	1047	
Omehoko	81.7%	88.1%	88.9%	90.2%	95.5%	88.0%	
Omaneke	849	1 130	897	587	420	3 883	
All three	83.13%	87.95%	89.74%	93.05%	95.11%	89.90%	
regions	1 126	1 477	1 286	1 195	1 335	6 390	

However, principals report a dissonance between the relatively high value that many parents place on education and their support to children's education. Often parents from rural regions who send their children to distant schools in more urban areas leave the children in town to fend for themselves. This paradoxical behaviour causes these children to experience a lack of support from the household.

Parental experience of the education system and its benefits play an important role in children's continuation at and performance at school. One parent mentioned that his or her parents had made her leave school to "give my siblings a chance, since according to them I could write my name". Parents who are unable to assess the long-term benefits of schooling with some level of confidence may be more inclined to withdraw children from school. The reasons for withdrawal may be because poor quality education has not translated into jobs for previous generations or previous cohorts of children in the community (Casely–Hayford et al., 2009). Poor quality education or learning problems further reduce the returns to investment in education for the household. Investment in children's education may, therefore, be a seemingly irrational choice for poor families, particularly in subsistence farming communities where the pressure for cheap, readily available labour is strong and the perceived benefits of education small.

Parental interest in the child's education is perceived to be a problem by principals. A major contributing factor to this disinterest is the low literacy and education levels of parents. Census figures indicate that in all of Namibia 54% of adults over 20 years of age in rural areas cannot read and write, whilst this figure is only 23% in urban areas. Parental involvement is vital to ensuring school attendance and academic achievement (Te Riele, 2004). Children whose parents do not show an interest in their education are unlikely to be informed about the child's academic performance and as a result, children might not be encouraged to perform optimally or remain in school. A number of principals felt that very few parents attending school meetings and the non–payment of school fees at the secondary level were indicative of parents' lack of interest in their children's education. Schools in general reported a lack of parental

support even where parents expressed an interest in their children's education. "They expect teachers to do everything" summed up this view. In schools with higher socio-economic status, parental support was much higher and parents were much more demanding of learners, teachers and schools. Another view was that once learners had been enrolled and parents had received a letter entitling them to social support, they never returned again that year until they needed to comply with that requirement the next year.

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The practice of parents living far away from school also poses challenges to schools' effort to address many issues that impact on the learning and academic performances of children. For instance, because learners do not live with their parents, parents tend not to show up at school meetings. Parents simply ignore meeting invitations, even when they are called regarding their children's behaviour. Hence, while schools have plans to organize teacher–parent meetings every term these meetings are not well attended. (Nekongo–Nielsen & Mbukusa 2013: 12)

Poverty and unemployment

Most parent, OOSC, and community–based organisation respondents mention poverty and unemployment as a primary challenge facing Namibian youth. However, only 12 of the 99 OOSC who were interviewed explicitly mention financial constraints as the primary reason for leaving school. Nevertheless, as the question seemingly solicited only the primary reasons for leaving school, the relationship between poverty and dropping out is likely to be understated.¹²

59% of the 60 parents interviewed reported themselves as being employed. However, the sample was derived from Windhoek, Swakopmund, and surrounding areas, therefore, the unemployment rate of parents 42% is not reflective of the national unemployment rate. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate of those interviewed is rather high and of those parents who had jobs, most were involved in menial work such as gardening, domestic work, security, or home businesses.

The vast majority of school principals reported that many learners were very poor. Only one school principal interviewed did not report having such children and reported that the parents were mainly middle class to rich. In some of the towns, and in Windhoek, many schools reported a wide range of economic circumstances amongst households, with learners of both poor and more affluent parents present in those schools. But most schools reported having at least some extremely poor learners and all schools in remote areas (outside of towns and cities) reported a majority of very poor learners. Even in towns there were instances of many children originally coming from rural areas with families that have migrated there (one principal described her school as a rural school–code for poor–in an urban environment).

A great number of parents were reported to be unemployed or underemployed (working on farms and receiving very low wages) and as a result could not afford to pay the school development fund levied in secondary schools, nor hostel fees for both primary and secondary school hostels. Some principals indicated that schools were struggling financially, but that parents could give no or very little support because of their own dire financial situation. Due to the poverty of many parents, it was mentioned by principals of schools that have hostels that some parents were unable to provide or finance transport for their children to go home on "out–weekends".

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¹² Other responses to the question included grade failure, pregnancy or family pressure which are correlated with poverty but do not explicitly define poverty as the primary cause of dropping out.

The National Household Income and Expenditure Survey of 2009/10 (hereinafter referred to as NHIES) reveals that the poverty rate for children in Namibia was 34.8% at the time of the survey (Namibian National Statistics Agency, 2012: 5). 18.3% of children in poverty suffer from severe poverty. While the national child poverty rate has declined somewhat since the last survey of 2003/04 (when it was 44%), the absolute number of children still living in poverty in Namibia exceeds 300 000. Poverty numbers will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 of this report, along with the social security system.

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Parents, children, and community-based organisations reported that in some cases, children were unlikely to attend school as basic needs such as food and clothing had not been met. Poor households are particularly vulnerable in this regard, with education being a distant priority for many of these households at the bottom of the income distribution. Expenses are not considered an important reason for not being at school by principals. With the new Universal Education Policy this is not a big problem anymore. Primary schooling is free, and schools are not allowed to deny access to a child who cannot pay for the higher grades. Schools always try to make special arrangements for those learners whose parents cannot pay. They often make use of the UPE und for this.

While schools provide free education in principle, the education of children does impose some financial burden on households. Some parents report that the cost of uniforms and transport to schools prevent them from sending children to school. There is also the possibility that inability to pay fees may engender a sense of shame amongst learners and parents and prompt children to drop out until fees are paid or permanently. Figure 15 shows the percentages of children who report that a sibling dropped out because school was unaffordable. Unsurprisingly, children living in the poorest households (quintile 1) are most likely to have an OOSC sibling drop out because of affordability issues.



 Figure 15: Percentage of children who report sibling dropping out because school is unaffordable



School Drop-Out and Out-of-School Children in Namibia: A National Review

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OOSC AND INVOLVEMENT IN CHILD LABOUR

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In addition to the indirect cost of schooling to the household in the form of transport and the cost of uniforms, there are additional opportunity costs of education which bear heavily on poor household. In many households, children who are physically mature enough to help with household chores or care for their elders are required to do so (International Monetary Fund, 2004). Namibia's Child Activity Report of 2005 (Ministry of Labour Services, 2005: 77) revealed that of the 408 638 working children between the ages of 6 and 17 at that time, 32 727 had left school and 23 523 children had not ever attended school. Furthermore, of those who still attended school, 25.8% reported missing some school due to work. 8.1% of working children also reported missing school more often during the busier agricultural season.

One of the primary underlying reasons children become engaged in the labour market is poverty (International Labour Organisation 2012: 11). The incidence of child labour is more prevalent amongst poor families and intensifies during the agricultural season. Namibia's rural areas are home to most of its severely poor inhabitants, which goes some way to explaining why many of its children are involved in agricultural activities, either on a part-time or full-time basis (United States Department of International Labor Affairs, 2013: 4). Children dividing their time between household labour and school are at risk of dropping out of education completely either because benefits (returns to investment in education) in the short term are perceived to be low or because there simply is not enough time or financial resources to devote to education.

Namibia has promulgated a number of laws dealing specifically with child labour. The minimum working age for is 16 years and 18 years for domestic work (MoLS, 2010). Although many countries have laws which are intended to eliminate child labour, the problem is pervasive amongst poor households. Inadequate oversight and weak enforcement by government are but two of the reasons why child labour remains a problem.

The coexistence of extreme poverty and an inability to appreciate the value of education conspire to force children into the labour market. Most principal respondents regarded this as very important or important. Some of the children in the rural areas might go back to look after a grandmother, but this is not very common. Long term absenteeism is perhaps more of a problem than drop–out in the primary grades. 1 out–of–school child interviewed mentioned parental pressure to drop out:

"I failed grade 10 and no one was able to pay for me to go back to school. Relationship at school also forced me to leave school because people laugh at you once you fail the test. Pressure from my father also, he has been forcing me to quit school and go look after the cattle. And at home if I go out and play with other children, no one will leave food for you to eat, I just go at school with empty stomach."

Responses from schoolchildren reveal distinct regional differences between schoolchildren who report that a sibling has left school in order to do domestic work or help at home. Figure 16 shows that, on average, children in Omaheke and Kavango are much more likely to have a sibling who left school for this reason than in Khomas. In Kavango the link between household socioeconomic status and the likelihood of having a sibling drop out to work at home or do domestic work is quite strong. Here children from poorer households are more likely to drop out to work (the link in Khomas and Omaheke is less clear).

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Figure 16: Sibling left school in order to work (by asset quintile and region)

Source: Answers to questionnaire administered to Grade 7 and 9 children in three districts

While child labour is often a consequence of poverty, poverty is not the only reason why children work. Local labour market opportunities which are favourable relative to the perceived return from education as well as gender norms, parental employment status, culture, and personal choice could also play a role in the household's decision to allow their child to work. Nevertheless, child labour can exacerbate the impact of poverty on academic attendance and achievement and contribute to the entrenchment of norms surrounding the use of children in labour market activities.

SUPPLY-SIDE BARRIERS AFFECTING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN NAMIBIA

While substantial hurdles to school attendance stem from the demand side of education, there are some institutional factors which serve to prevent children from performing optimally in school and staying in school. This section discusses some of the supply–side challenges reported by respondents (and not discussed previously) which could potentially affect school attendance in Namibia.

The most common reason cited by OOSC for dropping out of school is failing grade 10. Namibia's current policy of only allowing one failure per cycle of education may inadvertently have become the primary reason why grade 10 failure rates are extremely high. Namibia is also sparsely populated, which makes the provision of education close to many children logistically very difficult. Distance to schools reduces the return to education investment substantially not only because it increases the cost of education for parents but because the commute (often by foot) is extremely tiring and arduous for children, which negatively impacts their performance and will to go to school. ۲

Namibia recognises 14 languages for instruction at grade 1. The provision of education in a number of languages is difficult as qualified teachers who can teach in certain languages are scarce. Namibia's low population density further complicates the provision of mother-tongue instruction, with negative consequences for learner retention for children who speak less commonly spoken languages.

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Grade repetition

Some schools struggle more with repetition than others. This largely reflects the divisions referred to earlier with regard to socio–economic status of learners and parental educational levels. Grades 1, 5 and 8 seem to be the grades where most repetition is taking place, while there are high failure rates in grade 10, leading to subsequent drop out as most repeaters are not allowed back after failing grade 10. The current policy is that learners are usually not allowed back to repeat grade 10 if they had failed it, unless there is enough space in the grade 10 classrooms to accommodate them (and a further condition is also applied that such learners should not be excessively overaged).

Only a small number of repeaters could be accommodated at grade 10 levels. This forced learners to enrol at other schools or NAMCOL in order to see whether they could perform at levels that would allow them to return. Learners who started in rural schools but thereafter enrolled in town (urban) schools are also more likely to repeat grades. This was reported due to them not being on the required grade level when they enrolled.

In the case of learners with special needs, including the visually impaired, learners often enrol late, because of their perceived lower ability to cope with the physical adjustments to a new environment that is not always easy to adjust to. This leads to them being overage when they leave school.

