



Youth Matters

10 Years of the Youth Leadership Development Programme (YLDP) in Namibia

Compiled and edited by Peik Bruhns



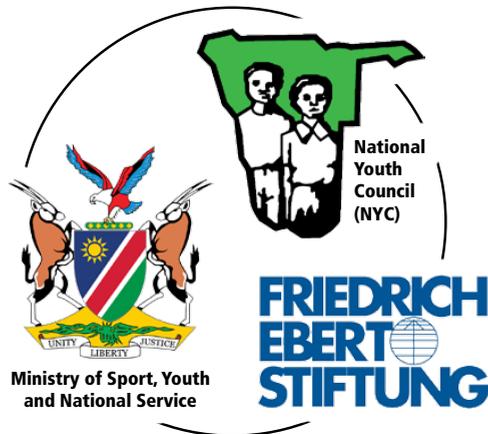
Bankie Forster Bankie ● Peik Bruhns ● Dawid Gawaseb ● Herbert Jauch
● Phaniel Kaapama ● George Kambala ● Unomengi Kauapirura ●
Julietta Kavetuna ● Peya Mushelenga ● Engenesia Neunda ●
Ndiitah Nghipondoka-Robiati ● Artwell Nhemachena ●
Wanja Njuguna ● Ben Schernick ● Ignatius Semba



Youth Matters

10 Years of the Youth Leadership Development Programme (YLDP) in Namibia

Compiled and edited by Peik Bruhns



Windhoek
Namibia

2016

© Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2016

All rights reserved.

The material in this publication may not be reproduced, stored or transmitted without the prior permission of the publisher.

The views expressed in this publication are not necessarily those of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Publisher's contact details:

95 John Meinert Street, Windhoek West

P.O. Box 23652, Windhoek, Namibia

Telephone (+264) (0)61-417500

Fax (+264) (0)61-237441

Email info@fesnam.org.na

Website www.fesnam.org.na

Printed by John Meinert Printing (Pty) Ltd in Windhoek, Namibia.

An electronic version (PDF) of this publication
is available at www.fesnam.org.na.

ISBN 978-99945-60-62-2



Contents

Foreword	iii
YLDP Factsheet	v
Interview with the YLDP Patron	1
1 African Youth Status Report: Threats and Challenges Call Into Question Youth Resilience	
By Bankie Forster Bankie and Artwell Nhemachena	11
2 Youth Political Retreatism, Activism and Militancy in Post-Colonial Namibia	
By Phanuel Kaapama	25
3 Aligning African Youth Policies to Improve their Role in Africa and in International Relations – a Namibian Perspective	
By Peya Mushelenga	40
4 Globalisation and How the Youth Can Cope with its Challenges	
By Ndiitah Nghipondoka-Robiati	50
5 Strategies for Young Women to Live in a Society Free of Gender-Based Violence	
By Julietta Kavetuna	59
6 Contemporary Youth Leadership Development for Active Citizenship	
By Dawid Gawaseb	67

7	Volunteerism – a Pillar in Youth Development	
	By George Kambala	75
8	Empowering Young People Today for a Future Not Yet Known	
	By Ben Schernick	84
9	Youth-Inclusive Trade Unions: The Relevance of Namibia’s Labour Movement for the Youth	
	By Herbert Jauch	94
10	The Media Impact the Image of the Youth	
	By Wanja Njuguna and Unomengi Kauapirura	103
11	Youth Agenda 2020 – Let’s Walk the Talk!	
	By Peik Bruhns	114
12	Challenges and Opportunities Faced by Young African Leaders	
	By Engenesia Neunda	119
13	The Importance of Youth Taking Their Development Into Their Own Hands	
	By Ignatius Semba	128
	Impressions Mosaic: Testimonials of YLDP Participants	137
	Appendix A: YLDP Profile	149
	Appendix B: YLDP Graduates	153
	Appendix C: The Authors	159
	Appendix D: Bibliography (consolidated)	167
	Appendix E: Abbreviations	179



Foreword

The Memorandum of Agreement on the Youth Leadership Development Programme (YLDP) signed by the Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture, the National Youth Council and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung on 4 October 2011 is a remarkable landmark in the developmental arena, not only in Namibia but globally. A formalised partnership commitment across a government agency, a local civil society actor and an international development partner is a formidable statement of how seriously important all parties involved in development consider youth development to be.

The three partners, now rejoicing in a programme which they have jointly conducted since 2006 and have helped to grow beyond initial expectations, acknowledge that development is best executed by a team of dedicated and professional institutions. The three partners began working together to shape the programme long before signing the Memorandum of Agreement, and thus were able to ensure that its foundation was laid properly by the time of the signing. Many leaders in all three institutions have come and gone during the course of the decade of implementation, yet the institutions themselves have remained committed and dedicated to the programme and its underlying values and principles.

The partners extend thanks to all who have contributed to the success and long life of this programme. The list of contributors is long, and naming them individually entails too big a risk of overlooking someone, thus it is better to offer an all-embracing Thank You!

To all YLDP graduates and future graduates, we say that participation in such training is only the beginning of your journey. It is important that this beginning is solid, interesting, valuable and meaningful, but unless you build on this foundation, the career you choose may never come to full fruition. Namibia offers a wide range of educational institutions that can help you to pursue the career of your choice, and the youth development community itself – including the National Youth Council and National Youth Service –



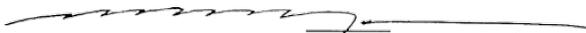
offers many interesting paths for you. We hope that all of you will consider such options for building on your YLDP experience.

Generally senior leaders in Namibia welcome advice and suggestions from the youth, and leaders in the YLDP implementing institutions can now proudly observe that graduates have been able advisors. Nevertheless, as the programme custodians we want to remind all graduates that the line between confidence and arrogance is a thin one! The programme places much emphasis on respect and tolerance, and we hope that the graduates will always exemplify these traits and thereby help to cement them among all generations in Namibian society at large.

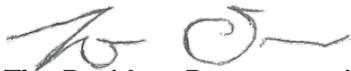
As a team we are celebrating, and simultaneously we are looking into the future. With the youth trained through the YLDP, Namibia's developmental prospects are exciting, but we know that success is always accompanied by the menace of complacency – which has no place as a partner in this team. Therefore we must continue striving for greater levels of excellence, trusting that we as the programme custodians, together with the sending agencies, the resource people, the coordinating secretariats, the social projects, the facilitators and all participants, will reach ever-greater heights in the years to come.



The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Sport, Youth and National Service



The Executive Chairperson
National Youth Council



The Resident Representative
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung



YLDP Factsheet

2006	YLDP curriculum designed.
2007	First national intake for YLDP – an annual national programme ever since.
2008	Hon. Ben Amathila becomes YLDP Patron.
	Partnership established between Namibia’s National Youth Council (NYC) and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).
	Self-organised YLDP Alumni formed.
2009	YLDP Coordinator employed at FES.
	First party-political youth forum established by YLDP offspring.
2010	YLDP graduates trained as programme facilitators.
	Regional leadership workshops piloted.
	YLDP web presence established – www.fesnam.org/yldp.html /facebook.
2011	Memorandum of Agreement ratified between Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture (MYNSSC), NYC and FES.
	YLDP graduates-turned-facilitators start running the national programme.
2012	Regional workshops conducted by YLDP facilitators on a regular basis.
	Special YLDP workshops conducted for emerging young women leaders and young people with disabilities.
	Southern Africa Regional Youth Forum (SARYF) formed as a regional networking body and annual networking platform.
	NYC appoints YLDP Coordinator.
	First <i>YLDP Yearbook</i> published.
2013	Fully funded MYNSSC Regional YLDP conducted.
2014	Regional graduates trained as programme facilitators.
2015	First draft of <i>YLDP Handbook</i> produced.
2016	Celebration of 10 years of the YLDP in Namibia.



Interview with the YLDP Patron

Peik Bruhns interviews Ben Amathila

“Make every Namibian citizen a producer of electricity.”

– **Ben Amathila**, YLDP Patron



PB: *When you were asked 10 years ago to serve as the YLDP Patron, this was because programme participants saw in you the most exemplary leader of their senior generation, and still today they look up to you. What does this tell you?*

BA: Thank you very much. It is good to now know how people view me. My immediate reaction to the request to become the YLDP Patron was influenced by the fact that at some stage the older generation will give way. The older generation participated in all kind of struggles – social,

political and military. Partly I saw the role of patron as an opportunity to pass on some of this experience to the young generation. We need to learn to be together, to work together and shape the future together.

PB: *Speaking of this togetherness, how have you managed to continuously engage young people, especially accepting their mobility and the very different thinking of young people?*

BA: There are many ways to test whether what you say and what you are doing really get through to young people. On special occasions I have had the opportunity to make statements thanks to the YLDP and the FES. Thereafter I picked some individual young people with whom to discuss and determine the usefulness of both the programme and my thinking. Sometimes the youth will come to me after my speech to follow up on some of the things I said, and I thought that was the indication of the interest in my participation.

One has to be aware of the fact that this programme was not only meant for one political party; it was meant for the Namibian youth. I urge all Namibian youth to come to this programme to advance the material interest of the political party which they are with. I think I have been trying to remind them of the greatness hereof. The biggest challenge was for them to see the future as youth who work together and to shape the future together.

PB: *What would you view as being the most significant changes and developments specifically in our society over the past 10 years?*

BA: One deep consideration that we dealt with at a time months before independence, and also during the negotiation under the umbrella of the United Nations, was the very clear fact that we were divided as a people, and we had seen what division could do. We had seen it in Africa, in Europe and around the world, and some of us were being steered by a fear that a divided nation can easily result in us attacking each other, like puppies fighting for the power over a piece of bone, and a third party will always come and take the bone, making losers of the two quarrelling parties. So that was pretty much the imprint on some of us – that the unity of the Namibian people should be paramount and we should help the youth to understand that this country

belongs to all of them and not to any single individual. It's only by recognising the greater issues that bind this country and its people together that they will secure the future for themselves, rather than continuing fighting amongst themselves.



PB: *You have made reference to some of the youth you are engaging with. Some of them are now aspiring members of parliament, leaders in political parties, councillors at local authority level and board members of the National Youth Council. Did you foresee such successes when you accepted spearheading this programme as its Patron?*

BA: I was also a young person once upon a time, and by the time I accepted this challenge, I had made provision in my mind for the leadership change that would come. If we don't provide the information that is necessary to enable the current youth to select what they want to do in the future, they may blame us for all the wrongs that may come. History has a funny way of repeating itself, and so my interest in the youth was let's give them all the tools and our experience of the past so that they can choose what to take from our experience and what to continue with – not for them to one day come to our graves and trample on our graves, blaming us for all things because we failed to give them the opportunity to understand where we are coming from.

Secondly, it is very important to note that Namibia cannot be and should not be allowed to be an island unto itself. Independence came with the assistance and participation of quite a number of countries, the international community, the United Nations and various international organisations. We have to recognise that our own effort alone was not enough; therefore we have to struggle to remain a member of the international community and not be isolated from that community.

When we are making laws and policies, that internationalism should guide us to remain a trustworthy member of the United Nations. Most nations invested in making Namibia an independent, therefore the youth have to be made aware of our interrelations of that time. If they ever choose to break away from those, it should be with the consciousness of what transpired rather than out of ignorance.



Old friends: Peik Bruhns and Ben Amathila in 2006

PB: *The three activists associated with the civil society movement named Affirmative Repositioning (AR) happen to be YLDP graduates. Do you think this is accidental? Please share related thoughts.*

BA: This is an issue that is not well understood in my view. It is an issue where members of SWAPO took their party to court, which shouldn't actually have happened. Parties have their own mechanisms to impose discipline among their members, and their procedures have to be followed in order to avoid such issues and court proceedings.

Of course I have thought about the whole thing. There is nothing wrong with the demand for land; everybody needs a piece of land, and SWAPO does recognise that. Provisions to redistribute the land are effective and are executed as fast as possible, but sometimes it become a matter of resources not being available, or the executors of the programme lapse a little bit. But my humble view is, members of SWAPO should have gone through the party structures: If you belong to a section of the party, you raise the issue there and get an endorsement from the members of that section. They will submit that to the branch, and if the branch is convinced, it will pass the decision to the district, and once the district is convinced, it will pass its resolution on to the region. Once the region takes a decision, and is convinced it is the right decision, the issue comes to the Central Committee and the Politburo. It will then become a party issue and not an individual concern.

This process takes personification out of the issue; it will not be an issue of Ben Amathila rather than an issue of the SWAPO Party. By going through these steps, we reach greater harmony. I think this is what has led to this misunderstanding. Some people thought it is just naughty young people who are trying to challenge the party.

PB: *One of the biggest modern-day challenges appears to be youth unemployment. How do you view the notion that this is a reflection of the failure of the parents of today's youth to plan properly?*

BA: I am not sure whether it is the youth or the adults who failed to plan, or whether the youth of today set priorities differently – partly because they are not well versed in matters of the past.

Very soon, on 26 August, we will have our Heroes Day, and many things will be said. How many youth know why this day was selected? Was this based on the liberation struggle starting on 26 August 1966 or the genocide of Herero and Nama people? What do the youth know about those struggles. I am not so sure if what we are seeing is the failure of the parents, but we see slightly different priorities. And then handing over the baton from one generation to the next is difficult.

PB: *How do you think especially rural youth unemployment of up to 80% can be remedied?*

BA: Given the size of our country, and the small population we have, and the expansion in our country, it is possible that sometime in the future, areas that we currently recognise as rural will not be regarded as rural anymore. If you go to the north and take a place like Oshakati ... I was there in 1965 ... the same Oshakati was not there: today it is striving and it is becoming a big city. The urbanisation of Oshakati and other places may stem the flow of people to Windhoek.

It is a situation where the young people have to be given the tools to decide where they are going to live – whether in the rural areas Right now we have a very good example: Windhoek is running out of water because of the rapid urbanisation, so everything has to be done to equip the youth to abstain from those magnets.

There are quite a few things that can be done for the youth, but you want the youth to do it for themselves – because, if you walk the streets of Windhoek, you see the men at the curb of road ... it is a sad story.

Let's look at this: We are a very sunny country. If we could give every Namibian the chance to contribute to the electricity production in our country, by, for instance, giving every Namibian the right to produce 1 megawatt of electricity, then a company like NamPower would be

compelled to buy that electricity. We could find 20 or 30 youth with a megawatt, and engage an investor, and together with the investor they could put up a plant in the sunny south. It's a safe investment; we could generate enough money to make them independent and even generate some additional income which they can use for some of the other activities or projects they are involved in – provided NamPower is compelled to buy the electricity generated.

We buy electricity from neighbouring countries – Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique – to the extent that we are exporting roughly N\$3 billion. Now this N\$3 billion can be used to make every Namibian citizen a producer of electricity, by buying their production.

Consider putting up a bank that makes available very reasonable loans, possibly especially for young people because they have a long way to go. But maybe also consider the older people differently, who have possibly only one or two decades to go: give them a grant so that they are not pressurised by the high cost of repayment.

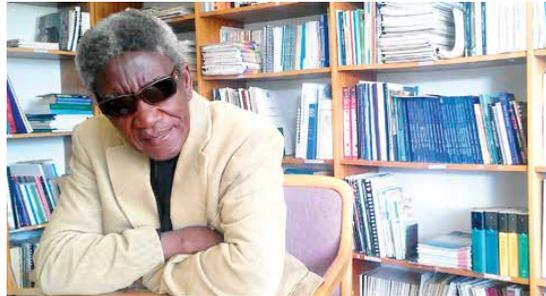
We have more than 300 sunny days per year, compared to countries like Germany which have less than 150 days of sunshine per year, yet other countries have chosen to go the renewable energy route like Germany.

We can easily create a situation where we, with means to electrify, go to the Atlantic Ocean and desalinate water, and resettle people on possibly two hectares of land and grow vegetables on that virgin land, where there are no diseases or bacteria, and tell the people to market organic vegetables to people who demand it and who have the money. You will see the moment you start making a success, the young people will move away from the roads, from pressurised areas where they cannot make a decent living. They will go to those areas, provided their vegetables are paid for.

Namibia has so many potential solutions and opportunities that can improve the lives of the young people. And also the old people, who are losing their houses and losing their jobs The young people can still go to school, but the old people are past the stage where they can go to school, so they need to be cared for much more so that the last days of their lives are more comfortable to them and they can live with dignity.

President Geingob has embarked upon a number of projects to relieve poverty among our people, and it is my wish and hope that

these projects will grow very fast to embrace the issues that I have just mentioned. Those are things that can be done and I am pretty sure the intention of the President is good.



PB: *Some observers say that Namibia lacks an eminent moral voice to guide youth into a safe future? Can you concur with that assessment, and who do you see fulfilling that role?*

BA: I am not so sure I will agree with that. The youth are very inventive, and the world has become a global village as they say. The youth have a wider world to choose their role models from, not only Namibia. When I was growing up, the role models in this country among the blacks were your teacher, the priest, the policeman. Those were the people of significance, of great leadership quality you thought, and you strived to become one of them when you grew up. But when I was becoming politically active, I looked beyond Namibia and I saw people like Nelson Mandela, Albert Luthuli and others beyond our borders who influenced me a great deal. That today the Namibians don't have a role model, when not only Namibia but the whole world offers role models, would puzzle me.

PB: *If you were to give the new-generation leaders feedback, would you say that Namibian youth sufficiently represent Namibia and its interests both locally and internationally?*

BA: Ja, that it is a difficult question because I heard people talking of the youth of today, the youth of Sometimes we forget what type of youth we all were when we were young. Nothing has changed with that very much, in terms of what the youth are doing today.

It would appear to me that one thing is very clear: the youth are becoming more, and are growing faster than we did, and they know much more than their parents, and as a result, areas of conflict are increasing. When you as a parent think that you are losing your territory to the young person who consults the Internet and gets solutions that you could not find yourself in your whole lifespan ... those are areas of conflict and possible disagreement.

The youth have to recognise, as they grow older, that although they are leaving their parents behind, it must not be the point to emphasise how stupid their parents are – that is un-African and wrong of those who claim to be Christians or religious; it is something that simply cannot be. It's a bowl of conflict. To go and claim now that I can read faster than my parents, or I can speak a lot of languages better than my parents and my grandparents and therefore there is room to mock them or prove to them that they are stupid is simply inhuman.

So, the youth in my view should recognise that it is very natural for them to grow ... taller than their parents grew or faster than their parents did, but they should also recognise that they are growing taller because of the price that the parents paid for them to live and grow. The conflict between the parents and the children would definitely be minimised if the young people recognised this. In the eyes of the parents it doesn't matter whether you are a billionaire or whether you are how many years old – you will remain a child in their eyes. They tend to feed you well.

A long time ago these things were exchanged around the fire, during the winters when there were no heaters and TVs. You would sit around the fires and hear all kinds of stories that equip children for their future. But now everybody has heaters in their houses so it widens the area of conflict between the parents and the children.

So I think the onus is on the young people not to outgrow some of the values that provide security to their parents. To say that these are my parents and I do everything I can for my parents to have a decent life while they are still alive rather than to start thinking negatively and saying things negatively, which will make that gap between the old and the young bigger and sometimes bitter.

PB: *Imagine that you are gazing into a crystal ball which shows the future. Where do you see Namibia in 10 years from now?*



BA: Crystal balls – I have read about them. I don't know whether they are effective anymore. But I trust that the Namibian youth will mature and take on some of the values which other nations are discarding, and not lose their origins and the originality of where they came from. That will steer them to greater heights and minimise conflict, because how much does it cost you to lift up an old person who has fallen down, tripped maybe, walked on a stone ... just to lift that person up. And what sense of appreciation are you not going to get when that person says "Thank you my child!" You walk the street and you find an elderly person standing on the curb, and 20 minutes later you come back and the person is still standing there. Why can't you think, "Let me stop and find out." That person's eyes have possibly failed, the ears may be giving a sound of cars coming but the person cannot cross the road because he or she does not see when to cross, to not be run over. What gratitude will you find if you stop by and say, "Uncle (or Auntie or Grandfather), what is the problem?" And you listen to that voice saying, "Oh my son (or my daughter), I want to cross the road but it's so difficult." You take the person by the hand, lead him or her across the road, and at the other side, a "Thank you" will come from that particular person.

Now, I hope that 10 years from now, consideration for your fellow man or woman will have increased, and we will not be in a Namibia where the old people are afraid of living the next day because things are changing, ignoring their existence. That is a future that I am dreading; I am afraid of. So I hope that everybody who has gone through the YLDP will retain the value to say, "Yes, I am strong. Let me look to my neighbour!"

PB: *Thank you very much, Patron of Namibia's YLDP, Ben Amathila!*



Ben Amathila, born in Walvis Bay on 1 October 1938, began working towards Namibia's independence in 1959 as a member of the forerunner of SWAPO, the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO). He served as the movement's representative in Nordic countries and then as its Secretary for Economics. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly which drafted and adopted the *Constitution of the Republic of Namibia*. He served in the Government of Namibia from Independence on 21 March 1990 until 2007 when he retired from full-time public service. He served as Minister of Trade and Industry from 1990 to 1993, and as Minister of Information and Broadcasting from 1993 to 2000. He retained his seat in the National Assembly until retiring in 2007. Internationally, he was a member of the Pan-African Parliament. Today he is a "semi-retired politician", serving the YLDP as its Patron and the National Assembly as Chair of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Economics, Natural Resources and Public Administration.





African Youth Status Report: Threats and Challenges Call Into Question Youth Resilience

By Bankie Forster Bankie and Artwell Nhemachena

Youth in the global and African context

Africa is the youngest region in the world, having youth as a percentage of population exceeding that in other regions of the world. In the 21st century, more attention than ever before is being given to youth globally. It would be fair to say that into the second decade of the 21st century, African youth are the subject of more attention than most, because of their numbers as well as their attention-attracting life-advancing actions. The magnet that Europe has become in recent years, drawing from initially Africa and latterly Arabia, has raised questions as to the reasons for forced migration, infiltration and the rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

Today, young Africans have visions and aspirations that might seem unattainable, yet are an essential contribution to today's societies and the future that awaits the next generations. Worldwide, young people living in countries at various stages of development and within differing socio-economic situations generally aspire to living full lives as members of the societies to which they belong. Today's young people are also considerably more educated and much more aware of global opportunities than was the case a decade or so ago, hence they have high expectations of a better life.



The Department of Economics and Social Affairs of the United Nations Population Division states that young people accounted for 20.5% of the African population in 2005. The United Nations defines a “youth” as a person aged between 15 and 24 years, and for the African Union, “youth” means 15-35 years of age. In sub-Saharan Africa the percentage of youth is expected to peak in 2025 at 20.6%. Owing to Africa’s presently high rate of population growth, the absolute number of people aged 15-24 continues to rise, and is projected to reach 350 million (17.7% of the population) in Africa and 320 million (18.3% of the population) in sub-Saharan Africa by 2050 (UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) 2009). It should be noted that Africa has the largest number of child labourers (*AfricaRenewal*, April 2015: 27).

The populations of north and southern Africa are projected to age faster than those of the other African sub-regions, with the proportion of young people aged 15-24 projected to fall to 13.9% and 16.5% of the population respectively by 2050. In east, central and west Africa the youth populations are still increasing as a proportion and in absolute terms. This divergence among the sub-regions is a recent phenomenon. The implications of these projections are that youth populations are increasing in absolute numbers, and larger cohorts of young people are entering adulthood, posing an ever-growing need to tackle issues such as the place of youth in the scheme of things for today and tomorrow.

Despite sub-regional variations, the growth trends in the African youth population will generally remain higher than in other regions of the world before 2050: 18.3% in East Africa; 18.5% in Central Africa; 17.8% in West Africa; 16.4% in Southern Africa; and 13.9% in North Africa (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) 2008).

Observations in the African context

In the past, the push to invest in youth education and employment in Africa relied on the theory of the demographic transition, which anticipates that Africa will soon reap a demographic dividend resulting from declining mortality and fertility rates. As the population becomes older and people begin having fewer children, the population of working age (15 to 64) will grow relative to the number of children and the elderly. This implies that the working population will have fewer people to support with the same income and assets, significantly lowering their dependency burden, and



that in the coming decades the dependency ratio will be lower in Africa than in other world regions. This will create a window of opportunity for better productivity, economic growth and investment in social services.

One lesson that can be learnt from experience in Asia is the importance of emphasising the quality of education as well as enrolment numbers, including attention to the vocational skills essential for technological change and growth (see, for example, Asian Development Bank 2004). East Asia's experience shows that sustained export-led growth requires investment in secondary and tertiary education. In 1960, workers in east Asia and the Pacific generally had less than three years of schooling, which was less than in Latin America and the Caribbean. By 1990, however, countries in Asia had the highest average number of years of educational attainment in the developing world, with a marked improvement in the educational attainment of girls as well as consistently improved teacher-pupil ratios (UNECA 2005). Asia gave attention to the quality of education, expanded girls' education and improved vocational skills essential for technological change and growth. All of these factors are essential for improving productivity and competitiveness. In Africa, lower enrolment rates, low completion rates, low quality of education and a failure to align curricula with the needs of the private sector have contributed to the mismatch of young people's skills with the demands of labour markets. Limited work experience and a lack of general hard and soft skills also place young Africans at the end of the hiring list.

In Africa there is very limited availability of certain factors which are of vital importance in skilling youth, examples being: access to education and employment opportunities; adequate food and nutrition; a politically stable environment that promotes good ethics, integrity and health; enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms; participation in decision-making processes; and access to cultural and recreational activities. African youth have limited opportunities for maximising their social welfare, and have often become victims of social and economic regression emanating from previous decades.

Migration

A consideration of the status of African youth requires an identification of the economic factors and specific determinants that affect particularly youth as a category. We distinguish youth from prime-age adults. In Africa



in general, low economic growth and lack of manufacturing condemns most to remain on the land – or, as we have seen in Namibia, drives many youth in rural areas to seek their fortune in cities and towns. All over Africa, such rural-urban migration of youth is a demographic reality which cannot be ignored, not least because of the pressure it places on municipalities to extend services such as water and electricity supplies to new city/town dwellers. Once these urban sites are full, the next ambition of many of their occupants is to migrate elsewhere – to another African country or another continent. Indeed, there is a large category of African youth who seek permanent relocation to countries such as Germany and Sweden. Within sub-Saharan Africa such persons are mainly West Africans (Francophones and Anglophones), and the next largest number are East Africans, mainly Eritreans and Sudanese. Some of the East Africans find their way to Israel and then proceed to the Persian Gulf for menial work. Each year millions of young Africans enter the labour market in Africa or elsewhere in search of employment, which they cannot find. These days this situation has found ready recruits for crime and terror organisations.

Young people migrating from Africa take one of three routes to Europe: namely the eastern Mediterranean route via Turkey, Greece and Cyprus, or the central Mediterranean route via Italy, or the western Mediterranean route via Spain. The eastern route is used mainly by migrants from Asian and Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq and Syria. Most migrants from sub-Saharan Africa use the central route, usually departing from Libya and using the Channel of Sicily. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM):

- the eastern route saw 22 677 migrant transits with 31 disappearances in the months of January to April 2015, and 153 390 transits with 375 disappearances in January to April 2016;
- the central route saw 26 228 transits with 1 687 deaths in January to April 2015, and 23 170 transits with 352 deaths in January to April 2016; and
- the western route saw 3 845 transit in January to April 2015, with 15 deaths, and 648 with 5 disappearances in January to April 2016.

A French radio station, RFI, reported on 24 June 2016 that on 23 June, some 5 000 migrants from Africa had been rescued from the sea, and that approximately 10 000 migrants from various continents had perished in the Mediterranean since 2014. African youth account for high proportions of these migrants.



The majority of the migrants were travelling in rubber dinghies carrying up to 130 people, and a few were rescued from wooden boats. The highest numbers of arrivals by sea in Italy in January to March 2016 had come from Nigeria (3 415), Gambia (2 270), Senegal (1 661), Guinea (1594), Ivory Coast (1 541), Somalia (1 504), Mali (1 442) and Morocco (822). In the first quarter of 2016, Greece saw a sharp decline in arrivals due to the deal between the European Union (EU) and Turkey and the closure of the Balkan routes.

The IOM stated the following in its report on “Mediterranean migrant arrivals in 2016” posted on 18 March 2016:

“Arrivals to Italy have never really slowed down; this year we are actually noticing a slight increase in the number of migrants from Libya. As of today, almost 12,000 migrants have landed in Italy, about 2,000 more compared to the number of migrants that arrived in the same period last year. ... For the moment flows are only composed of African nationals while the number of Syrians has dropped: in the first two months of the year, only six Syrians arrived by sea to Italy.”

A report from Accra, Ghana, dated 4 February 2016, states that Ghana’s President John Dramani Mahama, during Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi’s state visit to Ghana, had appealed to the EU to help create jobs for the youth in Africa, to reduce the surge of African migration to Europe. President Mahama had gone on to state that development partners must assist to build industry aimed at creating employment opportunities for young people and thereby stem migrant flows into western Europe, and further, that young people in Africa should be empowered with employable skills to enable them to take charge of their economic lives.

Pressure builds within Africa

The oft-cited issues exacerbating youth vulnerability, such as the lack of education, work experience and resources, are well known and still repeated ad nauseam. The prevailing economic crisis and financial uncertainty has created an environment which is not conducive for unencumbered development. Countries under the structural adjustment programmes of the Bretton Woods institutions are susceptible to all manner of economic pressures as the knot tightens, public sectors shrink and people are thrown onto survival strategies, particularly in the more vulnerable sectors such as



women, children and youth. Those who have survived these regimes have the scars to show for it.

Particular attention is paid to Africa's rural areas where food is produced. Most young people work in the agricultural sector, either as wage labourers or in self-employment. In Zambia in 2004, urban youth unemployment was said to be at 54% compared with the rural rate of 10% (Leibbrandt and Mlatsheni 2004), whereas in other countries, such as Kenya, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, rural youth unemployment is a far bigger problem.

Unemployment is one issue, underemployment another, and the latter is more often the rule in rural areas due to limited job opportunities. Young people in rural areas are not able to remain without work for long periods, and tend to migrate out of such a situation, leaving behind the elders, and sometimes their children for the elders to mind. Most young people in sub-Saharan Africa have to work to survive and support their families rather than stay in formal education. In sub-Saharan Africa, labour force participation rates for young women are lower than for young men (51.0% and 61.5% respectively) (ILO 2008). This indicator does not include unpaid home-based work undertaken by young women across the continent.

There are youth categorised as "inactive" because they are not in the labour force. For many young people, exclusion from the labour force is due to circumstances such as education, childbearing, childcare, illness, disability or some other impediment. South of the Sahara young people have to work and cannot afford to remain outside the labour force even if disabled or ill. 'Working poverty' – where a person is working but still living below the poverty line – is pervasive. Such poverty is generalised in the rural areas of Africa, and most work is located in the informal economy.

Policy is pre-eminent

At all levels, countries in Africa appear to be making strides in creating an enabling policy environment for youth participation in development. However, there is more to achieving the desired policy outcomes than simply creating an enabling policy environment.

Often African young people are regarded as a challenge rather than an asset, and are portrayed as dependent, whereas they should be viewed as autonomous agents, responsible for their own acts. This misperception is also to a certain extent reflected in youth-related policy agendas, which

tend to overemphasise the challenges and overlook the opportunities that young people bring, or can potentially bring, to Africa.

A recent study conducted by the Youth Employment Network and the International Youth Foundation (2009) in Ghana and Senegal found that the primary obstacles to recruiting young workers were a lack of life skills and initiative, and insufficient literacy skills. Those who were able to access education did not receive the relevant career guidance to make adequate career choices. Very few institutions in these and other African countries provide career guidance to enable students to make informed choices and decisions about the career options and paths available to them.

Most African countries following the prescription of multilateral organisations have adopted youth entrepreneurship policies which encourage youth delineation from the economic mainstream. This approach has duly fostered some job creation among middle-class aspirants, and therefore is addressing some of the socio-psychological problems and delinquencies that arise from joblessness. Youth-run enterprises have been established in Kenya and Uganda in east Africa; in Malawi, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Swaziland in southern Africa; in the Gambia, Ghana and Nigeria in west Africa; and in Egypt in north Africa.

Brain gain and utilising the potential of young people in the diaspora

Generally, African countries educate students through an elite system, only to lose them to other regions once they have completed their education. The youth model currently being implemented places very little emphasis on vocational training, which should be emphasised, focusing instead on the pursuit of white-collar jobs. A case in point under the current arrangements is the number of African doctors and engineers residing in Europe, Australia and North America. Irrespective of the benefits of multiculturalism and the reasons for human capital flight – whether exit is due to conflicts, limited opportunities, health hazards or something else – African countries should harness the potential contributions of international migration for their own sustainable development. The contribution of remittances to the gross domestic product (GDP) of the African countries concerned is widely acknowledged. However, other investments, skills transfers and diaspora networks which engage all sectors in African countries can greatly help to expand employment in all sectors. Such engagement can also serve as



a good basis for enhancing intellectual capital, promoting transnational networks and increasing the financial resources and business acumen of the African countries.

Although the increased focus on evidence-based policy is welcomed, such policy raises the question of the kind of knowledge and data collected, and it also increases the will to measure, monitor, predict and control the ideal development of young peoples' lives. However, most of our policies rely on data based on information premised on pessimism rather than well-being. There is therefore need for a more balanced combination of evidence, which in turn requires identifying diverse indicators.

Youth unemployment, underemployment and working poverty leading to social exclusion

It would be true to say that youth unemployment and underemployment are the most persistent and most urgent developmental challenges for African countries. The high levels of youth unemployment, underemployment and working poverty result in significant economic losses and the social exclusion of young people. As regards those with education, there is an ongoing exodus to developed countries – referred to as “green pastures” – which affects political stability and drives social conflict.

In an ideal world, most would stay home, rather than risk the hazards of foreign lands. The fact that the numbers of youth in African countries have expanded beyond expectations has pressured states and citizens to ensure that this segment of the population is integrated into national plans, failing which they will seek salvation outside those plans.

The solution

Finding solutions or ways to avoid the train smash or time bomb which all see lying ahead in Africa's demographics is everyone's responsibility. The youth explosion in numbers will not abate for some time to come, but no solution is being offered to the youth as yet. Even university graduates are without work. The question of the levels at which free education should be offered is forcing the hand of all governments to provide free education from pre-primary level to tertiary level, in the face of popular demand from people who have never had such opportunities before.



Given the developed world's inability to transform its development model away from the importation of cheap African raw materials, and its concomitant unwillingness to transfer technology in any significant way towards the industrialisation of the developing world, the only path left is to make industrialisation happen at home as a deliberate policy. This is nothing new. Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP) in Ghana, on the advice of Professor Arthur Lewis, implemented industrialisation by way of import substitution, with encouraging results. The political party ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe moved in the same direction, but hardly reached implementation due to intervening distractions. Some countries, such as Kenya, are progressing along the path of industrialisation of their economies.

It is also necessary for agricultural modernisation to proceed hand in glove with industrialisation. This requires high-quality industrial capacity, mature technologies and adequate financing capacity.

Concerning young Africans and their politico/policy-making process, it is suggested that they adopt a social-democratic approach.

Poverty reduction

Many interventions aimed at poverty reduction have targeted specific vulnerable groups, including young people. However, poverty is essentially a structural and economic problem which should be addressed through social change. Mainstreaming youth issues into national plans of action will not solve youth unemployment for as long as the underlying causes of youth unemployment remain unaddressed. Youth mainstreaming should go beyond making the concerns and experiences of young people an integral dimension of the design of policies and programmes. Instead, it should be led by concrete actions that address the main underlying problem currently facing the youth, which is job creation. The mainstreaming of youth issues into development plans should also take account of future challenges and opportunities.

The objectives of job and wealth creation are not new, although issues of wealth generation on an individual basis are misplaced as a primary objective. Production capacity and investment from elsewhere drives the modernisation of the so-called Third World, be it in agriculture or industry. Countries wanting to assist development have a responsibility to create jobs to pull out of poverty not just Africans but the Third World as a whole. Conventions and treaties are not made to be broken, and international



law is not a convenience, but ensures the responsibility to protect the less advantaged.

Specific strategies and policies for attracting capacity transfer are absent in general in Africa, but peace and stability have to be entrenched first. Various domestic requirements have to be met before modernisation and industrialisation can take off. No country is the sole architect and repository of information as regards modernising and industrialising a country. In this regard, colonialism and neo-colonialism have not created a meaningful launching pad for development anywhere.

Resilience

A number of other challenges will affect Africa's future, and African youth, for the long term. Climate change is one, and another is automation and mechanisation of production taking over jobs from human beings. Present and future challenges facing African youth have been the subject of much deliberation. Alcinda Honwana (2015), among other writers on African youth, describes their situation as follows:

“Trapped between childhood and adulthood, they are living in a twilight zone, a liminal space that has now become known as ‘waithood’.”

