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**Beliefs
and
Attitudes
toward
Gender,
Sexuality
and
Traditions
amongst
Namibian
Youth**

by

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Beliefs and Attitudes toward Gender, Sexuality and Traditions amongst Namibian Youth

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I think that Namibian youth should have more access to this kind of information, to educate themselves about sex, sexually transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancy. Parents should stop being angry if their child asks them about sex and other things. Start being open and honest to your child.

– comment from OYO respondent

Abstract

In 2006 Dr Suzanne LaFont collaborated with Dr Philippe Talavera, Director of Ombetja Yehinga Organisation (OYO), a Namibian NGO dedicated to sex education and HIV prevention amongst young people, to develop a questionnaire exploring young Namibians' attitudes toward gender, sexuality and traditional practices. During 2007 and 2008, 395 questionnaires were administered to 15- to 20-year-olds in rural and urban Namibia and follow-up focus groups were conducted to gain qualitative data relating to the issues raised in the questionnaire. The questionnaire focused on four themes:

- (1) attitudes towards traditional practices, especially those practices related to gender, such as men as being the head of the household and polygyny;
- (2) sexual rights, including those relating to controversial issues such as homosexuality and reproductive rights;
- (3) sexual transgressions, such as rape and sexual abuse; and
- (4) attitudes towards and knowledge of sexual behaviours such as masturbation and oral sex.

The data was analysed using the variables of age, gender, ethnicity, education and urban/rural residence to gain a better understanding of the similarities and differences between the various groups and subgroups. Our findings suggest that living in a privileged urban environment (attending private school, having better access to technology and being exposed to an array of cosmopolitan ideas, attitudes and opinions) is the most important defining factor regarding ideas about gender equality and sexual rights.

The goal of our research is to provide information to improve educational and social programs concerning HIV prevention, gender equality and sexual rights. Our objective is to provide data to policymakers, organisations, and scholars which present an in-depth understanding of sexuality and gender amongst young people in Namibia. Learning about young people's attitudes and beliefs about these issues will allow us and other professionals to identify the needs of young people in terms of sex and gender education and the prevention of HIV/AIDS. It will also help identify areas of potential legal and social reform.

1. INTRODUCTION

When Namibia became independent in 1990 there was hope and opportunity for the realisation of other forms of freedom, such as the restructuring of gender roles and sexual morés. On one hand, Namibia's new constitution and post-independence legal reform reflected an ideology of equality and the expansion of personal liberty. There was a strong desire by the government to be both modern and politically correct in terms of gender equality. On the other hand, the struggle for national identity has fostered a reverence for 'tradition' which involved the rejection of foreign ideas about gender and sexuality, including what are perceived as immoral sexual attitudes and practices from the West. At times it has been difficult to reconcile these sometimes contradictory notions in terms of national identity and statehood. In some cases reverence for Namibian 'traditions', including those that deny gender and sexual self-determination, have been given preference over human rights (LaFont 2007).

In recent years debate on issues related to gender and sexuality has been extensive, covering topics ranging from the decriminalisation of sex work to the recognition of gay rights. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has forced a dialogue and an opening up about sexuality in a country where sex used to be a taboo subject (Talavera 2007a). Although sex remains a relatively taboo topic and much of the HIV/AIDS discourse focuses on the negative consequence of unprotected sex and/or the importance of abstinence, HIV/AIDS has put the topic of sexuality on the table. The response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic has created a space for further and more in-depth public discussions about sexuality and has prompted the development of sex education programs, although implementation still seems to be a problem (MoHSS 2009). What has been missing from much of the public discourse is information about what young people think about gender and sexuality; what they know; and what they want to know more about. Our research tackled these questions and we hope that our findings will enhance future dialogues by adding young people's perspectives to these crucial issues.

Historical background on gender and sexuality in Namibia

Indigenous sexual ideologies, Christianity and colonisation are the three major dynamics which have influenced and shaped gender and sexuality in Namibia (LaFont 2007a). It is impossible to describe a specific indigenous gender and sexual ideology due to the differences in gender roles and sexual morés and practices amongst the various ethnic groups in the country. Cross-cultural comparisons are also difficult because until recently data about gender and sexuality was not collected in any systematic way.

This being said, Talavera's (2007) research sheds light on past and current sexual beliefs and behaviour amongst a few of the different ethnic groups. He interviewed three different generations of people in northern Namibia specifically about sexuality, seeking out the elders and asking them about gender and sexual morés, attitudes and practices that were accepted when they were young. Talavera (2007a) reported that some of Namibia's ethnic groups allowed children to explore their sexuality with little adult interference. Childhood sexual games were found amongst the Himba, Herero, San, Kavango and Caprivians.¹ He did not conduct research amongst the Owambo, by far the largest ethnic group in Namibia, or the Damara.

According to Talavera, once children reached puberty, sexual experimentation which could now lead to pregnancy was strictly forbidden. Some ethnic groups had initiation rites, which included basic information about sex, to prepare young people for marriage. Marriages were arranged and girls were often married at a young age, usually shortly after their first menses. It was not uncommon for husbands to be significantly older than their wives. Wives were not allowed to reject their husband's sexual advances; refusal was seen as justification for a beating. Husbands were formally and informally allowed to have multiple partners, whilst wives were expected to be monogamous. Men, as heads of the household, were entitled to make decisions about the couple's sexual and reproductive lives (Talavera 2002).

Despite the sexual freedom allowed to some children, sex and sexuality were rather taboo subjects and, in general, parents did not discuss sex with their children. In some of the cultures, girls did not learn about menstruation until it occurred, and boys knew nothing of wet dreams until they had them. If young people were told about sex, it was often put in a negative context, for example, penises bite and premarital sex is lethal (Talavara 2007).

Colonialism had a profound effect on gender and sexuality on multiple levels. Becker (2007) argues that in pre-colonial Namibia many women held positions of power and authority but the colonial administration refused to recognise women leaders and manipulated customary laws to suit colonial beliefs and colonial economic and political needs. They promoted Western patriarchy and colluded with elite males to reconfigure power within gender relations. Historical research reveals that alliances between colonial administrators and male elites have contributed to the belief that men have 'traditionally' been the exclusive holders of authority in the family, the community and the State. Under colonial law women were classified as minors; they could neither vote nor own land, and they needed their husband's permission to enter into legal contracts (Becker 2000).

¹ In this document we use the English names of the ethnic groups and their languages rather than the Bantu names, e.g. *Herero* rather than *Ovaherero*. The authors are aware that some groups prefer the Bantu names, but for the sake of correctness in the absence of research and set rules on this matter in Namibia, and for consistency and brevity in this document, we have adopted the approach of an eminent international linguist and Africanist, Prof. Karsten Legère: foreign terms incorporated into English are usually subjected to the sound system of English.

The introduction of 19th century Christian doctrine with its puritanical morality forever altered Namibian gender and sexual ideologies. British (1806), German (1842) and Finnish (1870) missionaries arrived with patriarchal Christian doctrine and the belief that African sexuality needed to be contained (Becker 2003). In order to accomplish this, a new moral order was promoted, reinforcing the existing silence on sexuality and discouraging traditional expressions of gender and sexuality. The new religion helped reinforce men's power vis-à-vis women. Namibian men were able to adopt the aspects of Christianity that suited them and further legitimised their power. Missionaries were influential in promoting female chastity, transforming or eliminating rituals related to initiations, and eroding women's power. Despite these hegemonic forces, some local traditional sexual ideologies managed to evolve and survive (Iipingene and LeBeau 1997). However, conservative Christian morality is strong and popular today and continues to impact sexual beliefs and practices.

The historical circumstances briefly described here reveal that young people's ideas, attitudes and knowledge of gender and sexuality have been shaped by conservative cultures, religion and government. Currently, the young, especially those in urban areas, are caught between the new and the old morality. Young Namibians are exposed to and must reconcile the 'in-your-face' sexuality of the West with conservative messages from their elders, church leaders and parents who emphasise the importance of 'tradition'. In addition, many sex education programmes and public health campaigns focus on the dangers of sex.

Methodology

In 2006, Dr LaFont and Dr Talavera with the assistance of Dianne Hubbard, the Coordinator of the Gender Research and Advocacy Project at the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC), developed a questionnaire with the goal of exploring young people's attitudes towards gender, sexuality and traditions. It was pretested three times in different groups, with each group consisting of 20-25 young people. The findings of each pretest helped to identify questions which needed to be modified. The questionnaire consisted of 42 questions which elicited 93 pieces of data per questionnaire. The first ten questions pertained to baseline variables such as gender, age and ethnicity. The remainder of the questions were multiple choice, 'yes/no/don't know' or 'agree/disagree/don't know' options. Respondents were given the opportunity to make comments and ask questions.

The data consist of information from two non-random sample groups. One group, referred to as the OYO (Ombetja Yehinga Organisation) cohort consisted of 318 young Namibian people aged 16-20 who lived outside of the capital and were either attending local public schools or OYO youth group meetings. The second cohort, referred to as PS (private school), consisted of 77 young people in grade 11 aged 15-18 attending a private school in Windhoek. After a preliminary analysis of the data, a decision was made to keep the two sets of data separate

and to compare and contrast the PS data with the OYO data. The primary reason for this decision was the importance of looking at differences in the answers from a privileged group living in the capital with a group of young people living in smaller, more remote settings. Throughout this report, charts and tables will display the differences in the data from these two cohorts.

All of the OYO questionnaires were administered by OYO staff members. Their staff is trained to facilitate discussions on HIV/AIDS, sexual health and sexual issues with young people in and out of school. Most of the OYO staff are young (18 to 25 years old), hence they still belong to the peer group of the respondents. This helps young people feel confident when speaking to the OYO staff. All of the outreach staff who administered the questionnaires were fluent in English and local languages. OYO would have been known to most of the non-PS respondents as OYO members travel frequently to the areas where the questionnaire was administered to conduct workshops, distribute OYO's bi-monthly magazine, and put on educational theatrical performances and fashion shows.

Permission to administer the questionnaire to the OYO cohort was secured from the Ministry of Education. OYO first approached the Regional HIV/AIDS Education Committees (RACEs) and the Directors of Education for the Kunene and Erongo regions to present the concept of the research. The first draft of the questionnaire was presented to them for approval. With this approval in hand, the OYO facilitator approached school principals to ask permission to administer the questionnaire in their own schools. In all cases the principals granted their permission and expressed their interest in receiving the results of the survey. In addition, all respondents were verbally advised that filling out the questionnaire was voluntary, that they were free to stop completing the questionnaire at any time and that they were not required to answer all of the questions if they did not want to do so. The top of the questionnaire also contained a consent statement which the respondents were asked to initial to signify their consent. Please refer to Appendix A for the consent statement and a copy of the questionnaire. All participants were informed that the information they provided was confidential and anonymous. The participants were given the opportunity for debriefing after completing the questionnaire and the OYO staff were able to assist the participants, or arrange referrals where necessary, for further support on specific issues.

The PS questionnaires were administered by Dr LaFont in February 2008 at a private school in Windhoek. The headmaster granted permission and arranged for the students to assemble to be given the opportunity to complete the questionnaire. Dr LaFont explained the purpose of the questionnaire to the students and emphasised that their participation was voluntary and that their answers were strictly confidential.

Also in 2008, Dr LaFont travelled to the North with members of the OYO team and conducted focus group discussions with students at four schools in the Opuwo and Khorixas vicinities. By this time she had conducted a preliminary

analysis of data so the purpose of the focus groups was to gain qualitative, in-depth knowledge of the issues raised in the questionnaire. During these sessions, students were encouraged to ask questions. Pencils and uniformly cut pieces of paper were distributed and the students wrote their questions on and folded the paper and then the questions were collected in a bag which was frequently shaken to jumble the papers to ensure that anonymity was maintained. Due to the sensitivity of the subjects being discussed, it was decided that the sessions would not be recorded or transcribed. Following each session Dr LaFont wrote up detailed notes on what had transpired. These notes, along with the questions, help to inform the discussion of the data in this report.

A computer programmer, Mikael Schiller, wrote a special program in Excel which allowed the researchers to examine the data isolating the variables of sex, age, ethnicity, education, urban/rural residence and urban/rural birthplace. The research was exploratory rather than hypothesis-driven. As such, the analyses are more qualitative than quantitative; percentages have been provided but statistical measurements of significance have not been calculated.

The amount of data collected is too vast to include all of it this report. We have chosen, therefore, to focus on the specific issues relating to gender and sexuality which we believe will of most use and interest to the reader. The Excel spreadsheets containing the data will be made available to professionals upon request.

Limitations of the research

Conducting research on sexuality is notoriously difficult and involves issues of honesty, compliance and confidence. Our research was designed to minimise dishonesty by guaranteeing anonymity and by not asking about the respondents' personal sexual activity. However as in most human subject research, it is virtually impossible to guarantee that all of our respondents were truthful. Our research was further complicated by the multiculturalism of Namibia and the fact that many of the respondents did not speak English as their first language. We tried to offset these factors by providing definitions for certain terms used in the questionnaire and by having the questionnaire administered by OYO personnel who were fluent in the local languages (with the exception of the questionnaires administered by Dr LaFont at the private school in Windhoek). The respondents were able to ask questions and receive answers in their own language.

The greatest limitation of this study is that we did not use random sampling and the questionnaire was administered only in specific areas of the country (see Table 12). Therefore the findings from this research cannot be generalised with certainty to the national level. In addition, some OYO sub-cohorts are disproportionately represented. The average age of the Himba/Tjimba respondents was 18.4; whereas it was 17.8 for the Owambo respondents; 18.1 for the Herero respondents and 17 for the Damara respondents. There were also unequal numbers

of male and female respondents in the different ethnic groups. For example, 61% of the Himba/Tjimba respondents were male, whilst only 37% of the Owambo respondents were male. Thus, the ethnic data may be moderately skewed by age and sex, and the age and sex data (amongst the OYO cohort) may be moderately skewed by ethnicity. In addition, 67% of the OYO cohort lived in urban areas and 65% were born in urban areas so there may also be an urban bias (see Tables 7, 8 and 9).

Background data

There were 198 female respondents and 190 male respondents. (The sex of seven respondents was not reported.) The average age of the respondents was 17 years old. The main ethnic groups represented in the sample were the Owambo, Herero, Damara and Himba/Tjimba. Whilst 102 respondents lived in rural areas, 205 lived in smaller urban areas in the North (data were missing from 11 of the respondents). The following charts provide the details of the background information of the two sample groups and where the questionnaires were administered. Please note that due to rounding to whole numbers, the percentages will not always equal 100.

OYO females	157	49%
OYO males	155	49%
OYO missing data	6	2%
Total	318	100%

PS females	41	53%
PS males	35	45%
PS missing data	1	1%
Total	77	99%

Owambo	86	27%
Herero	79	25%
Damara	76	24%
Himba/Tjimba	38	12%
Kavango	3	1%
Caprivian	2	1%
Nama	5	2%
German	1	.03%
Coloured	6	2%
Other	22	7%
Total	318	100%

Owambo	18	23%
Herero	4	5%
Damara	2	3%
Himba/Tjimba	0	0%
Kavango	1	1%
Caprivian	2	3%
Nama	2	3%
German	4	5%
Coloured	9	12%
Afrikaner	1	1%
Tswana	1	1%
Non-Namibian African	12	16%
Other	20	26%
Missing data	1	1%
Total	77	100%

15-year-olds	0	0%
16-year-olds	84	26%
17-year-olds	81	25%
18-year-olds	56	18%
19-year-olds	42	13%
20-year-olds	53	17%
Missing	2	1%
Average	17.7	

15-year-olds	2	3%
16-year-olds	52	68%
17-year-olds	19	25%
18-year-olds	3	4%
19-year-olds	0	0%
20-year-olds	0	0%
Missing	1	1%
Average age	16.5	

	Owambo	Herero	Damara	Himba/Tjimba
16-year-olds	23 (27%)	13 (16%)	32 (42%)	5 (13%)
17-year-olds	19 (22%)	21 (27%)	23 (30%)	7 (19%)
18-year-olds	13 (15%)	12 (15%)	13 (17%)	6 (15%)
19-year-olds	17 (20%)	14 (18%)	4 (5%)	5 (13%)
20-year-olds	14 (16%)	19 (24%)	4 (5%)	14 (37%)
Missing	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)
Average	17.8	18.1	17.0	18.4

* 39 respondents were divided amongst other ethnic groups.