In interviews with principals, repetition in grade 1 was ascribed to learners not being school ready when they enter as parents often regarded grade 1 as a better option (cheaper and better organised) than enrolling learners in pre-primary education. Repetition in grade 5 was partly blamed on the policy or practice of focusing on literacy in grades 1 to 4 often at the expense of mathematics. This was said to lead to learners failing in grade 5, particularly in maths.

Failure and repetition in secondary schools are blamed on learning deficiencies from earlier grades. In secondary schools repetition starts becoming a problem at grade 8. This can be attributed to difficulty in transition from primary to secondary school. The lower repetition in grade 9 is probably due to the repetition policy that stipulates that no learner should repeat a more than one in a phase. Once learners enter in grade 10 they struggle with mastering the curriculum. Some of the reasons for repetition cited by principals include the following:

- Lack of textbooks
- Mathematics being a failure subject (if a learner fails mathematics s/he fails the grade)
- Late coming of learners
- Teachers absenteeism (teachers moonlighting at NAMCOL during school term)
- Lack of parental support

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- Street children (mostly San children)
- · Learner transition from rural environment to urban environment

The policy of readmission to grade 10 after failure only if there is space available in school essentially condemns many poor children who cannot afford to enrol at NAMCOL to unemployment or to less desirable forms of employment. 46 of the 99 out–of–school adolescent respondents cited grade 10 failure as the primary reason why they were not in school. The frequency of this response, coupled with the 83% unemployment rate of the sample group, is cause for concern and suggestive of an urgent need to reconsider the existing policy or make alternatives forms of education more accessible to this particular group.

School location and access to services A. Distance to school

Given Namibia's vast landscape and extremely low concentrations of people per square kilometre, particularly in its northern regions, it is perhaps not unsurprising that distance to schools would be a barrier to school attendance. Seven out of 22 community-based organisation respondents mentioned distance as one of the factors which constrains school attendance. While very few OOSC reported distance as being a factor in their decision to stop attending school, one cannot draw any conclusions from this as the sample was drawn from Windhoek, Swakopmund, and surrounding areas which do not suffer from spatial exclusion as intensely as Namibia's other regions.

The interviews with principals, however, reveal that the distance between homes and schools is problematic for many learners, particularly where learners from rural areas attend schools in urban areas, either due to limited alternatives or due to the perception that urban schools are of a higher quality than those in rural areas. The majority of schools reported a high number of learners, mostly from rural areas, not staying with parents but in hostels, or with caregivers, family or guardians. Principals reported that many of these learners displayed learning deficiencies and backlogs. As there are no national assessments before grade 10, the academic performance of learners entering these schools for the first time is likely to be variable and is quite often not responsive to conventional classroom teaching alone.

All but three of the 28 school principals indicated that their schools contain learners from remote areas. But in one of these three, learners primarily came from a newly established informal settlement, indicating the likelihood that households recently relocated to Windhoek, thus even in this case the effect of an upbringing in remote areas is evident. Even though those learners may not currently come from rural areas, the principal indicated that a substantial number of them lack a sound primary education, with most having failed grade 7.

As mentioned before, some schools reported that parental poverty sometimes meant that there was no money for transport for children to go home during "out–weekends". Other factors that also contributed to children not being able to go home even during these "out–weekends" related to parents' employment conditions, and to nomadic lifestyles of some parents. Thus, even though the official policy is that all learners have to go home during these weekends, schools often allow learners to stay due to these problems associated with getting home. This was also mentioned as a reason why learners dropped out. It was stated that many stayed until the end of the first term but then did not return for the second term. ۲

Learners from the immediate vicinity were also sometimes housed in hostels, more as a means of poverty alleviation than as a way of overcoming physical distance. Hostels are also not always close to school: one school reported that the hostel was so far from the school that they had to task a teacher with checking that learners from the hostel get to school safely and on time. A number of OOSC respondents mentioned that their schools were located in areas where drunkenness and fighting were problems.

B. Access to sanitation, water, and electricity

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A small group of OOSC interviewees reported that the sharing of textbooks and access to amenities such as sanitation, water, and electricity were problematic in the schools they attended. Access to basic services and textbooks continues to be a problem in some Namibian schools. Textbooks are regarded to be one of the most influential inputs in education outcomes and access to them for all learners should continue to be a priority for government. The absence of sanitation, water, and electricity at some schools makes the education of learners particularly challenging given the health risks associated with deprivation of these resources, therefore, the provision of these services at all schools is important for teacher morale, academic achievement and learner retention. Regarding sanitation, it is particularly important that boys and girls have separate toilets, particularly when girls reach the age group when menstruation begins. The absence of electricity also makes communication between the school and other parties difficult, which could possibly negatively affect the coordination of resource provision between schools and government.

Figure 17 shows the progression of service provision in Namibian schools between 2001 and 2009. 40% of schools did not have electricity in 2009, approximately 45% did not have access to a telephone and more than 20% had no toilets.



Figure 17: Progression of service provision at schools in Namibia (2001 to 2009)

Source: UNICEF 2011

C. Language of instruction

Many African countries' schools operate in a multilingual environment. Namibia currently allows learners to learn in their home language up to the end of Grade 3, after which the official medium of instruction is English. The Ministry of Education's

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language policy discussion document (2003) recognises the following languages at first language level:

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- Ju|'hoansi
- Khoekhoegowab
- Oshikwanyama
- Oshindonga
- Otjiherero
- Rukwangali
- Rumanyo
- Setswana
- Silozi
- Thimbukushu
- Portuguese
- Afrikaans
- English
- German

The distribution of main language at the household level is shown below in Table 16. Almost half of Namibia's households have Oshiwambo as the main language spoken, followed by Nama/Damara (11.3% of households) and Afrikaans (10.4%).

Table 16: Distribution of households by main language spoken Source: Census 2011						
Main Language spoken	Number of households	%				
San Languages	3 745	0.8				
Caprivi languages	22 484	4.8				
Otjiherero languages	40 000	8.6				
Kavango languages	39 566	8.5				
Nama/Damara	52 450	11.3				
Oshiwambo languages	227 103	48.9				
Setswana	1 328	0.3				
Afrikaans	48 238	10.4				
German	4 359	0.9				
English	15 912	3.4				
Other European languages	3 306	0.7				
Other African languages	5 795	1.3				
Asian languages	461	0.1				
Don't know	92	0.0				
Namibia	464 839	100.0				

The diversity of languages creates considerable problems for the Ministry of Education, Arts, and Culture. In regions where there are significant minority language communities, access to mother tongue medium of instruction and provision of sufficient numbers of educators able to teach in those languages was mentioned as an important reason for learners not performing at school and consequently dropping out of school. ۲

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Minority indigenous languages present a significant problem. This became particularly apparent in Omaheke, as this region experiences a severe lack of trained teachers of mother tongue origin. There just are not sufficient numbers of mother tongue speaking (or even non-mother tongue educated) teachers. A severe lack of teachers able to teach in Afrikaans, Khoekoe, Tswana and San was reported. Often there are no teachers with those languages as mother tongue let alone those proficient in the various dialects.

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In a study of 120 households in the Windhoek area in 2007, Wikan (2015: 144) reports that children whose home language is Oshiwambo and who were schooled in that language were more likely to repeat grades than children with the same home language who were schooled in English or Afrikaans. While these results run contrary to the assertion that mother tongue language is the best medium of instruction, it is possible that the finding is reflective of school quality differentials across language. Language of instruction clearly plays an important part in education outcomes in Namibia. A shortage of teachers who are able to teach in mother tongue languages in remote regions and a shortage of teachers who can teach English classes proficiently in English from grade 4 onwards can affect education quality and school participation negatively.

IMPACT OF LEAVING SCHOOL EARLY

The 41 parent respondents and 22 community–based organisation respondents who answered the question about employment prospects for out–of–school children believed that this group faced poor labour market prospects, either in the form of unemployment or work in poorly remunerated sectors such as domestic work or other forms of unskilled labour. Some evidence of these assertions is provided by the fact that 82% of the out–of–school adolescents interviewed were unemployed. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of respondents reported a lack of income, food or shelter as the main challenges they currently face.

The impact of being out-of-school is not confined to the labour market. 48 OOSC respondents reported being unhappy or bored with their current situations. Community-based organisations expressed some concern about unemployed youth turning to crime and substance abuse and the sexual exploitation of female out-of-school children which could lead to pregnancy and/or HIV-infection.

BARRIERS TO RETURNING

89% of the adolescents interviewed regret leaving school early. While most of the adolescents expressed a desire to return to school, most of this group expressed financial constraints as the primary barrier to returning to school. Other perceived barriers included stigmatisation of children who were older than other learners; those adolescents who wanted to return after pregnancy; being used to the current lifestyle despite its challenges highlighted in other questions; full schools; and not being allowed to repeat grade 10.

SUMMARY: BOTTLENECKS AND BARRIERS

This chapter reviewed the bottlenecks and barriers that result in many Namibian children still being out of school.

Amongst sociocultural factors, the effect of learner pregnancy seems particularly pervasive, despite policy which encourages pregnant girls to continue with school. It appears that many school girls still drop out due to pregnancy. This problem is

BARRIERS AND BOTTLENECKS

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exacerbated by the combination of high levels of learner pregnancy and strong prejudice against pregnant girls continuing in school in many cases.

Amongst economic demand side factors that affect school attendance, it is apparent that though parents profess to place great importance on the education of their children, this support is not equally strong in more rural regions and amongst poorer children, and that such support is often not translated into practical support for the school or for their children's school attendance.

Poverty and unemployment do not appear to play a strong direct role in dropout from school, but may have an indirect influence when combined with the additional financial and other demands and the unattractiveness of sending children to schools that are further away, as become necessary for many at higher grades. It is also related to child labour in the household, which is still a factor affecting school attendance more than enrolment or dropout. It appears to mainly play a role through involvement in seasonal agricultural activities, and may contribute to weak performance at school and thus perhaps also early dropout.

Distance always plays a big role in Namibia because of the size of the country and the distribution of its population. It is impossible to take schools to all children, but as a result there are major issues regarding school transport and hostels that revolve around this, with major consequences for the equity of the educational system. These are rather intractable problems, but they need constant attention.

Also on the supply side, one important factor limiting school enrolment is the prohibition on children who fail grade 10 to repeat that grade, unless specific conditions apply. Annually, about 16 000 children drop out after grade 10, more than in any other grade.

A related but more generic problem is high repetition throughout the school system, though it is to some extent limited by the rule that a child may only repeat once in a school phase. This is symptomatic of a bigger problem of weak quality education that is also revealed in the systemic tests, the grade 10 and the grade 12 examinations, and also evident in SACMEQ.

CHAPTER 3 EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

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Namibia's SACMEQ III report summarises the intentions of the post-independence government to stress access to education:

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Following independence ... in 1990 the Namibian Government saw universal education reform as a principal means of investing in human capital to promote socioeconomic development. At first, the government stressed the need for Universal Primary Education by introducing the Education for All (EFA) concept which became the foundation on which the post independent Namibian education was to be built. Access, equity, democracy and quality were set as the four main pillars of the Namibian education system. (Miranda, Amadhila, Raimo & Shikongo 2011: 1)

This commitment was translated into a focus on universal and free education, two important themes in this chapter. In 1993 the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture stated that

The government's first commitment is to provide universal basic education. Ultimately, every Namibian is to have ten years of general comprehensive education.... This is the only way we can march with some hope into the next millennium. (Ministry of Basic Education and Culture 1993:.33, as quoted in lipinge & Likando 2013: 137)

This also further emphasised in Namibia's Vision 2030, with one of the strategic objectives being "providing full and appropriate education at all levels" (NPC 2011: 41), and in the National Development Plan for the period 2012/13 to 2016/17.