This “waithood” essentially entails entrapment by the social, economic and political conditions in which these young people live. Increasing unemployment, for instance, delays their marriages and forces them to continue residing in their parents' homes because they are unable to afford their own accommodation. However, some writers, such as Fokwang (2008), point out that there are also young people who are able to negotiate their predicament of blocked opportunities and arrested adulthood, occasioned by prolonged socio-economic and moral crises. Even as they are alienated, some are able to exercise their agency so that their lives are not ‘put on hold’ (Fuh 2012).

Therefore, it is apposite to not only look at youth in terms of their state, but also to dwell on the ways in which young people exercise their agency, even under the stifling conditions of “waithood”. Characterisations of young Africans as living only in states or conditions have to be balanced by looking at their concomitant processes of innovativeness and resilience.

In Namibia, for example, we are witnessing a youth revolution in the form of the Affirmative Repositioning (AR) movement, which has brought to the fore the youth demand for land, housing and a fair consideration of their interests. This movement is testimony to the fact that young people adapt to adversity, and they exercise toughness and elasticity in relation to challenges that they face. In other words, resilience involves not only states or conditions, but also dynamism, innovativeness and flux. For Braverman (2001), resilience is a concept that incorporates exposure to stressors or risks and the demonstration of competence and successful adaptation. For Carlson et al. (2012), resilience is the ability of an entity to anticipate, resist, absorb, respond to, adapt to and recover from a disturbance.

Some problems defining the status of youths in the world and Africa

At the global level, Satgar (2014) observes that about one billion people are living in perpetual hunger and two billion people are food insecure. Other sources, such as GAIN, cite similar statistics: two billion people suffer from various forms of malnutrition, and “*malnutrition is an underlying cause of death of 2.6 million children each year – a third of child deaths globally*” (see www.gainhealth.org). Similarly, Prontzos (2004) notes that 10 million people die from preventable diseases every year; 16000 people die every day from lack of food alone; and over 3 billion people live in abject poverty, without access to employment, basic nutrition, clean water and adequate housing, and with little or no medical care.

In Africa the picture is similar. In Namibia specifically, more than half of the population live in severe poverty. In 2011, official unemployment was recorded as being over 52%, and youth unemployment ranged from 70% to 80% (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 2011; Mchombu and Mchombu 2014). Namibia has structural unemployment and underemployment problems which have been worsened by global recession in recent years. In spite of increased growth rates in formal employment in Namibia prior to 2009, long-lasting unemployment episodes gradually reached unacceptable levels by 2012 (Kanyenze and Lapeyre 2012). Formal employment in this country has not offered security to many. Between 1997 and 2008, a period in which an estimated 240 000-300 000 new job seekers entered the labour market, the formal sector lost nearly 70 000 jobs (ibid.). Thus, Namibian youth are confronted by a precarious employment situation, partly as a result of the



1990s global neo-liberal free market policies that caused an increasing casualisation of work, the increasing ‘flexible’ forms of employment and a growing informalisation of the economy (Jauch 2015). In spite of these challenges – which included rising national debt – the Government of Namibia has put in place safety nets for the vulnerable, and pledged in 2010 to create and retain about 104000 jobs between 2011 and 2014 (*African Economic Outlook*, 2012). Regarding youth unemployment in Africa as a whole, Mawere and Marongwe (2016) state the following:

“... faced with massive youth unemployment in many of its countries such as South Africa (Dodds 2015; Mago 2014), Zimbabwe (Bhebhe et al. 2015), Nigeria (Onuoha 2014), Namibia (Shiningayamwe et al. 2014) and in a context where Africa’s youths constitute 60% of the unemployed (World Bank, cited in AllAfrica, 7 November 2014), Africa is sitting on a powder keg as some disaffected youths are already joining radical organisations such as Boko Haram (Onuoha, 2014).”

Some of the young Africans who were living in the aforementioned “twilight zone” or “liminal space” known as “waithood” have risen against their governments, as happened in Tunisia and Egypt, making a mockery of the so-called “Arab Spring” revolution, which, for spiritual and cultural reasons, has failed to reproduce south of the Sahara. Youth have been rebellious also in Senegal and Burkina Faso, and there have been staged demonstrations in South Africa and the Republic of Congo (Honwana 2015). Such uprisings have been understood in different ways. Pan-Africanist youth have to prepare for resilience in the situation of the strengthening of the nation-state, as foreseen by Walter Rodney, rather than its withering away and its replacement by a political and economic union. Without a systemic shift in the way things are done, we can expect African states in the global order to continue the current neo-colonial arrangements – which fail to provide employment – and to have difficulty justifying their continued statehood as stand-alone entities.

Automation and technology

Although technology has been making inroads in both the rural and urban settings for a long time, it is foreseen that with time it will pose challenges to urban employment. In the execution of public works, there should be

a balance between work/remuneration and unemployment, in favour of bringing into the equation as many as possible to sustain their lives. For this reason, Wallerstein et al. (2013) have posed the question as to the long-term future of capitalism. These authors are of the view that robots are replacing working-class, middle-class and expert professionals, and further (ibid.: 68) –

“This will not resemble the thrilling fantasies of science fiction. The real threat of the future is not some Frankensteinian revolt of the robots, but the last stage of technological displacement of labor on behalf of a tiny capitalist class or robot-owners.”

In the African context, local proxies, such as they are, work hand in glove with external capital, more often as servants than as a patriotic bourgeoisie, to push forward indigenous development – as also seen in south-east Asia.

At world scale, Wallerstein et al. (ibid.) are not alone. Bar-Cohen and Hanson (2009), for instance, present a similarly grim future of automation that calls for young people to develop resilient strategies. In their book entitled *The Coming Robot Revolution: Expectations and Fears About Emerging Intelligent, Humanlike Machines* (2009), Bar-Cohen and Hanson explain how humanoid robots are increasingly becoming similar to bipedal sentient human beings, and are taking over jobs hitherto done by humans. In the last few decades we have seen computers, cash machines and self-service technologies replacing humans, but it appears that robots will unstopably change the entire economy of the industrialised world, since they are replacing not only the working class but also skilled workers, whether fully or partially (Ford 2016). Robots are already doing the work of pharmacists, prison guards, bartenders, etc. This evolving situation will have wide-ranging and far-reaching implications for the youth of Africa for generations to come.

The scenario presented above points to the need for young Africans to be dynamic, not static, and to develop their capacities to anticipate what it seems will be an increasingly grim future. This scenario signals the need for African governments to assist the youth to adapt to the challenges of the future. Together, African youth and their governments need to anticipate the future and explore alternative ways of surviving without employment. This exploration is already a reality in the developed world. Switzerland in 2016 opted not to introduce a basic income grant (BIG) as a long-term



social engineering strategy for handling the issue of lifetime joblessness for certain sectors of the society, especially the poor.

Conclusion

The challenge is that, if African youth and their governments do not take anticipatory measures today, the youth will remain in a state of “waithood” forever. The youth should not expect others to act on their behalf. They can certainly expect support from others, but they need to be pro-active in designing the future society that they wish to inhabit.

The present and future threats and challenges are the inherent cause of the certain malaise and restlessness seen in so many among the youth of today. In Namibia the plight of the “Struggle Kids” has been a stark case in point. The phenomenon of forced youth migration has so far reached a limited area of the continent. It is a mistake to think that southern Africa is somehow ‘out’ of Africa. South of the Limpopo River we are increasingly seeing duplications of the development model used to the north.

The solution to the arrested development of the youth sector in Africa in general, is rooted in the arrested development of Africa en route to development. The logical way forward for Africa is the route being taken in other parts of the world, such as Asia and increasingly South America: *industrialisation*. Why should Africa be the ‘odd man out’? This solution requires the creation, through industrialisation, of ‘jobs at home’. The idea that Africa will forever remain the supplier of cheap raw materials will escalate the loss of life in the Mediterranean, turning a trickle into a veritable stampede outwards. No amount of cash payments or massaging of international law will stop the flow of migrants without the creation of ‘jobs at home’. While calls for resilience may be toughening, resilience of and in itself should not necessarily be demanded of African youth – the point of disconnectedness must be avoided. In analysing the state and the dynamic of African youthfulness, it is necessary to distinguish between sacrifice and resilience.





Youth Political Retreatism, Activism and Militancy in Post-Colonial Namibia

By Phaniel Kaapama

Introduction

From the perspective of international human rights law, the concept of democratic politics presupposes a fundamental obligation on the part of states and other key players (such as political parties) in the processes of democratic politics, to do everything in their power to afford the citizens the necessary opportunities to realise their right and responsibility to take part in the conduct of public affairs.

This notion of political inclusivity should be construed widely, thus it cannot be limited to only citizens' rights to vote in genuine periodic and competitive elections that are freely held and transparently and accurately tabulated, with universal and equal suffrage as well as secret ballots to guarantee the free expression of the electors' will (Roth 2008): It must also involve deliberate and dedicated political mobilisation efforts, in terms of which modern political parties do not focus merely on canvassing for votes at polling intervals, but also seek to integrate non-politicised individuals and/or groups (e.g. women, youth, marginalised minorities, working-class groups, etc.) into the political mainstream, by putting forth political and policy agendas that appeal to them (Nedelmann 1987).



There is increasing recognition of the importance of youth political representation and participation in the African democratisation project, but the actual role of youth in these respects remains under-researched, such that most of what is known and said about the implications of youth political retreatism, activism and militancy is based largely on generalised sweeping speculations rather than hard facts. This situation is very apparent in the Namibian context too.

Five years ago, Danielle Resnick and Daniela Casale conducted one of the few Africa-wide contemporary studies – if not the only such study – on the topic of youth political representation and participation, based on an examination of the 2008 Afrobarometer data covering 19 countries. In the study report (Resnick and Casale 2011), they refer to age as one of the most significant demographic influences on voter turnout trends, and conclude that in comparison with their older counterparts, African youth tend to vote less and express a much lower level of partisanship.

In the specific context of Namibia, these trends were confirmed by the 2008 Afrobarometer findings (cited in Kaapama 2010), which reflect that 33% of the respondents in the 18-24 age cohort had no interest in public affairs, and another 48% were undecided when asked to indicate the party with which they had most closely identified at that time.

As noted in Inglehart's post-materialist thesis (1987 and 1997, cited in Resnick and Casale 2011: 3), older generations tend to focus more on goals of economic well-being, law and order and religious/traditional and cultural values, whereas younger people tend to show greater interest in quality of life, social equality and personal freedom. It has been proved that the youth are less constrained than their older counterparts by professional careers and family responsibilities, and may therefore have more to gain than to lose from turning to the street when disgruntled with the legitimacy of the electoral and governance processes as meaningful conduits for the conveyance of their specific policy and service preferences. Hence the divergence between the values, aspirations and abilities of young people as compared to other social strata, especially the older generations, has in many instances become an obvious source of political tension.

Political retreatism in the early years of independence

The concept of retreatism derives from the writings of Robert K. Merton, an American sociologist, on modes of adaptation to which people may be

forced to resort as social and political coping strategies. Retreatism is an intermediate mode of adaptation along a continuum in which conformity is one extreme and rebellion is the other. Retreatism entails both rejection of the mainstream political goals and means and withdrawal into political isolationism. It has become customary for the constitutions of political parties to make provision for dedicated structures, such as youth leagues, and Namibia is no exception, as almost all of this country's major political parties have instituted such structures as vehicles for the fulfilment of various aims and objectives. Yet, Namibia's transition from colonial-era apartheid to a democratic post-colonial dispensation was characterised by a drastic regression in the levels of youth political activism and militancy seen in the decades prior to independence (1990), which had elicited the wrath of the colonial administration and its security apparatuses – with many young activists being at the receiving end of tear gas and rubber bullets, or being detained on numerous occasions or expelled from school.

In fact, the roots of Namibian civil society organisations can be traced back to the 1940s when pioneering nationalists sought to create for themselves subversive political space through which they could articulate alternative political norms against the political ideology of apartheid as imposed by the colonial government, as well as assert their demands for full political and social citizenship. The inspiring exploits of various nationalists during their time as young activists and militants are prolific in the memories and historiographies of Namibia's anti-colonial struggle. For instance, young activists made their marks within the various political formations of the late 1940s to the early 1960s – examples being the Herero Chief's Council; the OPC and later the OPO before its transformation into SWAPO; SWANU; CANU; and NUDO.¹ The 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of dedicated social-interest-based pressure groups such as the NUNW, the CCN, NANSO, the LAC,² *The Namibian* newspaper, the Bricks Community Project, and many others who were actively engaged in activities aimed at prying open the closed colonial political system, and in rendering social protection and support to victimised groups and individuals (Kaapama 2014).

1 OPO – Ovamboland People's Organisation; OPC – Ovamboland People's Congress; SWAPO – South West Africa People's Organisation; SWANU – South West Africa National Union; CANU – Caprivi African National Union; NUDO – National Unity Democratic Organisation.

2 NUNW – National Union of Namibian Workers; CCN – Council of Churches in Namibia; NANSO – Namibia National Students Organisation; LAC – Legal Assistance Centre.



However, after independence, the previously vibrant youth organisations did not proceed at full scale with their pioneering missions for inculcating awareness in the emerging youth constituencies, hence they cannot claim to have made an indelible mark in the democratised post-colonial political space. The political culture of retreatism has not been a phenomenon peculiar to the youth alone, as almost all of Namibia’s mass-membership-based civil society entities from the pre-independence political dispensation have suffered the fate of gradually dwindling popular support and political legitimacy.

Given this background, one may wonder why the pioneering role of youth activism and militancy that characterised the struggle for independence and political democratisation could not be sustained after the attainment of independence.

In an opinion piece in the *New Era* newspaper on 24 July 2007, the late Chris Hatutale Hawala, then Vice-President of the Namibia National Students Organisation (NANSO), made several interesting observations about the retreatism of pre-independence youth political activists, which had resulted in their diminished recognition as a force in the transitional politics of contestation. In his view, many activists of that generation had opted for “*pursuing careers in pursuit of material wealth*”. Hence, he not only referred to them as the “*lost generation*”, but also accused them of continuing “*to build wealth with little or no political involvement, often suffering from a crisis of accumulation and an ever diminishing recognition of their role in the liberation ...*”. Interestingly, although Hawala accused the preceding generations of youth activists of subscribing to “*the scramble for the economic cake post-independence*”, his proposed strategies for their continued engagement in the country’s political and economic development were no different. For instance, he advocated for what he termed “*processes of cadre deployment*”, which would entail the following:

“[T]he youth league [should] encourage its leadership and cadres at section level, to be deployees of the league in the private sector by taking up career opportunities in private sector. This would require that they aggressively pursue the envisaged economic transformation policies and therefore be able to lobby the fellow youth in the private sector to be active participants in the political arena through efforts of raising capital for the political and social programme of the league. ...” (Chris Hawala, in *New Era*, 24 July 2007)



Having recognised the difficulties that youth and student organisations encountered when trying to convene meetings for their constituencies, Hawala proposed the so-called strategy of politainment (a portmanteau of the words “politics” and “entertainment”), *“whereby every major rally ... should include hyper bashes of entertainment”*

Furthermore, given Hawala’s age and the fact that this part of Namibia’s history has yet to be rightly told and documented, he blamed NANSO’s political disaffiliation from SWAPO for what he termed the *“effects of the liberation euphoria with struggling student movement”*. However, it should be pointed out that the situation was compounded by the fact that some SWAPO leaders had thought it expedient to engineer a breakaway faction of NANSO under the leadership of Abraham Ndumbu – who later abandoned SWAPO to serve as a Congress of Democrats (CoD) Regional Executive Committee member in Oshana Region.

Youth political activation should in these contexts represent deliberate interventions to curb political retreatism and passivity within this important political constituency, by encouraging and demanding the broadening of the scope of this constituency’s involvement in politics. Hence there is a need for youth political empowerment as a mechanism for enabling the country’s youth to articulate their demands, including drawing attention to their causes and taking a clear public stance on issues and causes of interest to them, within the institutionalised channels of political expression (Nedelmann 1987 and Parlevliet 2010).

The Affirmative Repositioning Movement: An epitome of the resurgent militant youth political activism?

The Affirmative Repositioning (AR) Movement sprang to life with a short-lived occupation of a piece of land (an erf) in Windhoek’s affluent Kleine Kuppe suburb on 9 November 2014 by ‘the outspoken’ Job Amupanda, who at the time was the SWAPO Party Youth League (SPYL) Secretary for Information, Publicity and Mobilisation at the time, together with two other youth activists, Dibulukweni Nauyoma and George Kambala. They named this piece of land “Erf Number 2014”. This rather symbolic gesture marked the birth of what has come to be generally considered as a radical social movement.



From its inception, this movement has profoundly agitated against the shortage and unaffordability of urban land and housing in the country, in particular the high rental and property prices that make urban livelihoods impossibly expensive even for young professionals, let alone the large numbers of urban poor (Becker 2016). According to Delgado (2015), the cost of an entry-level house in Namibia in 2014/15 was about N\$700 000, which only 10% of the population can access. House price increases have averaged at about 20% per annum over the last decade, and house prices in Namibia are said to be the second highest in the world after Dubai.

One of the AR Movement's first campaigns of public protestation was a mass land-application campaign which culminated in the submission of 14 000 applications for land to the Windhoek Municipality alone. A second round of mass applications followed, with an additional 2 500 applications submitted in Windhoek and approximately 21 600 more submitted to other local authorities around the country (*New Era* newspaper, 2 March 2015).

On 27 March 2015, the AR leadership issued an ultimatum: if the local authorities did not process and approve the applications by 31 July 2015, then the movement would engage in forceful land invasions, seizure and occupation. Direct intervention by the President of Namibia, Hage Geingob, who personally engaged the activists in round-table negotiations for nearly 10 hours, ensured a peaceful ending to a stalemate that threatened to place the country in turmoil. The final agreement was that the Government and the AR Movement would work together on a plan to provide serviced plots to ameliorate the socio-economic conditions of urban landlessness.

Political commentators and scholars seem to be unanimous in their preliminary analyses of the real and the future potential effects of the AR Movement since its arrival on the political scene. Ndumba J. Kamwanyah (in *The Namibian* newspaper of 27 November 2014) not only exclaimed that the land revolution is here, but also referred to it as the start of a new era of protest. And, according to Heike Becker (2016), AR's land-application campaign constituted the largest mass action in independent Namibia. In characterising the AR Movement as the embodiment of the groundswell of profound anger and frustration about the enormous post-independence social inequalities, Becker, citing Achille Mbembe, borrowed a descriptive term that Mbembe used in referring to South Africa's student movement in 2015: "*Namibia reached her Fanonian moment ... a new generation has entered the country's social and political scene and has forcefully asked penetrating new questions.*" So, Namibia's "Fanonian moment" has come

in the form of the AR Movement. Other issues that have come under the radar of AR's fervent political eye include the perceived/alleged widespread nepotism and corruption among the political and economic elite.

The causes and effect of the resurgence of youth political activism and militancy

In many societies around the world, young people are generally regarded as being one of the non-politicised groups of citizens. However, they remain indisputably one of the most important political constituencies for electoral mobilisation. Politicians and political parties who ignore this constituency do so at their own peril (Resnick and Casale 2011). In the African context, the youth represent a significant proportion of the national populations of most states, if not all. In fact, the age cohort of 18-30 years is estimated to account for 70% of the continent's total population. Thus it should not come as a surprise that the mean age of Africans is 19 years. By comparison, the mean age of Europeans is 42 years (ibid.).

Since the early 1990s, political scholars in Namibia have been taking an interest in what came to be termed as a 'built-up youth bulge' as one factor alongside many others that explain the social interest and uprising at times of economic recession and in social-development crises. All these interests are evident from the literature on socio-economic exclusion and political disenfranchisement experiences of the youth. In the specific contexts of the African continent, these experiences are epitomised by high school dropout rates, massive armies of unemployed and underemployed youth, swelling rates of HIV/AIDS infection and impingement, etc. As Resnick and Casale (2011) note, approximately 72% of the African youth population live on less than two dollars a day.

In the context of Namibia, national employment stood at 51% in 2008, but after the Namibia Statistics Agency revised its methods, this figure was slashed by almost half, to 27%. Hence almost a third of the population live in so-called informal settlements, and half of the population have only the bush for sanitation. Not to mention the constant threat of eviction by local authorities and land grabs by elite beneficiaries (Delgado 2015).

Given Africa's increasing population of adolescents who have numerous unmet social, economic and political needs and aspirations, the youth-bulge-oriented perspectives have tended to emit pessimistic and extremely dire outlooks on Africa's political future. For instance, scholarship outputs on the



continent and beyond, and projections in the various media, characterise the African youth as an unstable social fluid that is threatening to ignite, implode and/or explode into a widespread state of socio-political anarchy.

Resnick and Casale (2011) found that the mean level of youth protest varies significantly in different regions of the world. It is interesting to note the Arabbarometer survey finding that 31% of persons aged 18-30 years participated in a public demonstration at some point in their lives. The 2007 Eurobarometer survey found that 20% of those aged 15-30 participated in a public demonstration in the previous year. In Latin America, 15% of those aged 18-30 had ever engaged in public demonstrations of any form. By contrast, the Afrobarometer Round 4 survey of 2008 found that only 14% of the youth had participated in a protest in the past year (ibid.).

The tenacity of the socio-economic and demographic youth bulge and its deprivation trap alluded to earlier is a major contributing factor to the resurgence of youth political militancy, which is marked by an increasing propensity for protest as a form of collective activity through which the youth endeavour to draw the immediate attention of policy makers to their pressing social, economic or political concerns (ibid.).

The resurgence of militant youth political activism in Namibia may also be rationalised from the perspective of the potential role and influence of the so-called “born-frees” (those born after independence in 1990, who voted for the first time in 2009) in the political landscape. In recent years this issue has increasingly attracted the interest of politicians, who have a vested interest, and disinterested political commentators, academics and lay people alike. This interest has borne lively speculations as to the implications that those in this age cohort may yield on the future path of democratic politics in Namibia. A similar situation pertains in South Africa.

The “born-free” social cohort is said to be less enamoured than their elders with the historical memories of the colonial past and the liberation struggle, therefore this cohort presents a challenge for the articulation of common intergenerational political interests and identities. Moreover, this cohort is exhibiting a political propensity for deploying a multiplicity of sources of information, with less reliance on traditional party structures and traditional information and communication tools and channels. This contributes to increasing this cohort’s abilities to independently and freely advocate for political and policy agendas of their own choice.

According to Nedelmann (1987), young people, based on their feelings of political disenfranchisement and socio-economic exclusion, often feel

forced to engage in mobilisational actions such as, among others, rioting, violent/peaceful demonstrations, sit-ins, go-ins, and inflicting suffering on one's own body, as in hunger strikes and self-immolations. This tendency not only challenges the institutionalised and formalised political system, but could ultimately destabilise and/or transform the system, depending on how such actions are handled.

This trend was recently witnessed during the so-called Arab Spring, in which young people's mobilisational abilities were bolstered by platforms generated by technological tools such as cell phones and the Internet, as more effective instruments for political mobilisation and communication. The World Bank's World Development Indicators database conveys that the number of Internet users on the African continent increased from 3.4 to 73.5 million in the years 2000-2009 alone (Resnick and Casale 2011). As a result, the informal exchange of information and debates – with at times militant political content – through the social-networking media (YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, etc.) have not only drawn increasing interest, but are also yielding noticeable impacts on the formal structures of political parties and governments across the continent.

These developments present a new dimension to the understanding of the concept of 'partisanship' in the sense of feelings of attachment to a particular political party, in that the social-networking media may indicate whether the parties in question are meaningfully addressing the concerns, wishes and aspirations of young people, and may also provide predictable parameters and indicators of the future voting behaviour of the youth (ibid.).

The resurgence of militant youth activism and the renaissance of the civil society sphere

Friedrich Engels (cited in Mamdani 1990) conceptualised the origin of "civil society" in relation to the emergence of citizens in the Medieval period who, having been submerged in the variety of forms of social bondage of that period, had managed to attain for themselves the status of juristically free persons. The civil society sphere thus serves the critical purpose of affording potentially subversive spaces for the articulation of alternative political norms that can rival the hegemonic policy discourses permeating the formal democratic political processes.

The potential opportunities that the resurgence of youth activism presents are not confined to the mere stimulation of youth political participation and



empowerment, but rather, as John Adams, the second US President, already recognised in 1776, “*the essence of a republic is a virtuous citizenry who demand virtuous leaders*” (Resick et al. 2006). The vibrancy of associational life, and particularly the vitality of citizens’ social movements and other entities of the civil society, are essential to democratic politics – such as for checks and balances in the excesses of government institutions, and for giving a voice to the marginalised and under-represented socio-political stratas of society by championing their struggles for full social and political citizenship (Kaapama 2014).

In more ways than one, the Namibian civil society sphere stands to be greatly reinvigorated by the resurgence of militant youth political activism. As Alexactus Kaure noted in *The Namibian* newspaper of 29 January 2016, before the arrival of the AR Movement in 2014, there had been a paucity of public debate about the role of civil society in Namibia today.

The convivial political ties formed during the liberation struggle played a part in the thoughtful and self-critical policy debates and consensus moderation that followed, but it seems – as alluded to earlier in this article – that such ties had their downside too, in that they became a double-edged sword by slackening the sustenance of the enthusiastic and sometimes militant activism of the liberation struggle era. Many activists of that era have seemed to be more comfortable playing the role of protégés of the governing party and its government machinery. Thus, rather than exploiting the close ties with their comrades who now serve in government to foster a transformatory policy dialogue, the post-independence leaderships of mass-membership civil society entities have come across as being extremely loathe to risk their careerist aspirations. This translates into what Achille Mbembe terms illicit cohabitation, strategic collaboration or self-interested political co-optation, meaning that civil society leaders seem more eager to engage in races to outperform one another in competitions for strategic patron-client networks.

In the context of the aforementioned radical urban-land activism led by the AR Movement, Delgado (2015) notes that initially this drew support from dissident trade unionists as well as members of the Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia (SDFN), but such support dwindled ahead of the public demonstration marches to municipal offices.

The fragility, elitism and credibility deficits plaguing the Namibian civil society were made plain in the controversies surrounding the Namibian Constitution Third Amendment Bill tabled in 2014. In the face of the lively



debate through copious editorials, columns, letters and opinion pieces in the print media, the civil society response lacked forcefulness and was equally clouded by doubts as to the broad-based representativeness and political legitimacy of the views expressed in the media and government on behalf of the citizens. Perhaps epitomising civil society's powerlessness, the Namibian Non-Governmental Organisations Forum (NANGOF) Trust, as the umbrella body of the NGO sector in Namibia, rather than flexing its muscles, could do no better than use one press release after another to voice its grave concerns regarding both the substance of the proposed amendments and the manner in which they were being rushed through parliament. In other words, instead of issuing resolute ultimatums, the civil society helplessly issued successive pleas for the halting of this process to a government which it fully knew was more inclined to not listen to these pleas. Similarly, the impact of NANGOF's campaign under the banner "My Namibia My Constitution" proved rather weak. This was particularly evident when the campaigners staged a peaceful demonstration on 12 August 2014 just a few metres from the National Assembly building where the Bill was under discussion, and those inside the chambers hardly took any notice of their presence.

Perhaps it's no wonder that Hage Geingob, Namibia's Prime Minister at the time, responded as follows in an online post (cited in *The Namib Times* newspaper on 12 August 2014, and in Kaapama 2014):

"... where do the NGO's derive their mandate from? ... Newspaper editors seem to know it all. They are perfect, knowledgeable and seemingly in daily touch with the masses. They speak with the authority of those who know the pulse of the masses. ... I have always wondered where some of these newspaper editors get their contact with the masses since their writings are littered with the very paternalistic and arrogant tone which they accuse ruling party politicians of displaying."

The political campaigns of the AR Movement have contrasted sharply with the lethargic public advocacy and political mobilisation efforts which have come to characterise the post-colonial Namibian civil society.

The demise of mass-membership-based civil society entities in Namibia coincided with the increasing professionalisation and 'NGOisation' of the civil society space, which somehow led to the celebration of an elitist and depoliticised conception of civil society as a sphere of autonomous actors



and organisations in pursuit of a progressive modernisation and social change agenda through professional and technocratic means (Kaapama 2014). To paraphrase Mamdani (1990), in the Namibian context, before the advent of the AR Movement, the civil society political sphere resembled associations of professionals with personal/corporate interests which were clearly distinct from those of the rank and file in their constituencies. Many of those who have ascended to positions of leadership and responsibility in such mass-membership-based civil society organisations saw themselves to be part of an emerging intermediary class of ‘political-elite-in-waiting’ (Kaapama 2014).

On its part, the AR Movement has ‘declared war’ on what it calls the “general zombie tendency” and its politics of hand-clapping and singing for the satisfaction of politicians, by working towards liberating the youth by converting them into active citizens and upright activists (Becker 2016).

Another avenue through which AR has inspired a resurgence in militant youth political activism, which could yield a positive impact, may be that of bringing about a shift from the presently prevalent neo-liberal political orientation to one in which democracy is conceptualised more in the form of a representative government by majority rule, in which some individual rights are nonetheless protected from interference by the state and cannot be restricted by the electoral majority (Dunleavy and O’Leary 1987).

Moyo and Yeros (2005) rightly cautioned civil society activists against falling into the trap of what they termed the neo-liberal dichotomy between the spheres of the state and the civil society. This caution has particular currency given the trends in many parts of the developing world, where states have become active agents in the drive towards civilisation to meet the requirements of the globalised capitalist world economic order. Moyo and Yeros thus posited that the breaking away of civil society from the state may not be a sufficient condition for autonomous expression, as compared to challenging the civility of capital. Jones (2006), drawing on the writings of Gramsci, also advocated for a conception of civil society that rests on alternative underlying assumptions about the nature of society, which should be conceived more on the basis of structured social relations between different groups and social classes whose interests are generally opposed. In this context, it may be erroneous to think of the political society and civil society as merely equivalents of state and non-state, respectively, as these are in many instances mutually constitutive aspects of a single integral social formation of the modern bourgeois liberal state.



In many of its pronouncements, the AR Movement has tended to place greater emphasis on a conception of democratic politics from the social democratic (developmental) perspective, by advocating for ethical ideals such as social justice and fraternity as the basis for the expression of all people's responsibility for others as well as for themselves (Raphael 1990). Drawing political ideological inspiration from the likes of Sankara, Fanon, Biko and others, AR has characterised its mission as that of seeking to establish an order that quarantines and liquidates capitalist anarchy by standing up for the voiceless and shielding them from capitalist greed and economic rape (Becker 2016).

Taken in the context of Namibia's intense class struggle around land and housing, in which both land and housing services have remained the biggest challenges for the working class and increasingly the middle class too, the free-market logic has been more an element of the conundrum than the solution to it. There are overwhelming attestations of the powerful vested and serving interests in the property markets. Firstly, municipalities, which are supposed to assume the various responsibilities for the servicing of land, rely on consultancies and spatial development services provided by private land surveyors, planners and engineers, some of whom charge between 50 and 100 times more than the highest sectoral wages. Secondly, most of the country's housing construction technologies and materials are still sourced externally, such that the construction of a small house of just 36m² costs in the region of N\$238 800 or about N\$6 600 per square metre – a very high or entirely unaffordable price for the vast majority of working-class citizens. And thirdly, the social structure of Namibia's cities and towns remains characterised by privileged central areas for wealthier people (being mostly whites and a handful of blacks), and underprivileged peripheral areas for the majority of the local economically disenfranchised blacks (Delgado 2015).

Such constraints have conveniently served the country's property market, which is promoted by real estate agents, banks and landlords, for whom the annual housing price increases have meant fictitious profits. For instance, to qualify for purchasing a house in the median price range in the central areas of cities and towns, one would need to earn a minimum of N\$23 000 per month, but almost 70% of those considered to be employed earn less than N\$4 000 per month. As Peter Marcuse notes (cited in Delgado 2015), homelessness in such a context exists primarily not because the system is not working, but because this is the way the system works.

Conclusion: Is AR bound to become a major force to be reckoned with or just another storm in a teacup?

Prior to bringing the AR Movement into being in 2014, Job Amupanda, along with SPYL Secretary-General Elijah Ngurare and a number of other SPYL activists supported the candidacy of Jerry Ekandjo in an electoral contest against Hage Geingob for the SWAPO Party Vice-Presidency, which was to pave the way for the winner's nomination as the party's candidate for the Presidential Elections in November 2014. After Geingob won the Vice-Presidency, some commentators, referring particularly to the timing of certain actions mounted by AR, espoused the view that Amupanda and his movement were driven mainly by their own unwillingness to accept the electoral outcome, and after the Presidential Elections, these commentators accused AR of engaging in an orchestrated campaign to undermine the Geingob presidency. An early example of AR's alleged 'timely' actions was the aforementioned symbolic occupation of the piece of land it named "Erf No. 2014" in Windhoek's affluent Kleine Kuppe on 21 November 2014, just seven days ahead of the Presidential Elections when Geingob, as SWAPO's presidential candidate, was preparing to square up with the candidates of opposition parties. Another example of such timing came on 27 March 2015, barely a week after the inauguration of Geingob as Namibia's third President, when the AR leadership publicly announced that if the local authorities did not attend to the aforementioned mass applications for land by 31 July 2015, then the movement would engage in forceful land invasions, seizure and occupation (Becker 2016). This allegation regarding AR's intent raises questions as to the long-term resilience and sustainability of the AR Movement's cause beyond the Geingob tenure.

Writing several years earlier, Alfredo Hengari (in *The Namibian* newspaper of 7 August 2009) cautioned that although factions define the very essence of the practice of politics, there is a danger that factional thinking at the service of certain political groupings can result in the corruption of all rational criteria when dealing with individuals who may be considered as functioning outside the political parameters of the presumed politically and socially constructed loved ones. Hengari advised that the quest for performance and delivery on the part of government must not have holy cows, hence the need to guard against the total assimilation of power and reason into unreason.



Becker (2016) alluded to what she terms a blend of rhetorical radicalism and a strong concept of constructive engagement based on notions of self-help developmentalism, in her analysis that the AR Movement may not be agitating for protest for its own sake, since it advocates for young people to involve themselves in activities that have practical benefits for themselves, their families and communities. However, a close interrogation of AR's professed programme suggests that there has been more of the talk than walking of the talk, as little progress, if any at all, has been made on this front. For instance, what of the 30 000 youth volunteers who were to assist with the servicing of government-allocated plots of land under an initiative called the AR Free Labour Programme? Another AR idea which presently appears to have been a pipe dream is the consortium whose task would be to provide the youth with leadership and practical guidance towards economic freedom.

To enhance its own institutional credibility and political legitimacy, the AR Movement needs to recognise the inherent danger of engaging in mere demagogic appeals to high principles or widely held prejudices, without giving serious consideration to the strengthening of direct and legitimate avenues of broader public participation, representation and accountability.

Such matters might ultimately render AR another elitist socio-political formation that advocates for improvements to the material conditions of the daily lives of the poor, more often with little, if any, direct accountability to the poor. For instance, apart from the techno-savvy urbanised elites who can be reached via Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and other social-media platforms, how many of the ordinary young people and other citizens deep in the rural and informal urban settlements can actually participate in the debates conducted through these channels of communication, let alone access the circulated information?





Aligning African Youth Policies to Improve their Role in Africa and in International Relations – a Namibian Perspective

By Peya Mushelenga

Introduction

More and more young people in Africa are assuming leadership positions in public institutions, and this is increasing their relevance in contributing to the youth development agenda at the national, regional and international levels. An effective contribution requires that governments adopt policies and programmes that serve as the basis of youth participation in national development programmes and further enable the youth to play a role in matters pertaining to them on the continent and in the international community. This article discusses existing youth policies in Namibia, Africa and the international community, and the relevance of these policies in enhancing the role of the youth on the African continent and in international relations. Further, this article looks at practices outside Africa, to shed light on the perspectives of other continents. It also identifies present gaps in policy implementation and areas in which improvement is needed.



Youth participation in policy formulation

Youth participation in policy formulation has become an important aspect of governance at both national and international level (Bertozzi 2015: 118). Arguably, youth participation needs support from national governments and national institutions dealing with youth-related matters. This follows from the assumption that the role of the youth in dealing with youth-related matters depends on the level of consultation that governments have with national youth institutions, and on the political will of the governments to implement the youth policies adopted nationally and internationally.

Consultation takes place when there are established structures that serve as a link between the youth and their national government. An example of such a structure is the 'National Youth Council' that serves as an umbrella body for youth organisations in the country. Such a council exists in many countries, including Namibia.

With regard to policy implementation, although many governments have been party to resolutions adopted by international organisations calling for the inclusion of youth delegates at international conferences, many of these governments have not implemented these resolutions in practice – an issue discussed further on in this article.