	Male	Female	Missing
Owambo	32 (37%)	53 (62%)	1 (1%)
Herero	46 (58%)	31 (39%)	2 (3%)
Damara	31 (41%)	44 (58%)	1 (1%)
Himba/Tjimba	23 (61%)	13 (34%)	2 (5%)

* 39 respondents were divided amongst other ethnic groups.

Born in rural area	96	30%
Born in urban area	181	57%
Missing birth information	41	13%
Live in rural area	102	33%
Live in urban area	205	64%
Missing residential information	11	3%

With respect to the urban/rural divide, it should be noted that the respondents self-identified whether they were born or reside in an urban or rural area. There could certainly be some variation by the respondents in regard to what they considered to be an urban versus a rural area. Informally, an urban area would include a market, a number and variety of shops and a higher population density than its surrounding areas. According to the 2001 census, 33% of Namibians resided in urban areas (CSO 2003); the term "urban" in the census was applied to proclaimed local authorities, whilst rural was used to describe non-proclaimed areas (personal communication, Director of Central Bureau of Statistics, National Planning Commission).

Education: OYO cohort

About three-quarters of the OYO respondents (246) reported that they were in still in school. Only 71 reported that they were not in school. All of the PS respondents were in 11th grade.

Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
22	30	52	73	69
9%	12%	21%	30%	28%

Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
3	3	35	1	29
4%	4%	49%	1%	41%

It should be noted that a large proportion of the missing data involved respondents who reported being in grades eight and nine. The simplest explanation for this would be literacy issues. There were, however, noteworthy differences in the percentage of missing data from question to question. For example, 55% of the 23 OYO students reporting to be in grade eight did not mark an answer (agree, disagree, or don't know) with respect to the choice "traditional authority" (for question 12e). Amongst this same group, 100% answered questions 33, 34, 35 and 36 (see Appendix A for these questions). This suggests that some of the younger participants may not have understood some of the questions. By contrast, only 4% of the OYO respondents who reported being in grade 12 left question 12e unanswered. Three percent of the PS cohort left this question unanswered. In general, there was much less missing data amongst the PS cohort than the OYO cohort.

Employment

Only two PS students were employed, whilst 13 OYO females and 11 OYO males reported being employed. Considering the fact that 67 of the OYO respondents reported being out of school, these figures highlight the high unemployment rate amongst young people, although it should be noted that there are legal restrictions on the employment of persons under age 18.²

² In terms of the Labour Act 11 of 2007, which gives effect to Article 15 of the Namibian Constitution, it is illegal to employ a child under the age of 14, and there are restrictions about the type of employment allowed for children between the ages of 14 and 18.

Administration of questionnaires by locale

OYO cohort		
Karibib	9	2%
Khorixas	45	11%
Omaruru	47	12%
Opuwo	131	33%
Swakopmund	86	22%
PS cohort		
Windhoek	77	19%
Total	395	

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING TRADITIONS

I feel very bad about my culture because it does not really exist. Nowadays, we go for Western culture and we have started wearing fashion clothes instead of our Himba one. Our traditional dances and songs are forgotten...

– comment submitted to OYO and published in *OYO, Young, latest and cool*, vol 5, no 5, November 2006

From my point of view, European culture is better than African culture, because European culture has dominated African culture. We have adopted European culture. We wear clothes which were first created in Europe. In Africa, we used to wear leather from animals. Look at how quickly we have let our culture die, whilst European culture is so alive! European foods are now eaten all over Africa, but our African food is not eaten in Europe.

– comment submitted to OYO and published in *OYO, Young, latest and cool*, vol 5, no 5, November 2006

Be proud of your traditions and do not be ashamed of your traditional food. Traditional food is very nice and unique. It is easy if you plant something for yourself instead of buying it. I enjoy my traditional food because it is best for me, and I am not ashamed of it.

– comment submitted to OYO and published in *OYO, Young, latest and cool*, vol 9, no 2, March-April 2010

It is generally assumed that Namibia is becoming increasingly Westernised. However, it is unclear how the exposure to the West, in terms of media, etc, is impacting young people. Cultural studies have shown that we cannot predict the complex process of the adoption, rejection and reinvention of cultural ideas and practices. It is not a unilinear process and people tend to hold on to their non-material culture even as new material culture is adopted. Examples of such dynamics abound, such as Lapps herding their reindeer on snowmobiles and Amazonian peoples using camcorders to record and preserve their traditional dances (although the adoption of certain technologies has sometimes had unforeseen negative consequences such as allowing for overexploitation of natural resources) (Müller-Wille and Peltó 1971).

As noted earlier, the entire concept of what constitutes tradition in Namibia needs to be seen through a historical and multicultural lens. Cultures are continuously evolving so that the concept of 'tradition' is elusive and one has to be careful not to present a snapshot of a culture frozen in time whenever the 'photographer' decides that he or she is seeing something 'traditional' (Becker 2000). Traditions have been invented and reinvented to reinforce past and current socioeconomic and political needs. Nevertheless, current debates, including those in the Namibian Parliament, surrounding legal and social reform pertaining to gender and sexuality often invoke

'tradition' and religion as being vastly important to Namibian society, even when those touted 'traditions' conflict with international concepts of human rights (Hubbard 2007a). In reaction to the defence of 'tradition' in Parliament and public debates, an opposing camp has emerged, arguing that 'tradition' and religion are cynically mis-referenced by men in an effort to preserve male power and prerogatives which fail to recognise or incorporate women's experiences (Hubbard 2007).

Despite the prominence and importance of these debates, how Namibia's young people view tradition as it relates to gender equality and sexual rights is not fully understood (Hailonga-van Dijk 2007). How much are they willing to embrace from foreign cultures in order to be hip or modern? How much of what they embrace is superficial, such as clothing and lingo? How much of what they embrace is profound, such as changes to their way of thinking and their core ideologies?

The respondents were presented with a multiple choice question asking how important it is to preserve Namibian traditions; the responses, separated by cohort, are presented below. Please note that all of the subsequent tables and charts present percentages rather than raw number in order to facilitate an easy comparison of the findings from the various cohorts and sub-cohorts.

TABLE 13: How important is it to preserve Namibian traditions?

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important	Missing
OYO cohort	80%	15%	2%	3%
PS cohort	32%	58%	10%	0%

The overwhelming majority (80%) of the OYO respondents indicated that it is "Very important" to preserve Namibian traditions. There was, not surprisingly, a considerable difference between the responses of the OYO cohort and PS cohort. This may be due to the fact that 55% of the PS cohort was born in Windhoek, 10% were born in other Namibian urban areas and 32% selected "other", indicating that they were born outside of the country. Only 1% of the PS cohort was born in a rural area and data was missing for another 1%. Therefore the majority of PS respondents have spent most of their lives in the most cosmopolitan and arguably the least traditional part of Namibia. Living in Windhoek with all the trappings of modernity may make traditions seem unnecessary. There could also be a tendency, as there often is amongst urban dwellers, to think that rural life is backward and will inevitably disappear.

Although a minority of the PS cohort (32%) selected "Very important" in response to the question about preserving Namibian tradition, a much higher percentage selected "Agree" to the importance of preserving specific traditions (see the following tables). This may be a testament to the endurance or respect for tradition, even amongst urban youth.

The next set of questions focused on how young people think about various customs. The respondents were presented with several cultural practices and

asked if that particular custom was important to preserve. The answers to these questions have been analysed separately for the two sample groups and are shown below. Responses related to more specific practices will be presented in more detail following a comparison of the responses between the two cohorts.

Language, food and dress

Most respondents from both cohorts selected "Agree" to the importance of preserving "language", "food" and "dress". These practices are culturally specific so respondents are likely responding to preserving their own language, food and dress. In order to further detail the responses to these questions, we chose to present details of the findings for language because the findings for food and dress parallel the findings for language when analysed by sex, age, education and urban/rural birth/residence. The responses for preserving language are shown below.

TABLE 14				
12. Which traditions are important to preserve?				
a. Language				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	78%	6%	5%	11%
PS cohort	86%	4%	6%	4%

Regarding language, females from the PS cohort were the most likely (93%) to select "Agree" to the importance of preserving language, whilst the percentages of "Agree" responses from OYO females (78%), OYO males (77%) and the PS males (78%) were equal or almost equal to one another. There was no clear trend in the responses when analysed by age, although OYO 16-year-olds were the least likely (65%) to choose "Agree". Looking at the data by education, we found that 75% of the respondents who were not in school chose "Agree", whilst 79% of those in school chose "Agree." Of the respondents living in urban areas 81% selected "Agree", whilst 74% of those living in rural areas chose this answer. The difference in the responses based on education and urban/rural living were not great; these findings suggest that, contrary to popular belief, educated urban young people are not abandoning their attachment to basic cultural practices.

The chart below illustrates the variation of answers by ethnic identity. It is not surprising that the Himba/Tjimba were the group who most strongly supported the preservation of language (87%). It is well known that these groups have resisted assimilation and have become quite famous for continuing their traditional way of living. This finding could also reflect the fact that the Himba/Tjimba were, on average, older than the respondents from the other ethnic groups. However, what was surprising was the fact that the preservation of language was not more strongly supported amongst the Owambo respondents (73%), since the Owambo as the ethnic majority of Namibia are usually perceived as highly invested in the preservation of their culture (Suzman 2002).

Which traditions are important to preserve?

Language – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

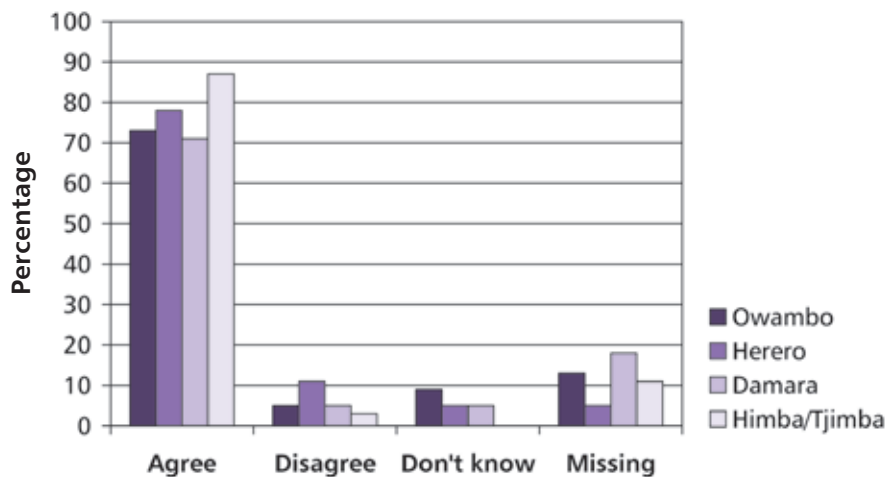


TABLE 15

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?

a. Language – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	73%	5%	9%	13%
Herero	78%	11%	5%	5%
Damara	71%	5%	5%	18%
Himba/Tjimba	87%	3%	0%	11%

The findings for preserving food and dress are listed below. Food and dress as cultural practices to preserve were also well supported, although not as strongly as language. As noted above, the differences in the responses by sex, age, education, urban/rural birth/residence were similar to those for the responses on language.

TABLE 16

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?

b. Food

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	59%	18%	9%	13%
PS cohort	66%	12%	17%	5%

TABLE 17

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?

c. Dress

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	63%	18%	7%	12%
PS cohort	56%	25%	14%	5%

First menstruation and male circumcision ceremonies

As the cultural practices listed became more specific, the percentages of respondents selecting "Disagree" and "Don't know" increased. Very few PS respondents selected "Agree" to preserving several of the lesser-known customs. Some of these, such as first menstruation ceremony and circumcision ceremony, are practiced only by certain ethnic groups, which would have been a factor influencing the respondents' answers. This suggests that where traditional practices have no parallels in the respondent's culture, there seems to be less support for the custom to be preserved.

TABLE 18				
12. Which traditions are important to preserve?				
h. First menstruation ceremony				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	25%	32%	27%	15%
PS cohort	1%	79%	16%	4%

Male circumcision

TABLE 19				
12. Which traditions are important to preserve?				
i. Circumcision ceremony				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	27%	25%	31%	17%
PS cohort	5%	63%	27%	5%

Male circumcision is not traditionally practiced by all of the ethnic groups in Namibia. The Herero and Himba practice male circumcision, and the HIV prevalence rates are lower in Opuwo, which is populated by these groups, than in other parts of the country (MoHSS 2009).³ It is believed that rates are lower in this area because most men are circumcised and because the Himba/Tjimba and Herero interact less commonly than other ethnic groups so they have been less exposed to the virus. However, when we looked at the responses for this question by ethnic group identification, we found that Herero respondents were the most likely (44%) to support the preservation of the ceremony whilst only 26% of the Himba/Tjimba agreed that its preservation was important. Traditionally Damara and Owambo people do not practice circumcision so their lack of support (17% and 15% respectively) was not surprising.

³ For example, in 2006 HIV prevalence among pregnant women at antenatal facilities in Opuwo was 7.9, whereas prevalence rate at all of the other selected testing sites (with the exception of Gobabis which also had a 7.9 prevalence rate) ranged from 9.1 (CCN Windhoek) to 39.4 (Katima Mulilo).

Which traditions are important to preserve?
Circumcision ceremony – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

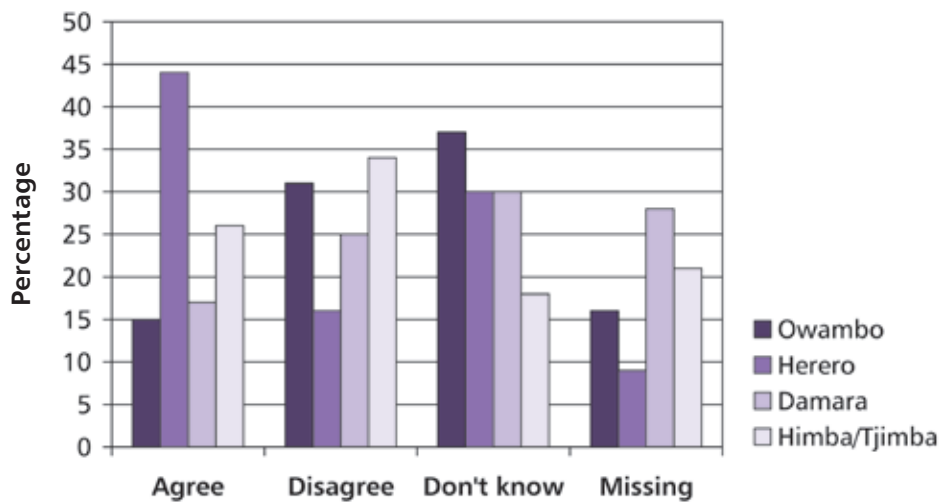


TABLE 20

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?
i. Circumcision ceremony – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	15%	31%	37%	16%
Herero	44%	16%	30%	9%
Damara	17%	25%	30%	28%
Himba/Tjimba	26%	34%	18%	21%

Why do people say men that [who] are not circumcised would get AIDS easily?