In the light of Namibia's full commitment to the Education For All campaign, as well as to achieving the Millennium Development Goals, particularly MDG 2, achieving universal primary education, it is useful to consider progress in this regard. Considerable progress was made, but great challenges still remain and the 2015 targets have not all been met, as the UNDP explains:

Of the three MDG 2 targets that Namibia has set for herself to achieve by the year 2015, the net enrolment in primary education target has been achieved, the literacy rate is on target to be achieved, while the survival to Grade 8 target is not achievable if current trends continue. The net enrolment ratio in primary education stood at 99.6 percent in 2012. However, the gross enrolment rate for the past few years highlights inefficiencies in enrolling maximum numbers of children in age appropriate grades. The survival rate for Grade 7s was 86 percent in 2012, 14 percentage points short of the 100 percent target. The literacy rate for 15 to 24 year olds was close to the 100 percent target at 94 percent in the year 2011. It is likely that the literacy rate target can be achieved by 2015. (UNDP 2014)

The rest of this chapter will particularly at the related goals of providing free education and providing compulsory education. However, issues around the supply side of education will also be discussed.

THE DEMAND SIDE

Free education

The Namibian Constitution declares that everyone has the right to education, and that "primary education shall be compulsory and the state shall provide reasonable facilities to render effective this right for every resident within Namibia, by establishing

and maintaining state schools at which primary education will be provided free". However the Education Act of 2001 provided for School Boards (with parents in the majority) whose functions included the right to levy an annual contribution on parents for the School Development Fund, with the aim "to provide, develop and improve reasonable and necessary facilities at school; and to uplift and improve educational, sport and cultural activities at school" Although criteria could be laid down to exempt parents unable to pay such contributions from all or part of the contribution, by 2012 the government judged that "this practice has been turned into inhibitive condition for admission into public schools by some ... school authorities" (Ministry of Education 2012) and has led to the exclusion of many children from education. Accordingly, the government announced that primary education would be free from 2013 and that School Development Fund contributions may no longer be levied. In March 2014 it was also announced that secondary education would also be free from 2016 (The Namibian 2014).

To compensate schools for the School Development Funds contributions they will no longer get, the Government put aside N\$162 million of its budget of \$10.7 billion for 2013 to cover needs related to teaching and learning materials, minor repairs and maintenance of school. This translates into about N\$419 per child per year that was to be provided to schools directly (lipinge & Likando 2013: 137). It was reported that the first year of implementation saw some problems with disbursement of funds to schools and some principals experiencing problems with procurement processes, but the latter problem was managed by training principals about procurement processes (Ministry of Education 2013a).

Thus, the costs of education to parents has been considerably reduced, but as lipinge & Likando (2013: 137) point out, parents are still held responsible for paying for school uniforms and there are often other school–related costs that affect poor parents, or that diminish the ability of children to fully participate in some school–related activities (e.g. cultural and sport events). Hostel spending is one expense that is of concern in this regard. Even though hostel costs to learners are generally far below the actual costs of providing this service, it nevertheless is an important additional cost for poor parents. Rukuro (2007: 26) has estimated that at that time the subsidy to hostel dwellers constituted between 80% and 90% of the costs of operating the hostels. Despite adjustments since, it appears that hostel fees are by far not adequate for cost recovery and thus represent an important subsidy to parents of children attending such hostels. The issue of hostels is one that will be returned to later in this chapter, where it will be considered not as a cost factor, but from the perspective of access and supply side policies.

In 2012, national accounts figures indicated that spending on education constituted 4.2% of private household consumption expenditure (NSA 2013: 24, Table D2), whereas in the NHIES education expenditure by households amounted to 2.9% of total household expenditure in 2009–2010. It is not always clear what was included in both these measures of education expenditure. It is likely that school and university fees as well as spending on school and university books, hostel accommodation, and related matters would have been included. However, as these figures cannot be disaggregated, it is not clear what they measure. Perhaps more important is to show that they do not constitute a major barrier to school entry for all but the very poorest households. For about 80% of all households, expenditure on education constitutes less than 2.0% per cent of their annual expenditure, according to calculations from the NHIES. But that does not mean that costs are not a concern for many of Namibia's poor.

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Compulsory education

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The government's commitment to Education For All and Millennium Development Goal 2 (universal primary education) implies that access and inclusion are important goals. Compulsory education to the age of 16 or completion of primary school (as specified in the Education Act of 2001) is one way in which this manifests. This has now been extended to compulsory education to the age of 16 or completion of grade 10. However, in practice compulsory education is not really implemented, as the large numbers of OOSC in Dimensions 1 and 2 indicate.

Inclusive education

In 2013, Namibia committed itself to inclusive education hen it adopted a sector policy on inclusive education "to ensure that all learners are educated in the least-restrictive education setting and in schools in their neighbourhood to the fullest extent possible" (Ministry of Education 2013b). Thus, the policy aims at including all children, including those with disabilities, in the schooling system and to meet their needs as well as possible in ordinary mainstream schools, where possible. This is especially important in Namibia because of the long distances and sparse population, so that special schools would imply that children would have to go to school very far from home.

Pregnancy policy

In the past, although official policy was that girls who became pregnant should return to school following the birth of their children, this was not really widely implemented and there were serious difficulties in getting such girls to return, because of opposition from within the community, from other learners or from teachers. From 2010, government policy actively maintains that pregnant girls should remain at school as long as possible and return to school after the birth of the child, "provided that a social worker is satisfied that the infant will be cared for by a responsible adult" (S Miranda, Amadhila, Raimo & Shikongo 2011: 13–14).

However, there is still substantial opposition to this in many circles, including amongst many teachers, thus actual practice in many schools may deviate considerably from the formal policy. In a study in the Kavango region, Nekongo–Nielsen & Mbukusa (2013) find considerable opposition to the official policy among teachers:

One hundred and five of the 138 teachers interviewed felt that the pregnancy policy is promoting the increase of pregnancy among school–going children. Nonetheless, the study found that pregnancy has been occurring way before the pregnancy policy was introduced. There were only 33 of the 138 teachers who indicated that the pregnancy policy has helped those few learners who were brave enough to remain in school while pregnant. These learners did not have to leave school for a year or more and therefore did not become too old for the grade. (Nekongo–Nielsen & Mbukusa 2013: 17)

Opposition to this policy is also reflected in alarmist newspaper reports about learner pregnancies, often implying that the school pregnancy policies are to blame for this. Though high rates of learner pregnancy are clearly an issue that deserves attention, official policy thus far surprisingly seems to have shied away from focusing on better sex education as one means of reducing this phenomenon. Of 60 learners who had dropped out due to pregnancy interviewed by Nekongo–Nielsen & Mbukusa, 20 reported "that they sneaked out of their parents or guardians' homes to go and sleep with married men in return for gifts" (2013: 7).

Prejudice is one of the factors that make it difficult for pregnant girls to remain at school during pregnancy, or to return after childbirth:

Even the brave schools that were implementing the learner pregnancy policy have not devised strategies to counteract prejudices. Such schools are finding it a challenge to deal with slurs being targeted at pregnant learners both by the teachers and other learners. (Nekongo–Nielsen & Mbukusa 2013: 18)

Partly as a consequence, but also perhaps because of the pressures of parenthood or because they may feel they have fallen too far behind, many girls do not return to schools. According to census 2011 data-thus before the new pregnancy policy was fully implemented-there were almost 9 000 girls below the age of 19 who had not completed their school education, of whom almost 80% were not attending school. That means that about 7 000 girls of school age had given birth and were out of school.

HIV / AIDS

Since the early 2000s there have been a growing number of international commitments to reducing the prevalence and incidence of HIV in response to the then–burgeoning epidemic in developing countries. While most of these commitments are not specifically targeted at young people, there are two which explicitly mention adolescents or youth as targets of intervention in terms of HIV prevention information and treatment post–infection. The United Nations General Assembly Special Session on AIDS in 2001 set a target of reducing HIV prevalence amongst 15 to 24–year–old persons by one quarter, while a more recent acknowledgement of youth as a specific target group for education on HIV prevention education is the Ministerial Commitment on comprehensive sexuality education and sexual and reproductive health services for adolescents and young people in Eastern and Southern African countries signed in December 2013 by 20 representatives from Eastern and Southern African countries.

SUPPLY SIDE

Availability of schools and places in schools

One of the most important conditions for providing equitable and quality access to education for all is that there should be sufficient places available in schools for all learners. It appears at first sight as if this is not a major issue in Namibia, but there are certain respects in which this is an issue that requires attention.

- Firstly, it has become apparent that there are some areas where school places for new entrants (in Grade 1, but also at higher grades where children have to change schools) are in short supply, resulting in parents queueing in some regions to get places in school for their children. (New Era. 2015. Khomas Grade 1 places full. 9 January 2015.)
- In addition, school places at grade 10 level are scarce for repeaters, thus preventing many of them from repeating this grade if they have done poorly in the Junior Certificate Examinations. In 2012 there were about 16 000 persons who failed grade 10 out of the 36 000 in that grade, and most of them had to leave school (fewer than 4 000 were allowed to repeat). Accommodating those additional 12 000 learners for at least one year more (or longer if they pass grade 10 the next year and can continue to higher grades) does not add much to current aggregate enrolment of more than 600 000 in the school system. Yet places in grade 10 or beyond may need to be created to make this possible.

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• Even where school places exists, it is often the case that the physical facilities and learning materials are not quite adequate for the numbers of learners

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An additional problem arises from places not being available close to the homes of many learners. This have repercussions for transport and hostel accommodation, something that adds additional costs to education for poor parents but also means that such learners do not get the same parental support that they would if they had been able to remain at home. This issue of distance to school and hostels is again discussed further below, under the sub-section on hostels.

Hostels

In a country as vast and as sparsely populated as Namibia, it is impossible to provide schools to everyone close to their homes. This creates challenges in terms of transport and/or accommodation to make it possible for all children to attend school. According to the Namibia SACMEQ III report, "Namibia has adopted a policy a policy to provide schools within a 5km radius to all learners" (Miranda, Amadhila, Raimo & Shikongo 2011: 3), but that is clearly an impossibility.

The trade–off for government is how to provide as many schools as close to children's homes as possible, within the constraints of costs and personnel. Beyond that, hostels become an important additional option.

About 4% of learners are in schools that do not go beyond grade 4. This means, for many children, having to change schools in grade 5, and then again when they enter secondary school, in grade 8. This is particularly the case in the largest region (before it was split into two), Kavango. In this region, as Table 17 shows, there are 3 schools that only offer grade 1, 26 that go only up to grade 2, 14 that go up to grade 3, and a full 116 that go only up to grade 4. Many of this latter group are concentrated in two circuits, Shambyu and Bunya, where more than half of all schools offer schooling only up to grade 4. In these circuits, only 1 and 2 schools respectively are available for children who want to continue up to grade 12.