Youth policies should address the specific needs of all clusters, classes and levels of the youth of the applicable society. This serves to ensure that no youth are excluded from the broader framework of policies pertaining to them. Examples of 'clusters' of youth are urban youth, rural youth, students, young professionals, young women and girls, and youth with disabilities (Tohami Abdelhay, n.d.: 14). Examples of 'classes' of youth are unemployed and poverty-stricken youth, employed and middle-class youth, and empowered and wealthy youth. 'Levels' of youth means youth at the local, regional/provincial and national levels.

Policies focusing on a specific area of youth development normally seek to address the area-specific challenges faced in each *cluster* of youth. For example, Namibia's *Youth Enterprise Promotion Policy* states that young entrepreneurs in this country lack management skills and have limited business networks (NYC 2004: 8). This is not unique to Namibian youth. The United Nations in Swaziland, for instance, has conveyed that limited business networks restrict young entrepreneurs' access both to general information on the business environment and to the relevant regulations (UN Swaziland, 2013: 18). The challenges facing young entrepreneurs should

be addressed in government policies on youth development, as a focal area of youth development.

Meanwhile, girls and young women in Namibia face challenges such as teenage pregnancy and domestic violence. The national gender policies focus on women in general, and in most cases do not address the specific needs of *young* women. Peer discussions have revealed that when calls are made for equal representation in leadership positions at local, regional or national level, the focus is on *gender*, irrespective of age. Further, organisations such as the Namibia National Women’s Organisation (NANAWO) and the Pan-African Women’s Organisation (PAWO) do not have young women in their leadership structures. The plight of *young* women is left to be considered in national policies on both gender and youth development.

In 2007, Namibia established a Children’s Parliament as a mouthpiece of the country’s children and young people (see www.parliament.na). This platform was an initiative of the then Speaker of the National Assembly, Theo-Ben Gurirab. Each of the country’s 14 regions is represented by two members of the Children’s Parliament. Motions tabled and adopted in the Children’s Parliament are compiled in the reports on its sessions which are forwarded to the line ministries for action. Two motions emanating from this body were also adopted by the National Assembly: a motion for Grade 10 failures to be allowed to repeat Grade 10 as full-time learners; and a motion for pregnant schoolgirls to be allowed to return to school after giving birth (information from N. Shipiki, Personal Assistant to the Speaker of the National Assembly, 30 July 2016). This is one example of how government institutions in Namibia include the youth in the making of policies.

The Namibian youth policies and immersion in international relations

In 2009 the Namibian Parliament passed the National Youth Council Act, 2009 (Act No. 3 of 2009), which was brought into force on 15 November 2011. The National Youth Council (NYC) serves as an umbrella body for youth organisations in Namibia, and has structures, namely Regional Youth Forums, in the country’s 14 regions. The Act (in section 3(d)), empowers the NYC –

“... to establish and maintain relations with international youth bodies and national youth structures in other countries;”

Further, the Act (section 3(g)) empowers the NYC to drive youth empowerment by encouraging the active participation of all Namibian youth in this venture.

The NYC is affiliated to the Pan-African Youth Union, the Commonwealth Youth Council, the World Assembly of Youth (WAY), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the Youth Forum of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Within these international organisations, the Council advocates youth development. At home, it provides opportunities for exposure to youth worldwide, as part of its capacity-building process which includes sending Namibian youth representatives to international seminars and conferences organised by the affiliated international organisations. These platforms give the youth opportunities to learn best practices pertaining to youth developmental agendas (Muesee Kazapua, Mayor of Windhoek and YLDP Alumnus, interview on 20 July 2016). Such learning is also provided for in the NYC *Youth Enterprise Promotion Policy* (NYC 2004: 13), which states that the Council –

“... will take active steps to promote and facilitate the exchange of information and experiences of people involved in youth enterprise from within Namibia, across the southern African region and internationally.”

An example of activities organised to this end was a study tour for Namibian youth representatives to learn about enterprise promotion programmes in the United Kingdom (NYC 2004: 13).

The NYC further aims to develop a networking and liaising relationship with international youth organisations implementing youth development programmes. Accordingly, the NYC also engages in bilateral relations with youth organisations in other countries (Sharonice Busch, a Namibian youth leader and current Commonwealth Youth Council Regional Representative for Africa and Europe, interview 28 July 2016). Representatives of the national youth councils of Botswana and Zimbabwe attended the NYC General Assembly in December 2015. Their interactions with the Namibian youth provided an opportunity for exchanging information on issues of mutual concern.

Youth exchange programmes contribute to participants' own development by building their self-confidence. Arnold, Davis and Corliss (2014: 92) say that by the time participants leave such a programme, they have overcome

limitations of inexperience and uncertainty. And, armed with new skills, they are able to overcome a number of barriers that would affect their contribution towards advancing their cause. Youth exchange programmes enhance participants' development-related skills and capacities, and boost their involvement in social and political matters as well as their interest in international affairs (Bachner and Zeutschel 1994: 17-18).

The NYC's key thematic areas of focus for youth development are: Youth Health and Welfare; Youth Education and Skills Development; Youth Economic Opportunities and Participation; and Civic and Political Participations. These focal areas are addressed in the 15 priority areas of the UN's World Programme of Action for Youth (UN DESA 2010). The full participation of a youth delegation in the UN General Assembly's Third Committee (which deals with Social, Humanitarian and Cultural matters) will enable the youth to influence policies in their areas of focus.

Namibia has adopted measures to ensure youth participation in important decision-making forums on foreign policy and international relations. The NYC was invited to participate in the Namibian Foreign Policy Review Conference held on 25-29 July 2016. The youth wings of the ruling party and official opposition, namely the SWAPO Youth League and the DTA Youth League, were also invited to participate in this conference. This was the first time that the country's youth were given an opportunity to participate directly in the foreign-policy-making process.

The Namibian Government has also included the youth in delegations to international conferences on environmental matters, including conferences of the State Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This trend promotes awareness among the youth on issues of climate change, which is an emerging foreign policy area.

The NYC also participates in the International Youth Dialogue of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY), held annually in Melaka, Malaysia. (The author of this article has attended some of these Dialogues). The Dialogue presents opportunities for the youth to discuss issues pertaining to youth development, and for their immersion in international relations. WAY resolutions are transmitted to UNESCO, with which WAY holds a consultative status. WAY representatives attend meetings of the UNESCO Youth Forum where they present WAY members' concerns for consideration.

WAY's 15th International Youth Dialogue, held in 2015, focused on issues of youth in armed conflict. WAY acknowledges that most of these conflicts affect children and young people, who suffer from, among other things,



recruitments of child soldiers, deprivation of education, separation from families and sexual violence. In its “Declaration” for the 15th Dialogue, WAY called for an investigation into the determinants and impact of armed conflict on youth (WAY 2015). Rajendran et al. (2006: 10) state that armed conflicts instil fear among the youth because of the experiences to which such conflicts subject them, such as witnessing the horror of their homes being burned, and being displaced from their locations. There are ongoing conflicts in African countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Sudan, and it is important for these countries and the continent to adopt policies and take measures to minimalise the negative impacts of armed conflicts on the youth.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and youth policies

SADC has undertaken to establish the SADC Youth Union. This illustrates SADC’s recognition of the importance of bringing the youth into the mainstream of its regional programmes, and its acknowledgement of young people as partners in development (Sharonice Busch, op. cit., interview 28 July 2016).

Two of the objectives articulated in the draft “SADC Youth Employment Promotion Policy Framework” (dated 24 February 2016) are to improve employment opportunities for the youth in the region, and to improve their entrepreneurial capabilities (SADC 2016: Article 3). Thus SADC seeks to ensure that the youth are in the mainstream of entrepreneurship, and are capable of contributing to intra-regional trade. This policy focusing specifically on the youth will enable young people to position themselves suitably in a competitive business climate which is dominated by well-established businesses.

To ensure that there is a direct link between the region’s national youth councils and SADC as a regional organisation, there are plans to establish a regional youth council, to be called the SADC Youth Union, whose essential task will be to promote youth development issues at the southern Africa regional level. Over the past few years, the NYC – like other national youth councils in the region, such as those of Botswana, Swaziland, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe – has actively participated in discussions on the formation of the SADC Youth Union, and is a member of the Task Force for the Union’s formation. This Union will give the region’s youth a place

within the structures of the regional body, and thus a platform for them to contribute to the policy-making process on matters pertaining to the youth in the region.

Framework for the role of the African youth on the continent – an international perspective

The African Union defines “youth” as persons between the ages of 15 and 35 years. However, different African countries have their own definitions: in Nigeria and Swaziland the range is 12-30 years; in Botswana and Mauritius it is 14-25; and in Ghana, South Africa and Tanzania it is 15-35 (Gyimah-Brempong and Kimenyi 2013: 3). In Namibia’s National Youth Council Act (Act No. 3 of 2009), youth are defined as persons aged 16-35 years.

The African Youth Charter and African Youth Report (AYR) of 2009 are instruments of youth development and policies on the continent. In 2006, the AU Assembly of Heads of State adopted the African Youth Charter. The Charter (Article 10(3)(c)) calls upon Member States to –

“Encourage international co-operation in the production, exchange and dissemination of information from both national and international sources that are of economic, social and cultural value to youth; ...” .

The Charter further calls upon the States to include the youth in their delegations to AU Summits. While governments may not have ensured direct representation of their young nationals at the Summits by including them in the delegations, the youth are represented at the level of the Pan-African Youth Union (PYU), which attends AU Summits. Sharonice Busch, a Namibian youth leader and Africa and Europe’s Representative on the Commonwealth Youth Council, whom the author interviewed in July 2016, stated that at the continental level, the PYU’s role in advancing youth issues is effective, as the organisation contributes to decision making by attending AU summits.

Kenya and South Africa are among the countries which have adopted best practices for youth participation on the African continent (Angel 2005: 13). Outside Africa, there are countries which have adopted best practices for youth participation, and provide opportunities for their youth to play a role in international relations. For example, Romania has an advanced policy that promotes young people’s role in international relations and diplomacy. The United Nations Youth Association of Romania organises



seminars and workshops on issues of international interest in different fields – legal, human rights, economic, social, etc.

The Azerbaijani government adopted a State Programme 2005-2009, in which one focus is the development of youth international cooperation through the representation of the youth and youth organisations at international events (European Union 2011: 4).

African countries can learn from their best practice to enable the youth to play a meaningful role on the continent. This is particularly important as the number of the problems on the continent affect the youth.

The Commonwealth Youth Council

The Commonwealth realises the importance of youth participation in the organisation's affairs. To ensure that the youth contribute to upholding the values of the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in 2011 resolved to establish the Commonwealth Youth Council (CYC), which was duly established in 2013 (Sharonice Busch, op. cit.). The main purpose of the CYC is to serve as a platform for the youth of the Commonwealth Member States to engage in the organisation's activities, and to influence its decision-making process and address the specific needs of the youth, including strategising for youth development.

The CYC Constitution calls for including the youth in the delegations to important policy-making meetings such as the Commonwealth Ministerial Meetings and Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings, as well as the Commonwealth Board of Governors Meetings, other Commonwealth meetings, United Nations meetings and election observer missions (CYC 2015: Article 3).

The United Nations and youth policies and instances of Africa's receptiveness

In December 1995, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution A/Res/50/81, adopting the "World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond" – officially adopted on 13 March 1996. The priority areas identified for this programme are: education; employment; hunger and poverty; health; environment; drug abuse; juvenile delinquency; leisure-time activities; girls and young women; and the full and effective participation of youth in

the life of society and in decision making – on issues such as globalisation, information and communication technology; HIV/AIDS, armed conflicts and intergenerational issues. Seeking to ensure the full participation of young people in implementing this programme, the General Assembly, in the final paragraph of Resolution 50/81 –

“... Invites Member States, once again, to include, whenever possible youth representatives in their delegations to the General Assembly and other meetings of relevant United Nations bodies, with a view to stimulating the participation of young women and men in the implementation of the Programme of Action.”

The adoption of Resolution 50/81 indeed resulted in many Member States including youth delegates in their delegations to the UN General Assembly sessions. Youth matters are considered in the General Assembly’s Third Committee, under the agenda item called “Social development, including questions relating to the world social situation and to youth, ageing, disabled persons and the family” (UN Programme on Youth (UNPY) 2006: 9). This is where youth delegates contribute to the shaping of policies affecting them – but youth delegates’ participation in the General Assembly is not limited to the Third Committee, as some countries allow their youth delegates to participate in General Assembly sessions for their entire duration.

Youth delegates started attending the UN General Assembly sessions as from the 55th Session (2000-2001). That session was attended by youth delegates from just eight countries, none of which were African countries. Youth participation has increased over the years, and by the 70th Session (2015-2016), 27 country delegations included youth delegates.

Africa started to send youth delegates to the UN General Assembly as from the 60th Session (2005-2006), when one youth delegate from Ghana attended. Thereafter, a few other African countries, such as Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Kenya, Morocco and Rwanda sent youth delegates to the sessions, but most African countries have still not implemented Resolution A/Res/50/81.

African youth delegations to the UN General Assembly have included women. For example: both of Botswana’s first youth delegates, who attended the 64th Session, were women; Ghana’s youth delegations to the 64th and 65th Sessions consisted of three men and one woman per session; both of Kenya’s delegates to the 67th Session were women, and one of Kenya’s two



delegates to the 69th Session was a woman; Rwanda sent one man and one woman to the 68th Session; and two of Morocco's five youth delegates to the 70th Session were women.

African states which so far have not implemented Resolution A/Res/50/81 have denied their youth the opportunity to contribute to decision making at the highest level of the management of public international affairs. Apart from advising their country delegations on youth matters, youth delegates to the UN General Assembly participate actively in the work of the General Assembly's Third Committee, making statements and thereby contributing to resolutions on youth matters.

The Namibian Government could consider including in its delegation to the General Assembly representatives from the National Youth Council and/or the Children's Parliament to give the Namibian youth an opportunity to articulate their issues before the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly.

Conclusion

The Government of Namibia adopted youth policies, enacted legislation and created the NYC as a vehicle through which the Namibian youth can coordinate their activities at national level as well as maintain bilateral relations with youth organisations from other countries and participate in multilateral youth organisations.

National youth policies adopted by governments provide for a youth development agenda and enable the youth to exchange with other youth in international youth forums. However, there is still a need for improving direct youth representation in high-level intergovernmental and international governmental organisations. The inclusion of youth in delegations to international conferences, especially at the UN, remains a challenge for many countries. Direct representation in these forums is necessary for the youth to influence the international youth-policy-formulation process and decision making.



Globalisation and How the Youth Can Cope with its Challenges

By Ndiitah Nghipondoka-Robiati

Introduction

Namibia, like all other countries, is presented with economic opportunities of globalisation as well as its inherent costs. Globalisation evokes many thoughts and emotions, depending on whose perspective one gauges. To economists and multinational corporations (MNCs), globalisation makes it easier for countries and economies to integrate and become interdependent at national, regional and local level through intensification of cross-border trade and movement of goods, services, technologies and capital. To social scientists, globalisation increases human interactions among different cultural communities, involving families, religion, work and education.

Although there are diverse definitions and interpretations of the term 'globalisation' and the processes involved, most schools of thought on the concept of globalisation have several viewpoints in common. For instance, there is no doubt that, due to increased integration processes of production, transportation, development and communication technology, the world has become more interconnected and compressed.

There are three facets of globalisation: political, economic and social. Although these facets are largely interdependent, the general perception



is that economic and political forces result in social changes (Held et al. 1999). According to Held et al. (ibid.) –

“... globalization can be conceived as a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, expressed in transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and power.”

And further (ibid.), *“A satisfactory definition of globalization must capture each of these elements: extensity (stretching), intensity, velocity and impact.”*

This article assesses the challenges of globalisation facing the youth, especially in Namibia, highlighting the impact of this phenomenon on the youth and the coping mechanisms that young people currently employ. This article also provides recommendations, especially at policy level, to mitigate negative effects of globalisation.

Impacts of globalisation

Young people have grown up in a world of globalisation and inequalities. Some of the widely recognised effects/impacts of globalisation are as follows:

- **Food supply:** Food is now available at any time of the year, as it can be sourced at any time and in any country in the world.
- **Environment:** Ever-increasing international trade requires more and more cross-border transportation, and transport relies primarily on fossil fuels, which cause pollution. This pollution contributes to global warming, a phenomenon receiving more and more attention as its impacts touch more and more lives every day. The threat that global warming poses to the future of our planet is becoming more apparent every year.
- **Culture:** Increased access to different cultures and diverse ways of life in turn increases people’s knowledge and tolerance of diversity and different ideologies. However, there is an accompanying risk of a mono culture being created, particularly by large MNCs which can wipe out local competition and force local firms to close down.
- **Employment:** MNCs tend to move their manufacturing, assembly and production processes to locations where labour is cheaper than in North America and Europe – predominantly locations in south-east Asia. This is unsettling the division of labour and reducing job security in many workforces, with jobs being lot more temporary than ever before.



Youth unemployment due to globalisation

It is interesting to observe that there are more inequalities in the world today than in the past (Stiglitz 2011), and to witness the paradox that the process of globalisation is bringing people together while simultaneously widening the divide.

Growth that is attributed mainly to globalisation has increased wages and employment in countries such as China, India and Uganda, and has contributed directly to poverty reduction. Countries such as Brazil, Egypt and Malaysia, which have also been at the helm of accelerated growth and globalisation, have improved their health and education indicators by, among other things, reducing infant mortality.

This positive picture is sharply contrasted by the picture in those Least Developed Countries where overall economic growth has declined and poverty is on the rise. The key manifestations of these developments are job loss, low incomes, and poor health and education provisions.

Thus, globalisation is a 'double-edged sword', bringing economic and social benefits to some countries and economic and social costs to others.

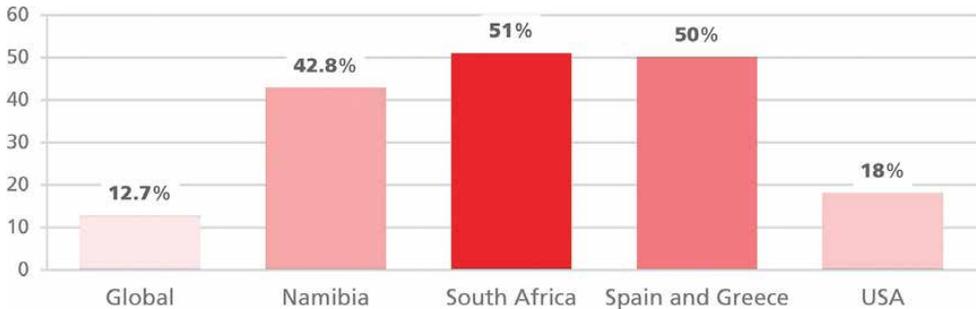
The youth (defined by the UN as persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years) are one of the demographic groups facing increasing unemployment globally. Youth constitute almost a fifth (17%) of the world population and a fifth (20%) of Africa's population (UNCTAD 2015: 14). In Namibia the proportion of youth is even higher, at 23% of the population (Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) 2012).

Globally young people are facing tremendous challenges, most notably unprecedented levels of unemployment in both developed and developing countries. This situation was spurred by the world economic crisis in 2008 – a phenomenon that demonstrated what Held et al. (1999) refer to as "extension, velocity and impact". According to the ILO, 12.6% of the worldwide youth population are unemployed, and among the unemployed there are more females than males.

This reality is depicted in the NSA's *Labour Force 2012 Basic Report: Focus on Youth Age 15-29 Years* (NSA 2012), which includes a graph (see next page) comparing Namibia's youth unemployment rate with the global average and the rates in neighbouring South Africa, two European countries (Greece and Spain) and the United States. This graph shows that, regardless of geographical provenance, the extent of youth unemployment is such that in some countries, almost half of the youth are unemployed.



Youth Unemployment Comparative Study



Source: Reproduced from NSA (2012), *Labour Force 2012 Basic Report: Focus on Youth Age 15-29 Years*.

The same report also shows that young people hold the majority of low-quality jobs, earn low wages and are likely to work in the informal economy.

The character of this global issue is intensely reflected in the Namibian scenario. This scenario is depicted in a publication of the Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI) entitled *The Crisis of Youth Unemployment in Namibia* (2011), resulting from a survey of the status of youth employment, shedding light on the causes of youth unemployment. The two key causes appear to be global competition and a poor educational setup:

- Namibia is not well integrated into global value chains for manufactured products, as it predominately exports primary goods which are used as inputs into global value chains of other economies. Implicitly this is one cause of unemployment, since jobs are created where there are value-addition processes.
- Although the high rate of youth unemployment in Namibia is attributed mainly to a failing education system, the ultimate cause is the absence of an education system that is responsive to the impacts of globalisation, as this absence has allowed for external factors to cause losses of jobs to the Namibian economy.

Every year 20 000 youth in Namibia drop out of school and cannot be absorbed by the country's labour market (LaRRI 2011). Hundreds more graduate from institutes of higher learning and are unemployed for long periods – ranging between six and 18 months (ibid.). The social impacts of this situation are causing political agitation at some levels of Namibian society, with a groundswell of public demonstrations demanding an end to the daily plight of the young people concerned.



Namibia's international trading regime

Namibia's trade regime determines the extent to which the country is exposed to globalisation processes. At global level, Namibia is a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). At regional level, Namibia is a member of both the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) – the oldest customs union in the world – and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Following is a brief discussion of these arrangements and their impacts on Namibia's trade.

The World Trade Organization

The WTO governs international trading rules which constitute an aspect of the institutionalisation of the globalisation process. Three basic principles of the WTO are as follows:

1. *Non-discrimination:*

- (i) "Most-favoured-nation status": A country should not discriminate between its trading partners by treating one partner more favourably than others; it should treat all equally as most-favoured nations.
- (ii) "National treatment": A country should not discriminate between locally produced and imported goods and services; it should treat all as national/local goods and services.

Exceptions to the non-discrimination principle are allowed where there is deeper economic activity among the parties negotiating. For example, exceptions are allowed for the purposes of free-trade agreements and customs unions, and to give preference to developing countries to help them develop.

2. *Reciprocity:*

If a country makes trade concessions, its trading partners should make equivalent concessions to balance the advantages and disadvantages of trade liberalisation.

3. *Prohibition on trade restrictions other than tariffs:*

Trade restrictions other than tariffs, such as quotas and export taxes, are prohibited as they distort trade.



As a member of the WTO, Namibia has to abide by all WTO principles and rules. The three principles outlined on the previous page tie Namibia to the global market and deepen the country's integrative processes. Namibia as a developing country faces difficulties that developed countries do not face in implementing the provisions of agreements with the WTO, particularly as regards how to promote developmental objectives which are ultimately meant to bring about sustained economic growth, with meaningful jobs created. This is the general consensus among the developing countries, and this consensus has stalled the current Doha Development Agenda negotiations, particularly the negotiations concerning the administration of the provisions needed to advance development.

Southern African Development Community

SADC, consisting of 15 Member States – Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe – has framed its vision as follows (www.sadc.int):

“The vision of SADC is one of a Common Future, a future within a regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the people of Southern Africa.”

SADC was originally formed as a loose alliance for political solidarity during the apartheid era. It has since evolved into an economic organ which aims to promote development through economic integration. The challenges for Namibia as a SADC member include: non-enforcement of rules by the SADC Tribunal – which has been suspended; the low levels of intraregional trade; and the total absence of regional value chains which are essential for job creation.

Southern African Customs Union

SACU – whose members are Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland and South Africa – is perhaps the most integrative economic process in which Namibia is currently involved. Over 80% of this country's manufactured imports come from the SACU members, predominantly South Africa.



Due to South Africa’s exposure to international markets, Namibia de facto implements and is affected by South Africa’s trading regime – a fact clearly illustrated by Namibia’s heavy reliance on South Africa’s manufactured products. The roots of this reliance lie in the two countries’ joint political history, which did not allow for Namibia to develop its own manufacturing capabilities.

The Common Revenue Pool is perhaps the glue that binds the SACU members together – particularly the smaller members, being Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland – as it contributes a significant portion of government revenue. In the case of Namibia this contribution ranges from an average of 25%-40% of government revenue, which the Fiscus uses to service its national obligations.

However, as regards the sustainability of the SACU setup, the glass is looking ‘half empty’, due mainly to the political and economic instability of the ‘hegemon’, South Africa, but also because tariffs are diminishing due to the intensification of trade agreements, and this will reduce the revenue that SACU members can collect from the Common Revenue Pool. The high dependency on this revenue will cause contractions of government’s ability to service debt and expenditure. Another major negative impact on SACU is the worsening of the employment situation in each of its member states.

As regards Namibia’s GDP in relation to youth unemployment, the table below illustrates that although the country achieved growth in its GDP in the years 2012-2014, youth unemployment did not follow the same positive trend. This supports the aforementioned notions of the possible negative costs of globalisation which impact on employment in spite of economic growth. Although the trend in inequalities has declined in Namibia since the 1990s, Namibia still remains one of the countries with high inequalities in incomes.

Table 1: GDP Growth versus Youth Unemployment

Year	2012	2013	2014
GDP constant values N\$ billion ¹	91 198	96 355	108 257
Youth unemployment as a percentage of total labour force ²	37.8	41.7	39.2

Sources:

1 Namibia Statistics Agency (2015), *Preliminary Annual National Accounts*, Table 1.

2 Namibia Statistics Agency (2014), *The Namibia Labour Force Survey 2014 Report*, p. 6.



Recommendations

Since a plethora of factors contribute to unemployment in Namibia – such as globalisation-related issues, lack of skilled workers, and government policies on both industrialisation and trade – the recommendations made here as to how youth can cope with the challenges of globalisation are not exhaustive, but they provide for a good start.

- Adopt measures to improve understanding of the specific impacts of globalisation and their implications for the country as a whole and the youth in particular, in order to assist and inform youth development programmes. In this regard, instruments traditionally used to promote and implement youth development policies need to be adapted to the new and changing context of globalisation. It is essential that youth equip themselves with information about how globalisation affects them and how to mitigate negative impacts on their own lives.
- Policies are essentially designed to influence and determine all major decisions, actions and activities within a given framework. It is evident that national governments have to develop policies aimed at addressing the conditions and challenges facing their youth today (UNCTAD 2015). Such policies should be accompanied by the promulgation of laws that promote youth development, with a particular focus on employment. In order to maximise the impact of such policies and laws, they should ensure equal opportunities for young women and young men.
- The lack of skilled workers in Namibia should be addressed by ensuring that all young men and women can access training programmes which teach them marketable vocational skills that enhance their job prospects. Also, the training curricula must be improved and/or adapted to meet the needs of the rapidly changing labour market associated with the globalisation processes. The transition from learning to work should be facilitated in the training process.
- Since the domestic market is the greatest leverage that a country has for increasing demand for its goods and services, the enhancement of entrepreneurship education and skills development should be further refined by the following means:
 - Introduce entrepreneurship awareness at primary school level.
 - Promote entrepreneurship at secondary school level through electives, extracurricular activities and visits to businesses.



- Promote vocational training and apprenticeship programmes.
- Encourage entrepreneurship training for teachers.
- Promote training in information and communication technologies (ICT) for the youth.
- Implement policies to support technology incubators, research and development (R&D) labs and cluster development.

It is evident that these recommendations pertain mainly to the need for policies that provide an enabling environment for the youth to cope with the effects of unemployment, with strong linkages to the globalisation phenomenon. Youth, however, have an intrinsic characteristic of being active agents of change and transformation in any society. This has been demonstrated by youth around the world who have demanded political and economic change. As such, the youth have to continue to familiarise themselves with the relevant policies and hold politicians and policy makers accountable for the policy changes necessary to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels (UN Sustainable Development Goal 16).

Conclusions

The negative impacts of globalisation have thus far included an increase in inequalities and unemployment, particularly among the youth globally.

Some economies have not adapted their policies to meet the challenges of a changing global environment. Of note is the lack, in some countries, of an education system that creates job opportunities and remove barriers to self-employment, particularly in countries such as Namibia which have seen shrinkages in available jobs. Industrial and trade policies have also not resulted in more jobs in spite of the growth of the overall economy.

Policy makers are urged to design policies that can be implemented by both the private and public sectors and ultimately result in sustainable jobs for both females and males in order to maximise impact.

Finally, as the share of young people's social exclusion increases in a given country, it inevitably poses threats to the country's internal stability. The youth can only cope by equipping themselves with knowledge of the regulatory framework and how it can be harnessed to bring about social inclusion and mitigate the negative impacts of globalisation.





Strategies for Young Women to Live in a Society Free of Gender-Based Violence

By Julietta Kavetuna

“It is time for all of us to assume our responsibility to go beyond condemning this behavior, to take concrete steps to end it, to make it sociably unacceptable, to recognize it is not cultural; it is criminal.”

– **Hillary Clinton**

Although the subject of Violence Against Women (VAW) was included in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1979) through General Recommendations No. 12 (1989) and No. 19 (1992) of the Committee on CEDAW, and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (June 1993) mentions VAW (at paragraph 18), the term “violence against women” was not explicitly defined until December 1993 when the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW). This was also the first instrument to elaborate on the subject. DEVAW defines VAW as –

“any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”



Another definition is found in the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa – a.k.a. the “Maputo Protocol” (July 2003):

“ [VAW] means all acts perpetrated against women which cause or could cause them physical, sexual, psychological, and economic harm, including the threat to take such acts; or to undertake the imposition of arbitrary restrictions on or deprivation of fundamental freedoms in private or public life in peace time and during situations of armed conflicts or of war; ...”

The term “gender-based violence” (GBV) was first defined by the Committee on CEDAW in General Recommendation No. 19 (1992):

“[GBV] is violence which is directed against a woman because she is a woman or which affects women disproportionately. It includes acts which inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats such as acts, coercion, and other deprivation of liberty.”

The terms VAW and GBV are often used interchangeably. The definitions of both terms support the notions that males are the main perpetrators of violence based on gender, and that GBV is rooted in inequality between males and females. The following core concepts underlie any discussion of GBV:

- **Gender equality:** Women and men must be treated equally in laws and policies, and must have equal access to resources and services within families, communities and society at large.
- **Gender equity:** The distribution of benefits and responsibilities between women and men must be fair and just. Programmes and policies that specifically empower women are often needed to achieve this.
- **Violence against women:** In short, this means any public or private act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty.
- **Intimate partner violence:** This means any behaviour of one partner (man or woman) in an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm to the other partner in the relationship. This is the most common form of violence against women.

Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV), the victims of which are predominantly women and children, incurs tremendous costs for communities, societies and governments – costs for general public well-being, health and safety, education and productivity, law enforcement, public programmes and budgets, etc. If left unaddressed, GBV, which encompasses a wide range of human rights violations, poses serious consequences for the present and future generations, especially for efforts to ensure peace and security, poverty reduction and the achievement of global development goals such as the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the UN in 2015.

The effects of GBV can remain with its victims for a lifetime, and can be passed on from one generation to the next. Studies show that children who have been subjected to GBV, or have only witnessed GBV, are more likely than others to become abusers themselves. Violence against women and girls is an extreme manifestation of gender inequality and systemic gender-based discrimination. The right of women and children to live free of violence depends on the protection of their human rights and a strong chain of justice.

The relationship between gender and violence is complex. The different roles and behaviours of female and male adults and children are shaped and reinforced by the gender norms of the society to which they belong. Gender norms are social expectations that define appropriate behaviour for women and men – e.g. in some societies, being male is associated with taking risks, being tough and aggressive, and having multiple sexual partners. In many societies, the differences in gender roles and behaviours have resulted in inequalities whereby one gender is empowered to the other's disadvantage. In many societies, women are viewed as subordinate to men, and have a lower social status than men in all spheres of life, giving men greater decision-making power than women, and control over women. Countries that enact and enforce laws to combat violence against women (VAW) have less GBV. Today 160 countries have laws to address VAW. However, enforcement is lacking in too many cases.

In a study of intimate partner violence in 10 countries (Garcia et al. 2005), the proportion of women reporting physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of an intimate partner over a lifetime varied from 15% (in a city in Japan) to 61% (in a province of Ethiopia). The proportion of women



reporting physical and/or sexual violence during the year preceding the study ranged from 4% (in cities in Japan, Montenegro and Serbia) to 54% (in the same province of Ethiopia). The Ethiopian case is representative of the similar situations in Namibia and other developing countries.

Interventions to prevent and end GBV

The promotion of gender equality has been the core focus of measures to prevent GBV, with two main strategies pursued for bringing about gender equality, which together are thought to reduce GBV as well: confronting a given society's entrenched beliefs and cultural norms from which gender inequalities have developed; and engaging all sectors of that society in redressing these inequalities. However, despite the long history and high visibility of such measures, few of them have been subject to any kind of scientific evaluation. Among the most promising measures to prevent GBV – especially during the dating phase of intimate relationships – are school-based interventions, community interventions, media interventions, and law and policy enforcement.

School-based interventions are aimed at addressing gender norms and equality early in life, before gender stereotypes become deeply ingrained in children and youth. A number of programmes have been developed to address gender norms, dating violence and sexual abuse among teenagers and young adults. These initiatives, which target either male peer groups or male and female youth together, are aimed at increasing knowledge of intimate partner violence, challenging gender stereotypes and norms, and reducing the levels of dating violence. Evaluations of such programmes suggest that they do in fact increase knowledge about dating violence and improve attitudes towards such violence, and they appear to be effective for reducing the levels of actual abuse of females. Initiatives that target male peer groups solely have proven to change violence-related attitudes in the short term, particularly attitudes towards sexual violence, and have successfully promoted new ideas of masculinity based on non-violence and respect for women. Practical and formalised initiatives appear to be most effective – a good example being a university-based initiative in the USA in which male undergraduates participate in a one-hour programme led by four male peer educators (see Foubert and Newberry 2006).

A recent study (Pierotti 2013) conducted over several years, found that attitudinal transformation is happening around the world. The study looked

at women's attitudes regarding intimate partner violence in 26 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. It found that, during the first decade of the 21st century, in almost all of the 26 countries, women became more likely to reject intimate partner violence, and similarly, that female rejection of domestic violence was growing in 23 of the 26 countries. In her cross-sectional analysis, Pierotti (ibid.: 260) found that "*women with greater access to global cultural scripts through urban living, education, or access to media were more likely to reject intimate partner violence.*" Pierotti concludes that domestic violence is increasingly viewed as unacceptable due to changes in global attitudes. However, even with this rising rejection of violence, in nearly half (12) of the 26 countries surveyed, more than half of the women in the survey sample still believed that domestic violence is justified. So, although attitudes are changing, we still have a long way to go to achieve the extent of attitudinal change necessary to end violence against women and children.

Community interventions to promote gender equality usually attempt to empower women generally, strengthen their economic position (through, for example, micro-finance schemes), and change gender stereotypes and norms. Such programmes have been implemented mainly in communities in developing countries. Most of these programmes involve women (alone or with men), and some involve only male peer groups which focus on masculinity, gender norms and violence. This reflects a growing awareness of the importance of engaging men and boys in interventions to promote gender equality, not only to redefine the concepts of masculinity based on dominance and control, but also to engage men and boys in stopping violence against women and girls. Community interventions aim not only to change the way that individuals think and behave, but also to mobilise entire villages or districts in efforts to eradicate VAW and GBV. In community interventions, the notion that GBV is a private matter should be denounced in the strongest terms. There is nothing private about any crime. Bringing known cases of GBV to light will help communities to fight this evil. The 'fatherhood and brotherhood' concept is a good approach to introduce in our communities: if every male sees a daughter or a sister in every female, he will protect and never harm or allow anybody else to harm the female concerned.

Namibia is a faith-based country, in that 95% of the national population are Christians. All marriages, confirmations and baptisms are conducted in a church. Therefore, the churches in this country can play a major role in



community and national efforts to end GBV, by addressing this issue in their teachings (e.g. in sermons and in the classes preceding confirmations and weddings).

A number of initiatives involving micro-finance have been established to increase women's social and economic power. These normally provide small amounts of funds to be used for mobilising resources for income-generating projects, which can alleviate poverty. Although micro-finance programmes can operate as discrete entities, the most successful ones have incorporated education sessions and skills-building workshops to help change gender norms, improve communication in relationships and empower women in other ways. There is evidence that micro-finance programmes which succeed in empowering women without engaging men may actually cause friction and conflict between partners, especially in societies with rigid gender roles. This is another reason to engage men and boys along with women and girls in interventions aimed at promoting gender equality. Critics of this instrumentalist approach to engendering development suggest that although it may bring economic growth gains, it will not fundamentally change the position and situation of women. It is generally agreed that while gender equality will bring economic growth, economic growth will not necessarily bring gender equality. Advancing gender equality requires strengthening the various dimensions of women's autonomy: economic and political autonomy (including full citizenship), sexual and reproductive autonomy, and freedom from all forms of violence. One problematic domain has been that of challenging cultural/traditional gender norms and attitudes that justify gender inequality. Many initiatives which have challenged cultural/traditional norms that subordinate women have been too Westernised, and thus have been met with severe criticism and vehement objections from various authorities. Norms and attitudes that justify intimate partner violence can be framed and objected to from within the applicable culture/tradition.