– question from focus group participant

Recent research has shown that male circumcision helps reduce the transmission of HIV and a male circumcision action plan was presented to the Parliament in 2009 (IRIN 2009). Currently, 21% of men in Namibia are circumcised and circumcision is offered at some of the state hospitals (MCO 2009). However, the majority of male circumcisions continue as a rite of passage (around the age of puberty) performed by traditional circumcisers.⁴ Non-traditional male circumcision performed for health reasons are performed by doctors but a Namibian task force on circumcision has recommended allowing nurses, rather than only doctors, to perform the procedure and that it be carried out under local rather than general anaesthesia. The task force also recommended collaborating with traditional circumcisers (MCO 2009). These policies should increase the availability of circumcision whilst decreasing the cost. An educational public health campaign is planned to promote circumcision as a deterrent to HIV transmission. How this will be received by Namibian men remains to be seen. It is possible that these policies will have some impact on attitudes towards traditional circumcision.

⁴ In some cultures where boys are circumcised en masse as a rite of passage to adulthood, the lack of or improper sterilisation of circumcision tools has been associated with HIV transmission (AVERT 2010).

Widow inheritance and cleansing ceremony

“Widow inheritance” and “cleansing ceremonies” are both customs which have an impact on sexuality, HIV prevention and gender inequality. Widow inheritance, also called levirate, is a custom in which the brother of a deceased man “inherits” his brother’s wife. This is practiced in the Owambo, Herero and Lozi cultures (LeBeau et al 2004). In general, levirate is based on the benevolent idea that women need men’s protection and it would be cruel of the family to leave a woman without a husband. However, it has evolved into a tradition which allows a man’s family to retain control over the deceased man’s children and his widow’s wealth and labour. Thus, it has become a custom which disadvantages women by denying them the right to make independent decisions about their lives, including decisions about sexual autonomy. Some women have limited options and the choice they must make is between a levirate union and returning to their natal family leaving behind all their children and property (Ovis 2005). Levirate can also be seen as disadvantageous to the men who are expected to marry and support their brothers’ widows. In addition, this custom has implications for HIV transmission because if a woman’s husband dies of AIDS, the chances of her being infected are quite high. If she becomes her brother-in-law’s wife, there is a strong risk that she will infect him and that he will consequently infect his other wife/s or sexual partners.

Widower inheritance, also termed sororate, is the custom by which a widower is inherited by one of his wife’s female kin. It is practiced in some Owambo, Herero and Lozi communities, but widowers have more freedom than widows in choosing whether or not they want to be inherited (LeBeau et al 2004). So although levirate and sororate seem to be parallel practices, they impact men and women differently.

Despite that fact that widow inheritance is reported to be practiced amongst some groups, there was little support for preserving it, especially amongst the PS cohort.

TABLE 21				
12. Which traditions are important to preserve?				
k. Widow inheritance*				
(*A woman is supposed to marry her husband’s brother if her husband dies.)				
	Agree	Disagree	Don’t know	Missing
OYO cohort	23%	43%	17%	17%
PS cohort	5%	85%	6%	4%

In order to determine if this practice was supported by any of the ethnic groups, we analysed the OYO data for this variable. Herero respondents were the most likely (29%) to support the preservation of levirate, and interestingly although levirate is practiced by some Owambo, the Owambo respondents were the least likely (17%) to support its preservation. The number of “Disagree”, “Don’t know” and missing answers suggested that many of the respondents from all of the major ethnic groups were ambivalent or did not value this as a tradition.

Which traditions are important to preserve?
Widow inheritance – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

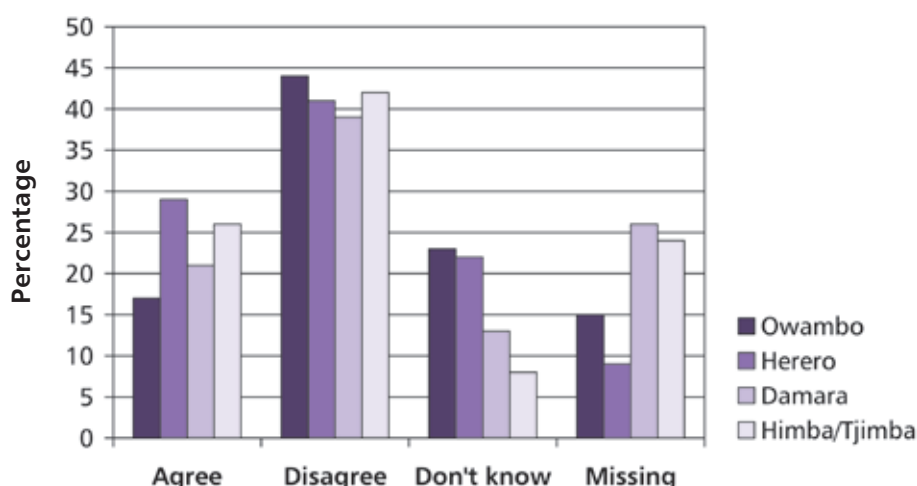


TABLE 22

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?
k. Widow inheritance – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	17%	44%	23%	15%
Herero	29%	41%	22%	9%
Damara	21%	39%	13%	26%
Himba/Tjimba	26%	42%	8%	24%

The cleansing ceremony in which a widow is required to have sex with one of her husband's male relatives after her husband's death is not a widespread custom in Namibia. It has been reported that this is practiced amongst the Lozi of the Caprivi (LeBeau et al 2004). The questionnaire was not administered in this part of the country. Thus, we cannot make any conclusions about its support amongst those who practice it. We had only two Caprivian OYO respondents and one selected "Agree" and the other selected "Disagree". There were also two Caprivian respondents in the PS cohort and they, along with most of the rest of the PS cohort, chose "Disagree".

TABLE 23

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?
I. Cleansing ceremony*
 (*A widow needs to have sex with one of her husband's male relatives after her husband's death.)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	14%	57%	14%	14%
PS cohort	0%	93%	3%	4%

In the "Comment" section of the questionnaire, some respondents from both cohorts indicated that they did not know about the practice of widow inheritance and cleansing ceremonies. Because they were not considered important amongst the respondents (based on the "Don't know" and missing answers combined with the "Disagree" responses), we decided that in this report, we should focus on the other customs which have a greater impact on gender inequality and HIV prevention.

Traditional healers

The role of traditional healers has been a subject of controversy for some time, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Debates often centre on whether traditional healers should be incorporated into HIV/AIDS prevention programmes or whether educational and health campaigns should try to discourage their practices and participation (UNAIDS 2000). The biomedical community is divided on the issue, yet engaging healers in HIV prevention has proven successful in some sub-Saharan countries, such as Uganda. A glance at some Namibian newspapers will reveal paid advertisements by people alleging to be traditional healers who claim to be able to treat or cure a variety of physical ailments including HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. Whilst some people claiming to be traditional healers are obviously quacks and many have been exposed for false claims and abuses of power, there are traditional healers with extensive knowledge of indigenous plants which may or may not be useful in treating the side effects of antiretroviral drugs (ARVs). The problem is that these ethnomedicines (traditional remedies) have not been properly tested for effectiveness, and thus are usually rejected by biomedical scientists (Chinsembu 2009). It is a tricky dynamic but there is certainly no shortage of traditional healers in Namibia who, if trained and licensed, have the potential to assist with HIV prevention (LeBeau 2003).

TABLE 24

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?

d. Traditional healers

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	32%	38%	14%	15%
PS cohort	9%	73%	12%	6%

Our respondents showed little support for preservation of traditional healers. However, amongst the OYO cohort, the responses suggested ambiguity. There was a division amongst those who agree (32%) and disagree (38%), with a considerable number of "Don't know" responses (14%) as well as missing data (15%). The PS respondents were much more decisive with only 9% agreeing that preserving traditional healers is important and 73% disagreeing with the statement. This suggests that the privileged young in Windhoek embrace the biomedical model of medicine.

To further explore how young people felt about traditional healers, the data were analysed by sex but as expected, this did not yield meaningful differences. By far the greatest difference was between cohorts rather than between the males and females of the two cohorts. The OYO data were analysed by age, ethnicity, urban/rural birth/residence and education. Level of education did not seem to be a factor. Regarding urban residence, a lower percentage of OYO respondents living in urban areas selected "Agree" (29%) compared to those living in rural areas (39%). This may be due to a greater reliance on, hence acceptance of, traditional healers in areas which lack medical facilities. Conversely, youth in urban areas may have less exposure to traditional healers.

There was a correlation between age and the acceptance of traditional healers amongst OYO respondents. "Agree" was selected by more 18-year-olds and 20-year-olds than by 16-, 17- or 19-year-olds (23% of 16-year-olds, 28% of 17-year-olds, 41% of 18-year-olds, 21% of 19-year-olds, and 51% of 20-year-olds). Although there does seem to be a correlation between age and "Agree" responses, there is no clear corresponding correlation with the "Disagree" responses. In addition, it should be noted from the data that 25% of the answers from the 16-year-olds were missing. Taking all of this into consideration, this data raised more questions than it answered.

Which traditions are important to preserve?
Traditional healers – by age (OYO cohort)

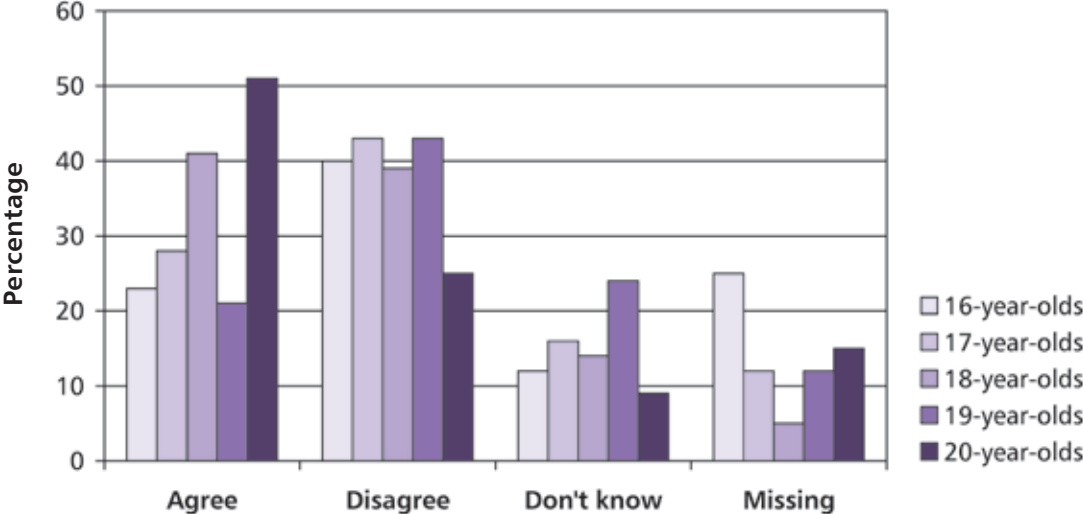


TABLE 25

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?
d. Traditional healers – by age (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	23%	40%	12%	25%
17-year-olds	28%	43%	16%	12%
18-year-olds	41%	39%	14%	5%
19-year-olds	21%	43%	24%	12%
20-year-olds	51%	25%	9%	15%

In terms of ethnicity, the Himba/Tjimba were the most likely to select "Agree" (45%) to preserving traditional healers whilst the Owambo were the least likely to chose this answer (27%). This is most likely explained by the fact that the Himba/Tjimba are more likely than the Owambo to live in more rural areas with limited medical services and, because they have resisted assimilation, they are more likely to rely on traditional practices.

In sum, these findings identify a need for more research on this topic to determine why and under which circumstances young people turn to traditional healers.

Respect for elders

There should be groups that counsel lovers and parents and their children on how to talk about sex openly.

– comment from OYO respondent

Most respondents (79% of the OYO cohort and 85% of the PS cohort) chose “Agree” to the importance of preserving the tradition of “respect for elders”. Interestingly, amongst the OYO cohort, there was slightly more support for preserving respect for elders from those born or living in urban areas. There is no scope for such comparison in the PS cohort because almost all the respondents were living in an urban area. This finding contradicts the widely-held assumption that urban living is responsible for the breakdown of age-related authority found in traditional societies. It also suggests that elders, because their authority is already recognised by young people, could be an important resource in HIV education and prevention. Talavera (2007) noted that in the past of grandmothers had an important role in instructing young people about sexuality. Whilst many respondents pointed out that the older generation is silent about sexuality, perhaps educational programmes targeting how elders could guide and influence the sexual behaviour of the young could be developed. The chart below shows all of the responses from the OYO cohort broken down by urban/rural birth/residence.

Which traditions are important to preserve?

Respect for elders – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

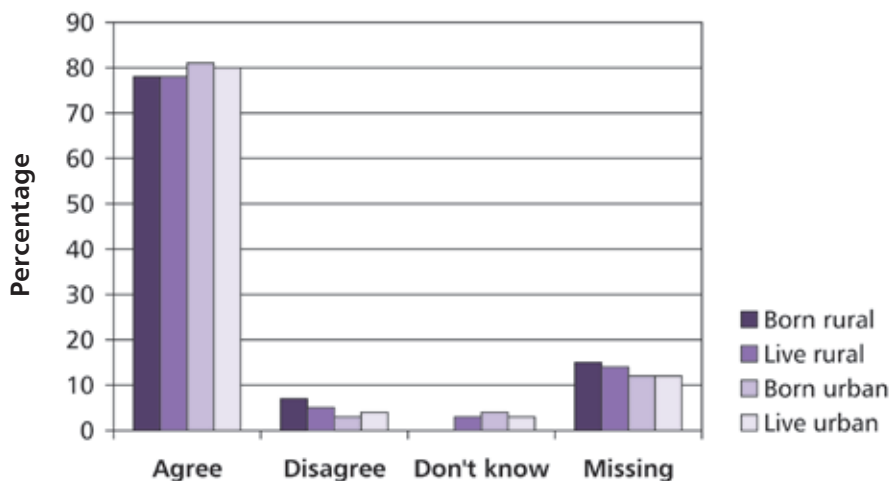


TABLE 26

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?

g. Respect for elders – by urban/rural birth/residence

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Born rural	78%	7%	0%	15%
Live rural	78%	5%	3%	14%
Born urban	81%	3%	4%	12%
Live urban	80%	4%	3%	12%

Male dominance and gender equality

Women and men should not have equal rights. Men should have more rights than women.

– comment from OYO respondent

In Namibia, patriarchal practices have been defended as ‘traditions’ and legal reform such as the Married Persons Equality Act 1 of 1996, which dethroned men as the legal head of the household, were fiercely debated and met much opposition before enactment (Hubbard 2007). A comparison of the answers to questions relating to gender equality from the OYO and PS cohorts reveals noteworthy differences. Preserving the tradition of “Men being head of the household” found little support amongst the PS respondents (26%) whilst almost half of the OYO respondents (46%) agreed that it was an important tradition to preserve. This is most likely due to a higher acceptance of the idea of gender equality and women’s rights amongst the PS cohort which were reflected in their responses throughout the questionnaire.

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?				
j. Men being head of the household				
	Agree	Disagree	Don’t know	Missing
OYO cohort	46%	30%	9%	15%
PS cohort	26%	54%	16%	4%

Why do males have to be head of households?