Table 17: Schools by school circuits according to the highest grades they offer, Kavango 2012 Source: EMIS data, Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture													
Circuit	Gr1	Gr2	Gr3	Gr4	Gr5	Gr6	Gr7	Gr8	Gr9	Gr10	Gr11	Gr12	Total
Bunya	1			15			8			4		2	31
Kandjimi			2	12		1	9	1		4		2	31
Mpungu	1	4	2	13			8			2		1	31
Mukwe		5	2	8			8			6		2	31
Ncamagoro		6	2	7			8	1		3		1	28
Ncuncuni			2	5		1	8			5			21
Ndiyona		1	2	9	1	1	10	1		6			32
Nzinze		6	1	16	1		6			3			33
Rundu				3		1	6	1	1	6	1	8	28
Shambyu		1		18	2	1	6			4		1	33
Shinyungwe	1	3	1	10	1		7		2	3		2	30
Total	3	26	14	116	5	5	84	4	3	46	1	19	329

The problem is of course most acute at the higher grades. Figure 18 from Gustafsson (2015) shows for schools offering grade 1 how far children would have to travel from that school to the closes school offering grade 12. In turns out that for 74% of grade 1 learners, the distance to the closest grade 12 class exceeds 2 kilometres (in a direct line); it exceeds 5 kilometres for 36% of grade 1 learners; and it exceeds 30 kilometres for 6% of grade 1 learners.



▼ Figure 18: Distance grade 1 to nearest grade 12 (2012)

Note: Each cell is on average 31 kilometres across. Colouring represents the distance experienced by the average Grade 1 learner within the cell. A value of 0 km indicates that all Grade 1 learners within a cell find themselves in schools which also offer Grade 12.

Source: Gustafsson 2015

This creates a strong need for hostels to make it possible for many children to attend school at higher grades. In the absence of such hostels, parents sometimes revert to alternative measures, as illustrated by this example from Kavango:

Inland schools (schools located far away from the Okavango River) as well as some schools along the river with no hostels but with a large number of their learners travelling long distances try to build community hostels and provide accommodation for such learners. These community hostels are manned by learners themselves, with no matrons or guardians to ensure learner safety. (Nekongo– Nielsen & Mbukusa 2013: 8)

Thus many children and parents go to great effort to attend school, particularly at higher grades. Though hostels are an extremely important way of dealing with distances, policy should as far as possible try to avoid that many children, particularly young children, have to attend hostels. Where it is feasible, providing schooling close to the population remains the preferred option, and equity considerations make it important to attempt to meet these needs of children in rural and remote areas. In particular, it should not be necessary for children and parents to resort to starting private hostels, with all the attendant problems of child–headed households or hostels, as documented in some detail by Nekongo–Nielsen & Mbukusa (2013), rather than attending public hostels:

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Schools with government supported hostels had lower incidences of pregnancy. The principals attributed the low cases of learner pregnancy to strictly enforcing hostel rules of curfew and punishing offenders. (Nekongo–Nielsen & Mbukusa 2013: 12)

But there are also major concerns with public school hostels, as for instance reflected in newspaper articles. The Namibian Sun (2012), quoting from evidence to a Parliamentary Standing Committee, reports that

School hostels around the country are still faced with many challenges ranging from deplorable physical facilities, poor food preparation, lack of sanitation and poor hygiene. ...

Vandalism in school hostels is said to be prevalent due to lack of supervision and management from school staff. The Ministry of Works and Transport is also reluctant to fix broken facilities at school because it is repeatedly broken, while existing hostels are overcrowded and in some hostels learners share single beds....

The committee has undertaken field visits to the region to evaluate the conditions of schools and hostels. During their visits, the committee observed the dilapidated state of hostels at some schools.

Budgeted hostel fees for 2015/16 are only N\$13 million, a very small part of the budget (Ministry of Finance 2015: 12). A far greater part of the costs seem to be internal to the staffing establishment, making it difficult to determine the full costs of hostels. Given the concerns raised above, however, it appears that policy regarding hostels will need special attention, and that the financing of hostels thus again need to be investigated.

The quality challenge

High levels of dropout and repetition throughout the Namibian education system reflect a system that is struggling to provide good quality education. The SACMEQ data referred to earlier show that Namibia performs at approximately the SACMEQ average in Grade 6. But two of the countries in SACMEQ – Botswana and South Africa – have also participated in other international assessments (TIMSS and PIRLS) and perform roughly 1.5 to 2 standard deviations below the international mean in those studies, indicating that children in SACMEQ countries are performing far below the norm for developed or even middle income countries. Moreover, the SACMEQ results shown earlier clearly indicate the vast disparities in education quality in the school system. This was further confirmed by the patterns of survival from Grade 1 to Grade 12 between remote and non–remote areas shown earlier.

The Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (ETSIP) was drafted in 2006 as a comprehensive strategy to align the entire education system with Vision 2030 and to facilitate the transition to a knowledge–based economy.

It is hoped that the ETSIP will improve the quality, range and threshold of skilled labour required to improve knowledge driven productivity growth and thus contribute to economic growth. By adopting a pro–poor approach to the distribution of opportunities for high quality and market–responsive education and training opportunities, ETSIP will also contribute directly to the attainment of equitable social development. (Miranda, Amadhila, Raimo & Shikongo 2011: 15)

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The concern with the quality of education is also expressed in the Fourth National Development Plan, which mentions two overarching challenges in education, viz. quality throughout the system, and the mismatch between the demand for and the supply of skills.

The beginning of the lack of quality in the education system is traced to poor provision of early childhood development services, including the shortage of qualified teachers at this level. The number of learners leaving school with a good grade 12 qualification is also seen as a problem, requiring a further expansion of places at this level and an upgrading of achievement in junior secondary schools. ... One of the main strategies foreseen to improve the quality of education is stringent standards for teachers, and their enforcement. (Ministry of Education & UNESCO, 2013: 5)

The NDP4 also expressed the strong view that learning should be regularly and reliably assessed at grades 5, 7, 10 and 12.

Other policies that influence school retention and quality

As the quality of education has such a bearing on the demand for it, it is tempting to discuss many aspects related to school quality within the ambit of this report. However, many of these policies have received, or are receiving, attention elsewhere, thus this sub-section will simply refer to a few additional policy issues that are pertinent to the OOS phenomenon.

Incentives for rural teachers

Such policies have been instituted in 2009 to attract more qualified teachers to rural areas, and have been partly successful. They have been recently analysed and recommendations have been put forward and accepted by the Ministry of Education, Arts, and Culture. These recommendations should also assist in improving quality and equity of education, thus they should be beneficial to school retention.

Repetition policy

Current policy is that learners should not be held back more than once in any school phase (lower primary, upper primary, junior secondary, senior secondary). In addition, the policy is that grade 10 learners who fail the Junior Certificate Examination should not be allowed back into schools, unless they are not overaged, and there are adequate school places left in their school in the grade 10 class. However, it appears as if children who have failed the grade 1– examination are in most cases not allowed back into schools, unless they leave school and successfully repeat the grade 10 examination through NAMCOL. This is a policy with severe implications that needs to be reconsidered in the light of the major impact it has on the number of OOSC. This issue will be returned to in the chapter on recommendations.

Funding of post-school education

Funding of scholarships for university and polytechnic studies through the Namibian Student Financial Assistance Fund (NSFAF) is an important source of funding to children who want to study further. This makes continuation to the end of high school and successful completion of the grade 12 examination more attractive, as this could open the door to diploma and graduate studies that offer lucrative opportunities in the labour market. Adequate funding for this purpose is important for the option value that this brings to earlier studies (i.e. the option for further studies).

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Vocational and technical training

At senior secondary level, it is important to offer additional study opportunities for those who wish to engage in vocational and technical education, though such possibilities are still too limited for the needs of the Namibian economy. Opportunities in this regard appear to be growing and NAMCOL offers important opportunities for distance education.

Early Childhood Development and pre-primary education

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ECD and pre-primary education are important for laying the foundations on which further cognitive, social and emotional development is built. However, there are serious concerns with both the equity of access and the quality of such opportunities that need attention for Namibia to overcome its quality issues in education, and offer greater equity of educational outcomes. The National Development Plan acknowledges these issues:

The challenges relating to the quality of education start with the limited access to early childhood development (ECD) services. ECD refers to the growth and change that take place from preconception until the age of 6. In these early years, the most critical neurological development takes place, with the most significant brain growth occurring in the first three years of life. As at 2012, there are no Government–owned ECD centres in the country. There are no legal regulations for ECD centres; there are few qualified teachers/educarers trained in ECD; and there is a severe undervaluation of ECD–trained individuals – leading to underpayment and limited incentive to work in this field. ECD is generally under–valued and often misunderstood. Moreover, investment in ECD is low – although the potential returns of quality ECD have been shown to be very high. (National Development Plan 2012: 46–7)

Against this background, ECD, its placement (it is scheduled to be transferred to the Ministry of Education, Arts, and Culture) and its future development are clearly issues of great importance.

SUMMARY: EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

Namibia has committed itself to Education For All and the sets of policies and strategies that accompanies this. Perhaps most important in terms of its translation in practice has been the recent move to make primary education free (it was already compulsory), and now also to extend this to secondary education. This may be one of the reasons why costs do not appear to play such a large role in school enrolment, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Repetition policy in Namibia is aimed at avoiding excessive repetition, by limiting it to once per school phase. However, this is supposed to be accompanied by additional support for children who are repeating, but this does not appear to have occurred in practice. The limit on repeating Grade 10 is in particular an important restriction to continuation in school for many, and will thus be discussed again in the recommendations.

CHAPTER 4

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POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

POVERTY IN NAMIBIA

Poverty is not evenly distributed in Namibia. The two most affluent regions are Erongo and Khomas, with poverty rates below 15%. In stark contrast, some rural constituencies, such as in Kavango, have poverty rates in excess of 50% (see Figure 19). Unsurprisingly, dropout rates and grade repetition are highest in the northern regions, where poverty is most concentrated.

▼ Figure 19: Poverty head counts in Namibia by constituency, upper–bound poverty line





Apart from relatively high levels of money–metric poverty for a country at its level of development (considering the relatively low poverty lines), Namibia also experiences quite high levels of deprivation in other dimensions. A recent report on multiple deprivation deals with this in greater detail at the constituency level (NPC 2015a). Despite improvements in recent years, one in every twenty children in Namibia still die before their fifth birthday – the under–five mortality rate is 54 deaths per 1000 children born, and the infant mortality rate (death within the first year) is 39 per 1000 live births. (Ministry of Health & ICF International 2013: 88).

Those surviving are often affected by poor health and poor nutrition. Almost onequarter (24%) of children are stunted, i.e. short for their age, and 8% are severely stunted, the result of chronic under-nutrition or poor health, according to data from the 2013 Demographic and Health Survey (Ministry of Health & ICF International 2014: 131). Stunting also has permanent consequences for cognitive development of children. It is against this background that the failure to provide good ECD services can have devastating consequences for the education of many of Namibia's children, as the National Development Plan acknowledges (National Development Plan 2012: 46–7).

SOCIAL GRANTS

The Namibian government has made considerable efforts to reduce poverty, particularly in its more rural regions. The country's grant system is one of the most developed

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in Africa. The main grant types are old age and veteran pensions, disability grants, and child maintenance and foster care grants. The child maintenance grant of N\$250 per month in 2015 is paid to a biological parent with a child or children under the age of 18 whose spouse has died and who earns less than N\$1000.00 per month, a child whose parent receives an old-age pension or a disability grant, or a parent whose spouse has been sentenced to imprisonment for six months or longer.