Media interventions use television, radio, the Internet, newspapers, magazines, and other printed publications to reach a wide range of people and effect change in a society. They aim to increase knowledge, challenge attitudes and modify behaviour. They can also alter social norms and values (e.g. the belief that aggression is an attribute of masculinity) through the public discussion and social interaction that they inspire. Media campaigns have proved successful in increasing knowledge of intimate partner violence and influencing attitudes towards gender norms, but less is known about



their ability to reduce violent behaviour, as it is difficult to measure changes in the levels of violence which a media intervention might have effected. However, research shows that the most successful media interventions are those that begin by understanding the behaviour of their audience and engaging audience members in developing the intervention.

Conclusion

There are two fundamental aspects that really will change the entire scope of GBV in Namibia: law reform; and the attitudes of the communities, the perpetrators, and very importantly, the women. At all costs, women should take the lead in ending GBV. They should start out by killing the associated myths and stereotypical attitudes, and they should lead in shaping the way that the whole society perceives and responds to violence against women. These myths and attitudes are harmful in that, among other things, they commonly blame the survivors for the violence rather than holding the perpetrators responsible for their behaviour.

Women should not allow intimate partner violence to happen to them, and should not, under any circumstances, remain in an abusive relationship. In no case does a woman deserve to be abused. The international community has recognised violence against women as a human rights violation that cannot be justified and requires a comprehensive state response. In the context of GBV, the contention that conflicts and discord are a normal feature of any relationship amounts to one of the sickening common phrases that feed abuse. Another is “Everybody can lose control” – a commonly used excuse to justify intimate partner violence.

Violence is not about “losing” control; it is about “gaining” control through the use of threats, intimidation and violence, as demonstrated by the “Power and Control Wheel”. Violence in a relationship is not normal; it is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, thus nobody should tolerate it at all. We are so over-blinded by myths, e.g. that domestic violence happens only to a certain type of person of a certain tribe. GBV is a global problem of pandemic proportions, with 35% of all women worldwide having experienced physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate partner or sexual violence from a non-partner.

While a number of factors may increase a women’s risk of experiencing GBV, domestic violence affects *all* women, irrespective of socio-economic status, educational achievement, ethnic origin, religion or sexual orientation.



Domestic violence is not limited to only physical abuse (hitting, punching, biting, slapping, pushing, etc.); physical abuse is just one form of violence, and, as noted earlier, international law defines violence against women as “*any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women ...*” (DEVAW). For example, prevalence research shows that 18.5% of all women experience psychological violence from family members including intimate partners, and the proportion for economic violence is 5.3%. Some studies show that women often find psychological abuse and humiliation more devastating than physical assault. Perhaps the most common excuse that abusers use to justify their behaviour is ‘being under the influence’ of alcohol or drugs. Substance abuse, which is present in many domestic violence cases and may lower inhibitions, is a contributing factor, not the cause of violence, since not all perpetrators of violence use drugs or alcohol, and not all of those who do are violent. The question for women is: How many times will he take alcohol or drugs and then abuse you?

Every woman has the right to safety, dignity and a life free from violence. Every woman survivor of GBV has the right of self-determination. She can decide to stay with her abusive partner or to leave him, and either way she is entitled to support and protection from the state. As for the argument that women should stay in an abusive relationship for the sake of the children’s well-being, it is well established that the health and safety of children are negatively affected when they experience or witness domestic violence.

We should promote community ownership and sustained engagement. To be effective in changing harmful beliefs and practices such as violence against women, initiatives should engage directly with members of the community concerned. Initiatives that are not designed and implemented with the community hold no value or impact for the government, other stakeholders and the community itself. By strengthening the capacity of individuals, groups and institutions to be agents of change, programmes can work to ensure that activism is sustained long after a specific project ends. Further: instil hope and excitement regarding alternatives to violence; personalise the process by reflecting that each person can be a part of the solution; engage community members to take up the issue and become activists themselves; frame violence against women as the community’s responsibility, not as individual women’s problems; and include men as part and parcel of community mobilisation. The impact of the plethora of laws and programmes will never be greater without community ownership.





Contemporary Youth Leadership Development for Active Citizenship

By David Gawaseb

Introduction

“The youth are the strength of this nation. They are our future leaders. They bring unique perspective that we need to take into account when we plan our future destiny. I, therefore, think that the youth should move to the centre of our planning activities in Namibia. We can no longer afford to keep them at the periphery.”

– His Excellency Dr Sam Nujoma,
First President of the Republic of Namibia
and founding father of the Namibian Nation,
address delivered at the official opening of the
Second National Youth Conference, 4 August 1999.

In principal, and as a matter of fact, as founding father Sam Nujoma and most other liberated thinkers in Namibia and elsewhere have stated, the youth are the future leaders of our countries and the universe at large. Thus, this article is not only an analysis of the quote above, but is also an affirmation that ensuring meaningful and effective youth participation in national decision-making processes will go a long way to safeguarding and ensuring a prosperous future for us all.

This article discusses the importance of youth leadership development and its ultimate repercussions on active citizenship. It also expands on some literature on the subject matter, and provides a structural rationale for ensuring effective and meaningful civic participation of youth in society.

Contemporary Youth and Leadership Development

In the Namibian context, and as per the National Youth Policy of Namibia, ‘contemporary youth’ can be defined as those young people between the ages of 16 and 35. These youth, unlike the youth of yesteryear, are faced with a different set of socio-economic and political challenges. Namibian youth in particular face a range of daunting challenges: unemployment, poverty, ill health, drug and substance abuse, and others.

Most profoundly, the challenge of youth civic participation in addressing these daunting issues as equal members of society remains the fundamental hindrance. Until this hindrance is overcome, the wider society will continue to perceive more and more youth as being part of the problems and not as problem solvers or change agents. ‘Youth’ are perceived as being central to most socio-economic ills, and are named along with these ills in standard adjectives describing the norm: *Youth and HIV/AIDS; Youth and Substance Abuse; Youth and Crime ...*

This phenomenon can be viewed as an outcome of societies’ continued failure to recognise the importance of the role of young people in shaping and changing the world.

The main bone of contention is that, if society wants to judge the youth for their future leadership potential, the judgement should be based on the youth’s current role and not their role in an unknown future. Hence, their potential can best be assessed by providing them with the platforms and opportunities they need now to showcase their potential as equal members of society and agents of change and growth.

Youth leadership development is an important component of nation building. The National Collaborative on Workforce and Disability for Youth (NCWD) (2005) holds that –

“both youth development and leadership programs positively shape the growth of young people and ... youth leadership programs build on solid youth development principles, with an emphasis on those development and program components that support youth leadership”.



Thus, providing youth with the relevant leadership training and guidance of all forms should be any nation's primary focus for nation building. Leadership development initiatives which emphasise the importance of national loyalty and patronage continue to make great headway in ensuring a society of more engaged and active nationals (ibid.). The NCWD (ibid.) further maintains that youth leadership can be an internal and an external process:

“As an external process it provides the ability to guide or direct others on a course of action, influence their opinion and behavior, and show the way by going in advance; and as an internal process it gives the ability to analyze one’s own strengths and weaknesses, set personal and vocational goals and have the self-esteem to carry them out.”

Moreover, according to Greiman and Addington (2008), there is a need for more courses and opportunities wherein civic engagement plays a strong role. Such courses and opportunities should be effected by continuing to express the importance of leadership in any context, and by linking such importance to the need for all leaders to contribute to the “social well-being” of a society, so that more natural connections are made between leadership and civic engagement (ibid.).

The support of adult leaders is another necessity in youth leadership development programming (ibid.: 2):

“Youth leadership development relies on the support of adult leaders (van Linden & Fertman, 1998), and it is crucial to have adults who effectively teach and model leadership (Woyach, 1992). Boyd (2001) identified the importance of the youth-adult relationship and concluded that effective youth leadership development programming depends on adults who model responsible behavior and who validate youths’ leadership efforts. Because of the important role that adults have in the youth leadership development process, they have been counseled that “understanding and appreciating the complexity of leadership is a prerequisite to supporting and challenging teenagers to be the best leaders they can be” (van Linden & Fertman, 1998, p. 8).”

Sociologically we are in an era coined variously as “post-traditional”, “post-modernity” or “modern”, and we are considered to be a “risk society”,



defined as “*a society increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety), which generates the notion of risk*” (Giddens and Pierson 1998) or “*a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernisation itself*” (Beck 1992). According to Giddens and other writers on ‘self-identity in the risk society’ (see e.g. Giddens 2007), persons in the risk society ask themselves such existential questions as “Who am I?”, “Who to be?”, “What to do?”, “How to act?”. The question of “What to do?” arises because people are dependent on political organisations and share a deep feeling that something vital is threatened or at risk (Tsuchiya, 2005). This dependence and shared perception of risk calls for an action or a multitude of actions in which the collective works together to carry out their civic duty to diminish or dispose of the risk factors or remedy their impacts.

This state of being can also be ascribed to a ‘youth identity crisis’ faced by scores of young people in society, who do not know how to identify themselves, who to be, how to act and what to do, *because they do not know what their distinct role is as youth*. In other words, if they know what their distinct role is as youth in society today, they will know what to do to be able to contribute meaningfully to this society.

This youth identity crisis poses anomalies and challenges for young people, not only for knowing what to do today, but also for progression to adulthood. Challenges such as a lack of education, unemployment or ill health at a young age often mean that one is unable to care for oneself as an adult, let alone start or support a family. A young person who cannot overcome such challenges upon reaching adulthood cannot be classified as an adult, who ideally is a working citizen who not only provides for him/herself and his/her family, but also contributes to the revenue of the state. Indeed, a high proportion of contemporary youth remain unemployed for long periods and are classified as ‘dependants’ well into adulthood.

Youth and active citizenship

Part of the mission of a democratic state is to enable all citizens to perform for the common good (White 2004). Namibia’s “Harambee Prosperity Plan” of 2016 and other national policy frameworks give substance to this mission by stipulating that no Namibian youth should feel left out or be left out.

Research has it that the more young people form part of elite leadership structures, the more likely they are to participate in civic activities such as voting and attending political rallies and community meetings, and thereby



actually make their voices heard. Such heightened participation of young citizens is attributed mainly to the impact of peer-to-peer relations among younger political figures, who have much in common and share the same frame of reference. On the other hand, studies on youth participation in politics have found “*low and declining levels of participation in traditional modes of political engagement such as voting and joining political parties*” (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) of the European Commission, n.d.). In this regard, the EACEA, reporting on its own surveys and citing various other studies, notes as follows (ibid.: 2):

“Loss of community ties, little interest in and knowledge of political processes, low levels of trust in politicians and growing cynicism of democratic institutions [are indicators of] the younger generations’ weakened sense of citizenship and political engagement.”

However, other studies show that the notion that youth today are not interested in politics is a myth, and that, in fact, they are the ones most concerned about political issues (ibid.), and the only change from the past is that contemporary youth use new forms of participation (Furlong and Cartmal 2011). Participation via the Internet (social media) is a brand new form of participation, since it did not exist a couple of decades ago, and other new forms have come about by youth adopting and modernising traditional forms of action such as demonstrations, protest, petitions and boycotts to serve redefined roles in contemporary society (ibid.). The EACEA (n.d.) also notes that “*the nature of political actions has changed significantly: they have become more individualised, ad-hoc, issue-specific and less linked to traditional societal cleavages*”. Furthermore, the patterns of socialisation of today’s young people are considerably different to those of their parents’ generation (Bauman 2001). Other contributing factors are globalisation, consumption and competition (Kestilä-Kekkonen 2009).

Thus, it can be said that young people in Namibia and all other countries are continuing to create new ways to engage in political frameworks and decision-making around issues that matter to them now and will matter to the next generations. The new forms of youth participation in politics are beneficial when it comes to active citizenship, because, “*through new forms of political participation, young people can feel that they influence political decisions more directly and effectively*” (Dalton 2008). The changes in the modes of political engagement are said to be linked to new views



of citizenship (EACEA, n.d.). Greiman and Addington (2008) describe citizenship as being the only construct that deals with the responsibility of leadership in a community setting. This further explains why it is so important to provide young people with leadership skills and development opportunities. The respondents in Greiman and Addington's study agreed that they have the power to make a difference in their communities, and they were willing to act on behalf of others, and they had participated in activities towards the common good. However, the study found that this civic engagement was tempered by a lack of agreement on – or perhaps indifference to – civic responsibilities and values.

The time has come for youth to be engaged in nation building as active and equal citizens if prosperity is to be attained. Youth are at the core of the development process of every nation (Varshavsky 2009). In addition, as Varshavsky (ibid.) argues, the youth hold the key to changing or continuing policies, but their contributions will not achieve full impact unless they are engaged in their nation as whole. Therefore, youth serving organisations, and sympathisers of youth with youth and for youth, should rally behind the youth to ensure more robust and proactive citizenship for generations to come. Zuniga et al. (2005) argue that the more diverse societies become, the tougher it becomes to encourage young people to participate in collective action. However, with the right kind of exposure and positive leadership training, they can become not only inquisitive, but also action takers in their localities, and so be part of the solution and not only beneficiaries of social services. The youth are being made more aware of their rights as part of law, but not necessarily their obligations as citizens. According to Ahrari et al. (2014), democracy does not only give rights to people, but also obliges people to, for instance, appreciate the opinions of others. Then, those who are aware of their obligations as citizens are not given the opportunity to apply them as part of their civic roles. Awareness of the obligation to appreciate other people's opinions is important, because it teaches the young that they have to take account of the interests of others ("GHK" 2007). However, citizenship itself does not enjoy prominence in the educational environment as a key theme of teaching and learning, which is what it should be (Davies and Evans 2002).

Research shows that more and more scholars are embracing the idea of engaging youth in social activities, and are trying to correlate this idea with the attitudes of the youth (Bekkers 2005, cited in Ahrari et al. 2014). In a study of what participation means to students in Namibia, Kennedy



(2007) found that the students had fairly sophisticated conceptions of citizenship responsibilities, although their attitudes were gendered, in that there were indications that young men are more likely than young women to take an interest and participate in political and other leadership affairs. The youth in Namibia seem to be committed to political obligations rather than social obligations, and they do not seem inclined to take advantage of their political rights or become involved in protest activities of any kind. However, it should be noted that this situation seems to have changed in the Namibian context over the past two years.

Active citizenship speaks to the need by members of society to involve themselves in civic matters in their communities and to work collectively in resolving these matters. Youth should be in the epicentre of this civic engagement as they come with a wealth of creativity and energy.

According to Weeks (2000), active citizenship –

“associates with active citizenry having authority to engage in flexible decision making as characterized from influential citizens participation. It involves activities like voting, joining public hearings, being part of citizen’s boards and participating in opinion analysis.”

A simpler definition of active citizenship is that of Nosko and Széger (2013), who suggest that it means *“getting involved in their local communities and democracy at all levels, from towns to cities to nationwide activity”*. Active citizenship can be as small as a campaign to clean up one’s street or as big as educating young people about democratic values, skills and participation. White (2004) outlines several characteristics of an active citizenry as being knowledgeable, independent, courteous and aware of the common good, and being loyal to democratic principles. Most profoundly, White asserts that the citizenry should provide input and be informed of the possible effects of the decisions made on their behalf.

Conclusion and structural rationale

It is imperative that youth representatives become part of the mainstream national development and decision-making structures. They should also be accorded the relevant opportunities to act out the leadership qualities gained from leadership development programmes and training initiatives – *today*, so as to lead better in their current and future roles. This is the



best way to improve the future generations' chances of being more active citizens, in that they will be grounded on the virtues and potentials of civic citizenship.

It is very commendable that most leaders today realise the importance of youth civic participation, and that the youth's role not only in terms of voting but in shaping our country's future is taking centre stage. However, as much as some liberated thinkers such as the Founding Father assert that youth are the future leaders of the country and are capable of leading 'now', there are those who continue to oppose the notion that youth are able to lead socio-economic and political processes now if granted the opportunity and guidance to do so. It is evident that younger members of the current Namibian Parliament who have grown out of the various youth formations countrywide have come to office with a great set of leadership qualities. Thus, there is no doubt that engaging youth in early childhood and youth-aged leadership development would go a long way to grooming potential current and future leaders of our country.

The conclusive recommendation and structural rationale have three components: *Leadership Awareness*; *Leadership Skills Training*; and *Leadership Practice*.

The Awareness component should address sensitisation and overall awareness of leadership development and active citizenry, and should be aimed at intriguing the young mind as to the endless possibilities that lie in leadership skills development, with an emphasis on active citizenship. This component should also embrace the notion that knowledge is power, and should be based on information sharing and exposure.

Leadership Skills Training, on the other hand, should involve practical youth skills training on various features of leadership as a discourse, focusing primarily on real-time examples and role-appropriate learning. Further, this training should include positive role modelling, mentoring and applied coaching.

The Leadership Practice component should be centred on ensuring that the trainees are exposed to practical experiences in which they can apply the skills gained in their training. These experiences can involve real-life scenarios that require them to act out leadership qualities and bring about remedial actions to correctly guide the future course. Leadership practice should be clinched on the basis of experiential and lifelong learning through collective engagement of the citizenry, most particularly youth.





Volunteerism – a Pillar in Youth Development

By George Kambala

Background

“African community is united such that a poor man in Africa is not a man without anything, but a man who cannot spare time to develop his community.”

– Shephard Dube

The YLDP Social Project is a built-in component of the programme, running concurrently with all YLDP modules. This component has been integrated innovatively into this leadership programme to enable the participants to enhance their social and volunteering skills and harness their empathetic social contribution to society.

Participants are exposed to the practical social realities in our society, and are encouraged to understand and analyse the implications of these realities. Participants are attached to existing welfare projects operating in Windhoek, and are expected (subject to each individual’s availability) to offer their services to those projects as volunteers.

The purpose of the Social Project is to attain goals such as: awareness of the ethical principles and fundamental values that underpin responsible leadership; personal hands-on experience in helping others through small collective efforts; working together in small teams irrespective of the team



members' social relations; and increased levels of participation in social matters through volunteerism and social contribution.

The YLDP Social Project is very much about enabling and empowering young people by investing in them the right, power and authority to make positive, progressive and enlightened decisions for themselves, and by giving them skills that enable them to interact positively with the world around them. Issues that most affect young people in their daily lives are discussed and addressed through the Social Project.

And that's the crux of it.

Introduction

Today, YLDP graduates in Namibia's political, entrepreneurial, academic and developing sectors are leading by example. Skills that they acquired through their active work in the YLDP Social Project have moulded them into impressive people, prominent citizens and role models for their peers, elders and the general public. Two of the shining examples are Francine Muyuumba, current President of the Pan-African Youth Union, and Sharonice Busch, current Commonwealth Youth Council Regional Representative for Africa and Europe. These examples are cited to highlight that both male and female YLDP graduates are more than ready to meet the challenges placed on their shoulders as leaders of their generation.

Leadership is about servanthood, and serving people is not a walk in the park. A leader needs all the right tools and abilities, including the ability to differentiate between one's own needs and interests and those of the community one serves, and the ability to determine how best to go about benefiting that community. Young leaders need to understand that in leadership there is no self-interest – so, if this is your driver, then you are setting yourself up for failure.

Beyond such personal experiences of leadership based on involvement with programmes such as the YLDP, it is relevant to dissect and underscore the importance of volunteerism as a pillar for the youth and communities, with an emphasis on sub-Saharan Africa and Africa in general.

One might wonder how people whose lives are filled with so many far-reaching difficulties and day-to-day stresses can contribute time to the greater good of humanity. 'Free' is a term that is difficult to digest in a world where nearly every good thing comes at a cost, yet a few rare individuals manage to contribute their time and efforts for free.

What is volunteerism, and why is it so important? The answers to these questions are encapsulated in the following pronouncement of the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) in 2000, restated in *Volunteerism is Universal: An extract from the 2011 State of the World's Volunteerism Report* (UNV 2012):

“Volunteering is an expression of the individual’s involvement in their community. Participation, trust, solidarity and reciprocity, grounded in a shared understanding and a sense of common obligations, are mutually reinforcing values at the heart of governance and good citizenship. Volunteering is not a nostalgic relic of the past. It is our first line of defence against social atomisation in a globalising world. Today, maybe more than ever before, caring and sharing are a necessity, not a charitable act.”

Sadly, volunteerism is an uncommon practice in our African cultures nowadays, and one which at times is described in developmental forums as a ‘foreign practice’ that is still new to Africans. However, looking back on our history as Africans, we realise that the spirit of volunteerism strongly prevailed in our cultures for aeons, only it was perceived as an unwavering obligation and often went unacknowledged. Often children would be left in the care of volunteer communal guardians while their parents themselves were out volunteering their time and effort in the village, and older children volunteered their time to help their parents – looking after goats, collecting firewood, cleaning the yard and so on. This historical spirit of community and family volunteerism is disappearing rapidly, and many youth in these fast-laned-mobile-phone-dominated times find it difficult to stay connected to their social roots, and consequently place less emphasis on helping others rather than only themselves.

Our social fabric is largely built on our family structures and our capacity to help each other out in difficult times, when unfortunate events occur, such as deaths. Some volunteer their assistance in varying ways, ranging from labour to financial and material support. Such acts give hope to the developmental world regarding people’s capacities in lending a free hand to marginalised groups.

Volunteering can be fulfilling if one sets one’s mind to it. It is simply a matter of taking a couple of hours out of one’s schedule to lend a hand, lend an ear and simply show care to those who need it the most. We are increasingly looking at social grants to provide the care that those of us on



the fringes of society need, but we must ask ourselves how sustainable that is, and whether our truly African approach to social justice was not one that should be used as a case study to further design interventions to create a socially more just society?

We often value our time, even quantifying it in order to cost it, as it is a precious commodity thought to be worth a reward of some sort. Yet our society is full of so many vulnerable groups in need of just a moment, a smile, a touch and basically a show of caring and understanding.

It may seem like a small drop in the ocean and to others a pointless task, yet the impact of such an act of kindness goes a long way in moulding a better future and a better society. As the YLDP designer, Peik Bruhns, put it, “Isn’t the ocean the sum of many, many small drops?”

In Southern Africa volunteering is closely associated with *Ubuntu*, a belief system that enjoins all humanity. The concept of *Ubuntu* defines the individual in relation to others. In the words of Nelson Mandela:

“A traveller through a country would stop at a village and he didn’t have to ask for food or for water. Once he stops, the people give him food, entertain him.”

This is just one of the various aspect of *Ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* does not mean that people should not enrich themselves. The question is: Are you going to enrich yourself in order to enable the community around you to improve?

State of volunteerism in sub-Saharan Africa

A recent survey found that volunteer work in sub-Saharan Africa ranks only at No. 17 on young people’s lists of significant goals for young people. Only 12% of the 1 443 young people in sub-Saharan Africa aged 14 to 34 sampled by the Southern Stars Foundation in the 2014 African Youth Survey marked volunteer work as “very important” to them.

First on the list of goals was having a stable income, which 74% of the respondents selected. Next was having strong relationships with other youths, at 70%, and then gaining new skills and knowledge, at 65%. Given this mindset, it would seem that youth in sub-Saharan Africa do not do much volunteer work. But, 41% of the survey respondents did think that it is very important to help the less fortunate, and 39% thought that contributing to society is also very important.



In fact, a significant portion of young people in sub-Saharan Africa, especially those in high schools and tertiary education institutions, participate in volunteer activities. They are more likely to do so than their peers in other developing sub-continent, and their numbers are growing. An Individual Giving Survey by the International Institute of Volunteerism found that 43% of those aged between 15 and 24, and 28% of those aged between 25 and 34, served as volunteers in 2013. These rates had risen from the 2010 figures of 36% and 21% respectively.

The volunteerism rates among youth in sub-Saharan Africa appear to be higher than those in the developed countries, such as the United States and Britain – which are countries whose volunteerism programmes the Southern Stars Foundation studied when it was setting up an inter-regional youth volunteer corporation.

In the US, the US Bureau of Labour Statistics reported that only 26.1% of those aged between 16 and 19, and about 18.7% of those aged between 20 and 24, volunteered last year. In Britain, British think-tank Demos found that fewer than 30% of young people aged between 10 and 20 volunteered in 2013.

One reason for sub-Saharan Africa's higher, and increasing, rates of volunteerism among school-going youth is the pressing socio-economic issues of unemployment and poverty. Young people feel that by taking part in voluntary work, they are gaining social experience, a modern-day prerequisite in Africa's jobs industry. Some young people who come from poor backgrounds actually survive from allowances given for volunteering.

And, surely it is common knowledge that volunteerism can be the springboard into a young person's future, because it provides information for a Curriculum Vitae where there were only empty spaces before, and it offers a network of contacts and professional acquaintances where there were only schoolmates before.

Integration

There is a great deal of evidence that volunteering, when properly managed and supported, can foster social integration within and between communities. Youniss and Yates, in their book entitled *Community Service and Social Responsibility in Youth* (1997), point out that when youth are able to participate in and reflect on voluntary activities within their community, they develop a sense of responsibility for the well-being of that community:



“When participation is encouraged by respected adults, youth begin to reflect on political and moral ideologies. ... It is this process of reflection, which takes place publicly with peers and adults as well as privately, that allows youth to construct identities that are integrated with ideological stances and political-moral outlooks.”

The following extract from a UNV report succinctly explains why social integration and participation are critical for young people in all countries, and for the countries themselves.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND YOUTH

The process of social integration is especially important for young people who need to experience a sense of belonging and responsibility to become productive citizens and participants in society. Social integration harnesses youth potential and creativity, which is necessary to meet societal objectives such as the [SDGs].

Although young people today have many more opportunities to participate meaningfully in society, “access to quality education and decent jobs remains the primary concern for young people as they transition from childhood to adulthood” (UN Economic and Social Council, 2009, clause 20). Unemployment and underemployment affect youth disproportionately (World Youth Report, 2007). This can push young people further into poverty and marginalisation in a variety of ways. Poor quality education limits the life opportunities of young people and makes them increasingly vulnerable to poverty. An inability to access opportunities in the mainstream economy, especially decent work, demoralises young people and undermines their self-esteem as citizens. Lack of access to healthcare means that young people must manage risks such as teenage pregnancy and HIV/AIDS with little support. Lower levels of social integration, particularly at the family and community level, have been found to increase young people’s vulnerability to involvement in high risk behaviours, including violence and substance abuse (Ward, 2007).

However, in many parts of the world young people are still not seen as legitimate role players in community decision making and participation. This is evident in the low profile of youth and the



absence of youth-responsive policies in the public policy landscape of many countries. It means that societies miss out on the inherent creativity, inspiration and vision of young people for a better future. In the case of young women or youth from marginalised groups, such as migrants or people living with disabilities, the effects of exclusion are profound.

[Author's addition: That youth are excluded from policy making in many countries is true for Africa on the whole. How common is it for an African parliament to be shadowed by a capable YOUTH parliament (as opposed to a children's parliament) at national level as well as, for example, at AU level?]

Social integration is therefore critical to building the resilience of young people and supporting their life transitions from school to productive adulthood. It empowers young people to function as partners of policy makers and programme managers, and to contribute meaningfully to achieving development goals such as the [SDGs].

– United Nations Volunteers (UNV),
"Youth Volunteering, Social Integration and Decent Work:
Inspiring Leadership: Discussion paper prepared for the 48th Session
of the Commission for Social Development", 2011, pp. 2-3.

Amplifying the youth voice

Young people who are involved in voluntary service, if provided with good guidance and leadership, are often able to develop a sense of autonomy and agency, and can help others to do the same. A report on the loveLife groundBREAKERs youth volunteer programme in South Africa (one of that country's largest HIV/AIDS initiatives) notes that two of the most important skills that volunteers said they had gained from their service were the ability to stand up and speak to other young people about critical issues, and the ability to mentor other young people to do the same (loveLife 2008). This mirrors the experience of the YLDP volunteers who have rendered services to people with mental and physical disabilities, lonely elderly people in old-age homes, small children in early childhood development centres, homeless people and street kids in Namibia: this service enabled the volunteers to speak with much greater authority, clarity and conviction about the needs of Namibia's marginalised people and the importance of not letting them 'fall through the cracks'.



Volunteering and leadership

Worldwide it is understood that volunteering is important for community development. But, can volunteering make someone a better leader? This is a question that aspiring young leaders should think about.

It is common knowledge that countless leaders volunteer, but it may not be common knowledge that countless leaders around the world are actively promoting volunteerism among those whom they lead. According to the United States Department of Labour Statistics (2016), more than a quarter of the US population volunteers, and employed people volunteer more frequently than the unemployed. One reason for this high number of volunteers is that many US corporations actively support volunteering. According to data collated by institutions such as Fortune and Forbes, most of US's "100 Best Places to Work" or "100 Best Companies to Work For" give paid time off for volunteering. In fact, volunteerism has featured in the turnaround stories of huge corporates – a prime example being Starbucks (*SmartBrief*, 21 February 2013).

In South Africa, Mandela Day was instituted not only to celebrate the great man's birthday, but also to serve as a call for people – *"to recognise their individual power to make an imprint and help change the world around them for the better"* (Nelson Mandela Foundation, cited in *SA News*, South African Government News Agency, 28 April 2008).

Corporates, state-owned enterprises and even public institutions around the world, including some in Namibia, have recognised the high value of allowing employees to contribute to society's development – and thereby perhaps to realise how fortunate they are in comparison to those whom they help, and to understand that no contribution is too small.

The following points are made in an account of "why volunteering makes you a better leader" (*SmartBrief*, 21 February 2013):

"Volunteering takes you outside of your comfort zone, giving you an opportunity to work with new challenges, people, politics and interpersonal dynamics. Volunteering offers new perspective on priorities. Hanging out with people with different life experiences encourages you to tackle challenges from different angles."

In this post, Julie Zolfo, founder and positive impact consultant at Make Success Matter, is quoted as follows:



“I volunteered for six weeks, with the support of Cross Cultural Solutions, in the schools of New Delhi, India. In those slums I had the most profound experiences that truly changed not only how I would progress in my career, but more important, how I would show up in the world.”

Youth leaders can only benefit from volunteering, since the underlying virtues of a volunteer are critical virtues for good leadership. For instance, volunteers and leaders are:

- visionaries;
- self-controlled;
- selfless;
- humble;
- caring;
- risk takers; and
- hard working.

This is very contrary to the popular perception that a leader has to simply be eloquent, popular and wealthy.

For this author personally, there is hardly anything more rewarding than volunteering my time, as a thank you from a weak, marginalised or poor fellow citizen makes me feel content beyond my dreams!

“The best way to not feel hopeless is to get up and do something. Don’t wait for good things to happen to you. If you go out and make some good things happen, you will fill the world with hope, you will fill yourself with hope.”

– Barack Obama





Empowering Young People Today for a Future Not Yet Known

By Ben Schernick

Introduction

One of today's greatest challenges for young people in Namibia is to not only find employment but to also find a sense of genuine achievement, success and fulfilment with regard to how they earn a living.

Having lectured, trained and facilitated groups of young people at schools, universities and in urban and rural communities in Namibia over the last 10 years, I would like to share some of the insight I gained about young people's struggles, needs, dreams and what might be most empowering for them. In addition, I have had the privilege of being one of the resource persons for the Youth Leadership Development Programme, specifically for the "Conflict Management" Module, since 2008. On the one hand, this particular module provides the young participants with theoretical and conceptual understanding of conflict dynamics, possible interventions and helpful communication tools. On the other hand, it has a strong practical focus on communication, conflict management and other relational skills, as well as on changing unhelpful behaviours and developing more positive attitudes towards oneself, others and life itself. Being highly experiential in nature, lots of the learning taking place is based on participants' own experiences, some of which often moved me deeply and helped me to understand the situation of Namibian youth much better. This article is



therefore based on these experiences during a variety of interactions within and outside such workshops.

The lack of opportunities for youth employment and entrepreneurship is currently an issue of public debate, wherein a lot of discussions focus on rather external (i.e. structural or socio-political) factors. Therefore, this article sheds more light on relational and internal (i.e. cultural and psychological) aspects, which so far seem to be marginalised in the public discourse.

Some of the major internal and relational influencing factors for young people's failure or success in their work lives relates to things like:

- **creativity** – one's ability to be innovative and think outside the box;
- **communication** – with co-workers, bosses, clients, and of course one's family at home;
- **cooperation** – learning to build genuine, reliable and trusted relationships; and
- **conflict handling** – how to approach challenging situations and collaboratively solve problems and find out how conflict can not only bring up creative solutions, but may actually strengthen and deepen existing relationships).

So, how are these factors beneficial for job-seeking youth, and most importantly, how can we nourish them in young people today?

Expanding young people's creative abilities

During exercises and discussions in classrooms and workshop settings, many youths – especially those growing up in rural areas but also those who were mainly raised in an urban setting – recall their childhood as characterised by being reprimanded quite harshly for a lot of things they were not supposed to do, often without being told the reasons behind this. All too often, they were told to not 'talk back' to an elder – even when the child merely intended to ask a clarifying question. I also remember more than once a young participant telling me that they were beaten in school for asking a question that their teacher couldn't answer. Of course, this is not everyone's experience, yet it is relatively typical for a whole generation of young people whose curiosity and creativity have been limited and discouraged from a very early age. Are we now expecting them to come up with innovative business ideas or become our new smart and pro-active employees who will take our company or ministry forward to the next level?



The way we raise children from a very young age sets the foundation for their way of seeing and being in this world, so this is where we can make changes and contribute to solving the youth unemployment crisis in a sustainable manner. Let's encourage our children to be curious and ask any question they want. Let's even go a step further and not immediately give them 'the answer' to their question, but rather ask them what they think the answer might be? For example, a child who asks why there are stars in the sky will surely have thought about this by him/herself already? So why not allow the child to share his/her creative ideas or fantastic stories before we come up with a 'sobering' scientific explanation. Another way of nourishing creativity and innovative thinking from an early age is to join your child from time to time in his/her creative play and in the fantastic dream world where plain pieces of wood are fearsome warriors, the broom becomes a horse or a donkey, plain shoes become fancy cars, and simple pillows are pirate ships sailing across very rough seas.

Of course, this could be a bit edgy for us as adults, and might contradict our own belief systems based on what your culture and own upbringing has taught you. But looking at the benefits that such engagement will bring to a future youth, evidently backed up by growing research in Early Childhood Development (UNICEF 2016), it might be worth considering and actually doing ... and of course, connecting with our children through creative play adds fun and value to our own adult lives (Menken 2013).

Another area where we can support young people's creativity is when school comes to an end and it's for them to decide on further training or study and generally make career choices. At least it should be up to them, and not anybody else, to make these decisions and choices for their own lives, although the pressure from parents and peers can be incredibly high at this stage, and this limits the real and informed choices to be made.

First of all, it can be quite difficult to make such choices while still in school or immediately after leaving, because almost all that a young person knows about life at that stage is the education system from the perspective of being inside one of its institutions. Although not yet very common, some kind of a gap year filled with travels, short trainings and a bit of practical work experiences (depending on what the budget allows) helps to gain a much better perspective, widens the horizon and takes off a bit of the pressure of having to know immediately what you want. It actually should be emphasised at this stage that whatever the young person chooses to study is not necessarily what they will end up doing for the rest of their life.



This might have been true for many of the older generation. Yet, in today's world it is becoming increasingly normal and actually quite healthy to make minor or major adjustments to one's career path every 5-10 years, thereby following one's deeper call for lifelong learning and development. Interests naturally change as one goes through life. Thus it is good to know that in advance, and sensible to change career paths in response to one's interests and deeper calling.

In the Namibia of today though, external pressure on a young person's career choices is often quite big, particularly among youth from previously disadvantaged backgrounds, as their parents had been cut off from the benefits of the economy by a still highly unequal system. I know too many young adults who have to provide financial support to their parents or other family members on a regular basis, a phenomenon informally also known as 'black tax'.

So, it is for partially understandable economic reasons that parents want their children to become accountants or lawyers – because these are the jobs that promise to pay off well. However, as much as financial pressures are indeed a reality, is it really in a young person's best interest to be more or less directly pushed into a direction that is not his or hers?

I actually know a number of cases where young people pretended to study, i.e. told their parents that they are busy writing exams at UNAM or Polytechnic (now NUST) while in reality they had not even attended classes. Of course, the truth came out eventually after a year or two. The parents' disappointment was tremendous, and in some cases trust was broken beyond repair. Yet, when taking a closer look at each of these situations, the choice of studying was not made by the young people but on their behalf by their parents who more or less consciously had pushed them into it. In these extreme cases the outcomes of this kind of pressure spoke very clearly for itself, whereas in the vast majority of cases the symptoms are much subtler.