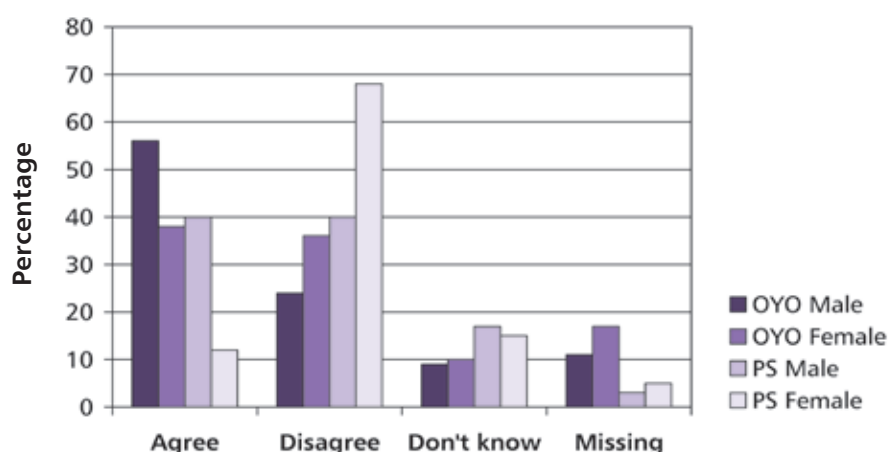
– comment from female OYO respondent

To further explore the tradition/gender/sexuality dynamic of male dominance versus gender equality, the data for question 12j on the importance of preserving the tradition of “Men being head of the household” was analysed by age, sex, ethnicity and urban/rural birth/residence. The charts below illustrate the impact of different variables on support for this cultural belief.

When broken down by sex, the data reveal that almost twice as many PS females disagreed with the preservation of men being head of the household (68%) than OYO females (36%). The difference between the responses of the PS males (40% disagreed with the statement) and the OYO males (29% disagreed with the statement) was not as great.

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?				
j. Men being head of household – by sex				
	Agree	Disagree	Don’t know	Missing
OYO Male	56%	24%	9%	11%
OYO Female	38%	36%	10%	17%
PS Male	40%	40%	17%	3%
PS Female	12%	68%	15%	5%

Which traditions are important to preserve?
Men being head of the household – by sex (OYO cohort)



Age data was analysed only for the OYO cohort because the PS cohort had little variation in age. There was a substantial difference between the responses of the 16-year-olds compared to the 20-year-olds, with the youngest respondents being less likely than the oldest respondents to agree with the statement (35% versus 60%). Perhaps this indicates that gender equality is being more readily embraced by younger Namibians. However, it could also reflect idealism or the desire to be politically correct amongst the younger group.

Which traditions are important to preserve?
Men being head of the household – by age (OYO cohort)

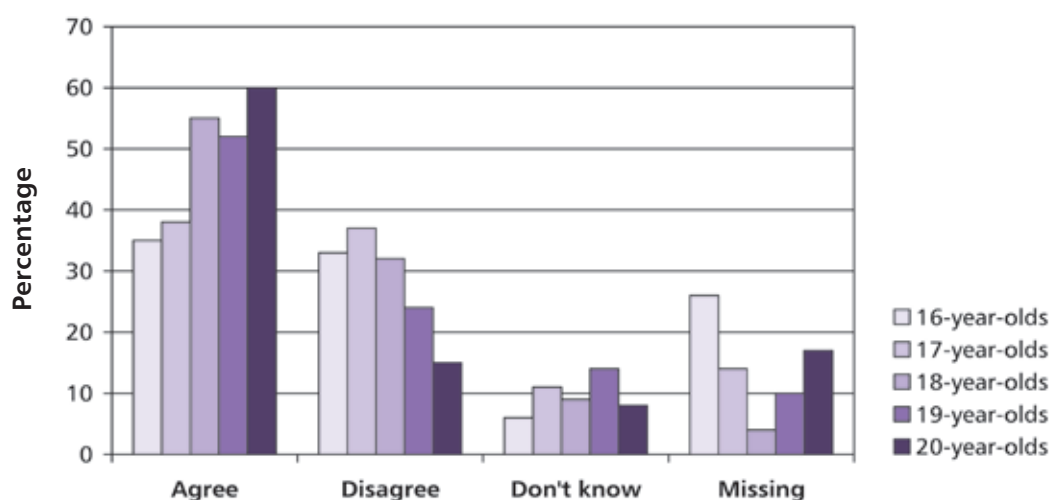


TABLE 29

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?
j. Men being head of the household – by age (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	35%	33%	6%	26%
17-year-olds	38%	37%	11%	14%
18-year-olds	55%	32%	9%	4%
19-year-olds	52%	24%	14%	10%
20-year-olds	60%	15%	8%	17%

When analysing the OYO data using the variable of ethnicity, we found considerable support for preserving men as the head of the household amongst Owambo (48%), Herero (52%) and Himba/Tjimba (53%) respondents. The Damara respondents were the least likely to agree with the statement (36%) and had the most missing data (25%). This may be due to the more egalitarian ideology found amongst the Damara (lKhaxas and Wieringa 2007). However, taking into consideration that the Damara respondents were, on average, younger than respondents from the other ethnic groups, these findings could also be related to age.

Which traditions are important to preserve?
Men being head of the household – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

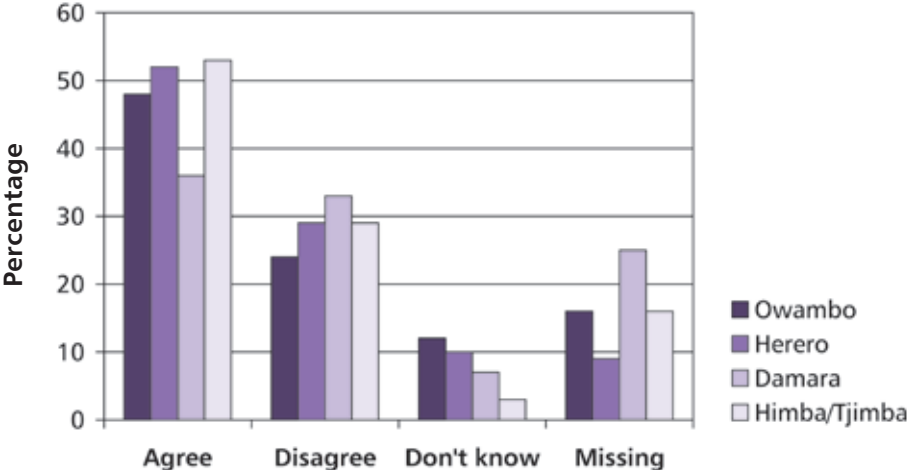


TABLE 30				
12. Which traditions are important to preserve?				
j. Men being head of the household – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	48%	24%	12%	16%
Herero	52%	29%	10%	9%
Damara	36%	33%	7%	25%
Himba/Tjimba	53%	29%	3%	16%

Although there was not much difference between the percentages of the “Agree” responses of those who were living or born in urban areas and those who were living or born in rural areas, there was a larger difference in the percentages of “Disagree”. Only 23% of those born in rural areas and 27% of those living in rural areas disagreed with the statement, whilst 34% of the respondents born in urban areas and 32% of those living in urban area disagreed with the statement. This could indicate a greater sense of gender equality amongst young people exposed to urban life. It should be noted that there was a slightly higher percentage of “Don't know” and missing answers amongst the rural born. Therefore this difference could also be due to an ambiguity or even reading/language issues in this group.

Which traditions are important to preserve?

Men being head of the household – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

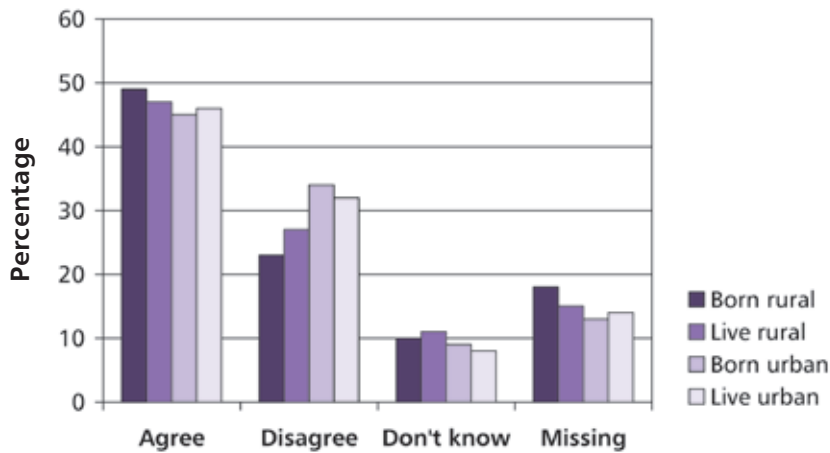


TABLE 31

12. Which traditions are important to preserve?

j. Men being head of the household – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Born rural	49%	23%	10%	18%
Live rural	47%	27%	11%	15%
Born urban	45%	34%	9%	13%
Live urban	46%	32%	8%	14%

Lobola

One custom practiced by many ethnic groups in Namibia that can negatively impact women's sexuality and has contributed to male dominance is *lobola*. The word is Zulu in origin but is used throughout southern Africa to describe bride price. There are many variations to the practice of *lobola* (see Becker and Hinz 1995, LeBeau et al 2004 and LAC 2005 for more detailed descriptions of this custom in Namibia). In the past, *lobola* was commonly paid in the form of cattle and was an indication that a man had wealth and, hence, would be able to support his wife. It was also a gesture of respect and gratitude to the bride's family for raising his future bride and was not necessarily seen as purchasing a bride (Becker and Hinz 1995). Today *lobola* is more often seen as payment for a bride, meaning that the husband and his family have purchased the woman, including her future domestic production and children (LeBeau et al 2004). This relegates wives to a rather powerless position within the family unit, promotes sexual and physical abuse and limits wives' ability to negotiate safer sex.

It is important to note that practice of *lobola* is evolving. *Lobola* has more recently been adopted in areas where it did not exist in the past. For example, in the Kavango, bride service, a custom where the groom is expected to move in with and work for the bride's family, is being replaced with *lobola* (LeBeau et al 2004). In addition, cash and consumer goods are replacing cattle as the preferred form of payment, and as consumer prices increase, so does the cost of *lobola*. This

creates hardships for men who find it is increasingly difficult to accumulate the necessary wealth to marry. This does not mean, however, that they forgo sex or parenthood; hence it contributes to the number of children being born out-of-wedlock, which have been increasing since independence (Pauli 2007).

As the table below reveals, there is not much support for the preservation of *lobola* as a tradition. Both the OYO cohort and PS cohort chose "Don't know" more than any other answer. However the OYO cohort was more likely to choose "Agree" (30%) than the PS cohort (13%).

TABLE 32				
12. Which traditions are important to preserve?				
f. <i>Lobola</i>				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	30%	21%	31%	18%
PS cohort	13%	36%	47%	4%

Answers to this question amongst the OYO cohort when analysed using the variable of urban and rural birth/residence revealed that more respondents residing or born in urban areas "Agree" to preserving *lobola* (33% and 32% respectively) than those living or born in rural areas (25% and 26% respectively).

Most members of Owambo, Herero, Himba/Tjimba communities, and to a lesser extent Damara communities, practice *lobola* in some form. However the preservation of *lobola* did not find wide support amongst these respondents. When analysed by ethnic identity, the percentage of respondents who selected "Agree" amongst the Himba/Tjimba was 37%, 34% amongst the Owambo respondents, 28% amongst the Herero respondents, and 22% amongst the Damara respondents.

Interestingly, both the PS females (17%) and the OYO females (32%) chose "Agree" to preserving *lobola* more frequently than the PS males (9%) and OYO males (28%). This may be because some young women believe that the practice of *lobola* emphasises their worth and formalises their marriages (LeBeau et al 2004). Of course, women are also aware that *lobola* enriches their natal families.

When analysing the OYO data, age also seemed to be a factor regarding the preservation of *lobola*. Whilst only 22% of the OYO 16-year-olds chose "Agree", 49% of the OYO 20-year-olds selected this answer. These findings reinforce findings reported earlier in this report which suggest the younger people may be embracing, or at least want to be seen as embracing, more "modern" ideas.

Education also seemed to be a factor in whether a young person supported the preservation of *lobola*, with increasing education being associated with less agreement with the custom. For example amongst the OYO respondents, 35% of the 10th graders chose "Agree", 27% of the 11th graders chose "Agree", whilst only 23% of the 12th graders selected "Agree". In sum, this data found little support for the practice of *lobola* regardless of sex, ethnic identity, or urban/rural birth/residence.

Polygyny

Polygamy is a problem for woman especially with the high rate of HIV/AIDS.

– comment from OYO respondent

Polygyny is a wide-spread cross-cultural practice which reflects gender inequality. Most cultures in sub-Saharan Africa have allowed men to have more than one wife. In Namibia, polygyny is not allowed in civil unions but most customary marriages are considered to be at least potentially polygamous. Legalisation of civil polygamous marriages has been recently debated in the Namibian Parliament (Lister 2009). The argument pitted those who see polygyny as part of Namibian heritage against those who consider it a violation of human rights and a practice which contributes to gender inequality and the spread of HIV. According to the Demographic and Health Survey of 2006-7, 6% of Namibian women live in polygynous unions and have co-wives (MoHSS 2008). The percentage of women living in polygynous unions was 12% in 2000 so the new figure suggests that the prevalence of this type of union is decreasing (MoHSS 2003). Informal cohabitation may also be replacing formal polygynous unions (Becker and Hinz 1995). Women's age did not seem to be factor in the prevalence of polygyny but rural women were more likely than urban women to live in a polygynous union. The number of co-wives decreased with women's higher levels of education and wealth. Yet the relationship between polygyny and education and wealth amongst men is unclear (MoHSS 2008).

The 2006-7 Demographic and Health Survey revealed that 15% of women aged 15-49 were living with their partners without the benefit of formal marriage (MoHSS 2008). Research from the University of Namibia suggests that polygyny is being replaced by informal 'second house' relationships (Becker and Hinz 1995). Currently there is no legal protection for cohabiting couples so women in these relationships may be more vulnerable than multiple wives, because they lack any form of legal recognition. In addition, in the context of gender inequality in Namibia, some women argue in favour of polygyny because it provides more financial security without so much household work (Stone 2009).

In order to understand how young Namibians view polygyny, we presented the respondents with a series of questions regarding this issue. The questions and answers selected by the OYO and PS cohorts are shown in Table 33 on the next page. In general, there were considerable differences in the responses between the cohorts with the PS cohort strongly disagreeing with all sets of circumstances we presented regarding when a man should marry a second wife.

To determine the gender equality dynamic in regards to polygyny, we presented the respondents with a hypothetical scenario asking "If men are allowed to have more than 1 wife, should women be allowed to have more than 1 husband?" As seen in Table 34 on the next page, there were considerable differences between the OYO and PS respondents' answers.

TABLE 33

13. When should a man marry a second wife?

a. When his 1st wife can't have babies

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	28%	50%	11%	11%
PS cohort	1%	96%	3%	0%

b. When he can afford it

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	33%	39%	16%	13%
PS cohort	5%	90%	5%	0%

c. When his 1st wife is getting old and cannot do her work

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	29%	50%	8%	13%
PS cohort	0%	96%	4%	0%

TABLE 34

14. If men are allowed to have more than 1 wife, should women be allowed to have more than 1 husband?

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	16%	67%	14%	3%
PS cohort	56%	31%	10%	3%

Analysing the data by sex revealed that whilst only 12% of the OYO males and 20% of the OYO females selected "Agree" to this statement, 43% of the PS males and 66% of the PS females chose "Agree". The OYO males were the most likely to disagree with the statement (75%).