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During the 2014–2015 financial year, 170 816 children received grants, representing 85% of orphans covered under the programme, and N\$654 million was allocated for such grants for the 2015–2016 financial year (The Namibian 2015). While these grants are specifically targeted at children, other grants have also helped to reduce poverty amongst children.

It has been demonstrated that social grants play an important role in alleviating poverty, especially for the very poor (Levine, Van der Berg and Yu 2011). The expansion of the child grants and increases in other grants would further reduce poverty. The value of social grants received was subtracted from household expenditure to determine the (static) impact of grants. Effectively, this assumes that grants simply were added to households' expenditure and that nothing else changed, i.e. it did not affect migration or their participation in economic activities.

The effect of the absence of grants can be seen in Table 18, at the lower-bound poverty line, where the effect of the grants is bigger than at higher poverty lines.¹³ In the absence of the grants, there would have been much more poverty in some of the poorest regions, such as Oshikoto. This effect can also be seen in Figure 20, and in the map (Figure 21) that shows the reductions in poverty as a result of the grants, with the darker areas indicating larger reductions in poverty.

Table 18: Head count poverty ratios with and without grants (at lower-bound poverty line) Source: Own calculations from NHIES2009/10						
	With grants	Without grants	Difference (effects of grants)			
Erongo	2.87%	3.94%	-1.07			
Hardap	15.2%	20.99%	-5.84			
Karas	16.84%	22.88%	-6.04			
Kavango	34.59%	40.31%	-5.71			
Khomas	4.00%	6.14%	-2.14			
Kunene	15.94%	20.05%	-4.11			
Ohangwena	11.92%	25.30%	-13.38			
Omaheke	19.02%	26.30%	-7.29			
Omusati	7.32%	19.09%	-11.77			
Oshana	7.19%	16.22%	-9.03			
Oshikoto	21.79%	34.18%	-12.39			
Otjozondjupa	22.17%	25.37%	-3.20			
Zambezi	35.23%	40.23%	-5.00			
Namibia	15.34%	22.35%	-7.0			

13 Lower–bound (N\$3 330.48) and upper–bound (N\$4 535.52) poverty lines are set in terms of household per adult equivalent expenditure, based on food and other needs. A child aged 0 to 5 is taken to be ½ an adult equivalent, one aged to 15 ¾ of an adult equivalent, and everyone above age 16 a full adult equivalent.





Source: Own calculations from NHIES2009/10



▼ Figure 21: Effects of grants on reduction in poverty head count ratio across regions, Namibia 2009/10

Source: Own calculations from NHIES2009/10

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A way of showing the effect of grants without having to choose a preferred poverty line beforehand is to show the effect of cumulative density functions, or poverty incidence curves, as they are also called. Figure 22 shows for Namibia how the grants move these curves downwards.

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Put differently, one can then see, at any possible poverty line (on the horizontal axis) how much the grants reduce poverty (on the vertical axis). For Namibia as a whole, the effect is to reduce the poverty headcount rate by about 7.1% at the lower–bound poverty line, and by 6.4% at the upper–bound poverty line. Clearly, the effect is larger at lower poverty lines; the grants help the very poor even more than the poor.



▼ Figure 22: Effects of grants on expenditure and poverty, Namibia 2009/10

Source: Own calculations from NHIES2009/10

The effect on poverty can similarly be analysed for regions, as the NHIES is representative at the regional level. For illustration purposes, it is shown for one rich region, Khomas (Figure 23), and one poor one, Oshikoto (Figure 24). The grants have almost no impact in Khomas, whilst their impact in the poorest regions is quite stark.

This also illustrates that the effect of grants are greater for the poorest (as was also evident in the maps), and that they lift more people above the lower poverty line rather than above the upper poverty line. Thus, if the poverty line was set too high, one would not be able to see the large impact of the grants on reducing poverty.

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▼ Figure 24: Effects of grants on expenditure and poverty, Oshikoto 2009/10

Source: Answers to questionnaire administered to Grade 7 and 9 children in three districts

The effect of grants on child poverty is even greater. It has been shown, using the same dataset, that child poverty (for children under age 16) at the upper-bound poverty line would have been 40.8% without grants rather than its actual 34.0%. Moreover, 61.9% of children in households receiving some grants would have been in poverty without these grants, as against the 38.9% who actually are in poverty (NSA 2012: 18, 19, Tables 13 & 14).

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Disability grants constitute a smaller proportion of all grants, but do make a considerable difference to the living standards of those disabled people receiving such grants. On a recent visit to Namibia, however, the rapporteur of the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights was less than happy with the disability grant system (United Nations, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2012).

SCHOOL FEEDING

Prior to 1996, the World Food Programme managed school feeding programmes in Namibia (Ministry of Education 2013). By then 78 000 children were benefiting from the programme. The Namibian School Feeding Scheme offers food to primary children and is aimed mainly at orphans and vulnerable children, but others can also participate. Participation varies greatly, with much higher rates in rural areas. In 2012 there were about 270 000 learners benefiting from it, more than half of all primary children, at a cost of N\$60 million for the food, i.e. about N\$1 per child per day.

Non-food costs are borne by the schools and the Ministry, but these are difficult to quantify. This food is said to attract needy learners to enrol in school, to improve attendance and to allow poor children to concentrate better in class (Ellis 2012: 6–7). However, in some regions, the feeding scheme has not always been targeted well due to problems with disbursement of funds and families' dire home situations.

Examples were mentioned in principal interviews in Omaheke of feeding schemes sometimes catering for families at home rather than just learners in school, due to the desperate economic situation of many of the families that the children come from.

INTER-SECTORAL LINKAGES

Given the central role that poverty plays in the decisions of parents and children regarding school attendance, the grant system contributes in a major way to improving not only the economic situation of many children in poor households, but also their ability and opportunity to engage in education.

Considering also the extremely weak situation in Namibia regarding stunting of children, it is clear that interventions are required to reduce this menace. The grants system goes some of the way, but it is also important that the school feeding scheme plays an important role.

SUMMARY: POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

Despite quite rapid economic progress that has reduced poverty substantially, poverty is still endemic in Namibia, The grant system has been very successful at reducing poverty, particularly amongst children, but its reach is constrained. One of the manifestations of poverty is high levels of stunting and malnutrition, which is one of the reasons why the school feeding system in primary schools targeted at poor children has been such a success. It may also have increased school enrolment and attendance.





CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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Although Namibia, as a middle–income country, fares much better than most of its poorer neighbours in getting children to school and keeping them there, there are still severe challenges with out of school children that require attention. This is indicated by census and EMIS numbers. In terms of the Dimensions of Exclusion identified, there were relatively high numbers in all seven dimensions identified. These include a significant number still never attending school (now down to about 5% of those captured in the census), considerable numbers accessing school late (as late as age 10), and substantial early drop–out. However, perhaps even an even more intractable problem than dropout is the high repetition rate, which means that many children never progress to higher grades. Moreover, high repetition rates add considerably to the likelihood of dropout.

Although the Census, NHIES and EMIS data offer rich data for analysis of the OOS issue, there are nevertheless some data issues that limit analysis. This includes respondents' confusion about what pre-primary education entails, but especially the tendency for older children to be captured in the census as "at school", when some of them have clearly already left school (e.g. some that have completed Grade 12).

Poverty is the element affecting school attendance mentioned most often by respondents to the qualitative surveys. Many parents and OOSC are of the view that easing the financial burdens which many households face would aid in the retention of learners in schools.

School access at higher grades is an issue that holds severe implications for many parents and children. Distances to school are far longer in higher grades, with the implication that children who want to continue their studies to higher grades have to travel, or attend hostels. This is probably a serious source of school dropout, or weak performance at school.

Learner pregnancy was identified by many respondents as presenting a serious threat to school attendance. It appears that this problem is relatively severe, and that the new pregnancy policy is – unfairly – blamed by many respondents and teachers for this issue.

Lack of support, familial or otherwise, was another important contributor to dropout rates.

From a human capital perspective, education is also extremely important in terms of increasing productivity and attracting foreign direct investment. It is therefore of utmost importance that a developing country such as Namibia should maximise the returns from investment in education not only for the sake of increasing individual welfare but also to ensure economic growth and political stability.

A number of barriers and bottlenecks to school attendance have been identified in the background report and discussed in the report. Sociocultural barriers include low demand for education, norms surrounding child labour, violence against children, substance abuse and learner pregnancy.

Economic barriers include high levels of poverty and unemployment in some regions and the direct and indirect costs of schooling, which can bear heavily on poor households. There are some supply-side barriers which compound some of the challenges faced by households. These include a shortage of space for learners to

return to school after failing Grade 10, long distances between home and school for many learners and a shortage of teachers qualified to teach in certain languages.

RECOMMENDATIONS	3
Remoteness and dist	tance
Recommendation 1	Early grades need to be taken closer to the population wherever it is feasible. Not being able to serve young children with schools near their homes is an important source of inequity in the education system. It has serious repercussions for their social, emotional, and cognitive development.
Recommendation 2	In particular, where feasible, schools which only offer the first few grades, and not the full primary phases, should be extended to higher grades to make it possible for children to remain in the same schools near their homes for the full duration of their primary schooling.
Recommendation 3	More school hostels need to be provided to ensure that private "hostels" or children having to live in private arrangements near schools but away from their parents can be avoided.
Recommendation 4	Hostels need more money and their quality needs to be improved to make it more attractive to children who have no other alternatives to remain in school whilst attending public school hostels.
Recommendation 5	Particular attention needs to be given to the large proportions of out of school children in Kunene in particular, but also in Kavango.
Recommendation 6	Further investigation is needed to find solutions for the low school participation rate amongst the San and the Ovahimba.
Pregnancy policy and	d related matters
Recommendation 7	Further attention needs to be given to ensuring that the official pregnancy policies are implemented and, perhaps more importantly, supported by teachers and education officials. Currently this policy is being blamed by many for "creating" the learner pregnancy problem in schools, and prejudice makes it difficult for girls who have become pregnant to return to school, or if they do, to be fully accepted.
Recommendation 8	Greater attention needs to be given to sex education to reduce learner pregnancy.
Examinations and cu	irriculum
Recommendation 9	Currently, it also does not appear as if the systemic tests in schools are really adequately used to inform interventions that would improve quality and thereby reduce repetition and retain more children in schools.
Recommendation 10	The Junior Certificate is a very necessary corrective and needs to be retained, despite the fact that so many children fail grade 10. The solution is not to avoid the examination or replace it by another a year further in the school system,

but rather to use it as information to implement qualitative

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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reforms in the school system.