Hence, we as parents, elders and peers should become more aware of the pressure and expectations that we place on young people, and we should place more emphasis on asking for their answers to questions such as: "What are you passionate about? What are your dreams? What do you want to do as a possible next step towards that dream?" – without expecting an immediate answer, because young people might not immediately have 'the' answer, since it consists of a process of exploring and finding out over time and often through trial and error.



This is also where that idea of a gap year comes in, whereby young people are allowed and supported in taking some time after school to ‘find themselves’, get a better sense of orientation by exploring their dreams in different ways (e.g. through travelling, if possible), and gain some practical experiences in different areas of work and discover life outside of their usual family and school environment.

The main rewards of such deliberate efforts to support young people in finding their very own direction in life are that we are reconnecting them with their creative capacities as human beings, and these will lead to a higher degree of innovation. Furthermore, whatever it is that young people do in life, they will surely do it with much more passion, internal motivation and self-determination. It is then also much more likely that they will be good at whatever they do and in turn be more successful and also happier (Robinson 2009).

‘Soft skills’ and new ways of learning

What is commonly known as “soft skills” include aspects of communication, teamwork, emotional intelligence, problem solving and conflict facilitation, which are actually all highly essential leadership skills that any young job seeker needs today – no matter whether one wants to work in an already established company or start off as a self-employed entrepreneur.

Sadly, these skills are hardly focused on in kindergartens and schools, where ‘academic performance’ is so domineering that subjects such as life skills are highly marginalised in spite of the need for them being high. Although growing phenomena such as bullying and teenage pregnancies underline the need to address social problems, we are still failing to address problems in ways that empower the learners themselves. For instance, we could train students in conflict resolution and establish peer mediation programmes, and generally pay much more attention (i.e. dedicate more time and other resources) to developing social competencies, or apply a real learner-centred approach that is based on the students’ individual strengths, areas of interest and learning styles.

Even at universities and corporate/government trainings or workshops, students and participants mostly sit in rows or behind their conference tables while listening to presentations. All this is based on a limited and mainly cognitive (thinking-based) learning style which leaves little room for genuine interaction and people’s own engagement in the process.



All this also marginalises various other levels of learning and personal development, such as sensing, feeling and intuiting. The latter are actually the cornerstones of modern leadership and change management theory and practice (Scharmer 2009 and Senge 2006 and 2013), and point us to where we should be heading in order to prepare ourselves and the youth of today for tackling the various challenges that we are facing right now and will be facing in the unknown future. Creating opportunities for practical internship experiences and building them into the education system is a good path that Namibia is already on – through, for example, the NUST Cooperative Education Unit and the YLDP Social Project. However, this strategy has not yet trickled down into the school system, and we would also have to make sure that the practical experiences are properly reflected on and integrated into the theoretical learning. So, in order to properly equip and prepare a ‘learner’, we have to engage them more holistically and experientially through facilitated interactions that are based on co-learning, where even we as ‘teachers’ find ourselves at times in the role of ‘learners’ as well. The all-knowing and authoritative teacher-figure (or boss/leader for that matter) is an outdated model that urgently requires an update, or as our smart-phones and laptops would say: *“A new operating system is available. Please download and install!”*

An essential feature of this ‘new operating system’ is that we encourage each other to share even contradicting views more openly, and learn not only to ‘agree to disagree’, but to empathically actively try to understand why the other sees it that way and find value in what they say. We have to strengthen our ability to listen, understand and deal with criticism in a constructive way, so that we can give and receive feedback and learn from our mistakes. Overcoming these psychological (e.g. our own ego getting in the way) and relational (e.g. learning to communicate properly) factors are therefore the major keys to real, effective and efficient development for us and our youth as the future of this nation.

Overcoming challenges in the workplace

Besides families, the community and politics, the area in which “soft skills” are most relevant is the workplace. As a facilitator and consultant, I had the privilege to work with a number of companies, ministries and state-owned enterprises, where “performance management” is currently the buzz-word, as a legitimate tool to enhance accountability and productivity.



However, when looking at the systems being implemented, the feedback orientation is still top-down. I have yet to see a Namibian institution that has implemented a 360-degree feedback system, which would include a number of ‘soft’ leadership skills in the regular feedback/assessment. In such a system, managers are asked to rate themselves, and their ratings are compared with how their peers, their boss and their subordinates rate them, which provides an excellent indicator for future areas of growth. Of course, genuine and honest feedback conversations across organisational hierarchies are not easy to hold, yet are possible with the right approach and sufficient support (Diamond 2016). Sadly, we are not there yet, and only very few provide support for their executives and managers in the form of coaching to help them to authentically and more effectively engage with their employees in such a way that honest feedback is encouraged.

What I frequently see happening in organisations are strategic planning sessions where the individual and interpersonal root causes for the lack of implementation are not looked at; it seems sufficient that one is able to produce a smart-looking and presentable document. Similarly, team-building events are often conducted as a remedy for existing tensions and internal conflict, but often end up as mere fun events that merely have the effect of re-energising and connecting people for a short while; they do not allow for real underlying issues to be addressed. The lack of proper mechanisms, skills and attitudes to address such situations eventually lead to people first ‘resigning internally’ (i.e. they are still showing up for work but have mentally left the organisation already) and then eventually leaving the organisation for good. In cases where people remain in an organisation with their frustrations, they no longer positively identify with it, and display signs of low motivation and low performance. They are then more likely to engage in corrupt practices as a way to be compensated for not being seen, heard, valued and appreciated.

These are challenges in the workplace and in organisations that young people need to be aware of, and should know how to approach differently. Not seeing to this would be setting them and ourselves up for failure.

As previously mentioned, our educational system’s focus on academic achievements along, starting as early as in kindergarten, is actually doing more harm than good, as children at that age rather need creative play to develop their social and relational skills. Otherwise we might succeed in raising technically smart human beings who are able to function within their limits of the current economic system, but lack fundamental ‘soft skills’.



We already see this dilemma unfold in organisations where technical experts are promoted into top management and leadership positions, yet lack relevant social skills and competence to lead. Over the last decades, companies all over the world have realised that it requires a very different skill set to lead than to be excellent in your technical field of work, e.g. as a highly qualified engineer. Companies all over the world are currently investing billions of dollars in leadership and soft skills development for their managers, because the education system didn't provide for it, and naturally it is costly and much more complicated to teach 30-50-year-olds something that they should have learned between the ages of 2 and 20.

This just highlights how our entire education system, developed in Europe at the time when colonialism was still the order of the day, is designed to produce a functioning workforce for the industrial revolution and appears to be an outdated model (Robinson 2006 and 2010). Such an education system does not lead us to developing our full capacities as innovatively thinking and empathically relating human beings, who are a complex physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritually complex system, each one of us on its own.

Preparing our youth for a future not yet known

Especially against the background of various national challenges (poverty, water, housing, land, violence, crime, electricity, accountable governance, etc.) and another worldwide economic crisis waiting to happen, merely producing a workforce that can somewhat function within the current system is simply not an option anymore. The youth of today and generation of tomorrow need to have much more innovative abilities and out-of-the box thinking skills, and must also be able to communicate effectively and work together with one another across all possible lines of potential divide. Something like "*Creating synergies through innovative teamwork to develop holistic and sustainable solutions*" might therefore be a suitable slogan for the kind of future generation that will have a future on this planet.

Our youth, as part of the future humanity, have to come up with solutions for not only the problems we have already but for even more complex problems beyond our current imagination. So, how best do we prepare them for the future when we have no idea how that future will look?

The only certainty is that, if we don't nourish their creativity and their abilities to be curious and innovative, they will not get very far. Similarly,



if we don't practically teach them and role-model how to communicate openly, collaborate effectively, see our diversity as an asset and learn how to resolve conflict constructively, then we are setting them up for failure.

Especially when it comes to resolving conflict, forceful solutions or mere avoidance are no longer serving us. Today's young generation needs to learn how to be honest yet sensitive and respectful yet assertive. For this to happen, they first need to genuinely empathise with the other, i.e. to put themselves in the other's shoes. They also have to be able to notice early enough when things are stuck and moving in circles, or when conflict escalates and starts getting out of hand. Their increased awareness of their own emotions, needs and other underlying factors, together with solid skills to properly communicate, will further enable them to de-escalate tensed situations and help to resolve conflict in respectful ways where every viewpoint can be heard and understood, and to which a creative and truly lasting solution can be found (Mindell 1995 and 2002)

Conclusion

I would like to suggest that we ourselves as parents, elders, educators, peers, and most importantly young people, can focus more on the aforementioned soft skills, and on allowing space for being curious and creative. In nourishing both respect and assertiveness in the youth, we as adults need to learn that a curious question from a child is not a challenge to one's authority but rather genuine curiosity and an expression of a desire to learn. There should be no shame in admitting to not knowing or not having an answer to a question raised by a young person. Thus, let us not confuse curious questions with disrespect; let's rather see each question as an opportunity to learn something new together.

Let us also talk more openly and genuinely about what we are deeply passionate about and how we can follow our passion more and more in our lives. The reality of 8-to-5 jobs might still be a reality in Namibia today, yet we can see the writing on the wall in the form of innovative companies like Google, Facebook and Semco (Semler 2001, 2004 and 2014), that this will change too, and the working environment of the future will be a much more dynamic and interconnected one. Last but not least, it will also be about dealing with conflict and diversity as all the world of tomorrow is a global one, where we will have to work with people from different cultures, tribes, nationalities, ages, religions, genders, personalities, ideologies,



communication styles, sexual orientations and and and ... so we have to develop ourselves beyond being just 'tolerant' of the other, in that we have to learn to understand 'the other' more deeply and to recognise the value in who and how they are, and what they bring to the table.

At the end of the day, it's not (only) the politicians, big business people or other powerful decision makers, but it is each one of us who has a great influence and can make a big change in the lives of young people today, and help them find meaning and success in their lives, because the mere fact that they will outlive us by decades means that they literally are the future, and will live in and co-create a future that we cannot even imagine the likes of, in one way or another.

However, putting them on the right path by equipping them with the inner resources and relational skills they need for shaping this unknown future successfully is what each one of us can do today.





Youth-Inclusive Trade Unions: The Relevance of Namibia's Labour Movement for the Youth

By Herbert Jauch

Overview

Namibian trade unions are by and large associated with the “struggle years”, as they rose to prominence during the late 1980s when they played a key role in the struggle against colonial oppression and exploitation. At the time, they formed strategic alliances with youth organisations, and the general strike of 1988 exemplified this powerful alliance when the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) supported the struggle of the Namibia National Students Organisation (NANSO) against the location of military bases near schools. A school boycott had been initiated by students at Ponghosi Secondary School, and had spread to Windhoek and other towns such as Rundu and Tsumeb. When the colonial regime refused to meet the students’ demands, the NUNW unions met with the students and their parents and called a national stay-away of workers in June 1988 in support of the students (see LaRRI 2010).

Since independence, the trade unions seem to have gradually lost their appeal for the youth. However, many young workers still face challenges at work, and for unions to remain relevant, they certainly need to be able



to attract young workers into their ranks. A glance at the composition of the national population reveals that in 2011 (when the last census was conducted), most Namibians were young: 57.9% were 24 years of age or younger (see Table 1). An estimated 40 000-50 000 young Namibians enter the labour market every year as they leave schools, vocational training centres, colleges or universities in search of jobs.

Table 1: Total population of Namibia by age group and sex

Age group	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-4	142 821	13.1	141 877	13.9	284 698	13.5
5-9	120 470	11.0	118 980	11.6	239 450	11.3
10-14	123 980	11.4	122 014	11.9	245 994	11.6
15-19	121 451	11.1	117 412	11.5	238 863	11.3
20-24	109 321	10.0	106 260	10.4	215 581	10.2
25-29	90 629	8.3	86 609	8.5	177 238	8.4
30-34	75 797	6.9	73 293	7.2	149 090	7.1
35-39	64 031	5.9	60 864	6.0	124 895	5.9
40-44	51 105	4.7	46 926	4.6	98 031	4.6
45-49	43 119	4.0	37 441	3.7	80 560	3.8
50-54	34 097	3.1	27 404	2.7	61 501	2.9
55-59	26 368	2.4	21 505	2.1	47 873	2.3
60-64	22 404	2.1	18 409	1.8	40 813	1.9
65+	65 572	6.0	42 918	4.2	108 490	5.1
Total	1 091 165	100.0	1 021 912	100.0	2 113 077	100.0

Source: Namibia Statistics Agency, *Namibia 2011 Population and Housing Census Main Report*, 2013.

After independence, Namibia's youth benefited from increased access to education, but unemployment has remained a major challenge to date, and young people are the population group most severely affected by this, as shown in Table 2 on the next page. Women have had fewer employment opportunities than men throughout the years, and this gendered nature of employment still characterises the country's labour market today, with more women than men unemployed. Also there are fewer employment opportunities in rural areas than in urban areas.

Table 2: Unemployment rates

Broad unemployment rate¹ – 15-64 years (%)	2000	2004	2008	2012	2013
Total	33.8	40.6	51.4	28.5	31.0
Male	28.3	33.8	43.6	23.6	26.7
Female	39.0	47.6	58.6	33.2	34.9
Urban areas	31.3		65.3	28.5	29.3
Rural areas	35.9		36.5	28.4	32.9
15-19 years	67.0	72.0	83.6	56.4	69.4
20-24 years	59.1	61.3	67.4	48.5	52.5
25-29 years	42.8	45.1	53.3	33.6	35.6
30-34 years	31.3	36.6	46.0	24.9	28.6
15-24 years	21.6	64.0	72.2	50.2	56.2
25-34 years	19.1	41.1	50.0	29.6	32.3
Strict unemployment rate² – 15-64 years (%)	2000	2004	2008	2012	2013
Total	20.2	25.3	37.8	17.5	20.1
Male	19.0	22.4	32.8	15.2	18.1
Female	21.5	28.8	43.3	20.0	21.9
Urban areas	24.0		30.8	20.6	22.2
Rural areas	16.6		47.0	12.7	17.5
15-19 years	49.4	53.1	67.3	33.2	49.8
20-24 years	42.0	45.2	56.6	34.6	39.6
25-29 years	29.9	32.1	43.3	23.0	25.7
30-34 years	19.7	23.0	34.6	15.8	19.9
15-24 years		47.0	58.9	34.3	41.4
25-34 years		27.8	39.4	19.6	22.9

1 The term 'broad unemployment' is defined as including all those who are available for employment but are without employment.

2 The term 'strict unemployment' is defined as including only those who are still actively searching for employment, not those who have given up searching for employment.

Source: Namibia Labour Force Survey reports.

There is a correlation between the level of education and the level of unemployment, as shown in Table 3 on the next page. Unemployment is by far the lowest among people who have tertiary education, although even they are increasingly affected, their numbers having risen from just 2% in



2008 to 6% in 2013. On the other hand, the level at which job seekers leave the schools does not appear to influence unemployment significantly, as the unemployment rate was basically the same for those with primary education and those with senior secondary education. Those with junior secondary education experienced the highest levels of unemployment.

Table 3: Unemployment by education

Broad unemployment rate¹ by level of education (%)	2000	2004	2008	2012	2013
Total	34	41	51	28	31
None	23	37	53	25	31
Primary	36	46	60	31	34
Junior secondary	42	47	57	34	37
Senior secondary	34	34	42	26	26
Tertiary		8	11	5	9
Strict unemployment rate² by level of education (%)	2000	2004	2008	2012	2013
Total	21	42	38	18	20
None		6	7	12	15
Primary	20	27	27	18	19
Junior secondary	28	44	42	22	26
Senior secondary	24	22	21	18	19
Tertiary	2	2	2	4	6

1 and 2: As defined under Table 2 on the previous page.

Source: Namibia Labour Force Survey reports.

The importance of jobs for young people becomes apparent when one looks at the sources of household income. About half of all households in Namibia rely on wages as their main source of survival, and almost 60% have no secondary main source of income. Pensions are the main source of income for over 10% of the country's households (Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) 2013a and 2013b).

Namibia's young people are confronted not only by the high levels of unemployment, but also by many forms of precarious employment that prevent them from acquiring a decent wage and job security. For Namibia, the global onslaught of neo-liberal free-market policies ongoing since the 1990s has brought about an increasing "casualisation" of work, an increase

of “flexible” forms of employment, and increasing informalisation of the economy. In an attempt to cut labour costs and to curb the influence of trade unions, employers in various economic sectors – particularly retail, fishing, mining, hospitality and manufacturing – resorted to temporary and casual work contracts for low-skilled workers. The emergence of labour-hire companies (labour brokers) in the late 1990s in particular, highlighted the threat of “casualisation” to workers’ incomes, job security and benefits. By 2006, over 12 000 workers were already employed through labour-hire companies, which retained a significant part of the workers’ earnings as their fees, and deprived the workers of the benefits enjoyed by permanent workers. Due to the insecurity of these workers’ contracts and their shifts between different workplaces, trade unions found it very difficult to recruit and represent labour-hire workers successfully (see Jauch and Mwilima 2006). Many young people who have desperately searched for jobs today find themselves in such precarious forms of employment.

Namibia’s labour market essentially consists of four distinct layers or categories of employees (Jauch 2007):

- (1) a small elite enjoying a standard of living comparable to the standard in First World countries;
- (2) a significant group of formal-sector workers with permanent jobs and low to middle incomes;
- (3) a growing group of casual workers and “labour-hire” workers who are the victims of a labour market that virtually forces them to accept any job under any conditions; and
- (4) unemployed workers who turn to the informal economy, to sex work or to crime as a last resort.

Most of Namibia’s young people of working age are in the third and fourth categories.

MANWU opens the door for the youth

One of the unions that made a deliberate effort to include young people in its ranks was the Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (MANWU). For many years it was one of the small unions, with about 3 300 members at the time of its national congress in 2007, but just two years later, by June 2009, it had 8 177 paid-up members plus 4 658 signed-up members. How did this union achieve such a fast growth in membership?



First of all, this union addressed internal divisions in order to achieve organisational unity, which is a prerequisite for a trade union to succeed. Under the leadership of a new Secretary-General (Bernard Milinga), a new organisational culture emerged as staff members were consulted on all organisational issues, and were offered training as well as incentives for performing well. Then, this union began to use its international contacts and networks in very efficient ways. For instance, staff members went to MANWU's sister union in South Africa, the National Union of Metalworkers in South Africa (NUMSA), to learn about NUMSA's recruitment strategies, and MANWU also collaborated with global union federations such as the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF) and the Building and Wood Workers International (BWI) to set up programmes to empower its shop stewards and branch organisers.

Another strategy that MANWU utilised to make the union attractive to workers was that of improving its services to its members. In addition to collective bargaining to improve wages and benefits, the union assists its members with disciplinary hearings, and the national organiser plays a central role in this regard. MANWU also supports those of its members who are affected by HIV and AIDS, by rendering direct personal assistance to them as well as linking them with other support organisations. In this regard, MANWU assists the members' families, provides counselling and negotiates with their employers (as was noted in interviews with Bernard Milinga, Justina Jonas, Letta Nekundi and Narina Pollmann).

The new spirit of cooperation and mutual support within the union, a reallocation of tasks, better services for members and effective utilisation of international networks together served to change the face of MANWU over the last decade. One key intervention was the deliberate focus on the youth and the appointment of a Youth Coordinator. MANWU works closely with BWI, and has established its own youth policy and links with existing international youth networks. In 2012, MANWU held its first national youth conference, which, in the words of Justina Jonas, Youth Coordinator at the time, was a "historic first" for the Namibian labour movement.

At the conference, the youth identified the main challenges confronting young people in this country, examples being: a lack of education, training and skills; poverty and unemployment; discrimination, victimisation and sexual harassment; the spread of HIV and AIDS; early pregnancies; and alcohol abuse among the youth. The conference examined the causes and nature of the burning issue of unemployment, and concluded that the main



causes are the lack of skills and education and the lack of job opportunities in Namibia's small economy. Conference participants pointed out that it is difficult for young people to start their own business; that their access to modern technology is restricted; and that when young people apply for jobs, they are often told that they don't have the necessary experience. The conference noted that often there was no link between education and the labour market. Another issue examined was why young workers join trade unions, and the main reasons identified were: for protection against the employer; to have a voice; to fight unfair labour practices; to fight discrimination and racism; to negotiate better wages and represent others; and to create a happy working environment.

The conference took the following resolutions to guide MANWU in its quest to attract young workers into the union:

- (1) MANWU needs to develop and adopt a youth policy and programme.
- (2) MANWU needs to make itself known among young people in its own industry and beyond. To do this, the union should:
 - visit schools, vocational training centres (VTCs) and tertiary education institutions;
 - organise events that attract young people, such as sports days;
 - put up a stand at events such as Expos;
 - market itself through the media (radio, TV, newspapers, facebook etc.; and
 - lobby for the inclusion of trade union history in the school syllabus.
- (3) MANWU should invest in the education and training of young people, by organising workshops specifically for them. The union should also train its members on health and safety issues which affect them.
- (4) MANWU should help to change the economic system as necessary, by proposing policy and system changes that address unemployment and poverty among the youth. The union should also assist its members to start SMEs and promote the use of solar and wind power.
- (5) MANWU should help to protect and promote Namibia's young people, by promoting their involvement in decision making within the union and outside. MANWU should work hand in hand with the National Youth Council and the National Youth Service.
- (6) MANWU should help to fight corruption, which is growing and must be stopped. Namibia's Anti-Corruption Commission is ineffective and the union should be among those advising government as to how to improve the fight against corruption.



Over the last few years, MANWU has managed to recruit a large number of young workers. This is reflected to some extent in the union leadership and the composition of its staff. Also, this union has its own youth policy. About half of all participants in the union's education activities are now 35 years of age or younger.

In March 2016, MANWU held its second national youth conference, which was attended by delegates from the union's regions of operation and the regional branches. While acknowledging the progress that MANWU has made in assisting the youth, the delegates identified several challenges that the youth are still facing, such as: the need for ongoing recruitment and retention of young workers; the sometimes poor performance of the union structures; the particular challenges faced by vulnerable workers; poor conditions of employment; and corruption and political interference in labour matters. The conference also noted the lack of a monitoring and evaluation system for the union's youth activities and programmes. These challenges were debated and the conference resolved as follows:

- (1) Youth development in the union should continue to be a high priority, and MANWU should take all necessary steps – through its organising, recruiting, leisure activities and networking – to mainstream the youth perspective into its programmes and activities.
- (2) The union secretariat would be requested to institutionalise a separate youth budget line to fund youth programmes and activities.
- (3) The secretariat would be requested to design accountability measures as well as a monitoring and evaluation plan to oversee the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of youth programmes and activities.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that trade unions in Namibia have to devise specific strategies for attracting young people into their ranks. Young workers, like their older colleagues, are often confronted with poor working conditions and unfair labour practices, but they will not automatically turn to trade unions to solve such problems. Unlike in the pre-independence era, when trade unions played a strong political role and linked workplace struggles to the broader struggle for political liberation, today they need to convince young workers that unions are indeed the best tool to address workplace problems. In this regard, MANWU is a very interesting case study. Although



MANWU is just one union that organises only in specific economic sectors (including, among others, the construction, hardware, engineering, steel and metallurgical industries as well as the motor and plastic industries), its interventions have shown encouraging results and present an example for others to follow.

MANWU focuses on the youth not only in terms of recruitment but also in terms of programmes and leadership, and this has made young workers an integral part of the union today. The inclusion of youth in the union was thus not a marginal programme separated from MANWU's core functions, but rather it formed a central part of the union's overall strategy. Quotas for youth in various union structures were developed to ensure that young members are part of the union's decision-making processes at all levels. Thus, despite the many challenges that young workers still face, MANWU has shown that it is possible to build youth-inclusive trade unions in Namibia. The Namibian labour movement's future relevance will depend to a significant extent on its ability to confront and resolve the challenges faced by young workers today. The MANWU experiences also show that international solidarity means far more than delivering solidarity messages at congresses. The continuous networking between MANWU and its international sister organisations has provided for new ideas and international experiences to be utilised for setting up programmes that target young workers. This might well be an example for other unions to follow.





The Media Impact the Image of the Youth

By Wanja Njuguna and Unomengi Kauapirura

Abstract

This article provides insight into the impact that the media have on the youth in Namibia. Media in this case means the full range – from television, radio, newspapers and magazines to the World Wide Web (www), social media and many other media. There are many positive effects of the youth having gained easier access to the various media over the years, but there are negative effects in equal measure. This article derives from an analysis of local and foreign stories and research papers on how young people use the available media and the effects of this use of media in their daily lives and studies, with the aim of discerning how best to interact today with the youth as the leaders of tomorrow.

Key words: smartphone, earphones, laptop ...

Smartphone, earphones, backpack ... and when they get home or to their rooms in college residences, it's television, laptop, earphones This is the image that often comes to mind when one thinks of our current youth. This may be an innocent 'young look', but various authors have discussed this trend as a sometimes worrying modern-day phenomenon which has a major impact on young people's lives.



For the youth today, media access has been made very easy. In Namibia and worldwide, young people access the media through many electronic gadgets that their parents' generation did not have at their age. In an article in *The Namibian* of 4 March 2014, headed "Be Aware of the Effects of all Media", Fikameni Mathias sums up what the media has become today:

"It's everywhere. It's in your face. Media is more accessible, more than ever before in history. Anyone with a cell phone has access to an unlimited number of social media sites, online newspapers, magazines and other sites offering information, education and entertainment."

All this is good, but the youth enjoying unlimited access to the media, and particularly the Internet, has come at a price. A parent interviewed by the authors summed up the current trend:

"If our young people are not on the phone, they are on their laptops or on the computer either communicating with their friends on social media – Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, to mention but a few."

Another parent interviewed explained his concern about this trend:

"We can no longer just have a normal conversation with them. You cannot call them and they hear you immediately because their ears are blocked by earphones listening to something they are watching or some music they are listening to."

In the so-called First World countries and the more developed of the developing countries from which the applicable electronic gadgets emanate or are easily obtained, young people have greater access and more varied means of access than those in less-developed countries to information and 'lifestyle programming', with both positive and negative consequences. A behavioural scientist in the USA, Steven Martino, made the following point (as quoted in Wilmoth 2013) during an episode of the Pittsburgh WQED live TV show called *Tune in Tune Out*, in which parents discuss parenting:

"American youth live in an environment saturated with media. They enjoy increasing access to television, movies, music, games, websites, and advertising – often on pocket-size devices."

Martino and the show's host, Angela Santomero (best known as the creator of the children's TV show called *Blue's Clues*) explored the effects of young people having access to media at an earlier age than their parents did, and shared research findings on this matter. Following are examples they cited of how this access can profoundly affect a young person's actions (ibid.):

"The more sexual content that kids see on television, the earlier they initiate sexual activity, the more likely they are to regret their early sexual experiences, and the more likely they are to have an unplanned teen pregnancy."

On this point, according to recent reports in Namibia, there is a relatively high incidence of teenage pregnancy across the country. This could well be partly attributable to early exposure to sexual content in the media.

"There is a strong causal connection between youth exposure to violence in the media and violent or aggressive behavior and thoughts."

"Children are exposed to nearly 300 alcohol commercials per year. Similarly, more than 80 percent of movies depict alcohol use."

"The motives movie characters convey for smoking can adversely affect adolescents' real-world smoking risk."

Another critical medium that young people use to access (and share) information is the cell phone. Writing in far-away India, Chakravarty (2016) discusses trends there which are similar to those in Namibia. Regarding the effects of unlimited cell-phone access, which in many cases starts at a very young age, she explains the dilemma that many teens face today:

"Today, it is difficult to find a single teenager who is not glued to her cell phone. Take away their phone, and their world seems to collapse. Such is the addiction to phones that teens today can't go a single minute without it."

Chakravarty (ibid.) says that today, for many teens, excessive access to phones has to do with the fact that for them, friends, not family, come first, and to remain friends with the new 'friend-family', as she calls it, they have to text as they don't want to miss out on anything and thereby lose touch.



But, according to Chakravarty (ibid.), there are other reasons that the youth are busy texting:

“Texting is also more convenient and private. Talking for hours at night can be difficult when you have a vigilant parent at home. Texting, on the other hand, can go on even with the lights off, and it makes no sound. And when they have nothing to talk about, teens can always text emoticons! What can be easier than to communicate through emoticons?”

Of importance to note are the differences between boys and girls when it comes to texting, one being the amount of texting they do. In this regard, Chakravarty (ibid.) conveys the following:

“If you have a girl, chances are high that she is sending as many as 80 texts a day. Boys are more likely to send around 30 text messages. Now, that’s a lot of texts! But don’t be surprised if the number creeps up higher. Many parents report that their teens send more than 300 texts a day!”

Although there was no data on Namibia available for our analysis, a random check on a group of students at the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST) who were walking to and from a lecture hall provided a clear indication that the preceding information is as relevant in Namibia as anywhere else, especially where there is access to the various gadgets. Of the roughly 30 students observed, about 20 had a cell phone in one hand, and the others were wearing earphones *and* either holding a cell phone or carrying one on their bodies, and this was just after their respective lectures in the Science and Technology building. The authors assumed that either the students couldn’t wait to get their hands on their cell phones after the class, or had them in hand even in class.

In a public relations class that one of the authors lectures, a random walk through the class to see what was opened on the phones revealed interesting results for 10 of the students. Five were on their WhatsApp page, two were on Facebook and three were on what seemed to be news pages. One student who was asked what page he was on replied that he was checking the score of his favourite football team, Manchester United, and another said that she wanted to see if there was any news about the Namibian team at the 2016 Olympics Games in Rio.



It is therefore important to note that media access is both a positive and negative thing for young people. One positive is exposure to what is happening all over the world. Chakravarty (ibid.) explains this:

“Most teens live a sheltered life. But with exposure to various media outlets, they can develop awareness about society and the world. This cultural and political awareness is vital if we want to groom a generation of socially responsible citizens. With news channels, magazines, social networking sites blaring about world happenings, teens can realize that there is more to the world than just what is happening in the hood.”

Another positive is instant access to information on the topics covered in class. Students can quickly find out what something means as well as learn more about the topic at hand. Many lecturers who know the importance of cell phones for students actually encourage their use in class, but it is often tricky for them to ensure a balance between the personal and academic uses.

Media/academic multitasking is an area of concern in relation to young people. Van der Schuur et al. (2015) explain that the constant availability of media has led to an increase in media multitasking, which is defined as *“either simultaneously engaging in two or more types of media or using media while engaging in non-media activities, such as text messaging while studying”* (ibid.: 204). These authors posit that this trend is a source of concern because it holds potentially negative consequences. In their report entitled *The consequences of media multitasking for youth: A review*, in which they analyse various studies on multitasking, Van der Schuur et al. (ibid.: 205) say that research has –

“focused on youth’s cognitive control abilities (e.g. to sustain attention and efficiently switch between tasks), their academic performance (e.g. perceived academic learning and course grades) and more recently, their socioemotional functioning (e.g. depression, and social anxiety).”

They also say that researchers either implicitly or explicitly believe that multitasking has negative effects among youths.

In many courses that the authors of this article teach in the media section of the Communication Department at NUST, it is noticeable how much a student is fixated on something other than what they are studying in



class, when, for example, you ask them a question and they stare at you, which means they have no idea what you are talking about as they were engrossed in something else.

Van der Schuur et al. (ibid.) also convey that researchers have examined the relationship between media use during academic activities and academic performance, and have hypothesised that media use during academic activities can negatively affect students' academic performance, because the time spent using media during academic activities may displace the time spent on those activities, and if students do not spend sufficient time on academic assignments, they may not perform to the best of their abilities. They add that the use of media during academic activities limits the information-processing capacity available for academic content, and therefore hinders students' learning of academic content, concentration and time used to carry out their academic work (ibid.: 208):



Students multitasking in a college building at NUST (Photo by Wanja Njuguna)

“... media multitasking may result in lower academic performance, mediated by deficits in cognitive control. To date, however, researchers have focused only on the effects of media use during academic activities. Therefore, we were able to examine only the relationship between media use during academic activities and academic performance.”

Some people may hold the view that parents are to blame for their own children's negative behaviours, yet some of the youth who have committed crimes or are somehow wayward were actually raised in decent homes. A recent story in *The Namibian* newspaper (2 August 2016) provides insight in this regard. A teenage killer in Namibia, Lungile Mawisa, explained to the court that although he had grown up in good family and had all the basics that he needed, this did not prevent him from stabbing to death his 17-year-old pregnant girlfriend, Ipula Akwenye, when he was only 18 years old:

“I grew up in a loving domestic environment with both my parents. All my needs and most of my wants were taken care of. I was sent to

good schools. I lived in a middle-class neighbourhood. I excelled in my studies, and was popular with my peers. I lived what most would call a normal life but things still went wrong.”

Blaming the media, among others, for his irresponsible behaviour at the time, Mawisa informed the court as follows:

“I tried experimenting with alcohol at a relatively young age. It later became abuse. As a result, I engaged in risky sexual behaviour. I was immature, and emotionally not ready for the risks I took then.”

He added that his parents had never taught him anything about sex, and all of his knowledge about sex, alcohol and basically social life had come from his peers and the media.

The very popular Facebook also poses challenges for those who use it constantly. Michikyan et al. (2015) note that students are the majority users of Facebook. For example, they cite a study by Duggan and Brenner (2013) which found that 71% of Facebook users in the US were college students. Besides for personal use (intimacy etc.), Facebook is used to link college students to their academic lives – including online academic disclosure and academic performance and engagement. However, Michikyan et al. (ibid.) report that Facebook’s direct effects on students’ academic lives are not very clear. Participants in their study reported spending an average of over two hours and forty minutes per day on Facebook, and females spent more time than males on Facebook. On average, students logged into their profiles at least six times in one day, and “87% reported updating their status at least twice per day, and 78% reported posting at least four wall posts per day on Facebook” (ibid.: 271).

In Namibia the use of social media has sometimes caused ripples among politicians. In *The Namibian* of 6 May 2014, Shinovene Immanuel reported that MPs had called for tightening the law to control the use of social media – a call to be tabled by NUDO Secretary-General Arnold Tjihuike when the National Assembly resumed sitting in the following month:

“Some parliamentarians are eager to control the use of social media such as Facebook by the public through tightening the law, amid claims that internet platforms are being abused to tarnish some political leaders’ images.”



The same article notes that “*Government is also working on an internet law that will tighten the use of new media as part of the e-governance policy.*”

Music and lyrics

Some of the music that young people are accessing through their various gadgets is another matter of concern. Many focus on the melody or rhythm and rarely listen to the lyrics, but there are those who not only listen to the lyrics but memorise them and sing along with the music. The lyrics in many of today’s songs are a cause of concern. In the aforementioned article by Fikameni Mathias in *The Namibian* of 4 March 2014, headed “Be Aware of the Effects of all Media”, the writer refers to a very popular song by Eminem called “*My name is ...*”, which starts as follows:

*Hi kids! Do you like violence? (Yeah yeah yeah!)
Wanna see me stick nine-inch nails through each one of my eyelids?
(Uh-huh!) Wanna copy me and do exactly like I did? (Yeah yeah!)
Try ‘cid and get f*cked up worse than my life is? (Huh?) My brain’s dead
weight, I’m trying to get my head straight,
But I can’t figure out which Spice Girl I want to impregnate (Ummmm...)*

Surely any parent and decent young person hearing these lyrics would be concerned? Certainly very few young people would express such violence, social immorality and inappropriate language in front of an adult.

Positive use of media among young Namibians

There are many young people in Namibia who are using the easy access to media to effect a positive impact on the country’s youth. For example, a recent graduate of NUST, Foreversun Haiduwah, has started a company named Foreversun Motivations, whose main aim is to motivate young people (and others) to realise their full potential. Using Facebook to reach his wide and varied audience, Foreversun sometimes teams up with well-known young Namibians to deliver motivational talks throughout the country via radio and television, with the aim of ‘extracting’ the best in the listeners. Other young people using the various media to serve Namibian youth are Job Amupanda, a lecturer at the University of Namibia (UNAM) and author,



together with Dimbulukweni Nauyoma and George Kambala, who in 2014 launched Affirmative Repositioning (AR), a radical movement whose aim is to improve the socio-economic conditions of urban youth. The trio use social media platforms to mobilise residents to apply for “erven” (small residential land titles) from municipalities. In the political arena there are many young Namibians who use various media to call for action among the youth to exercise their rights as enshrined in the Namibian Constitution. A few examples are: Lot Ndamanomhata, a SWAPO activist and media practitioner; Mandela Kapere, Chairperson of the Board and Executive Chairperson of the National Youth Council (NYC); Elsarien Katiti, Vice-Chairperson of the NYC; Daisry Mathias, a branding ‘guru’. It is noteworthy that Katiti is currently learning sign language with the aim of reaching more people through this special medium of expression.