If men are allowed to have more than 1 wife, should women be allowed to have more than 1 husband? – by sex

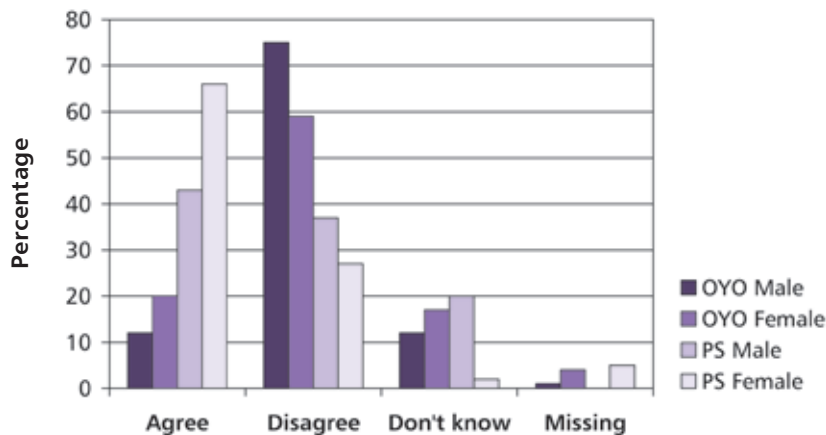


TABLE 35

14. If men are allowed to have more than 1 wife, should women be allowed to have more than 1 husband? – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	12%	75%	12%	1%
OYO Female	20%	59%	17%	4%
PS Male	43%	37%	20%	0%
PS Female	66%	27%	2%	5%

In terms of ethnicity, the responses of Herero respondents were the most conservative with 81% of that cohort disagreeing with the statement. In comparison, 76% of Himba/Tjimba respondents disagreed; 71% of Owambo respondents disagreed; and only 47% of Damara respondents disagreed. Historically, Damara communities have not practiced polygyny to the same extent as other ethnic groups; thus, the difference between their responses and those from the other groups who have and do practice polygyny is not surprising. Living in an urban versus a rural area also seemed to be an influencing factor with 63% of the urban respondents and 77% of the rural respondents selecting "Disagree". Level of education did not seem to play an important role in predicting responses to the statement.

As the chart below illustrates, age was a factor in agreement or disagreement to gender parity in polygamy. There is an inverse relationship to between age and responses; younger respondents were more likely to "Agree" and older respondents were more likely to "Disagree".

One of the more interesting findings with this question and the other questions relating to polygyny is that there were very few missing answers.

If men are allowed to have more than 1 wife, should women be allowed to have more than 1 husband? – by age (OYO cohort)

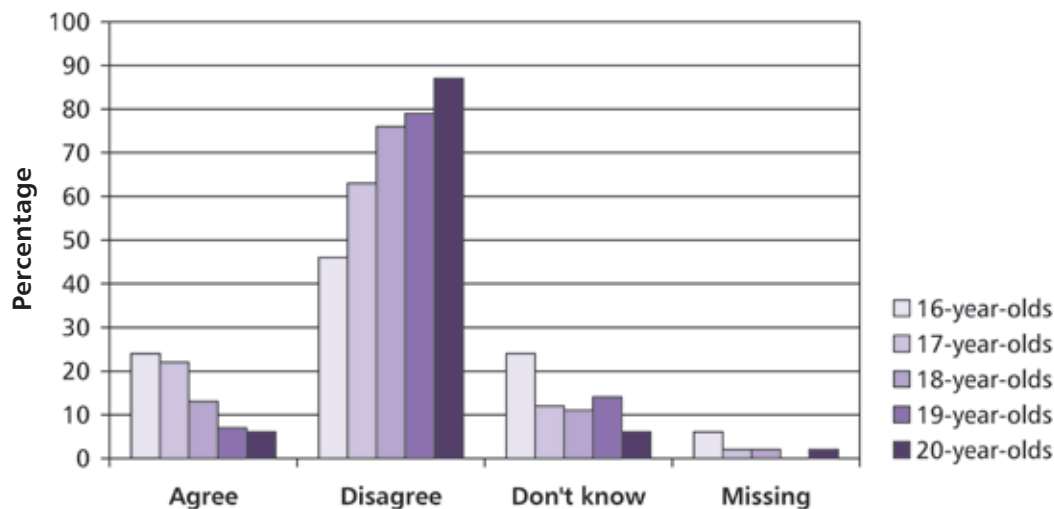


TABLE 36

14. If men are allowed to have more than 1 wife, should women be allowed to have more than 1 husband? – by age (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	24%	46%	24%	6%
17-year-olds	22%	63%	12%	2%
18-year-olds	13%	76%	11%	2%
19-year-olds	7%	79%	14%	0%
20-year-olds	6%	87%	6%	2%

The final question posed regarding polygyny was whether it should or should not be legal. Again, we find differences between the responses of the OYO and PS cohorts. However, the responses to this question and the questions above revealed some ambiguity. It may be that young people believe in allowing some freedom of choice and diversity on traditional issues. The findings are shown below:

TABLE 37

15. Polygamy (having more than one wife) should be against the law

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	46%	37%	15%	2%
PS cohort	72%	16%	12%	0%

When broken down by ethnic group, the answers to this question parallel the findings from the other questions relating to polygyny. The Damara, who do not generally practice polygyny, were most likely to support the idea of abolishing the practice (53%) whilst the Himba/Tjimba were most likely to oppose the abolition of polygyny (50%).

Polygamy (having more than 1 wife) should be against the law – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

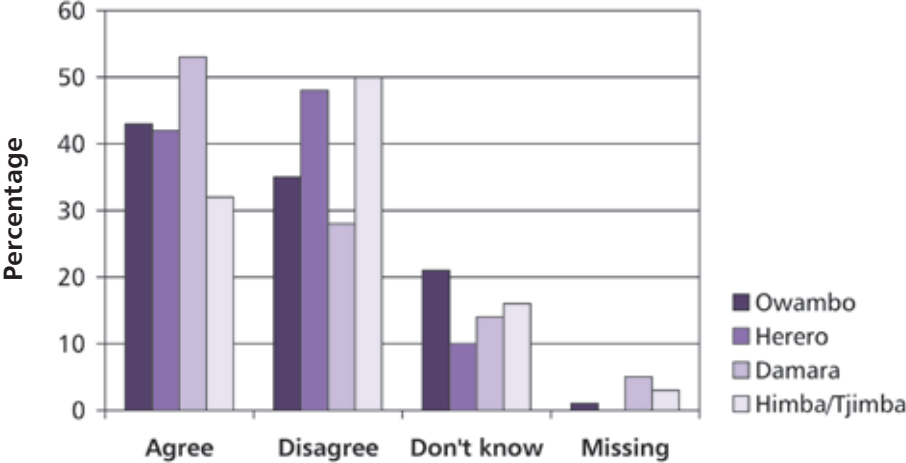


TABLE 38

15. Polygamy should be against the law – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	43%	35%	21%	1%
Herero	42%	48%	10%	0%
Damara	53%	28%	14%	5%
Himba/Tjimba	32%	50%	16%	3%

Age was the biggest factor in the findings about polygyny, with 16-year-olds being much more likely to agree that "having more than one wife" should be against the law (52%) than 20 year olds (28%). The 16-year-olds were also the least likely to disagree (26%) whilst the 20-year-olds were the most likely to disagree with the statement (62%).

Polygamy should be against the law – by age (OYO cohort)

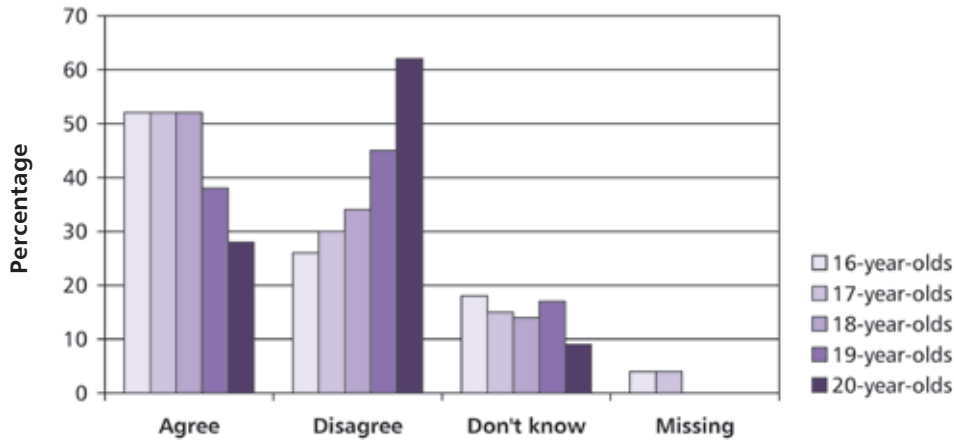


TABLE 39

15. Polygamy should be against the law – by age (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	52%	26%	18%	4%
17-year-olds	52%	30%	15%	4%
18-year-olds	52%	34%	14%	0%
19-year-olds	38%	45%	17%	0%
20-year-olds	28%	62%	9%	0%

Being in, rather than out, of school also had an impact on attitudes towards polygyny. In-school OYO respondents being almost twice as likely (53%) as out-of-school respondents (27%) to agree that polygyny should be against the law. Younger respondents were likely to be in school so what we found here probably reflects a combination of age and education, suggesting that age and education are important factors in embracing issues relating to gender equality.

Polygamy should be against the law – by in or out of school (OYO cohort)

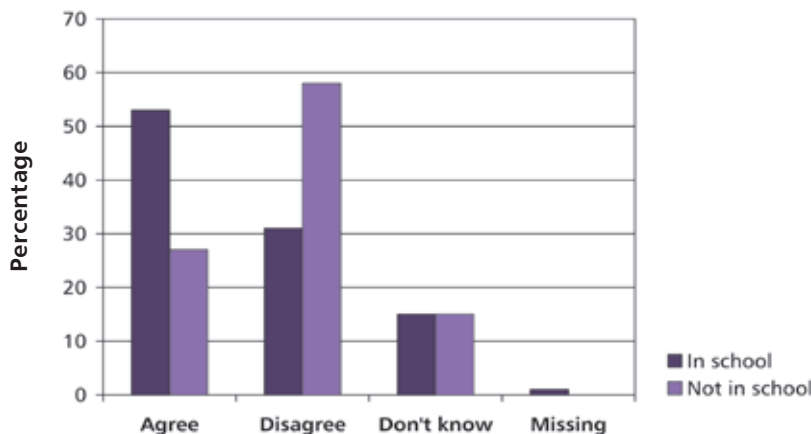


TABLE 40

15. Polygamy should be against the law – by in or out of school (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
In school	53%	31%	15%	1%
Not in school	27%	58%	15%	0%

3. SEXUAL RIGHTS

People should have this kind of questionnaires at school more often as it is important to know what the youth of Namibia think about sexuality and the laws around it.

– comment from PS respondent

Sexual rights, usually understood to include reproductive rights, sexual autonomy and homosexual rights, have not been widely accepted as legitimate components of universal human rights. In fact, sexual rights constitute one of the most contested arenas of human rights throughout much of the world (LaFont 2009). To explore beliefs and attitudes about sexual rights, respondents were asked a variety of questions relating to abortion, sex work and homosexual rights. These are controversial issues in Namibia which have inspired public and legal debate, yet the discourse has not yet led to legal reform.

Abortion

If a girl falls pregnant whilst at school, is it possible for her to get an abortion? This problem may cause her to commit suicide.

– comment from OYO respondent

I think abortion should be legalized because sometimes a person is not ready to be a mother or a father, especially if that person is a learner and doesn't want to leave school. Abortion should be everyone's right. You cannot give birth to a baby when you are not ready, because that baby may end up suffering, and that's not right.

– comment submitted to OYO and published in *OYO, Young, latest and cool*, vol 8, no 6, November-December 2009

Abortion as a sexual rights issue is not even on the agenda in Namibia, although the Ombudsman recently spoke out in favour of re-opening the debate on this topic (Weidlich 2010). A draft Abortion and Sterilisation Bill was floated by government in 1996 but was put on ice before ever being tabled in Parliament due to pressure from church and pro-life groups. Abortion is still criminalised under the colonial-era Abortion and Sterilisation Act 2 of 1975 which was never repealed. This Act allows for legal abortion only under a few limited circumstances: where the pregnancy results from rape or incest (if a police report has been filed or if a woman makes an affidavit convincing the magistrate that there was a reason why she did not report the crime); where the pregnancy endangers the woman's life or constitutes a serious threat to her physical or mental health; or where there is "a serious risk that the child to be born will suffer from a physical or mental defect of such a nature that he will be irreparably seriously handicapped". Obtaining permission to have a legal abortion on any of these grounds is a complicated process which can take a long time – sometimes so long that abortion is no longer an option. Recently it took two months, with the help of LAC, for a 16-year-old rape victim to gain permission for a legal abortion.

Furthermore, economic inequality in Namibia has led to differences in terms of reproductive rights between the rich and the poor. Wealthy women seeking abortions can go to South Africa and receive a safe, legal abortion, whereas poor women who cannot afford to travel are forced to resort to illegal terminations. It is, however, impossible to determine the true extent of illegal or induced abortions in Namibia because unless there are serious complications the incidents go unreported.

“Different ways of aborting e.g. (surgery, morning after pill)”

– topic on which a PS student would like more information

The above comment highlights the interest that young people have in controlling their reproductive lives. Later in the questionnaire, when asked what they would like to know more about, most of the respondents from both cohorts selected pregnancy. Presumably they were interested in how to avoid it, rather than seeking information on fertility, pre-natal care, etc.

TABLE 41				
41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?				
c. Pregnancy				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	60%	20%	4%	16%
PS cohort	64%	25%	6%	5%

Apparently some girls/women in Namibia are terminating unwanted pregnancies on their own. In 2009, InterPress Service (IPS) reported that Misoprostol, a drug officially used to control ulcers but unofficially used to induce abortions, was becoming increasingly popular in Namibia. Although it is a controlled substance, it is allegedly available on the streets in Windhoek and can also be bought illegally at some pharmacies. A reporter from the Namibian newspaper *Informanté* recently went undercover in Khomasdal and was able to purchase the drug for N\$700 (Nyangove and Iileka 2009). Purchasing the pills cost less than an illegal abortion but both methods of terminating pregnancy come with significant health risks.

Dr Richard Kamwi, Minister of Health and Social Services, acknowledges that illegal abortions are a serious health problem. In an interview with IPS, Kamwi commented that, "...increasingly young people resort to unsafe abortion or even commit suicide because of unwanted pregnancy." Sam Ntelamo, Director of the Namibia Planned Parenthood Association, added that baby-dumping and infanticide are growing problems in Namibia (IPS 2009).

The first question about abortion presented a variety of scenarios and queried whether abortion should be allowed under the presented circumstances. What was notable about the findings to the questions regarding rape was that fact the responses from PS and OYO cohorts were similar. This was in contrast to many of the responses to the other questions where the greatest difference was between the two cohorts rather than being attributable to other variables, including sex. The responses of PS cohort suggested that they have a slightly more liberal attitude regarding reproduction rights than the OYO cohort.

We began by addressing abortion rights as they currently exist: "When should a female be allowed to have an abortion? If she has been raped". Whilst the majority of respondents (65% of the OYO cohort and 75% of the PS cohort) agreed that females should be able to have abortions if they are raped, there were still a considerable number of respondents (20% of the OYO cohort and 14% of the PS cohort) who disagreed. One of the OYO respondents asked, "Can someone have an abortion if they were impregnated through rape?" Both OYO and the Legal Assistance Centre are frequently asked this question. Therefore, it is clear that not all Namibians are aware that girls/women have the right to legal abortion in cases of rape.