Recommendation 11	The restriction on children not being able to continue in school if they have failed grade 10 needs to be abolished, or at the very least the age limit for repeating needs to be relaxed. This would require that more additional places need to be created in the school system, but is an important way of ensuring that children do not drop out of school whilst there are prospects that they can progress further.
Recommendation 12	Consideration should be given to the establishment of a grade 10 curriculum with a parallel route for children who might be interested in the vocational or technical career path. This would be difficult to implement in all schools, but should be considered as a way of assisting some children to receive appropriate vocational or technical rather than only academic education before joining the labour market. Combining such a school–based with a distance curriculum may be an option.
Recommendation 13	More attention needs to be given to mathematics education in many schools, as weak mathematics often results in children failing the grade 10 and the grade 12 examinations.
School feeding	
Recommendation 14	School feeding needs additional attention and more finance at primary school level, as it is an important source of nutrition for many poor children in a country where malnutrition is widespread. The current cost of N\$1 per child per day for food purchases indicate that the cost of raising this need not be astronomical.
	School feeding should be expanded to secondary schools, along similar lines as the very successful primary school feeding programme.
ECD and pre-primary	y education
Recommendation 16	ECD and pre–primary need more attention, but it is important that the focus should not be on simply expanding numbers but on the quality of such development, and ensuring such quality for centres and classes that serve the poor.
Involving the commu	inity
Recommendation 17	To improve quality of service delivery in schools it is essential that there should be more community involvement. Moreover, such involvement is of particular importance for dealing with matters related to learner pregnancy, bullying and violence in schools. The communities around the school can also play a very important role in supporting schools to address the issues of out of school children in the neighbourhood. Without the support of parents and the community, education cannot flourish.
Data	
The availability of go	od census and EMIS data has helped to make it possible to

The availability of good census and EMIS data has helped to make it possible to get a better perspective on the issue of out of school children. There are two areas in which data can still improve, however.

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Recommendation 18	A dedicated investigation is needed into the situation of
	children with disabilities, as available data in this area are
	weak.
Recommendation 19	In the census and surveys, greater attention should be given
	to removing ambiguity in responses regarding whether
	individuals are attending school. It is currently not quite
	clear whether some individuals are in pre-primary schools
	or even in ECD centres rather than in primary schools. More
	worryingly, the distinction between attending schools
	in the conventional sense, i.e. up to grade 12, and other
	educational institutions (vocational or technical training, or
	even universities) becomes blurred at higher ages.



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APPENDIX 3 SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION REPORT

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COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATION INTERVIEWS

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Ask Afrika was contracted by the Namibian Ministry of Education (MoEAC) supported by UNICEF, to draw up a country–wide report for Namibia on Out–of–School–Children (OOSC). Ask Afrika sub–contracted the programme of Research on Socio–Economic Policy (RESEP), situated within the Department of Economics, Stellenbosch University (SUN) to assist with the desk research, principal, and overall report.

Sampling

As part of the project, fieldwork interviews were conducted by interviewers contracted by Ask Afrika in the Khomas region, with the aim of providing critical research inputs into the Community Based Organisations (CBO) report. Twenty two (22) representatives from the CBO's in the Khomas region were interviewed to get different perspectives from the various organisations. The CBO's were sourced from a list provided by UNICEF to Ask Afrika. A representative on the CBO list provided was first phoned by the interviewer to secure an appointment for the interview. Following this, the interviews took place at the CBO's physical location, and were thirty minutes in duration.

Namibia Association of Children with Disabilities	Namibia Rights and Responsibilities
Beautiful Kids	Women Action for Development
Voter & Voters Apathy Education Namibia	Namibia Nationhood Programme
Tulonga Namibian Youth Project	Project Hope Namibia
Ombetja Yehinga Organisation	Namibia Blue Cross
Working Group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa	Community Empowerment and Development Association
Onyose Trust	NANSO
National Youth Council	Namibia Red Cross Society
Society of Future Growth	Katutura Youth Empowerment Centre
Ngoma Consulting Services	Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia
Namibia Literacy Trust	Namibia Planned Parenthood Association

The CBOs that were involved in this research project are involved with the following, to name a few:

- Helping out of school children with vocational training
- · Helping and empowering children with disabilities

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- Trying to minimise voter apathy
- Decreasing the illiteracy rate
- Enabling socio-economic and socio-political empowerment of rural women and men
- Strengthening health care services and providing health education in Namibia, while implementing HIV workplace education programmes
- Assisting those that are directly and indirectly affected by alcohol, drugs and other substance abuse.

School Drop-Out and Out-of-School Children in Namibia: A National Review

- Access to and focus on education, reducing illiteracy
- HIV testing as well as counselling
- Children with disabilities: rights, integration into society and equal opportunities
- Child mental development
- · Create social awareness regarding the importance of education
- · Protection of children's rights

Data Collection

The in-depth interviews were conducted between the 26th of March and 10th of April 2015 with CBO's in the Khomas region. The majority of the CBO contact details provided by UNICEF to Ask Afrika were for the Khomas region. To get more information on the reasons why children drop out, it was considered necessary to get responses from representatives from CBO's that interact with out-of-school children and youth daily. Qualitative data was collected through in depth interviews with CBO's in Khomas. This involves fieldwork aimed at providing relevant and good data and also at setting a framework for future work building on such data.

A range of interviewing techniques was used to elicit rational and cognitive responses as well as the non–leading information. In–depth interviews ensure that group pressure and other influences are removed and a detailed process is followed with each interview. All In–depth interviews are audio recorded for review and quality control purposes. In–depth interviews permit the exploration of complex issues regarding OOSC that might not come to the fore in other research methods. Interviewers can follow up and respond to issues raised by the interviewee, which might include unanticipated issues. The essence of semi–structured interviewing is to establish rapport with the respondent. This is crucial for this study, as the subject matter is of a sensitive nature.

An in-depth interview discussion guide was designed in collaboration with UNICEF and SUN to guide the interviewers during the interview process. The discussion guide acts as a base for the interviewers to work from in order to answer the critical research objectives.

Training of the Interviewers

A list of potential interviewers was sourced by Ask Afrika and was subsequently interviewed over the phone to ensure that they were suitable to conduct these interviews. Following this, the interviewers selected to do the interviewing on behalf of Ask Afrika were trained by a representative from Ask Afrika. Ask Afrika provided training in Khomas, Omaheke, Kavango and Erongo (Swakopmund) regions on how to conduct in–depth interviews, provided a thorough briefing on the content of the discussion guide, the objectives of the study as well as the information required from the interviews and how to approach potential respondents.

The interviews were done in many different languages, and Ask Afrika provided translated discussion guides in Afrikaans, Oshiwambo and Nama. Although the interviews were not conducted in English, the data from the recorded interviews was translated back into English when capturing.

PARENT INTERVIEWS

Sampling

As part of the project, fieldwork interviews were conducted by interviewers contracted by Ask Afrika in the Khomas and Kavango region, with the aim of providing critical research inputs into the Parent report. Sixty (60) parents were interviewed to get different perspectives on the Out of School situation in Namibia. The Parents were randomly intercepted by our interviewers to participate in the interview, which was 30 minutes in duration.

Data Collection

The in-depth interviews were conducted between the 26th of March and 6th of April 2015 with Parents in the Khomas and Kavango region. To get more information on the reasons why children drop out, it was considered necessary to speak directly to parents who had a child that had left school early.

ADOLESCENT INTERVIEWS

Sampling

As part of the project, fieldwork interviews were conducted by interviewers contracted by Ask Afrika in the Khomas and Erongo (Swakopmund) regions, with the aim of providing critical research inputs into the Adolescent report. One hundred (100) adolescents who had left school early were interviewed to get different perspectives on the Out of School situation in Namibia and the reasons for these children leaving early and what they perceive as barriers to going back to school. The Adolescents were randomly intercepted by our interviewers to participate in the interview, which was 30 minutes in duration.

Data Collection

The in-depth interviews were conducted between the 26th of March and 6th of April 2015 with Adolescents in the Khomas and Erongo (Swakopmund) regions. To get more information on the reasons why children drop out, it was considered necessary to speak directly to the adolescents who had left school early.

LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRES

Sampling

A parcel containing the number of questionnaires per learner per school, consent forms and instructions on how to complete the questionnaire and consent form were couriered to each school. The yellow column indicated the number of questionnaires received back from the schools. In some cases more questionnaires came back than were learners in the grade, indicating that they had photocopied some of the questionnaires and other learners had completed it. This was however rectified during the scanning process, where it was indicated that different grades (besides 7 and 9) had completed the questionnaire.

Region	Code	School Name	School Type	Grada	Gr7 &	Collected
negion	Coue		School Type	Graue	Gr9_Lnrs	Conected
Kavango	7454	Junior Secondary School	Secondary	9	230	126
Kavango	7722	Dr. Alpo Mbamba Junior Secondary School	Secondary	9	201	124
Kavango	7499	Sarusungu Combined School	Combined	9	182	148
Kavango	7757	Romanus Kamunoko Secondary School	Secondary	9	170	
Kavango	7453	Rundu Secondary School	Secondary	9	168	159
Kavango	7724	Nkurenkuru Combined School	Combined	9	166	256
Kavango	7929	Elia M. Neromba Senior Secondary School	Secondary	9	151	118
Kavango	7760	Max Makushe Secondary School	Secondary	9	149	83
Kavango	7455	Bunya Combined School	Combined	9	132	80
Kavango	7500	Sauyemwa Combined School	Combined	9	127	
Kavango	7777	Maria Mwengere Secondary School	Secondary	9	121	
Kavango	8844	Matumbo Angelina Rubebe S.S	secondary	9	115	107
Kavango	7257	Himarwa lithete Junior Secondary School	Secondary	9	110	
Kavango	7306	Martin Ndumba Combined School	Combined	9	103	67
Kavango	7732	Rupara Combined School	Combined	9	96	80
Kavango	7550	Andara Combined School	Combined	9	95	
Kavango	7487	Ngone Combined School	Combined	9	94	56
Kavango	7501	Shambyu Combined School	Combined	9	94	137
Kavango	7007	Noordgrens Secondary School	Secondary	9	93	
Kavango	7750	Tondoro Combined School	Combined	9	93	64
Kavango	7450	Kandjimi Murangi Secondary School	Secondary	9	93	95
Kavango	7468	Kasote Combined School	Combined	9	86	114
Kavango	7478	Mupini Combined School	Combined	9	86	172
Kavango	7451	Leevi Hakusembe Secondary School	Secondary	9	83	120
Kavango	7452	Linus Shashipapo Secondary School	Secondary	9	83	
Kavango	7564	Diyana Combined School	Combined	9	82	
Kavango	7613	Ndiyona Combined School	Combined	9	78	27
Kavango	7631	Sharukwe Combined School	Combined	9	76	77
Kavango	7615	Ndonga Linena Junior Secondary School	Combined	9	72	
Kavango	7562	Divundu Combined School	Combined	9	71	82
Kavango	7585	Mabushe Senior Primary School	Combined	9	66	
Kavango	7493	Ndama Primary School	Combined	9	66	
Kavango	7654	Neyuva Junior Secondary School	Combined	9	64	
Kavango	7470	Kayengona Combined School	Combined	9	58	74
Kavango	7742	Sitopogo Combined School	Combined	9	57	54