Recommendations

Extensive research has made clear how and why easy access to a range of media affects many young people in the long run. Ford-Jones and Nieman (2003), writing in a paediatric journal, explain that the earlier parents gain control over what their children have access to, the better for the children in the long run. These authors say that the influence of the media on a child’s psychosocial development is profound. Thus, it is important for physicians to discuss with parents their children’s exposure to media and to provide guidance on age-appropriate use of all media, including television, radio, music, video games and the Internet.

In some colleges, arrangements are made with lecturers for the student services to enter classes to discuss with the students the pros and cons of excessive use of the various gadgets accessible to them. It is critical to ensure that students understand the importance of using their gadgets appropriately – not to their own detriment. Fikameni Mathias (2014), who interviewed Dr Fred Mwilima, a senior lecturer in Media Studies at UNAM, shares this view of this leading Namibian academic:

“Young people should be taught to be discriminative, in the sense that they know what is bad music and good music. Educate young people about music, especially the lyrics aspect. The language passed on is very unsocial and our young people seem to love this music. It is thus time to educate them about the issue and the consequences.”



Chakravarty (2016), in a MomJunction website post headed “Positive and Negative Influences of Media on Teenagers”, advises parents and others who influence young people’s lives as follows:

- Help young people to develop social skills so that they don’t stick only to their cell phones and other gadgets.
- Ensure that they know the negative effects of social media, the Internet and their gadgets versus the positive effects of their studies.
- Inspire them to make positive use of the violence they see in movies, for example by taking up martial arts, which can go a long way to inculcate skills other than violence.
- Guide them to the decent video games.
- Help them to develop their reading and writing skills, which could help to steer them away from spending long periods in chatrooms discussing matters with strangers or matters that might hinder their growing into responsible individuals.

Other tips from these authors’ own research and other sources:

- Help young people to choose their peers wisely, and to know that they do not have to conform to what their peers want, but rather should do what they believe is right for themselves.
- When young people reach the stage of learning about sex, let them know that responsibility for one’s own body is a life-long responsibility, and short-term pleasure can lead to diseases and unwanted pregnancy. The ability to say “no” to sex at an early age can go a long way in inculcating discipline among young people.
- Helping young people to achieve a balance between pleasure and their student lives is critical.

Chakravarty (2016) also has media-related tips for parents of teenagers, based on the view that parents have a responsibility to help their teens to make the right choices, and if teens are not well guided at this stage of life, they will not be responsible people later in their youth or adulthood:

1. *Sit down as a family and discuss the pros and cons of media. Encourage your teen to express her feelings about various programs and media outlets.*
2. *Help your teen differentiate between reality and fantasy.*
3. *Try to keep TVs, video games, etc. out of your teen’s bedroom.*



4. *Use parental control. Block channels and websites you think are inappropriate for your teen. But make sure to tell your teenager why exactly you have blocked these media outlets.*
5. *Limit TV viewing to 2-3 hours every day. Try to spend time together as a family doing other activities.*

Conclusion

The media have both positive and negative effects on young people. It is important, therefore, that as they progress through the different stages of youth, they are guided by responsible people as to the pros and cons of the media – what is important, what is not; peer pressure and how not to succumb to it; and the importance of concentrating on the different tasks before them. The importance of guiding and mentoring young people to be responsible with the gadgets at their disposal cannot be overemphasised; it is critical to their daily lives. Helping young people to accept themselves and have confidence in themselves is important, as self-acceptance and self-confidence enables them to withstand peer pressure when the time comes. Helping them to access other forms of responsible pleasure such as reading, doing community work and participating in social-growth activities such as drama, instead of concentrating on their gadgets, will go a long way to helping young people to grow into responsible citizens.





Youth Agenda 2020 – Let’s Walk the Talk!

By Peik Bruhns

The Youth Leadership Development Programme (YLDP), initiated in 2006, is now the most widely recognised support intervention of its kind in Namibia. Its annual national programme has produced some of the country’s most outstanding and most flamboyant young leaders. In 2013, the defining and decisive intervention of the Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture (MYNSSC) enabled the regional programme to take off, whereupon the Ministry and its YLDP partners, namely the National Youth Council (NYC) and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), were able to validly confirm the YLDP as the flagship programme for youth development in Namibia. Hundreds of young men and women from different walks of life, the full political spectrum and varying educational backgrounds have been trained through over the last 10 years, and many more will be trained in the future.

When Juliet Kavetuna, then Deputy Minister of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture, addressed the YLDP participants in 2013, she challenged them to formulate a “youth agenda”, her argument being that only with an agenda, including a clearly stipulated vision, can one find one’s direction. Taking this challenge seriously, the participants started by compiling a list of issues that need urgent addressing, with a view to inspiring those who have the desire and the financial means to develop a truly inclusive and broad-based agenda for all of the youth of Namibia.



Following is an outline of the most pressing matters to be taken into consideration in the envisaged consultation to plan for the future by way of a formal national Youth Agenda.

- **Free QUALITY education in all government high schools by 2018:**

Primary education has been accessible to all since the Government, in 2013, finally took the step of outlawing the payment of school fees in public primary schools. Equally importantly, pre-primary education (Early Childhood Development) has been formally integrated into the government structures. However, the matter of access to secondary and higher education has yet to be addressed: the costs are prohibitive for the vast majority of Namibian families, and thus continue to pose a societal barrier which condemns the poor to remain poorly educated while the rich, by virtue of their education, grow richer.

- **Create a National Youth Parliament by 2015 to give the youth a voice:**

The existing Children’s Parliament is a commendable first step, but it has no teeth and is also not properly equipped with a mandate. Seemingly it was established as an acknowledgement of the importance of ensuring children their rights as prescribed by international and national laws. It is necessary to establish a National Youth Parliament as a progressive voice of the future, equipped with the mandate to advise on issues that the youth will be dealing with further down the time line.

- **Build vocational training centres in all regions by 2020 to reduce youth unemployment:**

The devaluing of vocational training in this country is tragic! Only since recently has the entire nation been unwilling to work in anything but white-collar jobs, and this attitude is destined to doom our economy. How will Namibian society continue to exist, let alone thrive, without bakers, electricians, carpenters, printers, plumbers, farmers, welders, mechanics and all the other blue-collar jobs which are so critical to every person’s day-to-day life? Students pursuing vocational careers are not celebrated, yet they are the backbone of productivity anywhere. If we are to truly pursue industrialisation as per Vision 2030, our attitude and our appreciation of artisans and technical skills *must* change.

“You are only young once, but you can be immature forever”

– Ritu Ghaturai



- **Provide loans/grants to all students who qualify for entry into tertiary institutions by 2016:**

It is urgently necessary to devise a mechanism for giving Namibians, irrespective of gender, political affiliation, creed, race and ethnicity, access to study loans and to diverse opportunities for study in different fields – ensuring equal opportunities for youth with disabilities. This should be accompanied by a well-designed career guidance scheme, informed by a platform comprising academia (research entities and institutions of higher learning), the market (private sector, private sector umbrella bodies and civil society youth organisations) and government (line ministries and lower-tier government agencies).

- **All eligible children must be in school by 2020:**

Despite primary education being free of charge, seemingly the number of children falling through the cracks is rising. Let us be conscious of the increasing number of orphans in our society, and the high numbers of so-called “street children” and children who live on the dump sites. In some rural areas inhabited by nomadic people, schooling has to be made even more accessible. In addition, we need further interrogation to establish whether children are indeed being taught in their mother tongue in their first years of primary school.

- **Skilled professionals to teach and assist on social issues in schools by 2017:**

Example: life skills as from a younger age. Many people in our society grow up traumatised. Read the daily newspaper reports about gender-based violence, among other acts of brutality. Such acts leave marks, even on the witnesses, many of whom are children who will be punished for life by the impressions imprinted in their minds. We have to urgently create space for acknowledging that human beings are social beings. Also, children today are exposed to life-related issues at a much younger age than they were just 20 years ago, and we urgently need to review practices to ensure that children are adapting to these fast-changing times.

- **Invest 40% of the national education budget in entrepreneurship programmes for out-of-school youths (‘dropouts’) / unskilled youths / rural youths and professionals – and for protection of local SMEs:**

Entrepreneurship is not a once-off event; it requires a range of support mechanisms, and currently it appears that more often than not, only half-



hearted support is provided. Young adults need training to be confident enough to start their own businesses and thereby realise their dream of being their own boss. This dream will be short-lived if opportunities to exercise what has been learnt are not created. Although some consider mistakes to be costly, if nascent entrepreneurs are not allowed to make mistakes, the experiential learning journey is less likely and success is more unlikely. Growth is a result of reflection, adjustment and courage.

- **Creation of central bureaus for unemployed youth by 2016:**

In view of the staggeringly high youth unemployment rate in Namibia, special avenues have to be created for guiding youth into employment. The reasons often cited for youth being unemployed are an absence or lack of experience and exposure, and limited access to information. Central bureaus for employment should be designed to bring together youth who seek employment and people who offer employment, and these bureaus must accommodate specifically unskilled so-called 'school dropouts'. These bureaus should also devise and oversee a volunteer attachment programme designed to bring the private sector and youth closer together and to expose youth to the professional world.

- **National skills survey after every four years:**

For as long as we don't know what skills are available in Namibia and what skills are still needed for achieving our vision, we can't plan. Given our small population, it should be possible to assess which skills are readily available and where our focus should be in skills development in order to pursue specific plans. Once the skills gaps are identified, we can temporarily hire external capacity, but in the long run it is the young generation which should fill the gaps. This is the only way to prevent the ballooning of an already evident brain drain among our young adults.

- **Youth to have access to land and housing, including a clear guiding strategy and step-by-step implementation by 2017:**

Land and housing have become entirely unaffordable for the ordinary Namibian. It is urgently important that individually as young people we are granted the basic human right to access land and a roof over our head. Land and building materials are at the centre of commercial exploitation by developers. As a first measure, a just land access and affordable housing approach has to be adopted – one that prohibits land speculators and developers from exploitative practices.



- **Utilisation of existing youth centres – NOW!!!**

All too often it is believed that by providing infrastructure and erecting nice-looking buildings, we solve problems, yet that is when we create another problem without having addressed the initial problem: the problem of making more and more expensive ‘white elephants’, which is how youth centres tend to appear in our landscape. We must not allow this to happen to our youth centres! Our youth centres must be staffed by young people, possibly educated in youth development, and they should be places of vibrant activity:

- music and dance;
- cultural and intergenerational exchange;
- sports, physical exercise and games;
- homework and study;
- reflection and learning;
- psychosocial support and training; and
- IT and ICT.

It might require radical measures to make regional youth centres truly responsive to the needs of the youth, but it is time for bold steps if we want to carry our youth forward.

This article is intended for us all to reflect and discuss and further enrich. Perhaps with the support of one or the other authority we can pursue our dream to draw up a Namibian National Youth Agenda, so that we know where we are going and can focus on our future and achieve success.

“When the music changes, so does the dance.”

– an African proverb





Challenges and Opportunities Faced by Young African Leaders

By Engenesia Neunda

Background

Leadership is both a research area and a practical skill, encompassing the ability of an individual or organisation to “lead” or guide other individuals. However, each individual has her/his own definition of a leader, depending on the characteristics each wants in a leader – just like there is an endless debate about whether a leader is born or made.¹

In the past, leadership was always associated with wisdom and age, thus generally most leadership positions were allocated to individuals based on such factors. It is important to acknowledge youth taking up leadership roles in different sectors of the society today (AU 2006 and 2011: *African Youth Charter* and *African Youth Decade Plan of Action 2009-2018*). In most African countries, the age hierarchy embodied in the culture has meant that there are limited opportunities for youth to express themselves and to meaningfully participate in national social and political discourse.

1 One of the youngest State Presidents in the world’s recent history, President of the DRC, Joseph Kabila, is a reminder that Africa may be willing to accommodate youthful leadership – but the youth need to be readied for extensive responsibilities.



Youth leadership has been elaborated upon as a theory of youth development in which young people gain skills and knowledge necessary to lead civic engagement, education reform and community organising/mobilising activities. Worldwide, close to 3 billion people – nearly half of the world’s population – are youth (YLDP documentation). In Africa alone, 60% of the population are youth (AU 2011). The African Youth Charter defines youth as persons between 15 and 35 years of age. Despite being the majority in most African countries, youth are not holding the majority of decision-making positions, nor are they key informants in decision-making processes. At times their role degenerates to being child soldiers or uninformed first-time voters. Not surprisingly, they then become victims of many social evils.

Gradually more and more governments have been prioritising youth development to ensure and secure their countries’ economic growth. States have realised the importance of youth participation in the political, economic and social arenas, and are therefore including and engaging youth in attaining developmental goals. This engagement more commonly consists of consultations within government institutions and line ministries with a selected group of groomed youth, as opposed to ongoing dialogues.

Governments rely on stakeholders, NGOs, donors and civil-society players to promote and contribute to youth development. Thus the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) in the SADC region created a platform for youth leadership development, namely the Southern Africa Regional Youth Forum (SARYF). The SARYF empowers youth in Namibia, South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Madagascar and other SADC countries through dialogue and exchanges of views. The forum focuses on developmental issues in these countries and abroad. Despite the SARYF programmes varying per country – as adjusted to the local needs – the forum invites youth from all SADC countries to exchange and interrogate policies and political developments in the region. This is a massive step towards the next most important area of youth empowerment, in which the greatest challenge is: How can this platform relate to existing decision-making bodies such as at SADC level? Challenges are there to be mastered!

What happened?

Around the world, many young women and men joined a revolution to liberate their motherland, and some spearheaded those struggles for independence. While the relevance of the youth in societies remains



unshaken, today's youth build on the foundation laid by the generation before them, emphasising economic emancipation, and strengthening their democracies against the backdrop of social injustices and ever-rising corruption.

Over the past decade, young people in Africa have become beacons of hope. Youth have risen in solidarity against injustices and inequalities. The Maghreb spring in 2010-2012 and subsequent mass movements across north Africa inspired young people elsewhere to be more relevant in their own countries.

In South Africa, the newly formed Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), spearheaded by an influential youth who initially led the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League before creating his own party, is largely seen as the party-political mouthpiece of the country's youth. This party has challenged the South African President and the ANC administration, particularly regarding the misuse of public funds and corruption, and calls for greater accountability and transparency.

In both South Africa and Namibia, youth movements have formed to contest procedures in universities, resulting in "fees must fall" campaigns to reduce tuition fees and/or against annual fee increments. Sadly, it is also largely the youth acting wildly xenophobic against particularly African foreigners.

In Namibia, a youthful breakaway group from the ruling party formed "Affirmative Repositioning (AR), an issue-based movement which articulates itself on social-justice-related matters such as access to land, the "New-Parliament-Must-Fall" issue and the lowering of study fees. AR has appealed to many young men, but, as displayed in a recent march, has so far failed to mobilise the masses. Interestingly, this movement has not gone the route of challenging the status quo by forming yet another political party, but opted to operate in the space allocated to civil society. Civil society in Namibia is on her knees, and one will have to see how the youth turn this challenge into an opportunity.

Youth seemingly seek space to articulate themselves on matters of importance. What is important for now is to observe that the youth remain hugely non-homogenous, and despite generational similarities, different groups of youth pursue wide-ranging and often even contradictory positions.

Despite these disparities, the Executive Council of the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments of the African Union, during its meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in January 2009, declared the years 2009-2018 as



the Decade of Youth Development in Africa. This facilitated consultations and engagements between the heads of states and the youth (AU 2011.) These political activities tested the stance of democracy in many African countries, and caused disparity between the youth and senior leadership as regards good governance.

Opportunities for the youth in leadership

Education

Youth in the first decades of the 21st century are more highly educated than in previous decades, due to the expansion of educational opportunities for the youth following liberation from their colonial powers. In Namibia, for example, enrolment in tertiary training institutions after independence saw a drastic annual increase. Around Africa, enrolment in tertiary education gained momentum when equal access to education was prioritised through policies such as Education For All (EFA), among many others. In Namibia, factors currently boosting the tertiary enrolment rate are the recent shift to free secondary education and the waving of university registration fees. Various programmes in African universities have created a platform for youth to develop their confidence and discover their leadership potentials. This has increased the numbers of youth taking up leadership positions in organisations and society. Globally, youth today have much greater opportunities than their parents' generation had, and the relative political stability in many countries is certainly a contributing factor. This does not imply that young leaders are ready to immediately take over from the 'old guard', but it does mean that the youth have the opportunity to take over the reigns in a responsible and informed fashion when their turn comes.

Capacity building and exposure

The advances in youth development, empowerment and leadership have gained momentum through the last decade, and are accorded increasing significance in international development and the development agendas of regional entities and national governments. This has led to numerous youth-targeting interventions and platforms for capacity building in international policies – two examples being the *African Youth Charter* and the Decade of Youth Development in Africa. These interventions and platforms empower



the youth to contend with the multifaceted changes effected by political and socio-economic developments in Africa and globally. When empowered, young people can contribute greatly to good governance and democracy, and their passionate desire to be a catalyst for national development will certainly make for more stable societies. However, capacity building and exposure can lead to a brain drain in a country, especially in rural areas, as many better-trained youth stop wanting to contribute to the building of their rural area, preferring to be involved in national development from the urban centres. Thus it is important to empower rural-based youth in such a manner that they want to turn around the situations prevailing on their own doorsteps before seeking to move on to 'greater things'. Equally challenging is that the approach usually taken to youth capacity building is the peer-based approach – an approach which has featured as a best practice in Namibia's Youth Leadership Development Programme (YLDP): it is not easy for every peer to sacrifice a possibly illustrious career to remain dedicated to empowering her/his fellow youths. Another challenge for the trained peers is that of earning the establishment's trust: emerging young leaders need grooming over time – they cannot perform 'perfectly' at the outset – and trusting them during their period of grooming poses a huge challenge for the establishment, and hence for the young leaders.

Information and Communications Technology (ICT)

Youth in the 21st century enjoy the fruits of the technological age – such as easier communication, information sharing and mobilisation amongst themselves. The Internet makes it much easier for young people to pursue career, business and education opportunities, by enhancing their knowledge and understanding of global politics, economics and social developments. Information about careers is a simple click of the button away. Mastery of ICT sets this generation far apart from their parents' generation, which is still battling to come to terms with the existence of Facebook, WhatsApp, smartphones and so on.

However, ICT also poses challenges for the youth. One challenge is to know how much freedom is healthy, and to tailor one's ICT-related activities accordingly. Another challenge is to maintain one's personal relationships, and thereby to build one's knowledge not only from information sourced on the Internet, but also on the information gained from the stories told by one's elders around the fire. The consequences of not meeting such



challenges are evident in the crime and violence statistics across Africa, and the youth themselves have to find a way, rather swiftly, to remedy this situation. It is imperative that they remain in charge of technology instead of being used by technology.

Challenges for the youth in leadership

While the current crop of African youth have great opportunities to enhance their participation in development, they are also faced with great challenges. For Namibia's youth, the most pressing challenges at present are as follows.

Unemployment

At least 21% of Namibia's youth are currently unemployed, and the number of unemployed youth has been increasing every year. The majority of the unemployed youth did attend school, but did not attain a Grade 12 pass. A fairly high number dropped out of school because of teenage pregnancy or substance abuse or addiction. Not all of those who attain a Grade 10 or Grade 12 pass can be accommodated in the tertiary education system, and even university graduates are struggling to find their way into employment and even self-employment.

Employment creation is happening mostly in the urban centres, hence many rural youth leave their rural homes at a young age for what they hope will be greener pastures in urban centres. In some rural areas, youth unemployment is said to be above 90%. This places huge pressure on the urban centres. Presently at least half a million people are living in make-shift accommodations in urban centres, with no sanitation facilities, no immediate access to water and no electricity. For as long as the urban/rural divide is not addressed by way of employment creation in the rural areas, unemployment will remain a massive problem in this country.

The youth need to be given easy access to opportunities for volunteering and self-employment, with support rendered to them not only at the point of entry into self-employment, but throughout the development of their businesses. Mentorship schemes are needed to help both professional and self-employed youth to progress gradually. Youth may be growing up in a world of opportunities, but the inherent challenges are so overwhelming that unless peer-mentorship schemes are endorsed, many will succumb to the pressures that these challenges impose.



Another challenge is posed by the advice that youth should switch jobs in order to gain additional experience: the risk attached to switching jobs is so tremendous that many youth opt for staying in their jobs and not gaining additional experience, and this hinders the creation of a skilled and well-exposed workforce, which in turn reduces the confidence levels of both potential employers and young employees.

Access to resources

Namibia is a resource-rich country, yet the gap between the rich and the poor remains enormous. Most of the attempts to reduce this gap – e.g. by localising value addition on resources – have been met by skills shortages and factors related to globalisation, and so have generally failed to reduce this gap. And, sadly, like so many other African countries, we have greedy locals – including young ones – who sell the country’s precious resources to foreigners. Exploration Processing Licenses (EPLs) and fishing quotas are good examples: they are rarely made available to the masses, but are always available to a small local elite, who in turn do not risk employing local lowly skilled personnel to share in their good fortune, but rather sell their license or quota to a potent international player who is well equipped to further exploit the resource, and is unwilling to employ anyone but its ‘own people’ for any further exploitation.

Victims of social ills

When unemployment is high and confidence levels are low, it is young people in particular who remain vulnerable and fall victim to social ills such as alcohol and drug abuse, gender-based violence and sexually transmitted diseases. And, even worse, many young people turn to criminal activities which they consider to be the only alternative to their misery. Poverty is generally understood to be the root cause of such social ills, but, as learnt throughout the implementation of the YLDP, the absence of cognitive skills in the formal education system is a strong contributing factor. In addition, many have questioned the wisdom of omitting spiritual, morality-boosting subjects in school. Parents must be called upon to impose greater levels of discipline. The parents of today’s older youth also grew up in impoverished circumstances, yet did not succumb *en masse* to the pressures of those circumstances, thus they are innate role models for their offspring.



My personal experience

I come from pretty average African beginnings. I love my mother and my father, but they could not manage to continue loving each other. I have numerous siblings, and as much as rural life offers a great respite from the hectic city fast-lane, I am grateful that I do not live there anymore. I am a typical African child of today as my roots do not know colonial borders, and my heart has grown fond of my motherland.

What I did differently to many of my peers is that, during my early days of being a conscientious youth, I decided to spend some of my free time with the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and that is when I stumbled into the YLDP.

The question of why I was eventually hired to coordinate the affairs of the YLDP is one which to this day gives me sleepless nights. I do know that I have grown tremendously during the course of my training, and so have others. I do know that the writing skills of others have been better than mine, and I know that many of my peers ask, "But why her?" Dwelling on a question to which there may not be any good answer makes no sense, so instead, let me share just one fact: being the YLDP Coordinator is no joyride!

Most of the YLDP training takes place over weekends. Imagine spending many of your weekends in a classroom, administering procedures – a task that is critically important to the implementation of a sustainable programme. The greatest excitement related to this administrative task is that this programme is so multifaceted:

- There are the facilitators, who, like me, are graduates.
- There are the national programme participants, who every year express different needs and different expectations.
- There are the implementing partners (MSYNS, NYC FES), who only express themselves if reminded repeatedly to do so.
- There is the programme designer, who is very supportive and also very demanding.
- There is the regional programme (SARYF), which every year falls into my lap like a newborn baby.
- There is the regional programme coordinated by my brother in arms, Ileni Henguva, in which I engage only on the periphery.
- There are the resource persons, who seek professionalism, guidance, clarity and space.



- There are the social projects, whose beneficiaries need to be identified, and then assured that our youth are not reckless (the popular perception), and then be given the opportunity to understand what they need from volunteers and why the volunteers deserve praise for the work they do.
- There are the sending agencies, which provide prospective youth leaders to the YLDP, who at times are very understanding.
- And there is my boss.

Doing it right for all, I had to learn, is impossible. Finding my own way in all this, and accepting that unpopularity at times is part of life, has been one of the more painful yet liberating lessons. And that is what the YLDP is for me: a never-ending journey of growth, and also the provider of the answer to all those youth who feel overwhelmed by the challenges surrounding them: The change you want to see must start within yourself. Do not wait for others to change what matters to you. As small as the changes you make may seem, never give up, because one day, inevitably and suddenly, your journey will gather pace.

Conclusion

Challenges and opportunities have accompanied humankind ever since we came into existence, and coping with these has never been easy. We in Namibia must consider ourselves tremendously fortunate to belong to a generation that is growing up free from severe conflict and war, which makes for a much easier journey towards a more prosperous future. But, to secure the future of all of our nations, we have to take care of those who are part of the present and the past. It is every generation's responsibility to ensure that its actions enrich and benefit the generation after them. It is therefore important that all developmental policies are youth-inclusive and executed by and with the youth.





The Importance of Youth Taking Their Development Into Their Own Hands

By Ignatius Semba

2001 is the year I completed high school. The zeal of life was real. I was as charming as now and dining with my passion. I became an activist of grounded morale and joined an opposition political party. I was an active member of my party. In those days, politics was a more influential domain; nowadays it is being replaced by Facebook and other social media. It was tough as a young person to swim against the stream and form part of an opposition party. Political trash-talk, name-calling and backbiting provided the grounds for political alienation.

When an active youth in Namibia, irrespective of affiliation, one crosses paths with the National Youth Council (NYC) at one point or another. That is where I first went to enquire – after I heard about the Youth Leadership Development Programme (YLDP). They explained its aims and purpose to me. I did not hesitate to spread my wings. I submitted my application to my party at the time, and after some waiting I received a call inviting me for an interview. I thought, if they call for interviews before they select, they truly must take their programme seriously and are well prepared. Shortly after my first-ever grilling interview, I could celebrate as I was chosen as a successful candidate. I was indeed very happy and jovial that day, and the words of the Greek philosopher Plato became a well of inspiration:



“Individual human beings are not self-sufficient; and no one working alone can acquire all of the genuine necessities of life.”

So the journey began – in the FES Forum! When the first module began I was excited. Looking around though, I realised that most participants were from the ruling party. Immediately I thought to myself, this is just another SWAPO gathering, and even contemplated an immediate departure. I was worried, angered and negative about it. The programme started and the first day was not as exciting as I hoped, because of the negative vibes that penetrated my mind. Yet, my adherence to being disciplined encouraged me to not give up, and to come back the following day.

The next day I saw something different: the way our facilitator, Mr Peik Bruhns, was guiding us through the programme. This completely changed my whole mindset. This was not a political gathering of the ruling party, but rather it was a gathering of young activists gathered to be empowered with knowledge and skills. That said, I also found it hard to fit in; I was not sure how to interact with the others, seeing as I knew the majority as supporters of the ruling party. But, the atmosphere became lighter in our interactions, and we started to realise that despite our differing party-political affiliations, we may still find common ground and appreciate this shared learning.

At the time, others probably could have regarded me as a ‘very typical person with a village background’, as I could not articulate myself at the same level as youth from the city, and was also not very considerate of others and other opinions.

As the training progressed, we grew together as a unit. On one occasion, the facilitator gave a small group of men – myself included – the task of reading a book by Simone de Beauvoir, which, it was hoped, might shed light on our continued gender insensitivity. At the time I could hardly pronounce the author’s name or even recall when last I had read a book. Through this brief venture into an unknown world, it became very clear to us that gender sensitivity is a critically important value to consider. Then, presenting the topic to a larger group of fellow youth gave me, and surely also my fellow group members, the sense that at times we have to step out of our comfort zones.

The blend of topics, their underpinning theories and a lot of different exercises were truly mind opening, and taught me the importance of going outside the box. I was a participant in the pioneer year – the first year that the YLDP was offered. The combination of topics – ranging from the Constitution



to youth development, issues around unemployment, project management and how to create employment, how our economy works, what it really means to be a leader (e.g. having to understand one's emotions and be in control of them) – ensured that all of us could pick what interested us most. Learning how to write a professional CV and how to conduct myself in an interview landed me my first job: Secretary at Parliament for the party I was serving then.

What truly almost through me off balance was the way we were always working out specific topics in varying teams. For instance, when we were presented the topic “Namibian Constitution”, and then were asked to work in groups, it was very hard for me. I was used to working by myself – as I'd done during my high school days when serving as Chairperson for NANSO at Augustineum Secondary School. As head of my household at the time of participating in the YLDP, I was used to pursuing life single-mindedly. And, we Herero men are brought up to work out issues and problems by ourselves. Working in teams now challenged me heavily, but it led me to understand the importance and value of team work and working together with other people, irrespective political affiliation.

It was at that time that I realised that leadership is not about wearing a tie, looking professional and holding an important title or filling a good-sounding position. The YLDP taught me the real meaning of being a leader. It means, for example: understanding issues without boasting; caring for those who are in need; being able to put a message across to followers; not forcing matters but explaining perspectives; and overall, providing VISION.

Probably the most innovative element in the YLDP is that participants are attached to social projects, in teams of youth assembled from different walks of life, different language and ethnic backgrounds and different political orientations. The lesson that everybody ought to do something for the community is an invaluable lesson in our society. And it sounds cool, but finding ways to help the community, the vulnerable and the poor is more difficult than one might think.

I happened to work with street kids, who were in the care of an organisation called Big Issue. They were young people and we were also young, so they were quickly open to talking to us so that we could understand how they saw life. What they said touched me to the core, and changed my outlook on life. It is very hard to work with disabled children, street kids and other vulnerable children, for some of us even more so, as our



traditions have us believe that they are a curse, and our parents even told us never to play with such children. Suddenly we interacted with them to the extent of my acknowledging that I had learnt from them – I still get goosebumps.

The importance of helping others in need, and of never looking down on them or discriminating – because we are all Namibians and we need each other in developing our society – has been the most surprising lesson, and a forever-lasting one.

Leaving a legacy

Upon graduating, we decided that the journey could not end there. One could already sense the great shift that had taken place since the first day when I, for one, was not even sure I was in the right assembly. We formed our Alumni Association, and despite being from the opposition party, I served as its first chairperson, soundly supported by my deputy and dear colleague, Ms Paula Kooper. Everybody was part of this.

The Alumni's main aims were to bring together the YLDP graduates from the different years and continue their development as leaders. We came up with different activities, such as bring-and-braais, mixed-sport games and public talk shows on youth-relevant issues. We wanted to show that youth from different political parties can unite for the purpose of nation building.

In our numerous meetings we discussed many different topics affecting Namibian youth, and how we could create solutions and opportunities for the youth in our country, and how we can change the mindset of our young people. The Alumni Association was composed of all major Namibian party-political youth wings, and our first meeting took place outside Windhoek and was organised by ourselves.

During this period I learnt the power of perseverance. As a founder of the Alumni Association, I wanted to go the extra mile to be successful, and I put my all into this. At times I felt like giving up and withdrawing from the team, but having a direction, the desire to succeed and a supportive team gave me the strength to carry on.

Under my leadership, the Alumni were granted an audience with our President at the time, Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba, which was an encounter I treasure tremendously, also because it confirmed what I knew by then – that we were doing something great, and something that would change the face of the Namibian youth forever.



During Alumni meetings we would hear about each other's successes and struggles, and I remember hearing the success story of Tomas Sebron, who had been an ordinary learner at the Windhoek Vocational Training Centre (WVTC), and then, after attending the YLDP, had become Class Captain. This was visibly a very proud moment for him. Many other YLDP graduates could relate similar stories. Our spirit has always been such that we do not keep to ourselves what we have learnt, but rather purposefully go out and share our knowledge with our peers, cousins and other people with whom we interact.

I challenge the future YLDP generations to turn the Alumni Association into a formidable force. The future generations should know that throughout the years to date, the YLDP participants have been formidable!

Our numerous, occasionally heated deliberations enabled us to learn that the absence of dialogue between different parties and different generations creates conflict rather than preventing conflict. Hence, not accepting one another's views, though they may be different and controversial, does not help our development. Knowing this, we spearheaded the formation of the Party-Political Youth Forum, to bring together, on an annual basis, youth leaders from different political parties to caucus on specific youth-relevant matters, and to engage senior leaders on those matters. Under the able leadership of my fellow YLDP graduate, Brian Riruako, this initiative has grown from strength to strength and deserves the injection of fresh impetus and energy.

Being first in line always holds the advantage of having the opportunity to shape those who follow afterwards. During our discussions around leadership, we interrogated ourselves as to who in our country was a "good leader" at the time; who was exemplary enough to serve as a good role model for the YLDP participants and Namibia's youth on the whole. Surprisingly, we could all agree on a particular very senior politician, who in his own ways had tackled a wide range of very challenging situations and circumstances in his own life and in serving his country. To this day, Hon. Ben Amathila serves as the Patron of the YLDP. It is not within the range of my judgement to tell whether he remains the Patron because of the (brain) laziness of YLDP generations that came after us, or whether it is because he has remained one of the most exemplary leaders in our country. But let me challenge future YLDP generations to always interrogate themselves and the programme, so that at all times the programme brings out the best in the youth.



The youth to train each other

I now continue with my journey as a YLDP facilitator. I was selected to be trained as a facilitator together with some colleagues in 2009, and we completed our training in 2010. It is something so unique to have been a participant initially and now to be capable of facilitating the same training. However, we knew it would be hard as the real training situation does not lend itself to a 'training template'. It is so cool to do this facilitating, but the most important thing is the fact that all of us come from the YLDP; we are not imports from other countries/courses/universities/schools; we are the embodiment of the values of the YLDP!

The YLDP facilitators work with youth from different educational levels, backgrounds and cultures. This is a great challenge and we thrive on it! While at times it is a real battle, I enjoy leading young people to realise that – at least mostly – they are the masters of their own destiny. And for young people to not only be the recipients of capacity building but also the deliverers of capacity building has required a massive mindset change in many, especially in authorities and even our YLDP partners. Remember, we come from different party-political persuasions and yet we are able and willing to deliver a programme which benefits ALL Namibian youth. For this piece of magic as well as for the magic overall, the YLDP designer must be applauded.

For young people it is much easier to share with other young people how to develop ourselves and create opportunities. We have generation-relevant personal experiences, and so an opportunity to strengthen other young Namibians, knowing it will touch some, and that the person touched might just change and become a better person like me.

I can proudly say that the YLDP positively changed the lives of most of the young people who've participated in it. Not to look far out but just look at myself, where I am today. I am currently serving in a critically important instrument of government, the Local Authorities, in this case the City of Windhoek, as a Councillor. From my humble beginnings when I finished high school in Khorixas in 2001. I could not afford going to university as my mother was a househelp in Pioneerspark and my father an ordinary communal farmer. I was always on the lookout for opportunities, and when I saw one in 2007 I grabbed it, not knowing that joining the YLDP was pushing myself into my future. Other courses complemented this journey. A few years after being part of the YLDP, I changed allegiances and joined



the DTA party and used skills acquired through the YLDP to become the chairperson of the DTA youth group.

I trained young people in my party, educated them on what I was taught, and with my set of Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes, I manage to rise to the position of Regional Coordinator for Khomas for the DTA. And lastly, with hard work, a lot of determination, desire and commitment, I managed to be nominated as the NUMBER 1 on the party list for the Local Authority Elections, and was successful in the end, and now I am serving the people of Windhoek in as humble a manner as possible.

As difficult as it is, we as youth have to take development into our own hands and not wait for our elders to bring development to us. Young peoples' minds are young and fresh, and our knowledge is richer and more relevant to what is happening today.

If I did not join the YLDP a few years back, I would not be where I am today. And I am not alone, as I started with people like Muesee Kazapua, today Major of the City of Windhoek, and Benson Katjirijova who is serving on the Board of Directors of the National Youth Council, and Inge Neunda, now long-serving YLDP Coordinator at the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and many more! We have decided to take development into our own hands and serve in top decision-making bodies.

The more youth who enjoy quality education and are in decision-making positions, the more developments we can expect. Education comes in different forms, and to sit back and complain that education is too expensive cannot work; we have to be alert and grab opportunities as they arise. We should consider ourselves privileged to have different platforms for youth to interact and get together to share ideas on how to contribute to the country's development in toto.

As a facilitator I learnt how to work and communicate in a professional environment, and that was a great eye-opener for a village boy such as me. We facilitate our training so that everybody feels free to share their experiences, fears, knowledge and ideas with us in the classroom and outside the classroom – so not just the one person talking. And mind you, youth participants are not just easy and supportive. They test, tease and challenge. Some participants have achieved higher levels of education than their facilitators, and others are more eloquent and appear more smart. Trusting each other, having the belief from our trainer/mentor, and the knowledge of group facilitation, always takes us through moments of sheer fear.



Special moments

Generally, statistics show that over the years the YLDP followed the 50/50 rule – ensuring equal male and female participation. Nevertheless, in 2012 we facilitated a YLDP for women leaders only. A young woman, Merlin Katjiru (I got permission to use her name), the youngest of all, told me at the beginning of the training that leadership is not for women but for men only. I thank God that she was part of the YLDP training for women. I shared with her how I had viewed gender relations, and that my eyes were opened through Simone de Beauvoir. I told of brave women who took leadership upon themselves. My co-facilitator, youthful Iyaloo Nangula, was there and served as the best example. She had become chairperson of the NANSO branch at her school, she scored the best ambassador award for her school, which for the past years was only awarded to boys. Because young people could show her that it is possible, she went far beyond her own expectations or wildest dreams.