TABLE 42

16. When should a female be allowed to have an abortion?
a. If she has been raped

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	65%	20%	8%	7%
PS cohort	75%	14%	10%	0%

A common reason for women to terminate unwanted pregnancies is when they cannot afford to have a child. We asked "When should a female be allowed to have an abortion? If she is too poor?" However, poverty as a reason for abortion found little support amongst our respondents. Despite economic hardships, children are highly valued in Namibia. Gockel-Frank (2007) using her ethnographic research in Khorixas explored attitudes towards child-raising, childlessness and the importance of having children, and detailed how reproductive goals have changed over time. She found that women want to have children inside or outside marriage and accept unplanned pregnancy as a fact of life or as her informants put it - "the gift from God". Her findings are supported by our results. Many of the respondents in both cohorts (59% of the OYO cohort and 49% of the PS cohort) selected "Disagree" to allowing abortion due to poverty. Only 19% of the OYO cohort and 34% of PS cohort agreed that finances are a legitimate reason for terminating a pregnancy.

TABLE 43

16. When should a female be allowed to have an abortion?
b. If she is too poor

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	19%	59%	11%	12%
PS cohort	34%	49%	16%	1%

The next question addressed the right to abortion if there is something wrong with the foetus. Although serious physical or mental issues with a foetus are grounds for a legal abortion in Namibia, there is low public awareness about this. The answers from our respondents suggest ambiguity about having an abortion if there is something wrong with the foetus, with only 36% of the OYO cohort and 39% of the PS cohort identifying this as an appropriate reason to terminate a pregnancy. Perhaps these answers highlight the importance of children as "the gift from God" whatever the circumstances.

TABLE 44**16. When should a female be allowed to have an abortion?
c. If there is something wrong with the unborn baby**

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	36%	38%	15%	11%
PS cohort	39%	45%	13%	3%

Another common reason for wanting to terminate a pregnancy is the age of the mother; thus we asked "When should a female be allowed to have an abortion? If she is too young?". There was greater divergence between the two cohort groups on the issue of whether an abortion should be allowed for this reason than with the other scenarios. Only 29% of the OYO cohort agreed that this is a valid reason to have an abortion, whilst the majority (54%) of the PS cohort agreed with the statement. This may be explained by the fact that the PS cohort is deeply invested in their education and many plan to go on to college, thus early childbearing would be viewed as an obstacle to their educational goals. It could also be that early childbearing is more acceptable outside of major urban areas. The 2006-7 Namibia Demographic and Health Survey found that rural teenagers (18%) were more likely than urban teenagers (12%) to have started childbearing and that there was a negative association between with education and wealth, and teenage pregnancy rates.

TABLE 45**16. When should a female be allowed to have an abortion?
e. If she is too young**

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	29%	51%	10%	10%
PS cohort	54%	32%	10%	4%

According to the UN 2009 World Survey of Women, there is evidence of a strong association between poverty and households which rely solely on female earnings. The 2008 Review of Poverty and Inequality in Namibia similarly shows that poverty levels are higher for female-headed-households (CBS 2008).⁵ This is due to a combination of factors: female-headed households often have less access to resources; they are negatively impacted by policies and laws which promote or legitimise gender discrimination; and childcare duties can conflict with income-producing activities. Single mothers are often compelled to work in the informal sector or take low-paying, dead-end, insecure employment, such as the production of handicrafts and domestic work (Moghadam 2005). For example, a recent study of domestic workers in Namibia found that the majority of those surveyed earned less than N\$600 per month (Namukwambi and Sindondola-Mote 2008).

According to the latest Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS 2006-7), 56% of households in Namibia are headed by men (MoHSS 2008). In the 2000 NDHS survey this figure was 53% and 63% in 1992 (MoHSS 2003). The newer survey

⁵ Amongst households headed by females, 30.4% are poor and 15.1% are severely poor. This is higher than for male-headed households where 25.8% and 12.9% are poor and severely poor, respectively.

also showed a corresponding rise in female-headed households, which increased from 31% in 1992 to 44% in 2006-07. Female-headed household are more common in rural areas (47%) than in urban areas (40%).

These figures indicate that many mothers in Namibia shoulder the financial responsibility of their children, although, their annual income is, on average, 50% less than what men earn (Iipinge and Becker 2005). Securing child maintenance payments is notoriously difficult – men deny paternity, many men migrate and connections are lost, and it is difficult to determine a man's income if he works in agriculture or the informal economy (LAC, personal communication). In addition to these problems, the magistrates' courts are understaffed, often located far from rural areas and sometimes staffed by personnel who are insufficiently trained on this issue.⁶

Despite the negative consequences relating to raising children without the financial aid of their fathers, the majority of the respondents from both cohorts (68% of the OYO respondents and 73% of the PS respondents) did not agree that the father's lack of support is a sufficient cause for terminating a pregnancy. In an interesting break from the pattern of the PS cohort's generally greater support for gender equality, a slightly larger percentage of OYO respondents (14%) than PS respondents (8%) agreed that abortion should be allowed if the father will not support the child. This could be because youth from more privileged backgrounds are not so intimately familiar with the stresses of extreme poverty or believe that finances should not influence such decisions. These answers could also suggest that the respondents believe that females should not be pressured into terminating pregnancies because the would-be fathers do not intend on supporting their offspring. This would also explain the increase in "Don't know" answers from the PS cohort (16%).

TABLE 46
16. When should a female be allowed to have an abortion?
f. If the father will not support the child

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	14%	68%	7%	12%
PS cohort	8%	73%	16%	3%

To explore decision-making regarding terminating pregnancies, we asked the respondents who should have the final say on when a woman can have an abortion. Despite the findings above which indicated that most respondents disagreed that lack of financial support from fathers should be a factor in terminating a pregnancy, a meaningful number of the respondents of both cohorts (50% of the OYO cohort and 51% of the PS cohort) answered that the decision to have an abortion should be made by both parties. The major difference between the cohorts was that whilst only 20% of the OYO respondents believed that the

⁶ The Legal Assistance Centre is in the process of conducting research on the implementation of the Maintenance Act 9 of 2003, which will be published in 2011.

decision should be made by the pregnant woman alone, 48% of PS respondents held this view. It is interesting to note that both cohorts manifested a certain type of gender equality in the sense that the largest number of respondents from both groups thought that the mother and the father should make the decision together. Thus these responses could indicate a superficial understanding of "equality" as meaning that men and women should be treated identically regardless of their relative situations. This fits in with the trend in Namibia of men denying women any power or privilege that men do not have equally (eg maternity versus paternity leave and complaints about the name of the Women's Woman and Child Protection Units not being gender-neutral).

TABLE 47

17. Who should have the final say on when a woman can have an abortion?

	The pregnant woman	The man who impregnated the woman	They should make the decision together	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	20%	4%	50%	25%	2%
PS cohort	48%	0%	51%	1%	0%

When broken-down by sex, responses for support for the pregnant woman having the final say were similar amongst the PS males and females (46% and 51% respectively), whilst the OYO males were less likely to chose this option (15%) than the OYO females (24%). The percentage of "Don't know" responses for this question were the same for both the OYO males and OYO females (25%).

"Should abortion and prostitution be legalised in Namibia?"

– a question written by one of the OYO respondents

The final question about reproductive rights explored whether there was support for legal reform. Respondents were asked if abortion should be legal in Namibia. It should be noted that the wording of the question did not allow for any qualifications on legal liberalisation, for example allowing terminations only up to a certain point in the pregnancy.

The responses to this question varied by cohort and by other variables. There was more support for legalisation amongst the PS cohort (62%) than amongst the OYO cohort (28%). The lack of missing data for this question indicates that the respondents wanted to weigh in on this issue. However, the percentage of "Don't know" answers (17%) from the OYO cohort also suggests ambiguity. As we have seen and will continue to see, the PS cohort consistently chose more answers generally supportive the idea of sexual rights.

Table 48

18. Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by sex

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	28%	53%	17%	1%
PS cohort	62%	27%	10%	0%

When broken-down by sex, it is clear that the major difference regarding legal reform was between the two cohorts rather than by sex. However, the males from both cohorts were more likely to chose "No" (59% of the OYO males and 31% of the PS males) than their female counterparts (49% of the OYO females and 24% of the PS females).

Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by sex

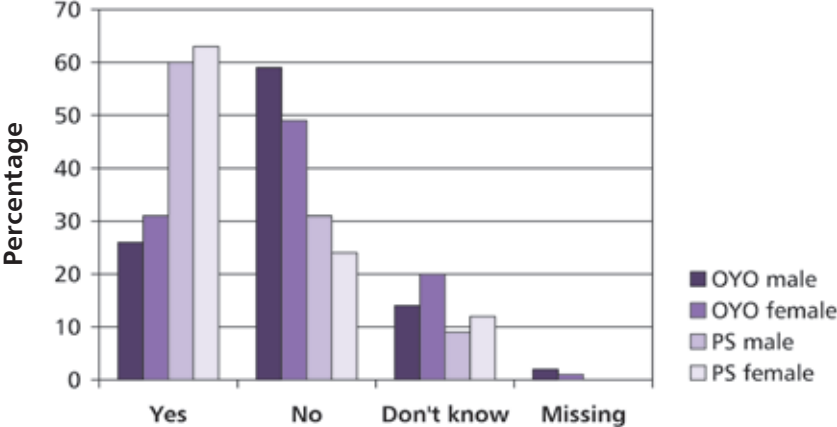
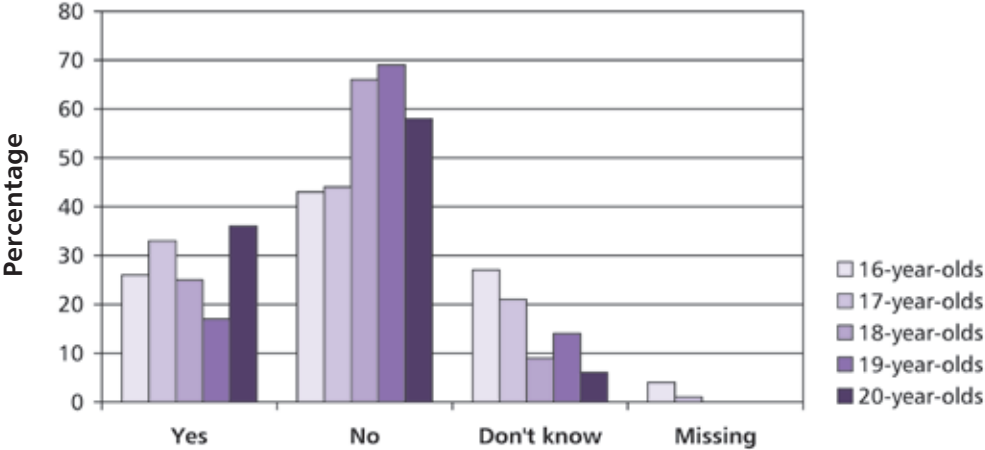


Table 49
18. Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by sex

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO male	26%	59%	14%	2%
OYO female	31%	49%	20%	1%
PS male	60%	31%	9%	0%
PS female	63%	24%	12%	0%

Amongst the OYO cohort, age seemed to be an important variable. The findings show almost an inverse relation between age and support for the continued criminalisation of abortion, with rising percentages of 16-year-olds (43%), 17-year-olds (44%), 18-year-olds (66%), 19-year-olds (69%) and 20-year-olds (58%) choosing "No" to legal reform. However, low percentages against legal reform did not necessary translate into high percentages supporting legal reform, as the youngest cohorts had a greater number of "Don't know" responses (27%). See the following chart.

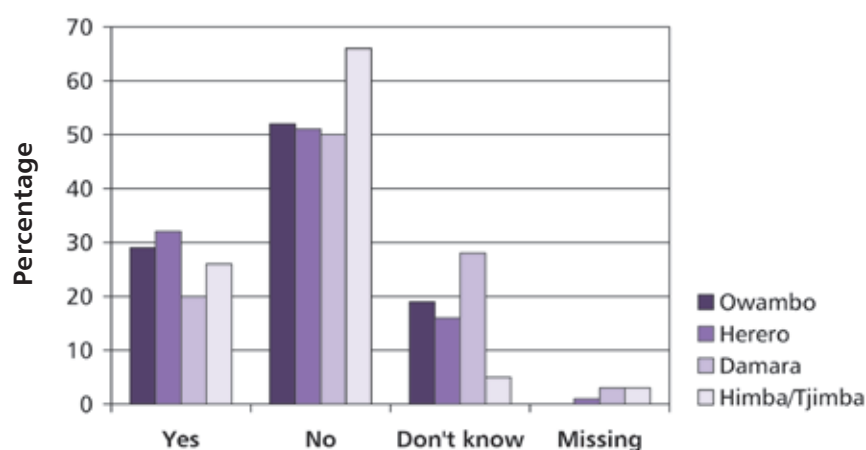
Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by age (OYO cohort)



18. Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by age (OYO cohort)				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	26%	43%	27%	4%
17-year-olds	33%	44%	21%	1%
18-year-olds	25%	66%	9%	0%
19-year-olds	17%	69%	14%	0%
20-year-olds	36%	58%	6%	0%

Responses of the OYO cohort analysed by ethnic identity reveal some variations. Whilst 29% of the Owambo respondents, 32% of the Herero respondents, 20% of the Damara respondents, and 26% of the Himba/Tjimba respondents selected "Yes" to the statement, the largest difference was between the percentages of "No" answers from the Damara respondents (50%) and the Himba/Tjimba respondents (66%). However, it should be noted that the Damara respondents had a higher number of "Don't know" responses (28%). The reasons for these differences may reflect the Himba/Tjimba communities' more traditional way of life, whilst the Damara respondents' "Don't know" answers may reflect an ambiguity relating to their more egalitarian ideology (IKhaxas and Wieringa 2007).

Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)



18. Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	29%	52%	19%	0%
Herero	32%	51%	16%	1%
Damara	20%	50%	28%	3%
Himba/Tjimba	26%	66%	5%	3%

Urban/rural birth/residence did not seem to be a factor in influencing support for legal reform on abortion. The chart below illustrates that the responses were fairly stable across the board.

Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

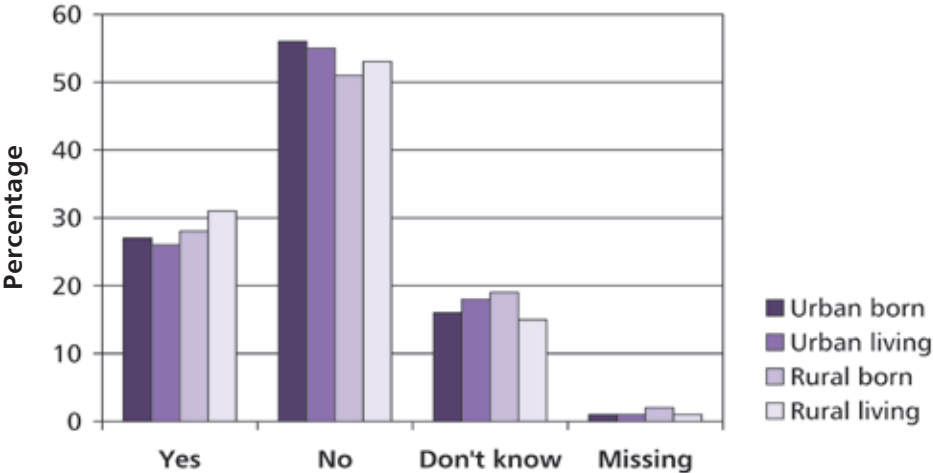


Table 52
18. Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
Urban born	27%	56%	16%	1%
Urban living	26%	55%	18%	1%
Rural born	28%	51%	19%	2%
Rural living	31%	53%	15%	1%

Although the responses amongst the OYO cohort show variations based on level of education, there were no clear-cut patterns. As noted earlier, the grade 8 cohort responses may reflect issues pertaining to reading/language skills.

Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by level of education (OYO cohort)

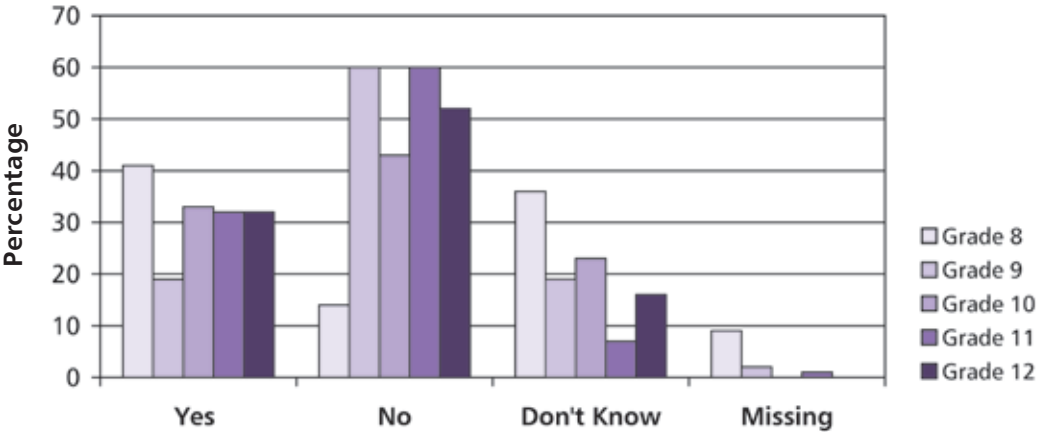


Table 53
18. Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by level of education (OYO cohort)

	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Yes	41%	19%	33%	32%	32%
No	14%	60%	43%	60%	52%
Don't know	36%	19%	23%	7%	16%
Missing	9%	2%	0%	1%	0%

In sum, abortion is a controversial issue in Namibia. There was support for the right of women to terminate their pregnancies if they are raped, but less support was reported for abortion rights under different circumstances, with the exception of PS cohort (54%) agreeing that a woman should be able to have an abortion if she becomes pregnant at a young age. Although few respondents agreed that a woman should be able to have an abortion if the father will not support the child, many agreed that the decision to have an abortion should be made jointly by both parties. In terms of outright legalisation, responses of the PS cohort (62% agreed with legalisation) differed dramatically from the OYO cohort's responses (28% agreed with legalisation). This again suggests that living in a privileged environment in Windhoek was the greatest factor regarding liberalisation of reproductive rights. Factors such as increased economic stability and greater access to information (about rights and about career and lifestyle options) are likely to be contributing factors in shaping the opinions of the PS youth. Although amongst the OYO cohort support for continued criminalisation seems to cut across sex, ethnic identity, urban/rural birth/residence, and educational attainment, the fact that 45% of the OYO respondents either supported legal reform or selected "Don't know" suggests that young people may be more open than older people to reconsidering women's reproductive rights.

Sex work

Why do young people sell their bodies to have sex?

– question from focus group participant

Being a prostitute is good because you can be bought for up to N\$500. If you save you be able to afford to buy a comfortable house, a cellphone or even a car. I heard of a girl who went to Windhoek to sell herself and when she came back she bought a house in Opuwo, a TV and a DVD. She was protecting herself by using condoms, and she is not infected with HIV. You can go on with prostitution.

– comment submitted to OYO and published in
OYO, Young, latest and cool, vol 6, no 5, October 2007

In Namibia, soliciting sex, pandering (arranging sexual partners for other people), and keeping a brothel are criminalised under the Combating of Immoral Practices Act 21 of 1980. The law is sex-specific, mentioning women but not men as those who potentially sell sex; furthermore, although some criminal provisions could in theory be applied to both sex workers and their clients, in practice there is no indication that clients are ever charged under the law. Commercial sex work is not as common as other forms of transactional or exchange-sex, which will be discussed later in this report, and there is certainly a lot of grey area regarding situations under which Namibians engage in sex for money and goods. Given the illegality of sex work and the stigma attached to it, it is unknown how many women and men are engaged in commercial sex work (see Lorway 2007 for a discussion of male sex workers in Windhoek).

The largest and most comprehensive research on sex work in Namibia was conducted by the Gender Research and Advocacy Project of the LAC. The findings were published in a report entitled *“Whose Body is it?: Commercial Sex Work and the Law in Namibia (2002).* Of the 148 sex workers interviewed, 67% supported the legalisation of sex work in Namibia. In LaFont's (2008) more current research, 87% of the sex workers interviewed in Katutura believed that sex work should be made legal. In contrast, 70% of the 315 Namibians who participated in LAC's random telephone survey believed that sex work should remain illegal.

Many of the OYO cohort (45%) and most of the PS cohort (61%) selected “Yes” to the question “Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money?” This could be interpreted as a contradiction to the generally more liberal answers given by the PS cohort. However, religion may be a factor in that PS is a religious-based school. Nevertheless, with 52% of the OYO cohort and 39% of the PS cohort, selecting “No” or “Don't know”, our findings suggest that young Namibians are not as clearly against decriminalisation as the presumably older LAC telephone survey sample. However, it should be noted that the wording of the question leaves room for interpretation. We purposely avoided using the labels “prostitution” and “sex worker” and decided to broaden the issue to exchanging sex for money. Thus, when reviewing the data it is important to consider that some of the respondents may have believed that “exchange sex for money” included a variety of transactional relationships at different points along a spectrum.

TABLE 54

24. Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money?

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	45%	37%	15%	4%
PS cohort	61%	27%	12%	0%

The sex of the respondents was a factor regarding attitudes towards exchanging sex for money. Males from both cohorts (OYO males, 39% and PS males, 49%) were less likely to select “Yes” to this question than their female counterparts (OYO females, 50% and PS females, 73%). Males were also more likely to chose “No” (OYO males, 41% and PS males, 31%) than their female counterparts (OYO females, 31% and PS females, 22%). The lack of missing answers suggests that respondents wanted to weigh in on the issue with definite opinions, but there was a noteworthy lack of consensus. The exception here was the PS females, most of whom (73%) showed support for the existing criminalisation. The PS females have been consistently the most liberal of the sub-cohorts on other questions; however sex work is widely believed to degrading to women and has not been supported by mainstream feminism which has an uneasy relationship with exchanging sex for money. Therefore, the answers of the PS females may reflect their religious background or this line of thinking.

Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money? – by sex

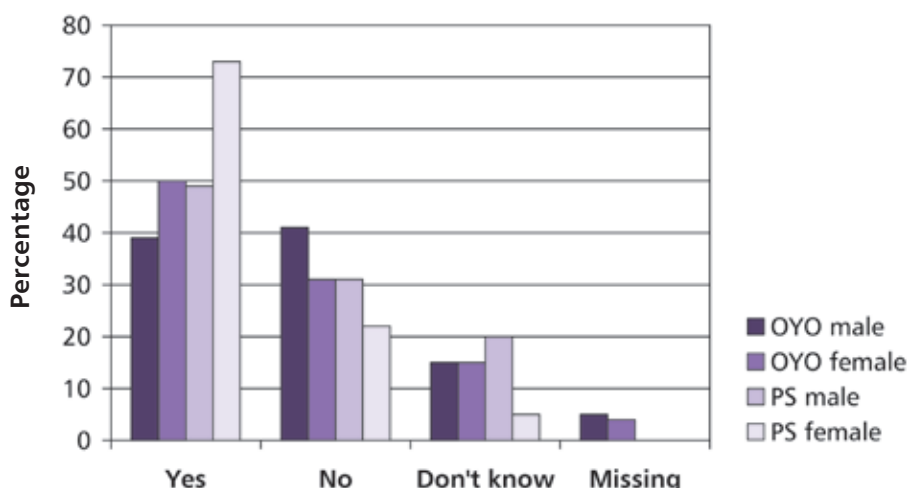


TABLE 55

24. Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money? – by sex

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO male	39%	41%	15%	5%
OYO female	50%	31%	15%	4%
PS male	49%	31%	20%	0%
PS female	73%	22%	5%	0%

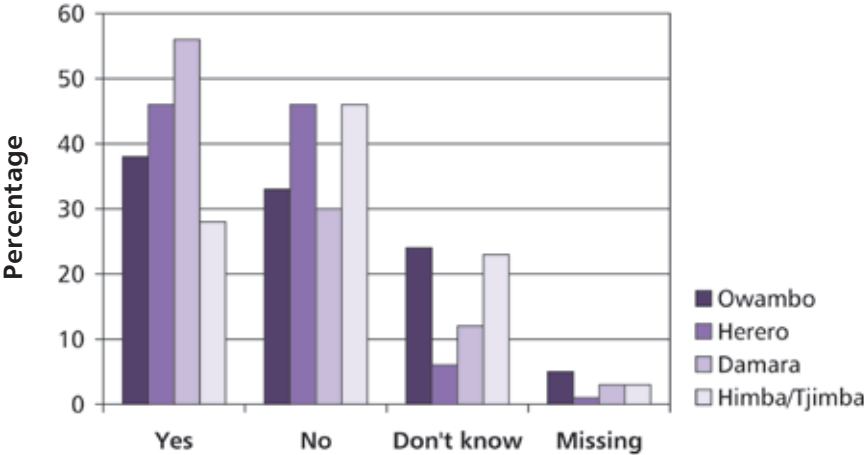
The chart below illustrates the differences in the responses of the OYO cohort to this question using the variable of ethnic identity. Although 38% of the Owambo respondents chose "Yes" to "Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money?" The number of "No" (33%) and "Don't know" (24%) answers suggests that there was little consensus amongst this sub-cohort. The Herero respondents were equally divided in selecting "Yes" (46%) and "No" (46%) and had a small number of "Don't know" and missing answers (6% and 1% respectively), implying strong opinions but little agreement. The answers of the Damara respondents (56% chose "Yes", whilst 30% chose "No") signified the greatest support for the continued criminalisation of sex work. In contrast, the answers of the Himba/Tjimba respondents suggest some support for decriminalisation (46% chose "No"). They were also the least likely to chose "Yes" (28%). There appears to be a trend amongst the Himba/Tjimba responses seen throughout this report, which suggest a greater sexual openness than the other ethnic groups. Having said this, the percentage of "Don't know" answers (23%) amongst the Himba/Tjimba respondents suggests some ambiguity on this issue.

TABLE 56

24. Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money? – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	38%	33%	24%	5%
Herero	46%	46%	6%	1%
Damara	56%	30%	12%	3%
Himba/Tjimba	28%	46%	23%	3%

Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money? – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)



When analysing the urban/rural birth/residence variables, we found that the respondents who reported urban birth or residence were less likely to support legal reform (47% of the urban born and 50% of those residing in urban areas selected "Yes") than those respondents who claimed rural birth (40%) and rural residence (33%). There were, however, higher percentages of "Don't know" and missing answers amongst the rural birth/residence sub-cohort, making it difficult to draw conclusions. It could be that those living in a urban area see the problems associated with sex work and believe decriminalisation would increase these problems.

Should abortion be legal in Namibia? – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

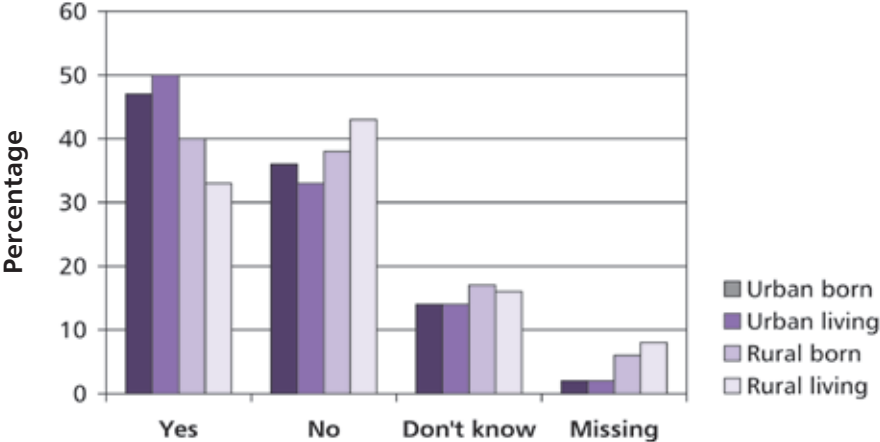


TABLE 57				
24. Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money? – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
Urban born	47%	36%	14%	2%
Urban living	50%	33%	14%	2%
Rural born	40%	38%	17%	6%
Rural living	33%	43%	16%	8%

Amongst the OYO cohort, age or grade at school did not seem to a factor influencing attitudes towards sex work in any predictable way. In addition, being

in school (46% chose "Yes") or being out of school (43% chose "Yes"), also did not appear to be a factor.

TABLE 58

24. Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money? – by level of education (OYO cohort)

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
Grade 8	43%	43%	9%	4%
Grade 9	48%	29%	13%	10%
Grade 10	42%	40%	19%	0%
Grade 11	55%	36%	5%	4%
Grade 12	36%	40%	20%	4%

TABLE 59

24. Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money? – by age (OYO cohort)

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	57%	32%	7%	3%
17-year-olds	46%	35%	15%	5%
18-year-olds	29%	52%	14%	5%
19-year-olds	50%	29%	19%	2%
20-year-olds	36%	38%	25%	2%

Our findings suggest that the decriminalisation of sex work has some support amongst young people in Namibia. The charts reveal that there were very few missing answers for this question which indicates strong opinions on the issue. In what could initially be seen as a reverse of the findings elsewhere in this report, the OYO cohort (37%) demonstrated a stronger support for the liberalisation of sex work than the PS cohort (27%). As mentioned earlier, this may reflect religious conservatism amongst the PS cohort or the belief that sex work is inherently degrading to women. Whilst there is truth in this belief, criminalisation has failed to eradicate sex work and by forcing sex work underground, it hinders sex workers from being able to seek legal redress in cases of rape, violence and robbery (Arnott and Crago 2009).

In fact, the dynamic between high HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in Namibia and sex work is multi-dimensional. HIV-related illness and AIDS deaths disproportionately impact women who traditionally assume the role of caretaker. Increased poverty follows as household breadwinners become sick or die and female survivors are expected to take in the children of their kin who have died or can no longer care for them (Edwards 2007). When they are most in need of more income, their ability to sustain employment diminishes. Transactional sex and sex work provide much needed revenue but rarely translate into economic security. For example, when LaFont (2008) interviewed 65 self-identified sex workers in the township of Katutura, many of them admitted that they had sexual intercourse for as little as N\$20 and N\$10, explaining that they accepted such small fees because they or their children were hungry. Poverty also negatively impacts the ability of sex workers to demand condom use, hence putting them at greater risk of contracting HIV and other sexual transmitted infections (STIs) (Keulder and LeBeau 2006).

LeBeau's (2007) research with Namibian sex workers found that those who earn more money are able to demand condom use from their clients and/or partners, whereas impoverished sex workers who work in areas where there is high competition for clients are less likely to be able to negotiate safer sex practices. She concluded that in order to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS, sex workers need programmes which focus on educating sex workers about their rights and empowering them to assert those rights.

LAC (2002), LeBeau (2007), and LaFont (2008) all advocate the decriminalisation of sex work which is seen as crucial in providing legal protection against abuse and empowering sex workers to better negotiate the use of condoms. However, the move to decriminalise sex work in Namibia has been met with strong resistance by government and church organisations.

Gay and lesbian rights

Do females who have sex with other females get sexual feelings? If some get sexual feelings from both males and females what must they do?

– question from OYO respondent

What makes it that you are in love with a boy whilst you are a boy or a girl whilst you are a girl?

– question from focus group participant

What makes a person to be a homosexual? What is in the person that makes a person to be like that?