Kavango	7673	Kahenge Combined School	Combined	9	55	47
Kavango	7469	Katjinakatji Combined School	Combined	9	55	
Kavango	7522	Nakazaza Senior Primary School	Combined	9	55	
Kavango	7617	Nyangana Combined School	Combined	9	52	
Kavango	7621	Rucara Combined School	Combined	9	51	53
Kavango	7496	Ruuga Combined School	Combined	9	51	59
Kavango	7596	Mayara Combined School	Combined	9	49	
Kavango	7484	Ncamagoro Combined School	Combined	9	49	
Kavango	7626	Shamangorwa Senior Secondary School	Combined	9	49	
Kavango	7503	Siya Combined School	Combined	9	48	
Kavango	7479	Mururani Combined School	Combined	9	47	57
Kavango	7467	Kasivi Combined School	Combined	9	43	
Kavango	7602	Mupapama Combined School	Combined	9	43	
Kavango	7711	Namavambi Combined School	Combined	9	41	56
Kavango	7575	Kangongo Junior Secondary School	Combined	9	40	
Kavango	7739	Simanya Combined School	Combined	9	38	
Kavango	7591	Mashare Primary School	Combined	9	36	42
Kavango	7727	Ntara Combined School	Combined	9	33	
Kavango	7706	Olavi Kangumbe Sivhute Combined School	Combined	9	33	14
Kavango	7581	Korokoko Combined School	Combined	9	30	
Kavango	7358	Omega Combined School	Combined	9	30	28
Kavango	7635	Shinyungwe Combined School	Combined	9	30	44
Kavango	7471	Mangetti Combined School	Combined	9	28	13
Kavango	7752	Tuguva Combined School	Combined	9	28	
Kavango	7506	Uvhungu–vhungu Combined School	Combined	9	28	
Kavango	7755	Yinsu Combined School	Combined	9	26	
Kavango	7619	Nyondo Primary School	Combined	9	25	30
Kavango	7551	Bagani Combined School	Combined	9	20	35
Kavango	7584	Livayi Combined School	Combined	9	8	3
Kavango	7917	Andreas Haingura Kandjimi	Primary	7	126	122
Kavango	7553	Biro Senior Primary School	Primary	7	30	
Kavango	7657	Bravel Mankupi Junior Primary School	Primary	7	1	2
Kavango	7661	Canchana Primary School	Primary	7	13	24
Kavango	7557	Cumagcashi Primary School	Primary	7	7	
Kavango	7492	Dosa Senior Primary School	Primary	7	14	
Kavango	7565	Dr. Joseph Diescho	Primary	7	21	22
Kavango	7753	Ekondjo Primary School	Primary	7	32	24

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Kavango	7664	Ekuli Primary School	Primary	7	15	15
Kavango	7583	Erago Primary School	Primary	7	20	
Kavango	7666	Gava Junior Primary School	Primary	7	16	
Kavango	7670	Gcwagi Junior Primary School	Primary	7	24	
Kavango	7671	Haisisira Primary School	Primary	7	31	
Kavango	7461	Halili Primary School	Primary	7	50	23
Kavango	7570	Hamweyi Primary School	Primary	7	11	9
Kavango	7525	Hausiku Wakina Primary School	Primary	7	31	22
Kavango	7675	Kaakuwa Primary School	Primary	7	38	27
Kavango	7766	Kaguni (Central) Junior Primary School	Primary	7	43	40
Kavango	7462	Kaisosi Primary School	Combined	7	44	
Kavango	7571	Kake Senior Primary School	Primary	7	33	32
Kavango	7572	Kambimba Primary School	Primary	7	12	11
Kavango	7573	Kamutjonga Primary School	Primary	7	13	24
Kavango	7679	Kananana Primary School	Primary	7	28	34
Kavango	7717	Kandumbu Junior Primary School	Primary	7	8	12
Kavango	7680	Kankudi Primary School	Primary	7	11	15
Kavango	7577	Kanorombwe Primary School	Primary	7	58	46
Kavango	7745	Kanuni Haruwodi Primary School	Combined	7	40	34
Kavango	7659	Kanyumara Junior Primary School	Primary	7	20	19
Kavango	7464	Kapako Primary School	Primary	7	47	53
Kavango	7682	Kaparara Primary School	Primary	7	31	18
Kavango	7465	Karangana Junior Primary School	Primary	7	27	10
Kavango	7489	Karuci Primary School	Primary	7	26	29
Kavango	7526	Karukuta Primary School	Primary	7	27	
Kavango	7683	Kasara Primary School	Primary	7	15	
Kavango	7685	Katara Senior Primary School	Primary	7	16	
Kavango	7578	Katere Primary School	Primary	7	42	43
Kavango	7686	Katope koMugoro Primary School	Primary	7	15	
Kavango	7579	Kayanga Primary School	Primary	7	36	
Kavango	7763	Kehemu Primary School	Primary	7	213	127
Kavango	7652	Koro Primary School	Primary	7	28	
Kavango	7582	Korokosha Combined School	Primary	7	13	6
Kavango	7590	Makena Primary School	Primary	7	20	
Kavango	7689	Matava Senior Primary School	Primary	7	23	19
Kavango	7595	Mavandje Primary School	Primary	7	26	26
Kavango	7472	Mayana Primary School	Primary	7	67	45

Kavango	7690	Mayenzere Primary School	Primary	7	29	22
Kavango	7597	Mbambi Primary School	Primary	7	24	16
Kavango	7598	Mbapuka Primary School	Primary	7	17	
Kavango	7473	Mbeyo Junior Primary School	Primary	7	35	18
Kavango	7599	Mbora Junior Primary School	Primary	7	14	
Kavango	7475	Mpora Senior Primary School	Primary	7	51	
Kavango	7697	Mpungu Primary School	Primary	7	73	
Kavango	7476	Muhopi Primary School	Primary	7	24	31
Kavango	7702	Mukekete Primary School	Primary	7	11	
Kavango	7703	Mungomba Junior Primary School	Primary	7	13	20
Kavango	7707	Mutengo Junior Primary School	Primary	7	18	19
Kavango	7605	Muthinduko Junior Primary School	Primary	7	14	
Kavango	7761	Mutwarantja Primary School	Primary	7	25	35
Kavango	7712	Namuntuntu Primary School	Primary	7	21	
Kavango	7715	Naucova Primary School	Primary	7	25	18
Kavango	7483	Ncagcu Primary School	Combined	7	43	
Kavango	7608	Ncaute Primary School	Primary	7	26	27
Kavango	7485	Ncumcara Primary School	Primary	7	32	45
Kavango	7611	Ncuncuni Primary School	Primary	7	16	
Kavango	7649	Ncushe Junior Primary School	Primary	7	9	
Kavango	7490	Nkutu Primary School	Primary	7	18	
Kavango	7729	Nzinze Combined School	Primary	7	19	23
Kavango	7592	Pandureni Junior Primary School	Primary	7	32	
Kavango	7614	Rudolf Ngondo Primary School	Primary	7	130	107
Kavango	7623	Rundjarara Primary School	Primary	7	25	
Kavango	7494	Rundu Senior Primary School	Primary	7	330	292
Kavango	7497	Ruu–rumwe Primary School	Primary	7	63	
Kavango	7655	Shadipwera Primary School	Primary	7	12	20
Kavango	7771	Shavivare Primary School	Primary	7	4	10
Kavango	7634	Shimpanda Junior Primary School	Primary	7	20	8
Kavango	7638	Shitemo Primary School	Combined	7	38	42
Kavango	7610	Sikanduko Primary School	Primary	7	117	107
Kavango	7737	Sikarosompo Junior Primary School	Primary	7	30	
Kavango	7792	Sikumba Junior Primary School	Primary	7	7	
Kavango	7738	Silikunga Primary School	Primary	7	26	
Kavango	7504	Sinzogoro Primary School	Primary	7	34	
Kavango	7743	Siurungu Primary School	Primary	7	26	19

Kavango	7505	Sivara Primary School	Primary	7	20	17
Kavango	7640	Tara–tara Senior Primary School	Primary	7	22	
Kavango	7641	Thikanduko Junior Primary School	Primary	7	14	
Kavango	7645	Tjova Primary School	Primary	7	25	
Kavango	7773	Yuru Primary School	Primary	7	21	18
Khomas	7014	Jan Möhr Secondary School	Secondary	9	264	
Khomas	7311	Concordia College	Secondary	9	263	158
Khomas	7835	David Bezuidenhout High School	Secondary	9	261	
Khomas	7261	Hage G. Geingob High School	Secondary	9	258	
Khomas	7840	Eldorado Secondary School	Secondary	9	243	
Khomas	7305	Augustineum Secondary School	Secondary	9	240	
Khomas	7339	Immanuel Shifidi Secondary School	Secondary	9	238	
Khomas	7382	A. Shipena Senior Secondary School	Combined	9	229	
Khomas	7802	Ella Du Plessis Senior Secondary School	Secondary	9	227	
Khomas	7015	Windhoek High School	Secondary	9	225	
Khomas	7011	Academia Secondary School	Secondary	9	216	
Khomas	8591	C.J. Brandt High School	Secondary	9	213	
Khomas	7896	Jan Jonker Afrikaner Secondary School	Secondary	9	204	16
Khomas	7316	Goreangab Junior Secondary School	Junior Secondary	9	202	
Khomas	7262	Hochland High School	Secondary	9	181	
Khomas	8543	Cosmos High School	Secondary	9	172	
Khomas	7013	Delta Secondary School Windhoek	Secondary	9	167	145
Khomas	7263	Khomas High School	Secondary	9	152	
Khomas	7940	Khomastura High	Secondary	9	150	
Khomas	7941	Highline Secondary School	Secondary	9	149	
Khomas	7016	Windhoek Technical High School	Secondary	9	145	
Khomas	7012	Centaurus Secondary School	Secondary	9	138	
Khomas	7939	Acacia High School	Secondary	9	131	
Khomas	8775	Rocky Crest Senior Secondary School	Secondary	9	128	150
Khomas	8501	Groot–Aub Junior Secondary School	Secondary	9	79	
Khomas	7074	School for Visually Impaired	Combined	9	7	18
Khomas	7895	A. I. Steenkamp Primary School	Primary	7	184	6
Khomas	7314	Auas Primary School	Primary	7	189	
Khomas	7304	Augeikhas Primary School	Primary	7	151	
Khomas	7307	Baumgartsbrunn Primary School	Primary	7	27	
Khomas	7315	Bet–El Primary School	Primary	7	226	

Khomas	7309	Bethold Himumuine Primary School	Primary	7	158	
Khomas	8502	Bloukrans Primary School	Primary	7	25	
Khomas	7060	Delta Schule Windhoek	Primary	7	102	
Khomas	7255	Dr. Frans Aupa Indongo Primary School	Primary	7	234	63
Khomas	7838	Elim Primary School	Primary	7	156	
Khomas	7061	Emma Hoogenhout Primary School	Primary	7	139	
Khomas	7062	Eros Primary School	Primary	7	161	
Khomas	7803	Gammams Primary School	Primary	7	148	25
Khomas	8845	Groot-Aub P.S	Primary	7	82	
Khomas	8548	Havana Primary School	Primary	7	178	
Khomas	8541	Hillside Primary School	Primary	7	131	
Khomas	7832	Khomasdal Primary School	Primary	7	146	
Khomas	8514	Kwakwas Primary School	Primary	7	9	
Khomas	7811	M. H. Greeff Primary School	Primary	7	151	51
Khomas	7344	Mandume Primary School	Primary	7	118	
Khomas	8814	Martti Ahtisaari Primary School	Primary	7	211	179
Khomas	7252	Michelle McLean Primary School	Primary	7	112	
Khomas	7090	Moses ?Garoëb Primary School	Primary	7	215	
Khomas	7899	Moses van der Byl Primary School	Primary	7	207	154
Khomas	8800	Namibia Primary School	Primary	7	123	
Khomas	7351	Namutuni Senior Primary School	Primary	7	130	
Khomas	8505	Nicolas Witbooi Memorial School	Primary	7	34	
Khomas	7089	Olof Palme Primary School	Primary	7	214	
Khomas	7063	Orban School Primary	Primary	7	115	
Khomas	8777	Otjomuise 8ste Laan Project School	Primary	7	37	
Khomas	7392	Peoples' Primary School	Primary	7	211	47
Khomas	7064	Pionierspark Primary School	Primary	7	146	
Khomas	8797	Rocky Crest Primary School	Primary	7	59	
Khomas	8810	St. Andrews Primary School	Primary	7	75	69
Khomas	7333	St. Barnabas Primary School	Primary	7	117	
Khomas	7065	Suiderhof Primary School	Primary	7	132	44
Khomas	7374	Theo Katjimune Primary School	Primary	7	102	
Khomas	7368	Tobias Hainyeko Primary School	Primary	7	155	77
Khomas	7066	Van Rhyn Primary School	Primary	7	192	78
Omaheke	7323	Epako Junior Secondary School	Combined	9	199	138
Omaheke	7000	Wennie du Plessis Senior Secondary School	Combined	9	145	