It is a huge challenge to also equally include youth with disabilities, even though they are just ordinary people. Their contribution in youth development is very important. A mute YLDP participant allowed me to get his side. Here are some points he mentioned – I listened and learnt:

- Not everybody who has a disability is necessarily ‘disabled’.
- Youth and adult mentors for youth with and without disabilities should be offered, providing independent-living information and assessment for youth with disabilities and those without disabilities. While important for all youth, initial and ongoing assessments for independent living that centre on careers and employment, training and education, transportation, recreation and leisure, community resources, life skills, and financial independence and planning, are especially critical in programming for youth with disabilities.
- Provide self-advocacy training for all youth in programmes focused on developing leadership skills. Self-advocacy skills are especially important for youth with disabilities as they transition into adulthood and a highly competitive employment market.
- Share the history and culture of individuals with disabilities, including disability laws, policies and practices with all youth.

During a YLDP for youth with disabilities from all 14 regions, we needed to hear what youth with disabilities have to say, and how and what services



need to be introduced in order to meet their needs. It is important for our society to know and meet the needs of youth with disabilities, otherwise we are guilty of practising what has often been tradition: shutting people with disabilities out. Since then I notice which offices are wheelchair friendly or which conferences are truly inclusive of those who battle with their hearing or their vision. And I am ashamed of how badly we, the so-called able people, accommodate the so-called disabled people. In 2011, during the Children's Parliament, a lady by the name of Kristofina raised her concern of how hard deaf people find it to communicate with others, and how hard it is for them to find employment, for instance in offices and banks, yet they are equally equipped with skills and talents.

Conclusion

The YLDP changed my whole perspective on life. I became a different person. My mindset changed radically during the course of the programme as well as during my career as facilitator, as I learn a lot from other youth. And youth are growing more and more with the pluralistic modern times. In facilitating gay and lesbian youth leaders, youth leaders from all ethnic and language groups around this country and youth leaders with disabilities, I was presented with levels of exposure to diversity which greatly enhanced my appreciation of tolerance, diversity and the sensible protection of minorities.

The YLDP changed my attitude towards people. I learnt to believe in myself and go for what I believe in. My self-confidence levels rose, and I simply started becoming the best at what I do. My improved public speaking (one of the red threads throughout the YLDP training) has surely contributed to our country's development.

As a political activist I want to state that this programme made me a better political activist too. I became open-minded and I now know how to reach out to fellow youth to appreciate their ideas and present my ideas to them.

The YLDP is part of my journey and I am part of the YLDP journey





Impressions Mosaic

Testimonials of YLDP Participants

Frieda Embula says, “Beside the knowledge-based content, I especially learnt from the Field Trip and the Social Project that being involved in a social project makes one more aware of one’s surroundings. Being exposed to the hardship that people face daily seems to be more than just a tip of an iceberg. NEVER will I take anything for granted, and I will always appreciate what I have.”

Samson Enkali says, “The YLDP was fun and I made friends. The lessons on Leadership Styles and Conflict Management remain relevant and applicable both at work and at home.” After the YLDP he graduated with an LLB (Hons) and then served in the Namibian Defence Force (NDF) as a legal officer. He now works as an attorney in the Office of the Government Attorney.



For **Martha Gorases** the YLDP offered “a lot”. She is one of the graduates who had no tertiary education at the time of participating, and coming up with an own presentation was unthinkable: “I was so nervous, but I had you to thank, cause you told me no matter what, you trust and have faith in me, and I did it. It gave me confidence. Now I am a strong young woman. I am working and I have a strong interest in politics!”



Felix Benito Haingura is a former Vice-Chairperson of the YLDP Alumni Association. “This training has groomed me to be a responsible leader.” He is now the Regional Youth Forum Coordinator for Kavango West.

When **Kyllikkie Hamutumwa** thinks of the YLDP, what springs to mind is a hub of vast information and self-actualisation which unleashes humankind’s potential. For her, the major lesson of the YLDP is, “I am the key, I am the answer in achieving national goals – in Namibia and the rest of the world.” She participated in the programme as a member of the Polytechnic of Namibia SRC, and is now a Medical Technologist who also serves the YLDP Alumni Association as its Chairperson.



Elia Haufiku, an innovative entrepreneur, says “The YLDP is the Youth Leadership Factory that has pulled a diverse group of aspiring youth leaders from different political backgrounds together. This resulted in great political tolerance amongst youth leaders!” He emphasises that the YLDP must be recognised by the National Training Authority, and suggests that Entrepreneurship be added as a programme module.



Paulus Hawanga was in the initial intake of YLDP participants as a student leader (SRC Secretary for Information) at the then Polytechnic of Namibia (now the Namibia University of Science and Technology – NUST). “The leadership training was very enlightening and transforming, as it came at the right time, when most youth, including myself, especially from tertiary institutions, were becoming politically vibrant, yet I was intolerant to other views and lacked respect for members of other political parties. The YLDP transformed me from seeing members of other political parties as enemies of progress to seeing them as team players. I also learnt the importance of being trusted as a leader. I remember a very good practical ‘fall back’ exercise we did to demonstrate how important it is to be trusted as a leader. As without trust, it is difficult to lead as it raises insecurity. I also learned a very important principle of ‘Feedback Giving’. A very useful principle I use to date. I learned that it’s important to communicate effectively and sensibly with those you conduct affairs with as a leader. When giving feedback, it is important to provide positive and specific feedback and later provide negative feedback, and let the other person know how it makes you feel.” The YLDP also exposed him to social



programmes, and he then understood the importance of helping poor people in the society as a leader. “The leadership programme shaped me into the better leader (person) I am today.” Currently he is Chairperson of the Namibia Marriage Council (NMC) Board as well as a Chief Inspector in the Namibian Police (Head of the Administration Sub-Division) and a facilitator of the 360° Leadership Program (an international leadership programme).



Lydia Jason says, “I became willing and able through the YLDP.” Lydia is a former Secretary-General of the Polytechnic of Namibia SRC and a former NANSO Secretary of Finance. Currently she is the SWAPO Party Youth League Secretary for Information, Mobilisation and Publicity for the Katutura Central District.

Josephina Jonas (“J.J.”) says, “The YLDP is the reason I am who I am today, because working with a group of individuals has increased my leadership and teamwork skills, and it also gave me the ability to multi-task efficiently, work under pressure and work in dynamic environments.” She previously worked for the SWAPO Party Women’s Council as Office Administrator, and now works for the Helao Nafidi Municipality (Ohangwena Region) as Property Officer.

Tuikila Kaiyamo says, “the YLDP is a leadership course compared to no other; it is a school of high relevance in our society. The learnings during the Block Week modules, and the modules on the Namibian Constitution, Democracy and Pan-Africanism, amongst others, were eye-opening. The experience was beyond great.” He was sent by NANSO to the YLDP, and



on graduating from the programme he became the UNAM SRC's Secretary for External Affairs. He has worked for the Hanns Seidel Foundation, and is now completing his final year of academic study. He sees his future in the academic space.

Iinge Ndinehafo Kalumbu-Lapp thinks back to the YLDP and exclaims, reciting the words of Mario Cuomo (in what is regarded as one of the best speeches in American political history), *“for the love of God: Please, make this nation remember how futures are built.”* She continues: “This is what the YLDP does; it teaches about leadership skills and how best to build our future and that of the country as a whole.” At the time of participating in the YLDP, she was a student at UNAM who concurrently served as a Faculty of Humanities Representative and Peer Educator. She graduated from the UNAM Department of Social Work and the YLDP, and then worked as a Medical Oncology Social Worker. Currently based in Finland, she is happily married and is also a motivational speaker. “Thank you for helping me to build my future!”



When **Tuyeni-Konyika Kandume** joined the YLDP, she was a “university dropout”. She is now a YLDP facilitator as well as an aspiring lawyer who finds strength in humanitarian-related activities and hopes to continuously serve Namibia at all possible levels. She also currently serves as an elected member of the Central Committee of the SWAPO Party Youth League and as Chairperson of the Katutura East Youth Constituency Forum. “I think of the great development that the YLDP has added to many youths out there. The youth – particularly the ones I have come across – resonate differently and see things from great perspective. Even though they may currently not be in a position to add great value to the Namibian economy, influence policy and be part the change they want to see, I look into their eyes and see real visions that they would like to realise one day. The opportunities are out there, and what is really keeping them from prospering? I want to believe that we can obtain recognition from government to get unemployment benefits for YLDP graduates. No doubt there will be change in the lives of these young people. The development and skills gained from the YLDP I could not get from school or any working institution! What stands out for



me as a facilitator are the networks and my contribution to young people's expanded horizon, which is reciprocal. The youth in Namibia need change and we need to be part of this real change to turn around the great country that our forefathers and mothers sacrificed for. We need a culture of love, caring and sharing to be embodied in our lifetime. We cannot continue to nurture greed, but rather must nurture a flower like the YLDP that will yield good fruits. A spirit of togetherness will surely defend the position of Namibia's culture."



Riitha Mutaleni Kanuni, a graduate of the YLDP "class of 2014" and now a member of the YLDP Alumni Association's National Executive Committee, says, "It could fill pages just writing about the immense contribution that the YLDP has made in my life. To sum it up, I would say that, from the fruitful leadership training journey, I have grown and developed both personally and at professional level. I have gained more confidence, self-discipline and awareness of my abilities, and I have matured in my decision making." Riitha's academic achievements include an Honours Degree in Medical Sciences, and she is a registered Medical Technologist currently practising in one of Namibia's excellent medical laboratories. She is also involved in community work.

Sevelia Kasuto ("Pinky") graduated from YLDP in 2008. "What comes to my mind when thinking about the YLDP is the impact it had on me personally. Those who know Pinky from the time before I joined the programme know that I was very defensive and got angry quickly. The module on Emotional Intelligence helped me shape who I am today. I have also taken up big roles in my life that I never thought I would because my confidence





is strengthened. Amongst many others, I am Director of Ceremonies at various functions and a teacher.” Pinky is a passionate youth developer, a YLDP facilitator, a teacher, a mother, a wife and a sister to the entire YLDP community.

Geiberth N. Kawana from Kavango East graduated from the YLDP in 2015. He is now SWAPO’s Youth Coordinator in his region, as well as Secretary of the Holy Trinity Church of Namibia and Supervisor in a cellphone shop in Rundu. “I support the programme; it’s 100% correct. It will help us a lot and it must be available to many more youth!”

Secilia Megameno was the stand-out performer in the YLDP in 2012. “As a product of the YLDP I have learnt how to effectively engage my team by focusing on my team leadership development. This corporate training programme taught me how to stop managing and start leading, and as a result, made me a vital part to our organisation’s future.” She is a passionate teacher now.

Ruth Mundengi says that the YLDP “opened the box I was locked in”. She hails from Zambezi Region, and is currently studying Clothing Production at the Zambezi Vocational Training Centre. “Realising that being a good leader doesn’t mean that you always have to be right and know it all – that was a great learning. The ‘Johari Window’ will remain with me, as it allowed me to understand the influential interdependence between leaders and followers, and that followers make us who we are; they know the part in our life not known to us but known to them. So, I am an unconditional leader leading with vision that brightens my heart.”

Kelvin K. Naholo graduated from the YLDP in 2009, and says, “The YLDP has lifted my eyes on different things that affect us every day and how to co-exist with those who do not share our views.” He is “around, teaching”.

Joseph Kasera Ndara is a YLDP graduate from Kavango East. “The YLDP was and is a good family of learning new things such as the six leadership styles, conflict management, gender-based violence, climate change and many more. I managed to be a volunteer Mathematics teacher at KAYEC in Rundu after my graduation, even though that has come to an end. The skills and knowledge acquired through the YLDP, which I am using today, will never come to an end.”

Paulina Neliwa says, “YLDP 2014, waaaaawwwuuu what a precious time I had. It is a programme that is filled with so much insight from different areas of life and different perspectives. One gets to think out of the box in search of a greater solution to the problem at hand, and that solution is not just to serve him/herself but to serve the whole nation/community. I learnt to bring permanent and lasting change on the ground and improve life and positively impact others. YES, YLDP made me a Namibian youth with a difference – now I am a youth of solutions.” She studied Sociology at UNAM, and is currently part of a successful project to eliminate poverty and reduce youth unemployment.

Edison Nengola, UNAM SRC Secretary for Information and Publicity at the time of participating in the YLDP, dropped out before graduating, but, “The programme helped deepen my networks with various young leaders, and although I was quiet during sessions, the programme proved a valuable





opportunity,” and contributed to his career overall. He went on to head the UNAM SRC as President, and then pursued postgraduate studies at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa. Now, back in Namibia, he is the Personal Assistant to the Minister of Economic Planning in the Presidency, and is also furthering his academic studies.

Ananias Niizimba was sent to the YLDP by the National Youth Council (NYC) of Namibia. “This programme has helped me a great deal in shaping my leadership skills. I continue to use skills gained to this day.” He served the SWAPO Party Katutura East District in various roles and is now a City of Windhoek Councillor. At the same time he is employed as a Project Officer in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN). “May this noble initiative continue to inspire youth leaders across the 14 political regions and may it grow from strength to strength.”

Oshoyeli Nuuyuni says, “After my YLDP training I realised that as a Namibian youth I have a purpose in life. I am more determined in my personal life and am now also a member of the First National Bank (FNB) Junior Exco. Through the YLDP I have become an inspired youth and a more community-involved youth, and have a strong will to succeed in life.”

Sirkka Salomo says, “The knowledge I gained from the YLDP gave me courage to conquer great heights. I have been in the rural areas of Ohangwena, teaching English on a temporary basis since January 2015. Applying Emotional Intelligence and the ability to take the lead without fear is really something I can never let go of.”

Tomas Sebron says, “The YLDP is a transformation platform for young leaders. I experienced for the first time a coming together of youth from different political parties and faith-based organisations discussing issues affecting youth in Namibia, instead of youth fighting each other. At YLDP we work together. Emotional Intelligence is the module that added most value to my entire life. Visiting the Vyf Rand Community in Okahandja to clean elders’ houses, clothes and blankets and donate clothes as part of social responsibility of leaders made me understand that leadership is about serving, and that it is not just glorious.” He adds that today he is a successful entrepreneur because of the YLDP.

Nghoshi Serron thinks of the YLDP as “a major steering wheel for anybody who honestly wants to change society and have a positive impact in their society”. He always had “the desire to stand in front of people but did not have the guts to do so”. The YLDP “has taught me character and confidence and made me a go-to person”. He currently serves as Chairperson of the Omaruru Constituency Youth Forum, “developing the youth into respectable and responsible people”. And, “I am now considered as a people’s person within my town of Omaruru, helping my senior leaders change the lives of the people.”



Naemi Shikongo says, “I do not want to lie to myself; if it was not for the YLDP I would not be where I am today. I was very, very shy, and lacked self-confidence.” She is now working at the National Youth Council (NYC) as Record Clerk, and benefited a lot from the leadership of Ileni Henguva. She is proud to share that she is also now a third-year student at UNAM, studying Accounting and Auditing.



When **Kaniki Lunge Uaseuapuani** graduated from the YLDP in 2014, she was in her fourth year of study for a Bachelor’s degree in Education – training to become a teacher. She taught for about a year and is now the Personal Assistant to the Minister of Higher Education. Today she says, “The YLDP helps young people realise their potentials. It teaches one how to become a leader of true qualities; a leader that is desired. It builds up one’s self-confidence and builds on one’s character. It has taught me that a leader is selfless and always wears the shoes of another.”





Appendix A

YLDP Profile

Since 2007, the Youth Leadership Development Programme (YLDP) has been offered annually to emerging young leaders in Namibia as an exclusive opportunity to enhance their leadership capacities. Today the YLDP is widely acknowledged to be the most valuable capacity-building intervention for youth in this country. The National Youth Council (NYC), in conjunction with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), invite selected youth to participate in the programme. In 2010, the Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture – now named the Ministry of Sport, Youth and National Services (MSYNS) – became the third implementing partner. The Ministry came on board specifically to ensure that the programme reaches the youth in all of Namibia’s 14 administrative regions. The roles of the three partners are outlined in the Memorandum of Agreement which they signed in 2011. Graduates of the YLDP – some of whom are now the facilitators of the programme – have formed a Youth Leadership Alumni Association (YLAA) whose main role is to continuously promote a culture of dialogue and tolerance.

Objectives

The YLDP has two primary objectives:

- (1) To develop a cadre of future political and social leaders from different political persuasions and different walks of life.
- (2) To provide young aspiring leaders with essential leadership skills, which include (a) cognitive skills combined with factual knowledge on issues of local and international politics and economics, and (b) increased consciousness regarding the consequences of one’s own actions and inactions.



Outcomes

YLDP participants are:

- able to deliver speeches and make presentations to different public target groups;
- able to moderate or chair different kinds of meetings;
- able to manage important aspects of their own organisational activities;
- knowledgeable about fundamental questions of local and international politics, economics and development issues;
- aware of the ethical principles and fundamental values which underpin responsible leadership;
- confident, having reached a higher level of professionalism; and
- equipped with hands-on experience in helping others through a collective effort.

Core values

Tolerance

Openness

Respect

Appreciation of
Diversity

Personal Integrity

Hard Work and Ambition

Social Responsibility
and Compassion
(preparedness to work
for the common good)

Target group and criteria for participation

- Youth leaders aged 18-30 years (or up to 35 years in exceptional cases).
- Candidates must have a proven track record of leadership responsibility and active participation with the sending agency.
- Submission of Curriculum Vitae (CV).
- Willingness to remain in the programme throughout the training period.
- Willingness to spend some weekends in training sessions.
- The sending agencies are encouraged to ensure an equal number of men and women in their nomination lists.
- The nominating agencies are required to pay a nominal fee of N\$100 per module for one participant.
- Sound educational standing: being in a tertiary institution or having successfully completed a course of study in a recognised institution of learning and/or professional experience is considered to be a bonus – i.e. this is *not a condition for admission* into the YLDP.
- Most participants are nominated by sending agencies, and an interview panel undertakes the final selection.



Sending agencies

Sending agencies can be:

- the National Youth Council;
- party-political youth wings – any party registered with the Electoral Commission of Namibia;
- student organisations – such as IUM SRC, NUST SRC, UNAM SRC, WVTC TRC and NANSO; or
- youth organisations – such as the YWCA and youth wings of trade unions.

Timetable

Every year, 11 modules are presented over 10 months (from February to October). Each ordinary module is covered over 2 days (Saturday and Sunday). Additionally, 1 Block Week and 1 Field Trip are scheduled.

Venue

The 3 MoA partners host the training sessions.

Curriculum

The curriculum comprises a mixture of cognitive skills and value elements, technical skills, knowledge and practical exposure. The detailed content of the programme varies slightly, to befit the specific needs of the youth in the applicable year.

Curricular Goal	Textbook	Experiential
Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global Trends and International Relations, including trade and security issues. • Namibia's position in SADC, on the African continent and in the world. • What is Democracy? / Namibia's Political System. • The Namibian Economy. • Social problems in Namibia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding the social realities in Namibian society: visit to an orphanage, a soup kitchen and a disadvantaged community. • Assisting a developmental project over a 3-6 month period – needs analysis, community work, team work, voluntary work and a group activity.



Curricular Goal	Textbook	Experiential
Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Moderation and Chairing of Meetings. ● Presentation and Visualisation Skills and Techniques. ● Writing Skills: CV, Report, Proposal. ● Conflict Management. ● Organisational Development and Strategic Planning. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Public Speaking. ● Personal Time Management. ● Management of Personal Finance. ● Project Management. ● Difference between Leadership and Management. ● From Groups to Teams. ● Gender Relations. ● Media Relations.
Attitude (runs through the entire programme as a red thread)	<p>Leadership Styles & Ethics: the meaning of conservative, liberal, social, democratic, <i>ubuntu</i>, etc., and how to avoid the pitfalls of corruption, nepotism and other 'isms'.</p> <p>Emotional Intelligence: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, social skills.</p>	

All these guidelines for the Annual YLDP apply to the Regional YLDP as well, with deviations if necessary when logistical constraints dictate. The Regional YLDP has been offered over the last few years in all 14 regions to 10 youths per region. Resources permitting, more youths will benefit from the Regional YLDP in future.





Appendix B

YLDP Graduates

First Name	Surname	Sex	Year	Sending Agency*
Simon	Alweendo	M	2012	WVTC
Laimi	Amadhila	F	2014	IUM
Moses	Amukoto	M	2016	IUM
Job	Amupanda	F	2009	UNAM
Kaino	Amupanda	F	2015	SPYL
Helena	Amwenye	F	2016	NYC
Teopolina	Andjamba	F	2009	NYC
Timotheus	Angala	M	2010	NANSO
Namvula	Ankama	F	2012	INDIVIDUAL
Otilie	Anongo	F	2014	MANWU
Agatus	Antanga	M	2014	DTA

Table continues ►

*** FULL NAMES OF SENDING AGENCIES:**

APPYL	All People's Party Youth League	NUST	Namibia University of Science and Technology
CCN	Council of Churches in Namibia	NYC	National Youth Council (of Namibia)
DoOd	Do Organisation Development	POLYTECH	Polytechnic of Namibia (now NUST)
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance	RDP	Rally for Democracy and Progress
IUM	International University of Management	RDPYL	Rally for Democracy and Progress Youth League
MANWU	Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union	RP	Republican Party
MUN	Mineworkers Union of Namibia	SPYL	SWAPO Party Youth League
NANSO	Namibia National Students Organisation	TRC	Teachers' Resource Centre
NEFF	Namibia Economic Freedom Fighters	UNAM	University of Namibia
NUDO	National Unity Democratic Organisation	WRP	Workers Revolutionary Party
NUNW	National Union of Namibian Workers	WVTC	Windhoek Vocational Training Centre
		YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association



First Name	Surname	Sex	Year	Sending Agency*
Tuwilika	Ashipala	M	2009	UNAM
Rebekka	Augustus	F	2010	YWCA
Eva	Awasas	F	2013	NYC
Sakaria	Awene	M	2011	RDP
Joseph	Bernard	M	2012	APPYL
Cecilia	Bonifatius	F	2012	UNAM
Sharonice	Busch	F	2012	NANSO
Chisha	Chakanga	F	2008	DoOd
Trevor	Chika	F	2009	POLYTECH
Frieda	Embula	F	2015	NANSO
Niinkoti S.	Enkali	M	2011	UNAM
Tommy	Ephraim	M	2007	SPYL
Ashwell	Forbes	M	2014	POLYTECH
Antony	Fortunato	M	2013	WVTC
Alushe	Gabriel	F	2010	NANSO
Simon	Gaoeb	M	2014	INDIVIDUAL
Martha B.	Gorases	F	2011	NYC
Elizabeth	Haiduwa	F	2008	NYC
Hatutale	Hainghumbi	M	2010	TRC
Felix	Haingura	M	2010	NYC
Berthold M.	Haingura	M	2011	NYC
Loine N.	Haiyanga	F	2011	POLYTECH
Gerson	Hambira	M	2010	YWCA
Timoteus	Hamunyela	M	2011	YWCA
Wendelinus	Hamutenya	M	2014	RDPYL
Kylikkie	Hamutumwa	F	2013	POLYTECH
Vincent H.	Handura	M	2011	WVTC
Katrina	Hanse	F	2010	NYC
Christa L.	Hansen	F	2011	UNAM
Elia	Haufiku	M	2010	POLYTECH
Paulus	Hawanga	M	2007	POLYTECH
Brisetha	Hendriks	F	2013	POLYTECH
Moses	Hengobe	M	2011	RDP
Suvisee	Hijauupindi	M	2010	NUDO
Sebastian	lhemba	M	2010	POLYTECH
Salomon	llovu	M	2008	SPYL
Fillemon	Immanuel	M	2008	NANSO
Paulus	Immanuel	M	2013	SPYL



First Name	Surname	Sex	Year	Sending Agency*
Natalia	Isak	F	2015	NYC
Isack	Ita	M	2016	SPYL
Ndinelago	Jacob	F	2012	NANSO
Etuhole N.	Jairus	F	2011	NYC
Patricia	Jantjies	F	2016	IUM
Lydia	Jason	F	2011	NANSO
Hermanus	Job	M	2014	MANWU
Josephine	Jonas	F	2010	SPYL
Saima	Kadhepa	F	2009	UNAM
Tuikila	kaiyamo	M	2014	UNAM
Inge	Kalumbu	F	2012	UNAM
Queen	Kamati	F	2014	SPYL
George H.	Kambala	M	2011	NANSO
Bernice	Kambuwanwa	M	2009	POLYTECH
Klaudia	Kambwa	M	2009	SPYL
Mervin	Kamenje	M	2016	NUDO
Vakamuina	Kamutuezu	F	2013	DTA
Rikuvera	Kandovazu	M	2014	NUDO
Tuyeni M.	Kandume	F	2012	SPYL
Ritha	Kanuni	F	2014	NYC
Veritunga	Karitjaivi	M	2012	INDIVIDUAL
Rejoyce	Karunga	F	2013	NYC
Kritus	Katire	M	2008	YWCA
Uzembua	Katjinaani	F	2014	UNAM
Benson	Katjirijova	M	2007	DTA
Roseline	Katuuo	F	2016	DTA
Hendrick	Kavaghu	M	2010	SPYL
Mbakondja	Kavitjene	F	2015	NYC
Nande	Kayala	M	2007	NANSO
Richard	Kayimbi	M	2010	NUNW
Janet	Ketji	F	2012	NYC
Nokokure	Ketjijere	F	2010	NUDO
Collin	Keya	F	2009	NANSO
Frans	Koolike	F	2009	NYC
Paula	Kooper	F	2007	SPYL
Herman	Kooper	M	2014	INDIVIDUAL
Ovaua	Kuaima	M	2016	NYC
Sarah	Leonard	F	2014	WVTC



First Name	Surname	Sex	Year	Sending Agency*
Fikulimwe	Lucas	M	2015	YWCA
Ester	Luinga	F	2010	TRC
Kapanda	Marenga	M	2012	NYC
Adelight	Marsalino	F	2014	WVTC
Ukumbuavi	Matjetjeja	M	2015	NUDO
Jephta	Mbaha	M	2007	NYC
Kangueehi	Mbango	M	2009	NUDO
Mildred	Mbapaha	F	2013	NYC
Chareen	Mbuere	F	2015	SPYL
Thokozile	Mdlalose	F	2007	POLYTECH
Tuhafeni	Mengela	F	2008	POLYTECH
Nguvituna	Meroro	M	2010	NYC
Metusal	Metarapi	M	2008	NUDO
Nestor	Metusalem	M	2015	IUM
Emma	Molelekeng	F	2007	SPYL
Hilma	Moses	F	2014	UNAM
Jaloo	Mpadhi	F	2008	YWCA
Kanguana	Muatjitjeja	M	2014	NUDO
Andy	Muharukua	M	2015	MUN
Christiana	Mujorro	F	2011	NYC
Sylvia	Mundindi	F	2007	FES
Job	Mungunda	M	2010	TRC
Kengeza	Muundja	F	2011	NYC
Francine	Muyumba	F	2010	UNAM
Ndinelago H.	Mwalya	F	2011	NANSO
Tala	Mwandingi	F	2007	NYC
Peinge-Ombili	Mweshixwa	F	2015	IUM
Benitha	Naakambo	F	2007	NANSO
Kelvin	Naholo	M	2009	RDP
Benediktus	Naimbanga	M	2013	MANWU
Ndinelago	Nambala	F	2016	YWCA
Sevelia	Nanghama	F	2008	SPYL
Teopolina	Nanghama	F	2014	YWCA
Suoma	Nangolo	F	2015	NYC
Iyaloo	Nangula	F	2009	NYC
Fenni	Nanyeni	F	2014	POLYTECH
Trina	Nanzala	F	2008	SPYL
Helena	Nashilongo	F	2014	NANSO



First Name	Surname	Sex	Year	Sending Agency*
Taimi	Nashima	F	2015	UNAM
Immanuel S.	Nashinge	M	2011	SPYL
Toini	Ndafohamba	F	2013	WVTC
Magano	Ndakondjelwa	F	2007	SPYL
Lot	Ndamanomhata	M	2011	SPYL
Trives	Ndjiva	M	2013	NANSO
Aili	Ndumbu	F	2015	NEFF
Sofia	Negonga	F	2009	SPYL
Taimi	Negumbo	F	2014	SPYL
Paulina	Neliwa	F	2014	UNAM
Aune	Nepembe	F	2013	WVTC
Kashiwanwa F.	Neshila	F	2011	SPYL
Engenesia	Neunda	F	2007	NYC
Atanasius	Nghilundilua	M	2016	NYC
Calvin-Hani	Nghilundilua	M	2016	NANSO
Progarius	Ngueumenga	M	2008	NUDO
Ananias	Niizimba	M	2009	NYC
Saara	Njambula	F	2013	SPYL
Festus	Noah	M	2014	RDP
Dimbulukeni	Nuujoma	M	2013	NANSO
Oshoyeli	Nuuyini	F	2015	INDIVIDUAL
Telwin	!Owoseb	M	2014	RDPYL
Jemeus	Paavo	M	2016	INDIVIDUAL
Avodia	Paporo	F	2011	YWCA
Seriah	pieters	F	2008	NANSO
John	Pinto	M	2010	UNAM
Brian	Riruako	M	2007	NUDO
Ricardo	Roos	F	2014	UNAM
Vela	Sabisa	M	2016	RDP
Lucia	Sakaria	F	2013	John Pandeni Constituency
Sirka	Salomo	F	2014	NANSO
Thomas	Sebron	M	2012	RDP
Ignatius	Semba	M	2007	RP
Festus	Shaningwa	M	2014	YWCA
Tonata	Shaningwa	F	2016	INDIVIDUAL
Tuyooleni	Shapaka	M	2015	UNAM
Naemi	Shikongo	F	2009	YWCA
Kelvin	Shikwambi	M	2008	POLYTECH



First Name	Surname	Sex	Year	Sending Agency*
Medusalem	Shilongo	M	2008	POLYTECH
Kristophina	Shilongo	F	2014	INDIVIDUAL
Tom	Shilongo	M	2015	UNAM
Martin	Shipanga	M	2007	NYC
Beauty	Simata	F	2012	UNAM
Sarah	Simon	F	2012	SPYL
Likius	Simon	M	2016	SPYL
Haimene	Sippora	F	2016	INDIVIDUAL
Paulus	Situmba	M	2016	MUN
Valentina	Siyemo	F	2007	NYC
Renier	Steytler	M	2012	INDIVIDUAL
Ian	Subasubani	M	2012	SPYL
Patrick	Swartbooi	M	2014	SPYL
Naison	Temayi	M	2007	CCN
Suoma	Teofilus	F	2010	SPYL
Emilia	Thobias	F	2012	YWCA
Paul	Thomas	M	2016	WRP
Aaron	Tijumino	M	2013	NYC
Tauno	Timoteus	M	2014	WVTC
Uaisana	Tjakuva	M	2016	NUDO
Uaraera	Tjaveondja	M	2016	DTA
David	Tjiharuka	M	2008	NYC
Diana	Tjijorokisa	F	2009	NUDO
Tareekuje	Tjipetekera	M	2015	NEFF
Jesaya	Tjipito	M	2012	WVTC
Muningandu	Tjozongoro	M	2012	NYC
Lungenesia	Uaseuapuan	F	2014	UNAM
Linda	Uatanaua	F	2016	NEFF
Victoria	Upindi	F	2015	INDIVIDUAL
Emilia N.	Uupindi	F	2011	POLYTECH
Kandirikiriria	Veparura	M	2014	NUDO
Severus	Wandjowili	M	2013	NANSO
Wilhelm	Wilhelm	M	2012	NANSO
Faith	Witbooi	F	2013	SPYL
Jackline	Zambwe	F	2016	NUST
Naomi	Zgambo	F	2014	UNAM



Appendix C

The Authors

Profiles compiled from details provided by the authors



From the desk of Peik Bruhns

All of the authors who contributed to this book have a long history with the YLDP – whether as lecturer, resource person, programme graduate or inspirer. I am hugely indebted to each of them, and I treasure their personal commitment to youth development as well as the commitment and passion that all have exhibited throughout the 10 years of the YLDP and during the compilation of this publication.

Building the foundations on which a new generation can find its feet is a tremendous task, and considering Namibia's extremely peculiar history – and let us at this point remember that until 2000 years ago, only the San inhabited our country – every parent generation has a mammoth task to ensure that the generation following in their footsteps carries the baton in a livelihood-sustaining manner.

This 10th Anniversary publication has been produced for the purposes of inspiring discussion and creating inter- and intragenerational dialogue. The articles herein will remain valid references for youth development in the years to come. As such, all of the contributors as well as the esteemed readers are contributing to the creation of a legacy.





Bankie Forster Bankie

Bankie Forster Bankie was born in Europe to African parents. A lawyer by profession, with experience in diplomacy, Bankie has resided in Namibia since 1991. Since 1991 he has devoted himself to teaching in the Faculty of Law at the University of Namibia (UNAM), focusing on contemporary legal affairs and contextual legal matters. More recently he worked for the National Youth Council (NYC) of Namibia for five years as Acting Secretary of the Board. In the YLDP he was trained on Pan-Africanism, and is an ardent internationalist. He is the current Director of the Pan-African Institute for the Study of African Society (PAISAS) in Windhoek. He can be reached at bankiebf@gmail.com.



Artwell Nhemachena

Artwell Nhemachena holds a PhD in Social Anthropology (University of Cape Town), an MSc in Sociology and Social Anthropology (University of Zimbabwe), and a BSc Honours in Sociology (University of Zimbabwe). In 2010 he became a laureate of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). After completing his PhD he was awarded a prestigious Sawyer Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Cape Town. He has authored several publications in the areas of Governance and Democracy, Environment, Transformation and Decoloniality, Social Theory, Development, Industrial Sociology, Violence, Indigenous Knowledge, Anthropological Jurisprudence, and Sociological and Anthropological Studies of Science and Technology.



Article 2: Youth Political Retreatism, Activism and Militancy in Post-Colonial Namibia

Phaniel Kaapama

Phaniel Kaapama has served for the last 16 years as a lecturer in Politics, Governance and Development Studies in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Namibia (UNAM). Prior to joining UNAM he held numerous positions, one being Founding Secretary-General of the National Youth Council (NYC) of Namibia. His current focal area of interest and research is the interface between politics, transitional justice, property rights and land questions in post-settler colonial settings. He provides regular media and public commentaries on Namibian, African and global politics.



Article 3: Aligning African Youth Policies to Improve their Role in Africa and in International Relations – a Namibian Perspective

Peya Mushelenga

Peya Mushelenga holds the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in History and Political Studies (1995), Baccalaureus Juris (B Juris) (2011) and Bachelor of Laws Honours (LLB Hons) (2014) from the University of Namibia (UNAM), and the degrees of Bachelor of Arts Honours (BA Hons) in International Politics (1998), Master of Arts (MA) in International Politics (2009) and Doctor of Literature and Philosophy (D Litt et Phil) in International Politics (2015) from the University of South Africa (UNISA). Dr Mushelenga has worked with youth for many years as a student leader and a youth politician. Having travelled to more than 60 countries, he has acquired wide international exposure. He is currently Namibia's Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation. In addition, he teaches *pro bono* at both undergraduate and post-graduate level in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies and School of Military Science at UNAM.





Article 4: Globalisation and How the Youth Can Cope with its Challenges

Ndiitah Nghipondoka-Robiati

Ndiitah Nghipondoka-Robiati is the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Namibia Trade Forum (NTF). She holds a BSc from the University of Namibia (UNAM) and an MA from the University of Sydney. After her graduate studies she lectured in the UNAM Faculty of Agriculture and Natural Resources for three years, and then joined the Agricultural Trade Forum, where she served as Trade Advisor to the agricultural private sector. After seven years of working on agricultural trade policy matters, she established the NTF secretariat as its CEO. The NTF is mandated to institutionalise Public-Private Dialogue and Collaboration in relation to trade, industrialisation, investment and commerce policies under the Ministry of Industrialisation, Trade and SME Development. She is passionate about the growth-at-home concept that Namibia is pursuing towards her industrialisation objectives. She resides in Windhoek with her husband and two young children.