Omaheke	7422	Gustav Kandjii Junior Secondary School	Secondary	9	129	
Omaheke	8880	Mokganedi Tlhabanello High School	secondary	9	103	93
Omaheke	7401	C. Heuva Junior Secondary School	Combined	9	101	
Omaheke	8859	Gobabis Project School	Combined	9	90	
Omaheke	7428	Rietquelle Junior Secondary School	Junior secondary S	9	84	77
Omaheke	7404	Epukiro Post 3 Junior Secondary School	Secondary	9	75	
Omaheke	7037	Izak Buys Combined School	Secondary	9	28	
Omaheke	8565	?Khoandawes Primary School	Primary	7	63	27
Omaheke	7025	Ben van der Walt Primary School	Primary	7	57	38
Omaheke	7088	Blouberg Primary School	Primary	7	32	
Omaheke	7402	Chief Hosea Kutako Primary School	Primary	7	39	
Omaheke	7421	Christoph Ngatjizeka Primary School	Primary	7	65	
Omaheke	7297	Donker Bos Primary School	Primary	7	5	
Omaheke	7406	Dr. Fischer Primary School	Primary	7	51	
Omaheke	7447	Drimiopsis Primary School	Primary	7	48	
Omaheke	7448	Eiseb Primary School	Primary	7	19	
Omaheke	7024	Ernst Meyer Primary School	Primary	7	17	
Omaheke	7329	Gobabis Primary School	Primary	7	110	
Omaheke	7405	Goeie Hoop Primary School	Primary	7	80	63
Omaheke	7080	Morukutu Primary School	Primary	7	17	17
Omaheke	8881	Motsomi Primary School	Primary	7	46	6
Omaheke	7081	Mphe Thuto Primary School	Primary	7	41	2
Omaheke	7341	Naosanabis Primary School	Primary	7	55	64
Omaheke	7380	Nossob Primary School	Combined	7	58	66
Omaheke	7814	Nossobville Primary School	Primary	7	69	33
Omaheke	8547	Omuhaturua Primary School	Primary	7	43	
Omaheke	7449	Otjiuaneho Primary school	Primary	7	12	
Omaheke	7021	Otjivero Primary School	Primary	7	32	
Omaheke	7253	Rakutuka Primary School	Primary	7	58	5
Omaheke	7427	Traugott Kandorozu Junior Primary School	Primary	7	63	
Omaheke	8546	Vergenoeg Primary School	Primary	7	18	
TOTAL					20183	6657
					Total %	33%

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Data Collection

A consent form was sent to the day pupil's parents to sign to allow their children to participate. A consent form was given to the guardian at the boarding to sign to allow the boarders to participate. Instructions on how to complete the survey were sent to the principals, who in turn were to brief the teachers to show the children how to complete the survey. The principals were also called twice (at the beginning and end of data collection) to ensure everything was on track. Ask Afrika then sent couriers to collect the boxes from all the schools, regional offices and MoE offices and send back to South Africa. Unfortunately, only 33% of the schools participated in the research. Once Ask Afrika received the questionnaires, the scanning began and quality checks were done.

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				Logit Models	of School Dro	pout					
	Primary	y School			Junior Secor	Idary School			Senior Secon	ıdary School	
-	2	ო	4	-	2	ç	4	, -	2	с	4
Female -0.424***	* -0.433***	-0.389***	-0.401***	0.062***	0.061***	0.067***	0.067***	0.218***	0.219***	0.215***	0.215***
Birthplace: rural 0.584***	1.308***	0.061***	0.794***	0.304***	1.263***	-0.014	0.970***	-0.166***	-0.114	-0.099***	-0.057
Head Education		-0.087***	-0.080***			-0.022***	-0.018***			0.029***	0.030***
Household Size		-0.017***	-0.020***			-0.003**	-0.003*			-0.006***	-0.005***
Dependency Ratio		0.040***	0.045***			0.091***	0.085***			-0.013	-0.008
Fridge/Freezer		-0.559***	-0.540***			-0.533***	-0.539***			-0.176***	-0.182***
Stove		-0.433***	-0.405***			-0.207***	-0.245***			0.171***	0.144***
Region of Birth											
Khomas	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.
Erongo	0.094		0.04		0.137***		0.101**		0.197***		0.198***
Hardap	0.904***		0.760***		0.661***		0.592***		0.130***		0.158***
Karas	0.261***		0.226***		0.616***		0.591***		0.029		0.022
Kavango	1.242***		0.716***		0.591***		0.243***		-0.156***		-0.097**
Kunene	1.156***		0.759***		0.637***		0.405***		0.031		0.081
Ohangwena	1.314***		0.844***		0.449***		0.161*		-0.314***		-0.267***
Omaheke	1.239***		0.849***		0.539***		0.285***		-0.036		0.009
Omusati	0.957***		0.608***		0.044		-0.177**		-0.097*		-0.094
Oshana	0.515***		0.283***		-0.094*		-0.273***		-0.239***		-0.235***
Oshikoto	0.928***		0.592***		0.449***		0.259***		-0.304***		-0.277***
Otjozondjupa	0.976***		0.651***		0.762***		0.583***		0.046		0.095***
Zambezi	-0.611***		-0.464***		-0.657***		-0.636***		-0.640***		-0.710***
Region of birth * Birthplace: rural											
Rural * Khomas	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.
Rural * Erongo	-0.396***		-0.240*		-0.505***		-0.449***		0.303**		0.293**
Rural * Hardap	-0.772***		-0.542***		-0.601***		-0.496***		-0.005		-0.034
Rural * Karas	-0.375***		-0.201		-0.542***		-0.471***		0.171		0.165
Rural * Kavango	-0.776***		-0.523***		-0.964***		-0.858***		-0.092		-0.107
Rural * Kunene	-0.933***		-0.952***		-1.424***		-1.488***		-0.705***		-0.659***
Rural * Ohangwena	-1.308***		-1.047***		-0.952***		-0.827***		0.14		0.113
Rural * Omaheke	-1.117***		-0.919***		-1.060***		-0.934***		-0.04		-0.038
Rural * Omusati	-1.245***		-1.088***		-0.943***		-0.879***		0.155		0.155
Rural * Oshana	-1.311***		-1.161***		-0.834***		-0.765***		0.372***		0.357***
Rural * Oshikoto	-1.310***		-1.091***		-1.206***		-1.134***		0.183*		0.155
Rural * Otjozondjupa	-0.483***		-0.399***		-1.242***		-1.241***		-0.349***		-0.334***
Rural * Zambezi	-0.016		-0.233		-0.096		-0.208		0.521***		0.554***
282 220 Demodo B2	282 220	278 400	278 400	148 339	148 339	146 454	146 454	148 339	148 339	146 454	146 454
0.015	0.038	0.067	0.081	0.003	0.016	0.025	0.037	0.003	0.008	0.007	0.012

APPENDIX TABLE 1

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				Logit Mode	els of Never en	ntering differe	nt school leve	s				
		Primary	School			Junior Secon	Idary School			Senior Secon	Idary School	
	1	2	с	4	1	2	c	4	1	2	S	4
Female	-0.328***	-0.341***	-0.261***	-0.274***	-0.256***	-0.249***	-0.268***	-0.263***	0.092***	0.105***	0.087***	0.101***
Birthplace: rural	0.512***	1.479***	-0.148***	0.748***	0.546***	1.662***	0.006	1.151***	0.219***	0.921***	-0.106***	0.737***
Head Education			-0.212***	-0.196***			-0.087***	-0.083***			-0.070***	-0.066***
Household Size			-0.038***	-0.039***			-0.017***	-0.018***			-0.030***	-0.030***
Dependency Ratio			-0.018*	-0.031***			0.086***	0.089***			0.155***	0.143***
Fridge/Freezer			-0.516***	-0.528***			-0.585***	-0.588***			-0.499***	-0.525***
Stove			-0.355***	-0.304***			-0.478***	-0.528***			-0.092***	-0.138***
Region of Birth												
Khomas		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.
Erongo		-0.227**		-0.294***		-0.055		-0.139		0.242***		0.202***
Hardap		0.333***		0.124		0.853***		0.737***		0.483***		0.436***
Karas		-0.181		-0.186		0.677***		0.637***		0.224***		0.184***
Kavango		1.161***		0.424***		0.988***		0.414***		0.371***		0.087*
Kunene		1.719***		1.184***		0.973***		0.674***		0.795***		0.654***
Ohangwena		1.576***		0.921***		0.844***		0.431**		0.144		-0.044
Omaheke		1.929***		1.403***		1.018***		0.689***		0.628***		0.500***
Omusati		1.729***		1.313***		0.511***		0.248*		0.250***		0.106
Oshana		0.671***		0.397***		0.094		-0.169		-0.210***		-0.337***
Oshikoto		1.267***		0.792***		0.768***		0.486***		-0.034		-0.142**
Otjozondjupa		1.267***		0.787***		0.950***		0.650***		0.619***		0.501***
Zambezi		-0.264		0.086		-0.642***		-0.513**		-0.882***		-0.828***
Region of birth * Birthplace: r	rural											
Rural * Khomas		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.
Rural * Erongo		-0.477***		-0.26		-0.649***		-0.539**		-0.09		-0.075
Rural * Hardap		-1.019***		-0.687***		-0.698***		-0.463***		-0.326**		-0.245*
Rural * Karas		-1.108***		-0.868***		-0.542***		-0.413**		-0.133		-0.093
Rural * Kavango		-1.172***		-0.744***		-1.147***		-0.928***		-0.562***		-0.595***
Rural * Kunene		0.227*		0.366***		-1.042***		-1.005***		-0.620***		-0.709***
Rural * Ohangwena		-1.835***		-1.407***		-1.428***		-1.277***		-0.756***		-0.803***
Rural * Omaheke		-0.792***		-0.433***		-1.189***		-0.961***		-0.475***		-0.432***
Rural * Omusati		-2.438***		-2.215***		-1.397***		-1.401***		-0.785***		-0.928***
Rural * Oshana		-1.942***		-1.671***		-1.355***		-1.266***		-0.497***		-0.597***
Rural * Oshikoto		-1.863***		-1.444***		-1.539***		-1.415***		-0.702***		-0.803***
Rural * Otjozondjupa		-0.251**		-0.065		-1.052***		-0.916***		-0.509***		-0.549***
Rural * Zambezi		-0.242		-0.606***		-0.301		-0.550*		0.027		-0.172
Observations	282 610	282 610	278 678	278 678	119 870	119 870	118 355	118 355	83 318	83 318	82 310	82 310
Psuedo R2	0.01	0.092	0.131	0.189	0.009	0.03	0.064	0.082	0.002	0.018	0.041	0.056

APPENDIX TABLE 2

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