Article 5: Strategies for Young Women to Live in a Society Free of Gender-Based Violence

Julietta Kavetuna

Julietta Vattjizaiye Kavetuna, born in Orwetoveni near Otjiwarongo, became a youth activist at the tender age of 13. She served at all levels of the SWAPO Youth League and NANSO. She is a founder member of both the National Youth Council (NYC) and the Namibia Planned Parenthood Association (NAPPA). In both organisations she played a pivotal role in enhancing the active participation of grassroots youth. As the former Secretary-General of the NYC she was instrumental in the design and implementation of the YLDP. She is a social scientist with qualifications in the spheres of Health, Gender, Development, Policy Planning and Public Leadership. She was the Deputy Minister of Youth before being appointed as Deputy Minister of Health and Social Services in 2015. She is a pathfinder

who does not believe in any impossibility. A mother of three, with true love for children and their well-being. Very principled, firm, and will do anything to oppose injustice and violations of human rights!



Article 6: Contemporary Youth Leadership Development for Active Citizenship

Dawid Gawaseb

Dawid Gawaseb (“Bonnie”) is a passionate youth worker with more than 15 years of experience in youth development, holding a BA Hon Sociology and Industrial Psychology and a Commonwealth Diploma in Youth Development Work. His ambition is to be a public policy formulator and implementer – in view of his practical experience in the public service. He is currently working as a Senior Youth Officer with the Ministry of Sport, Youth and National Service as the Head of Centre of the Windhoek Multipurpose Youth Resource Centre. He serves the Youth African Leadership Initiative Network (YALI), and is a Board Director at the National Youth Service (NYS) as well as the Interim Board Chair of the Youth Security Services Company (Pty) Ltd.



Article 7: Volunteerism – a Pillar in Youth Development

George Kambala

George Hidipohamba Kambala is an activist and a graduate of the YLDP (2011). He has served as the YLDP Assistant Coordinator since 2012. As a YLDP facilitator, he was entrusted to coordinate the Social Project, which is aimed at enhancing young people’s social and volunteering skills and harnessing their social contribution to society. He is one of Namibia’s most active pioneers in Youth Development, and a vociferous activist for social justice. He is one of the founders of the Affirmative Repositioning (AR) Movement, and co-author of the book *Affirmative Repositioning – Awakening a Generation*. George believes in justice for the downtrodden and solidarity for a common purpose.



Article 8: Empowering Young People Today for a Future Not Yet Known

Ben Schernick

Ben Schernick is a registered social worker, mediator, trainer and consultant, and a part-time lecturer at the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST). Originally from Germany, he started dealing with various forms of violence and conflict as a police detective in Berlin, followed by years of international travel and grassroots activism on socio-political and environmental issues. His further studies in Social Work had a particular focus on non-violent conflict resolution, which led him to Namibia in 2004. He recently completed his Masters in Conflict Facilitation and Organisational Change (Process-oriented Psychology), and has been a resource person for the YLDP since 2008.



Article 9: Youth-Inclusive Trade Unions: The Relevance of Namibia's Labour Movement for the Youth

Herbert Jauch

Herbert Jauch has been associated with Namibia's labour movement for many years. He is the founding director of the Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI), and now coordinates the education centre of the Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (MANWU). He is a sought-after expert and researcher on labour issues and education projects.



Wanja Njuguna

Wanja Njuguna has over 25 years of experience in the media. An award-winning journalist and editor in the past, she is currently a Senior Lecturer in the Communications Department of the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST), where she teaches, among other courses, Corporate Communications, Public Relations Campaigns and Special Events, Strategic Public Relations, Rhetorical Theory and Criticism and Intercultural Journalism. She is also currently a judge for the prestigious CNN Multichoice African Journalism of the Year Awards, and a member of the committee overseeing the SADC Parliamentary Forum's Sexual Reproductive Health Rights, HIV and AIDS Governance Programme. She holds a BA Comm and a Business Admin Minor degree from Messiah College in the USA, as well as an MA Comm from Daystar University in Kenya, a Masters in Public Administration from Harvard University in the USA, and a Certificate in Post-Graduate Research Methods from Robert Gordon University in Scotland.



Unomengi Kauapirura

Unomengi Kauapirura has been a lecturer in the Media Section of the NUST Communications Department for the last 10 years. She holds a BA in Mass Communication from the College of Notre Dame in Baltimore, Maryland, USA. She is an award-winning Broadcast Investigative Journalist, the founder of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation's (NBC's) *Good Morning Namibia* TV show, a former NBC-TV News Anchor and a former Executive Producer for NBC-TV's Current Affairs. She worked at the NBC for 11 years before moving into academia. As a lecturer at NUST she teaches, among other courses, Information Gathering and Writing for the Media; Society, Media and Technology; Video/Photography Production; Broadcast Journalism; Advanced News Reporting and Writing; Public Presentations/Relations; and Communication Theory.



Peik Bruhns

Peik Bruhns commenced his cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung shortly after Namibia’s Independence (1990), upon his return from an enforced spell abroad. After completing his education as a Systemic Organisation Development Practitioner in 2002, he dedicated his professional life to the strengthening of institutions, leadership being an integral part thereof. He is a Namibian consultant in a country where international consultants rule the market. Ensuring that knowledge is managed locally by locals remains his driver for continuing to impart the little knowledge he has, trusting that one day Namibian society will be a more just society.



Article 12: Challenges and Opportunities Faced by Young African Leaders

Engenesia Neunda

Engenesia (“Inge”) Neunda, is a Project Manager at the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and Coordinator of the Youth Leadership Development Programme (YLDP) for the last eight years. She is also a YLDP graduate.

She holds a Diploma in Public Relations from the University of Namibia (UNAM), and has further academic aspirations.



Article 13: The Importance of Youth Taking Their Development Into Their Own Hands

Ignatius Semba

Ignatius Semba says that being part of the YLDP has been a great and uplifting learning experience. The YLDP opened his mind and gave his life a purpose.

His activities as an emerging young farmer and an ardent opposition politician have amplified his readiness for being innovative. Since graduating from the YLDP in 2007 he has served as a YLDP facilitator, and remains driven by his passion for youth development.





Appendix D

Bibliography

A consolidated list of the sources cited in the articles
and additional sources of information and inspiration

Abramson, P. and R. Inglehart (1995). *Value Change in Global Perspective*. Ann Arbor (MI), USA: University of Michigan Press.

African Development Bank, Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, United Nations Development Programme and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2012). *African Economic Outlook 2012*, accessed at www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/sites/default/files/content-pdf/AEO2012_EN.pdf.

African Union (2006). *African Youth Charter* – adopted by the Executive Council of the African Union Commission at its 6th Ordinary Session in Banjul in June 2006.

African Union (2011). *African Youth Decade 2009-2018 Plan of Action: Accelerating Youth Empowerment for Sustainable Development*. Addis Ababa: AU.

AfricaRenewal (magazine published by the UN Department of Public Information), issue April 2015, at www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine.

Ahrari, S., J. Othman, S. Hassan, B.A. Samah and J.L. D'Silva (2014). "Active Citizenship by Active Learning", in *Journal of Applied Sciences*, Vol. 14(20).

AllAfrica (2014). "Namibia: African Youths in African Democratic Process" (7 November 2014), at Allafrica.com/stories/2014100994.html.

Anderson R. (2007). "The Politics of Resilience: A Qualitative Analysis of Resilience Theory as an Environmental Discourse". Exam paper for Advanced Course in Sociology, Stockholm University.

Angel, W.D. (2005). *Comparative analysis of national youth policies*. Eschbor: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ).



Aouragh, M. (2012). "Social Media, Mediation and the Arab Revolutions", in *Triple C (communication, capitalism and critique): Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, Vol. 10(2).

Arnold, M.E., J. Davis and A.L. Corliss (2014). "International Youth Exchange to Global Citizen: Common Pathways of Ten Past Program Participants", in *Journal of Youth Development*, Vol. 9(2).

Asian Development Bank (2004). *Improving Technical Education and Vocational Training: Strategies for Asia*, accessed at www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/27955/tech-educ-voc-training.pdf.

Bachner, D.J. and U. Zeuschel (1994). *Utilizing the effects of youth exchange: A study of the subsequent lives of the German and American high school exchange participants*. New York: Council on International Educational Exchange.

Bar-Cohen, Y. and D. Hanson (2009). *The Coming Robot Revolution: Expectations and Fears About Emerging Intelligent, Humanlike Machines*. New York: Springer.

Bauman, Z. (2001). *The Individualised Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

BBC Future (2015). "Will machines eventually take on every job?" (6 August 2015), at www.bbc.com/future/story/20150805-will-machines-eventually-take-on-every-job.

BBC World Service (2015). "Why young adults are waiting to grow up" (31 October 2015), at www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34679621.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage Publications.

Becker, H. (2016). "Namibia's Moment: Youth and Urban Activism", *Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE)* blog post, at <http://roape.net/2016/01/18/namibias-moment-youth-and-urban-land-activism>.

Bekkers, R. (2005). "Participation in voluntary associations: Relations with resources, personality, and political values", in *Political Psychology*, 26(3).

Bertozzi, R. (2015). "Youth policies and youth participation: from beneficiaries to actors", in *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 7(1).

Bhebhe, T.B. et al. (2015). "Effects of the Educated Youth Unemployment Nexus in Zimbabwe", in *International Organization of Scientific Research (IOSR) Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 20(10).

Bianco, A. (2012). "The Influence of Pop Culture on the Youth", in *The Namibian* newspaper, 16 April 2012.

Braverman, M.T. (2001). "Applying Resilience Theory to the Prevention of Adolescent Substance Abuse", in *Focus* (monograph of the 4-H Center for Youth Development, University of California, Davis), at <http://4h.ucanr.edu/files/1232.pdf>.

Campbell, J.C. and J. Manganello (2006). "Changing public attitudes as a prevention strategy to reduce intimate partner violence", in *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma*, Vol. 13(3-4).



Carlson L., G. Basseltt, W. Collins, S. Folga and B. Haffenden (2012). "Resilience: Theory and Applications", accessed at www.ipd.anl.gov/anlpubs/2012/02/72218.pdf. Argonne (Illinois), USA: Argonne National Laboratory, Decision and Information Science Division.

Carrier, L.M., L.D. Rosen, N.A. Cheever and A.F. Lim (2015). "Causes, effects, and practicalities of everyday multitasking", in *Developmental Review*, Vol. 35 (2015).

Chakravarty, C. (2016). "Positive and Negative Influences of Media on Teenagers", accessed at MomJunction, www.momjunction.com/articles/positive-and-negative-influences-of-media-on-teenagers_00107975.

Chipaike, R. (2012). "The Libyan Crisis: The Militarisation of the New Scramble and More", in *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2(8).

Commonwealth Youth Council (CYC) (2015). *Constitution of the Commonwealth Youth Council* (adopted in Malta in November 2015). London: CYC.

Dalton, R.J. (2008). "Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation", in *Political Studies*, Vol. 56(1).

Davies, I. and M. Evans (2002). "Encouraging Active Citizenship". *Educational Review*, Vol. 54(1).

Delgado, G. (2015). "Namibia's Emerging Urban-Class Struggle: A radical introduction to Namibia's unequal territory" (12 January 2015), accessed at *International Viewpoint*, www.internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article3803.

Diamond, J. (2016). *Power: A User's Guide*. Santa Fe (NM), USA: Belly Song Press. (See also <http://juliediamond.net> & on YouTube: *On Holding a Feedback Conversation*.)

Douglas-Bowers, D. (2011). "Arab Spring: Revolutions, Lies and Intervention" (31 August 2011), accessed at Global Research Centre for Research on Globalisation, www.globalresearch.ca/arab-spring-revolution-lies-and-interventions/26302.

Dunleavy, P. and B. O'Leary (1987). *Theories of the State: The Politics of Liberal Democracy*. London: Macmillan.

Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) of the European Commission (n.d.). *Political Participation and EU Citizenship: Perceptions and Behaviours of Young People – Evidence from Eurobarometer surveys*, accessed at <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/youth/tools/documents/perception-behaviours.pdf>.

Erdmute, A., S. Van der Geest and S.R. Whyte (eds) (2008). *Generations in Africa: Connections and Conflicts*. London: Transaction Publishers.

European Union (2011). *Reviews on youth policies and youth work in the countries of South East Europe, Eastern Europe and Caucasus – Azerbaijan*. Brussels: European Union.

Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Fokwang, J.T.D. (2008). "Being Young in Old Town: Youth Subjectivities and Associational Life in Bamenda". Ph.D Thesis, University of Toronto.

Folke, C., S. Carpenter, T. Elmqvist, L. Gunderson, C.S. Holling and B. Walker (2002). “Resilience and Sustainable Development: Building Adaptive Capacity in a World of Transformations”, in *Ambio*, Vol. 31(5).

Ford, M. (2016). *Rise of the Robots: Technology and the Threat of a Jobless Future*. New York: Basic Books.

Ford-Jones, A. and P. Nieman (2003). “Impact of Media Use on Children and Youth”, in *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health*, Vol. 8(5).

Foubert, J.D. and J.T. Newberry (2006). “Effects of Two Versions of an Empathy-Based Rape Prevention Program on Fraternity Men’s Survivor Empathy, Attitudes, and Behavioral Intent to Commit Rape or Sexual Assault”, in *Journal of College Student Development*, Vol. 47(2).

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) (Namibia) (2011). “Workshop on Land Reform and Resettlement Policy and Program: Towards an Accelerated, Sustainable, Just and Equitable Land Reform Program for Poverty Alleviation, Windhoek, 10-13 November 2011”. Windhoek: FES.

Fuh, D. (2012). “The Prestige Economy: Veteran Clubs and Youngmen’s Competition in Bamenda, Cameroon”, in *Urban Forum*, Vol. 23(4).

Furlong, A. and G. Cartmel (2011). “Social Change and Political Engagement among Young People: Generation and the 2009/2010 British Election Survey”. In *Oxford Journals: Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 65(1).

Garcia, M., H. Jansen, M. Ellsberg and C. Watts (2005). *WHO Multi-Country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence Against Women*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

“GHK” (2007). “Study on Active Citizenship Education: DG Education and Culture – Final Report submitted by GHK”, accessed at www.pedz.uni-mannheim.de/daten/edz-b/gdbk/07/study_active_citizenship.pdf.

Giddens, A. (2007). “The Consequences of Modernity”, in Calhoun, C. et al. (eds) (2007), *Contemporary Sociological Theory* (Second Edition). Oxford (UK): John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

Giddens, A. and C. Pierson (1998). *Making Sense of Modernity: Conversations with Anthony Giddens* (First Edition). Stanford (CA), USA: Stanford University Press.

Greiman, B.C. and L.S. Addington (2008). “Youth leadership development self-efficacy: An exploratory study involving a new construct”, in *Journal of Leadership Education*, Vol. 7(1).

Gyimah-Brempong, K. and M.S. Kimenyi (2013). “Youth policy and the future of African development”, *Working Paper 9*, Africa Growth Initiative at Brookings, accessed at www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/04_youth_policy_african_development_kimenyi.pdf.

Hawala, Chris Hatutale (2007). “Youth in Perspective: The Sociology of a Political Discourse”, in *New Era* newspaper, 24 July 2007.

Heise, L. and C. Garcia-Moreno (2002). “Intimate partner violence”, in Krug, E.G. et al. (eds) (2002), *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva: World Health Organization.



Held, D., A. McGrew, D. Goldblatt and J. Perraton (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Honwana, A. (2015). "Enough! Will Youth Protests Drive Social Change in Africa?" (7 December 2015), accessed at *African Arguments*, <http://africanarguments.org/2015/12/07/enough-will-youth-protests-drive-social-change-in-africa>.

Immanuel, S. (2014). "MPs want law to control social media", in *The Namibian* newspaper, 6 May 2014.

Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. and S.C. Flanagan (1987). "Value Change in Industrial Societies", in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 81(4).

International Labour Organization (ILO) (2008). *Global Employment Trends for Youth (October 2008)*, accessed at www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_elm/---trends/documents/publication/wcms_112573.pdf.

International Labour Organization (2013). *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2013: A generation at risk*. Geneva: ILO.

International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2016). "Mediterranean Migrant Arrivals in 2016 Near 155,000; Deaths Reach 467" (18 March 2016), accessed at www.iom.int/news/mediterranean-migrant-arrivals-2016-near-155000-deaths-reach-467.

Jauch, H. (2007). "Between politics and the shopfloor: which way for Namibia's labour movement?", in Melber, H. (ed.) (2007), *Transitions in Namibia. Which changes for whom?* Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

Jauch, H. (2015). "Youth and Urban Land/Housing in Namibia". Report prepared for the National Youth Council, accessed at <http://vivaworkers.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Youth-and-housing-2015.pdf>.

Jauch, H. and N. Mwilima (2006). *Labour hire in Namibia: current practices and effects*. Report prepared by the Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI) for the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. Windhoek: Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Jones, B.G. (2006). "Neo-Colonialism, Structural Violence and Resistance in Africa". Paper presented on the panel on "Development: The Continuation of a North-South Divide in Global Politics?" at the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, San Diego, California, 22-26 March 2006.

Kaapama, P. (2010). "Electioneering and Parties' Platforms in the 2009 Namibian Presidential and National Elections", in Heinrich Böll Stiftung (2010), *Perspectives: Political Analysis and Commentary from Southern Africa*, Vol. 1(10). Cape Town: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Southern Africa.

Kaapama, P. (2014). "Civil Society and Democratic Processes in Namibia", in *Celebrating 25 Years of Democratic Elections (1998-2014) – a newspaper supplement (booklet)* published by Democratic Media Holdings, Windhoek.

Kanyenze, G. and F. Lapeyre (2012). "Growth, employment and decent work in Namibia: A situation analysis", *Employment Sector – Employment Working Paper No. 81*, Employment Policy Department, International Labour Office, Geneva.

Kennedy, K. (2007). "Student Constructions of 'Active Citizenship': What Does Participation Mean to Students?", in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 55(3).

Kestilä-Kekkonen, E. (2009). "Anti-party sentiment among young adults: Evidence from fourteen West European countries", in *Young*, Vol. 17(2).

Knapton, S. (2016). "Robots will take over most jobs within 30 years, experts warn", *The Telegraph*, 13 February 2016, accessed at www.telegraph.co.uk/news/science/science-news/12155808/Robots-will-take-over-most-jobs-within-30-years-experts-warn.html.

Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI) (2010). *Strikes in Namibia: A long history of struggle*. Windhoek: LaRRI.

Labour Resource and Research Institute (LaRRI) (2011). *The Crisis of Youth Unemployment in Namibia*. Windhoek: LaRRI.

Leibbrandt, M. and C. Mlatsheni (2004). "Youth in Sub-Saharan Labour Markets". Paper presented at the conference on "African Development and Poverty Reduction – The Macro-Micro Linkage" sponsored by the Development Policy Research Unit and Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies, Somerset West, South Africa, October 2004.

Lorenzini, J. and M. Giugni (2010). "Youth Coping with Unemployment: The Role of Social Support". Paper presented at the Younex Swiss Workshop on "Youth, Unemployment, Precariousness, and Exclusion in Switzerland", Geneva, 15 October 2010.

Louw-Vaudran, L. (2014). "Valid comparisons can be made between recent developments in Burkina Faso and the events that triggered the Arab Spring", accessed at Institute for Security Studies, www.issafrica.org/iss-today/burkina-faso-west-africas-arab-spring.

loveLife groundBREAKERS (programme South Africa) (2008). A self-reported assessment of the loveLife groundbreakers programme 2005-2008. Johannesburg: loveLife.

Mago, S. (2014). "Urban Youth Unemployment in Africa: Whither Socio-Economic Problems", in *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 5(9).

Mamdani, M. (1990). "The Social Basis of Constitutionalism in Africa", in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 28(3).

Mawere, M. and N. Marongwe (eds) (2016). *Myths of Peace and Democracy?: Towards Building Pillars of Hope, Unity and Transformation in Africa*. Bamenda (Cameroon): Langa Research and Publishing Common Initiative Group.

Mchombu, K.J. and C.M. Mchombu (2014). "The Role of Information and Knowledge in Poverty Eradication in Africa: A Case Study of Namibia", accessed at IFLA 2014 Lyon, <http://library.ifla.org/996/1/189-mchombu-en.pdf>.

Mehlaka, F. (2013). "Globalization and its social-cultural-political and economic impacts". Essay submitted to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India, accessed at www.academia.edu.



Menken, D. (2013). *Raising Parents, Raising Kids: Hands-on Wisdom for the Next Generation*. Santa Fe (NM), USA: Belly Song Press.

Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (MANWU) (2012). *Report of the First National Youth Conference*. Windhoek: MANWU.

Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (2016): *Report of the Second National Youth Conference*. Windhoek: MANWU.

Michikyan, M., K. Subrahmanyam and J. Dennis (2015) "Facebook use and academic performance among college students: A mixed-methods study with a multi-ethnic sample", in *Computers in Human Behavior*, Vol. 45 (2015).

Mindell, A. (1995). *Sitting in the Fire: Large Group Transformation Using Conflict and Diversity*. Portland (OR), USA: Lao Tse Press. (See also www.processwork.org.)

Mindell, A. (2002). *The Deep Democracy of Open Forums: Practical Steps to Conflict Prevention and Resolution for the Family, Workplace and World*. Charlottesville (VA), USA: Hampton Roads Robinson.

Ministry of Labour (2002). *The Namibia Labour Force Survey 2000: Final Report*. Windhoek: Ministry of Labour and National Planning Commission.

Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (2006). *Namibia Labour Force Survey 2004: Report of Analysis*. Windhoek: Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (2008). *Namibia Child Activity Survey 2005: Report of Analysis*. Windhoek: Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (2010). *Namibia Labour Force Survey 2008: Report of Analysis*. Windhoek: Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mitra, A. and P. Singh (2007). "Human Capital Attainment and Gender Empowerment: The Kerala Paradox", in *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 88(5).

Moyo, S. and P. Yeros (2005), "Land Occupation and Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Towards the National Democratic Revolution", in Moyo, S. and P. Yeros (eds) (2005), *Reclaiming the Land: The Resurgence of Rural Movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. London: Zed Books.

Mufune, P. (2000). "Street Youth in Southern Africa", in *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 52(164).

Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) (2012). *Labour Force 2012 Basic Report: Focus on Youth Age 15-29 Years*, accessed at <http://cms.my.na/assets/documents/p19dmnddk1vfimqnr8fnlh971.pdf>.

Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) (2013a). *Namibia 2011 Population and Housing Census Main Report*. Windhoek: NSA.

Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) (2013b). *The Namibia Labour Force Survey 2012: Report*. Windhoek: NSA.



Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA) (2014). *The Namibia Labour Force Survey 2013: Report*. Windhoek: NSA.

Namibian Sun newspaper (2015). “Nahas: Youths Right about Land”, 15 May 2015.

National Collaborative on Workforce and Disability for Youth (NCWD) (2005). “Youth Development and Leadership in Programs”, accessed at www.ncwd-youth.info/information-brie.

National Youth Council (NYC) of Namibia (2004). *Youth Enterprise Promotion Policy*. Windhoek: NYC.

Nedelmann, B. (1987). “Individuals and parties – changes in processes of political mobilization”, *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 3(3).

New Era newspaper (2015). “Mass Land Application Hailed as Success”, 2 March 2015.

Nosko, A. and K. Széger (2013). “Active Citizenship Can Change Your Country for the Better”. Grantee Spotlight discussion, Kurt Lewin Foundation and Open Society Think Tank Fund, accessed at www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices.

Onuoha, F.C. (2014). “Why Do Youth Join Boko Haram?”, *United States Institute of Peace Special Report 348* (June 2014), accessed at www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR348-Why_do_Youth_Join_Boko_Haram.pdf.

Parlevliet, M. (2010). “Rethinking Conflict Transformation from a Human Rights Perspective”, in *Berghof Handbook Dialogue*, No. 9.

Prontzos, P.G. (2004). “Collateral Damage: The Human Cost of Structural Violence”, in Jones A. (ed.) (2004), *Genocide, War Crimes and the West: History and Complicity*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Pronyk, P.M. et al. (2006). “Effect of a structural intervention for the prevention of intimate-partner violence and HIV in rural South Africa: a cluster randomized trial”, in *The Lancet*, Vol. 368 (2006).

Puri, L. (2013). “It is time for action to end violence against women: a speech by Lakshmi Puri at the ACP-EU Parliamentary Assembly”, UN Women, accessed at www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/6/it-is-time-for-action-to-end-violence-against-women-a-speech-by-lakshmi-puri#sthash.

Rajendran, S., D. Veronesi, N. Mohammad and A. Mala (2006). “The Impact of Armed Conflict on Male Youth in Mindanao, Philippines”, in World Bank, *Social Development Papers, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction, Paper No. 35*, accessed at www.cfsi.ph/pdf/Paper35July2006.pdf.

Ransohoff, J. (2013). “How the Media Affects Teens & Young Adults”, accessed at Sutter Health, Palo Alto Medical Foundation, www.pamf.org/teen/life/bodyimage/media.html.

Raphael, D.D. (1990). *Problems of Political Philosophy*. London: Macmillan.

Reineke, M.J. (1997). *Sacrificed Lives: Kristeva on Women and Violence*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.



Republic of Namibia (1990). *Constitution of the Republic of Namibia*.

Republic of Namibia (2009). *National Youth Council Act, 2009* (Act No. 3 of 2009).

Resick, J.C., P.J. Hanges, M.W. Dickson and J.K. Mitchelson (2006). "A Cross-Cultural Examination of the Endorsement of Ethical Leadership", in *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 63.

Resnick D. and D. Casale (2011). "The Political Participation of Africa's Youth: Turnout, Partisanship and Protest", *Afrobarometer Working Paper No. 136*, Afrobarometer, co-published with Globalbarometer, accessed at <http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Working%20paper/AfropaperNo136.pdf>.

Robertson, T. (2005). "Sacrifice and Secularisation: Derrida de Vries and the Future of Mourning", in Sherwood, Y. and K. Hart (eds) (2005), *Derrida and Religion: Other Testaments*. New York and London: Routledge.

Robinson, S.K. (2006). *Do Schools Kill Creativity?* TED-Talk, at www.ted.com/talks/ken_robinson_says_schools_kill_creativity.

Robinson, S.K. (2009). *The Element: Finding Your Passion Changes Everything*. London, UK: Penguin Books. (See also <http://sirkenrobinson.com>.)

Robinson, S.K. (2010). *Changing Education Paradigms – RSA Animate*. TED-Talk, at www.ted.com/talks/ken_robinson_changing_education_paradigms.

Roth, K. (2008). *"Despots Masquerading as Democrats": Human Rights Watch World Report 2007*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

SA News (South African Government News Agency) (2008). "Foundation calls for Mandela Day", accessed at www.sanews.gov.za/features/foundation-calls-establishment-mandela-day.

Satgar, V. (2014). "The Crises of Global Capitalism and the Solidarity Economy Alternative", in Satgar, V. (ed.) (2014), *The Solidarity Economy Alternative: Emerging Theory and Practice*. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.

Scharmer, O. (2009). *Theory U: Leading from the Future as It Emerges*. San Francisco (CA), USA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers. (See also www.presencing.com.)

Semler, R. (2001). *Maverick! The Success Story Behind the World's Most Unusual Workplace*. London, UK: Random House Business.

Semler, R. (2004). *The Seven Day Weekend – A Better Way to Work in the 21st Century*. London, UK: Random House Business.

Semler, R. (2014). *How to Run a Company with (almost) no Rules*. TED-Global, at www.ted.com/talks/ricardo_semmler_radical_wisdom_for_a_company_a_school_a_life.

Senge, P.M. (2006). *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*. New York, USA: Doubleday Publishers.

Senge, P.M. (2013). *Schools That Learn: A Fifth Discipline Fieldbook for Educators, Parents, and Everyone Who Cares About Education*. New York, USA: Crown Publishing.



Shiningayamwe, D.N.E., R.K. Shalyefu and A.T. Kanyimba (2014). “The Social and Economic Challenges of the Namibian Children of the Liberation Struggle at Berg Aukas Camp in Grootfontein, Otjozondjupa Region”, in *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, No. 2.

SmartBrief (website) (2013). “Why volunteering makes you a better leader” (21 February 2013), at www.smartbrief.com/original/2013/02/why-volunteering-makes-you-better-leader.

Southern African Development Community (SADC) (2016). “SADC Youth Employment Promotion Policy Framework – Draft (24 February 2016)”, accessed at https://extranet.sadc.int/index.php/download_file/view/4183/1661.

Southern African Development Community (2016). *Draft SADC Youth Employment Policy Framework*. Gaborone, Botswana: SADC.

Stiglitz, J.E. (2011). *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future* (First Edition). New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.

The Namibian newspaper (2009). “The SWAPO Party Youth League and the Politics of the Loved Ones”, 7 August 2009.

The Namibian newspaper (2014). “Affirmative Repositioning: The Start of a New Protest Era”, 27 November 2014.

The Namibian newspaper (2016). “What Role for Civil Society in 2016?”, 29 January 2016.

Tohami Abdelhay, A. (n.d.). *Studies on Youth Policies in the Mediterranean Partner Countries – Egypt*. Brussels: European Union, EuroMed Youth III Programme.

Tsuchiya, K. (2005). “Developing and sustaining active citizenship: A life history analysis of the representatives and organizers of Japanese nonprofit civic activities”. Ph.D. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, USA.

United Nations (Swaziland) (2013). “Opportunities and Constraints to Youth Entrepreneurship: Perspectives of Young Entrepreneurs in Swaziland”, accessed at www.sz.undp.org/content/dam/swaziland/docs/documents/UNDP_SZ_Youth_Entrepreneurship_Report_Jan_2013.pdf?download.

United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) (2016). *Early Childhood Development*, accessed at www.unicef.org/earlychildhood.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2015). *Policy Guide on Youth Entrepreneurship* (UNCTAD/DIAE/ED/2015/1). New York: United Nations.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) (2008). *World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision*, accessed at www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/trends/population-prospects.shtml.

UN DESA (2010). *World Programme of Action for Youth*, accessed at www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wpay2010.pdf.

UN DESA (2016). Youth delegates at the 55th to 70th Sessions of the UN General Assembly (2000-2015), accessed at <http://undesadspd.org.dnnmax.com/Youth/OurWork/Youthdelegateprogramme/70thGAsession.aspx>, accessed on 6 July 2016.



United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (1997). UN Economic and Social Council Resolution 1997/2: Agreed Conclusions (18 July 1997), accessed at www.refworld.org/docid/4652c9fc2.html.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2005). *Economic Report on Africa 2005: Meeting the Challenges of Unemployment and Poverty in Africa*. Addis Ababa: UNECA.

UNECA (2009). *African Youth Report 2009: Expanding opportunities for and with young people in Africa* (ECA/ACGS/HSD/AYR), accessed at www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/africanyouthreport_09.pdf.

United Nations General Assembly (1996). Resolution A/Res/50/81, adopted 13 March 1996: "World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond".

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (1998). "Violence against girls and women: a public health priority", UNFPA Gender Theme Group, Interactive Population Center, at www.unfpa.org/intercenter/violence/intro.htm

United Nations Programme on Youth (UNPY) (2006). *A Brief Guide to Youth Delegates to the United Nations General Assembly*. New York: UNPY.

United Nations Volunteers (UNV) (2011). "Youth Volunteering, Social Integration and Decent Work: Inspiring Leadership: Discussion paper prepared for the 48th Session of the Commission for Social Development", accessed at www.worldvolunteerweb.org/fileadmin/docdb/pdf/2011/Youth%20Volunteering%20social%20integration%20and%20decent%20work.pdf.

UNV (2012). *Volunteerism is Universal: An extract from the 2011 State of the World's Volunteerism Report*. Bonn: UNV.

United States Department of Labour Statistics (2016). "Economic News Release: Volunteering in the United States, 2015", accessed at www.bls.gov/news.release/volun.nr0.htm.

Van der Schuur, W.A., S.E. Baumgartner, S.R. Sumter and P.M. Valkenburg (2015). "The consequences of media multitasking for youth: A review, in *Computers in Human Behavior*, Vol. 53 (2015).

Varshavsky, T. (2009). "Active Citizenship Via Personal Expression: Building civic youth identity in community after school art programs". Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication, Culture and Technology.

Verma, R.K. et al. (2008). *From research to action: Addressing masculinity and gender norms to reduce HIV/AIDS related risky sexual behavior among young men in India*. Washington (DC), USA: Population Council.

Wallerstein, I.M, G. Derleugian, R. Collins, M. Mann and C. Calhoun (2013). *Does Capitalism Have a Future?* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Weeks, E.C. (2000). "The practice of deliberative democracy: Results from four large-scale trials", in *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 60(4).

Wekerle, C. and D.A. Wolfe (1999). "Dating violence in mid-adolescence: Theory, significance and emerging prevention initiatives", in *Clinical Psychology Review*, Vol. 19(4).



White, H.E. (2004). "Active citizenship and welfare reform at the local level". PhD Thesis, Cleveland State University, Cleveland (OH), USA.

Wilmoth, P. (2013). "iQ smartparent: Tune in Tune Out", post on the Rand Corporation blog on the effects of media on the youth, accessed at www.rand.org/blog/2013/09/what-effect-does-media-have-on-youth.html.

Windhoek Express (2016). "Having youth matters at heart" (2 June 2016), at www.we.com.na/having-youth-matters-heart.217775.

World Assembly of Youth (2015). *Report of the 15th Melaka International Youth Dialogue*. Melaka, Malaysia: World Assembly of Youth.

World Health Organization (2009). "Violence against women", *WHO Fact Sheet No. 239* (November 2009), accessed at who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs239/en/print.html.

Youniss, J. and M. Yates (1997). *Community Service and Social Responsibility in Youth*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Youth Employment Network and International Youth Foundation (2009). *Private Sector Demand for Youth Labour in Ghana and Senegal: Ghana and Senegal Study Findings*, accessed at www.seepnetwork.org/filebin/pdf/resources/PSI_study.pdf.

Zuniga, X., E.A. Williams and J.B. Berger (2005). "Action-Oriented Democratic Outcomes: The Impact of Student Involvement with Campus Diversity", in *Journal of College Student Development*, Vol. 46(6).

Other websites consulted

Southern African Development Community – www.sadc.int

Southern African Customs Union – www.sacu.int

Men Can Stop Rape – www.mencanstoprape.org

White Ribbon Campaign – www.whiteribbon.ca





Appendix E

Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
APP	All People's Party
AR	Affirmative Repositioning (movement Namibia)
AU	African Union
BWI	Building and Wood Workers International
CCN	Council of Churches in Namibia
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CoD	Congress of Democrats
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women
DoOD	Do Organisation Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
EACEA	Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (of the EU)
EFA	Education For All
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters (South Africa)
EPL	Exploration Processing License
EU	European Union
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
GBV	Gender-based violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Metalworkers Federation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IUM	International University of Management
IT	Information Technology
KAYEC	Katutura Youth Enterprise Centre (a non-profit trust now working country-wide)
LaRRI	Labour Resource and Research Institute
MANWU	Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union
MNC	multinational corporation
MoA	Memorandum of Agreement
MSYNS	Ministry of Sport, Youth and National Service
MUN	Mineworkers' Union of Namibia



MYNSSC	Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture (previous name)
n.d.	no date
NANAWO	Namibia National Women's Organisation
NANGOF	Namibian Non-Governmental Organisations Forum
NANSO	Namibia National Students Organisation
NCWD	National Collaborative on Workforce and Disability for Youth
NEFF	Namibia Economic Freedom Fighters
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NSA	Namibia Statistics Agency
NUDO	National Unity Democratic Organisation
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers in South Africa
NUNW	National Union of Namibian Workers
NUST	Namibia University of Science and Technology
NYC	National Youth Council (Namibia)
OPO	Ovamboland People's Organisation
PAWO	Pan-African Women's Organisation
PYU	Pan-African Youth Union
RDP	Rally for Democracy and Progress
RP	Republican Party
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARYF	Southern Africa Regional Youth Forum
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals (UN)
SMEs	small and medium enterprises
SPYL	SWAPO Party Youth League
SRC	Student Representative Council
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TRC	Teachers' Resource Centre
UNAM	University of Namibia
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNPY	United Nations Programme on Youth
UNV	United Nations Volunteers
VAW	violence against women
VTC	vocational training centre
WAY	World Assembly of Youth
WFDY	World Federation of Democratic Youth
WRP	Workers Revolutionary Party
WTO	World Trade Organization
WVTC	Windhoek Vocational Training Centre
YLAA	Youth Leadership Alumni Association (an association of YLDP graduates)
YLDP	Youth Leadership Development Programme
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association





This book, marking 10 years of consistent, continuous presentation of the YLDP in Namibia, imparts an appreciation of this programme's massive impact on the current generation of youth and emerging young leaders in this country, and offers a unique and richly diverse outlook on key matters pertaining to youth development, ultimately conveying the message that **YOUTH MATTERS** – so much so that all of us ought to start taking youth matters very seriously.



"The youth are the strength of this nation. They are our future leaders. ... the youth should move to the centre of our planning activities in Namibia. We can no longer afford to keep them at the periphery."

– His Excellency Dr Sam Nujoma, Founding Father and First President of the Republic of Namibia, 1999