– question from focus group participant

As evidenced by the questions above, young people in Namibia are curious about homosexuality. Out of the 68 responses to the question, "Do you have any comments or questions?", nine of the questions (13%) related to homosexuality. To put this in context, nine was the largest number of questions asked about any single topic and only homosexuality and STI/HIV garnered this number. The chart below shows the response for question 41 "With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about? Homosexuality". The OYO cohort seemed more interested in this topic and the greatest difference between the cohorts was in the percentages of the "No" answers (22% of the OYO respondents and 46% of the PS respondents did not want to know more about homosexuality).

TABLE 60				
41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?				
d. Homosexuality				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	56%	22%	6%	16%
PS cohort	43%	46%	6%	5%

When we look at the data using the sex of the respondents as a variable, it becomes clear that the difference in the answers from the cohorts primarily comes from the answers of the PS males, 66% who chose "No". This is in sharp contrast to the other groups of which the majority of respondents chose "Yes" (52% of OYO males, 59% of OYO females and 63% of PS females). Throughout this section the PS males indicated more disapproval towards the rights of male homosexuals than PS females. As we will see, they were more supportive of lesbian rights. This may reflect a more "modern" form of male homophobia as seen in the West (Jennings 2007).

With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about? – by sex
Homosexuality

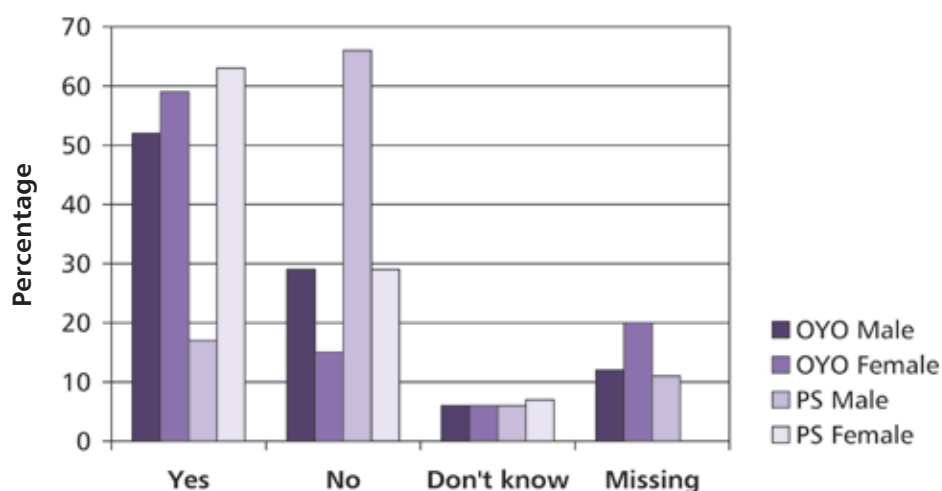


TABLE 61

41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about? – by sex
d. Homosexuality

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	52%	29%	6%	12%
OYO Female	59%	15%	6%	20%
PS Male	17%	66%	6%	11%
PS Female	63%	29%	7%	0%

It is not surprising that young people wish to know more about homosexuality. They receive mixed messages from politicians, church leaders and human rights groups, and there seems to be confusion over which aspects of homosexuality are criminalised. Currently "sodomy" and "unnatural sexual offences" are common-law crimes which criminalise only sexual contact between men. The definition of sodomy has been narrowed to include only male/male anal sex (Hubbard 2000). Therefore, it is not illegal to be a homosexual in Namibia and there are no laws regarding lesbian sexual activity. Despite this, many Namibians, including politicians, claim that homosexuality itself is illegal. For example, in March 2001, Sam Nujoma, who was the President as that time, told university students, "The Republic of Namibia does not allow homosexuality, lesbianism here. Police are ordered to arrest you, and deport you and imprison you too" (HRW 2003).

The move to reform sodomy laws and protect the rights of lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender (LGBT) people has been met with stiff resistance from church organisations and the government. The discourse has focused on homosexuality as a foreign evil, un-African and sinful by those who are hostile to the gay rights movement, whilst supporters argue that inclusion, tolerance and human rights are important to democracy.

In October 2009, at a forum which was part of the Women Claiming Citizenship Campaign, several Namibian political parties revealed their position on homosexuality with most of them taking the stance that the human rights of everyone, regardless of sexual orientation, should be recognised. However, SWAPO, which is by far the most powerful political party in the country, did not send any of their representatives to participate in the forum. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), the Republican Party of Namibia (RP) and Democratic Party of Namibia (DPN) also declined participation (Shejavali 2009).

The Owambo politicians who dominate SWAPO have been at the forefront of state-sponsored gay-hate rhetoric. Verbal attacks have come in waves and from the upper echelons of the government beginning in 1996 when President Nujoma exclaimed that, "Homosexuals must be condemned and rejected in our society". The verbal attacks by politicians continue – in 2005, on Heroes Day, Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and Immigration Theopolina Mushelenga gave a speech blaming gays for the HIV/AIDS pandemic (IGLHRC 2005).

The Rainbow Project ("trp"), formed in February 1997, remains the only organisation solely focusing on the rights of LGBT people, although it has been supported by several other NGOs such as Sister Namibia and LAC (Titus 1999). In 2006 Ian Swartz, the head of "trp", explained to me that although the organisation has a large mailing list and some financial support from its members, many gays and lesbians are afraid to come out of the closet.

In 2001, the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) released a press statement which "rejected any form of discrimination based on sexual orientation" (IRIN 2001). The statement, whilst encouraging, did not end the debate within the church nor was it embraced by all of its members. The church continues to be a powerful institution in Namibia and many Namibians believe that homosexuality is a sin (lKhaxas and Wieringa 2007).

God created sex for marriage so that two bodies can become one. We should forget people's feeling and being politically correct...God created Adam and Eve not Adam and Steve.

– comment from PS respondent

We asked our respondents a series of questions relating to homosexual rights. To explore specific attitudes towards this issue, respondents were presented with three scenarios asking them to agree or disagree with the statements "It is a sin",

"It is against the law" and "It is no one's business". We asked parallel questions regarding females who have sex with females (FSF) and men who have sex with men (MSM) to see if one sex's homosexuality was more accepted than the other. The charts below are arranged to highlight these differences. Because religion is often invoked to condemn homosexuality, we began by asking our respondents if they thought homosexuality was a sin. Whilst most respondents did not disagree with this statement, the considerable amount of "Don't know" and missing answers suggested some ambivalence. Also, as predicted, there was a difference relating to the sex of the respondents, with fewer respondents of both cohorts agreeing that it was a sin for women to have sex with women than for men to have sex with men.

TABLE 62				
25. If a female has sex with another female...				
a. It is a sin.				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	48%	20%	20%	12%
PS cohort	38%	34%	23%	5%

TABLE 63				
27. If a male has sex with another male...				
a. It is a sin.				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	53%	17%	19%	12%
PS cohort	58%	23%	14%	5%

To ascertain knowledge relating to the laws about homosexuality, we asked if FSF and/or MSM sex was against the law. As mentioned earlier there seems to be confusion about what is illegal and our respondents' answers reflect this uncertainty. Although some respondents believed that FSF is illegal, a large number of the respondents did not know and or did not answer the question. Regarding MSM, despite all of the state-sponsored homophobia, most respondents did not think it was illegal for men to have sex with each other.

TABLE 64				
25. If a female has sex with another female...				
b. It is against the law.				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	35%	30%	25%	10%
PS cohort	8%	60%	27%	5%

TABLE 65				
27. If a male has sex with another male...				
b. It is against the law.				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	41%	25%	23%	11%
PS cohort	23%	49%	22%	6%

In order to explore how young people think about homosexuality in terms of it being a private issue as opposed to something that needs to be "policed", we asked if the issue of FSF and MSM was "no one's business". The majority of the PS cohort agreed with these statements, although more indicated that FSF was "no one's business" than MSM. The OYO cohort was more evenly divided on both FSF and MSM, but with a larger number of "Don't know" and missing answers, reflecting a degree of uncertainty on this point.

TABLE 66

**25. If a female has sex with another female...
c. It is no one's business.**

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	36%	33%	17%	14%
PS cohort	82%	8%	10%	0%

TABLE 67

**27. If a male has sex with another male...
c. It is no one's business.**

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	34%	35%	16%	14%
PS cohort	71%	18%	10%	1%

When analysing the data using the variable of sex, we found that, with the exception of the PS males, most respondents chose the same answer of "no one's business" for FSF and MSM. However whilst 83% of the PS males chose "Agree" to FSF being "no one's business", only 57% chose this answer for MSM. This variance of greater acceptance of lesbian versus gay rights was a constant in the responses amongst the PS males. The responses of the OYO cohort were less influenced by the sex of the respondents.

If a female has sex with another female: It is no one's business – by sex

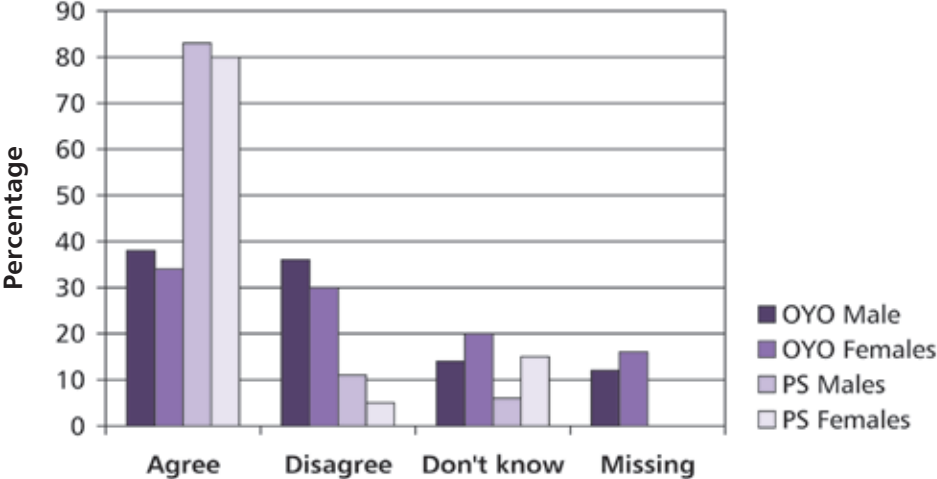


TABLE 68				
25c. If a female has sex with another female: It is no one's business – by sex				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	38%	36%	14%	12%
OYO Females	34%	30%	20%	16%
PS Males	83%	11%	6%	0%
PS Females	80%	5%	15%	0%

If a male has sex with another male: It is no one's business – by sex

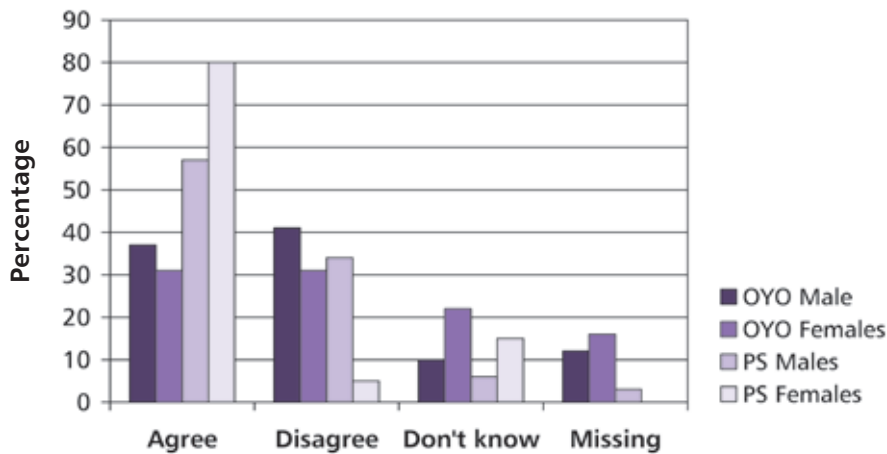


TABLE 69				
27c. If a male has sex with another male: It is no one's business – by sex				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	37%	41%	10%	12%
OYO Females	31%	31%	22%	16%
PS Males	57%	34%	6%	3%
PS Females	80%	5%	15%	0%

Ultimately, we were most interested in how young people felt about legal reform and protection of homosexuals from discrimination. Thus, we asked if lesbian and gay rights should be protected by the law. Terminologically the distinction "lesbians" and "gays" may not have been readily apparent to our respondents. However the fact that there were differences in the answer, with greater support being shown for lesbian rights, indicates that the terms were understood by most respondents.

Homosexual rights in general were supported more strongly by the PS cohort and lesbian rights found more support than gay rights across the board. This is similar to attitudes in the West, where lesbianism finds greater acceptance than male homosexuality (Jennings 2007). Although as Jennings notes, only androgynous or attractive lesbians enjoy popular acceptance in the West. There is however cross-cultural variation, for example in Jamaica lesbians and gays face rather equal (and fierce) discrimination (LaFont 2009). In India, lesbians face greater discrimination than their male counterparts, primarily because women's lack of autonomy inhibits their freedom of sexual expression (Sharma 2006).

Although the majority of the PS cohort agreed that homosexual rights should be protected, a substantial number also chose "Disagree" or "Don't know". The answers from the OYO cohort were more varied with a higher percentage of respondents choosing "Disagree". Yet again, the number of "Agree", "Don't know" and missing answers suggests that there is no clear consensus on this issue.

TABLE 70

26. Lesbian rights should be protected by the law

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	34%	38%	21%	7%
PS cohort	62%	13%	25%	0%

TABLE 71

28. Gay rights should be protected by the law

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	31%	45%	19%	5%
PS cohort	53%	29%	18%	0%

Due to the importance of this question, we analysed the data using other variables. When looking at the breakdown by sex, the most interesting difference between the answers was the relatively high percentage of PS males (63%) who supported lesbian rights compared to the smaller percentage supporting gay rights (43%). This indicates a departure from the trend in the answers of the PS cohort being more liberal and politically correct. Taken with the above data indicating that PS boys were not interested in knowing more about homosexuality, this suggests a tendency towards prejudice against MSM. In contrast, the answers from the PS females were identical for the support of lesbian and gay rights (61%). The OYO males showed the least support of lesbian rights (28%) and gay rights (29%), without making gender distinctions in their disapproval, although there was a gender dimension in their level of disagreement with support for lesbian rights for women (44%) compared to their level of disagreement with support for gay rights for men (52%). The answers from the OYO females (40% supporting lesbian rights and 34% supporting gay rights) also indicated a slightly higher disapproval of gay rights over lesbian rights.

Lesbian rights should be protected by the law – by sex

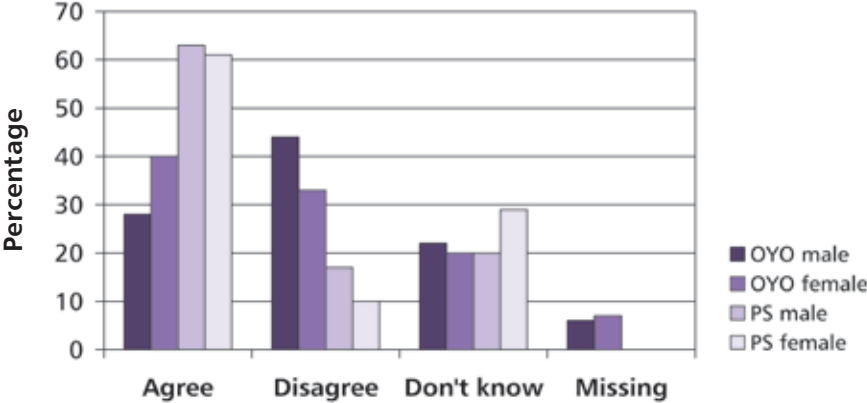


TABLE 72

26. Lesbian rights should be protected by the law – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO male	28%	44%	22%	6%
OYO female	40%	33%	20%	7%
PS male	63%	17%	20%	0%
PS female	61%	10%	29%	0%

Gay rights should be protected by the law – by sex

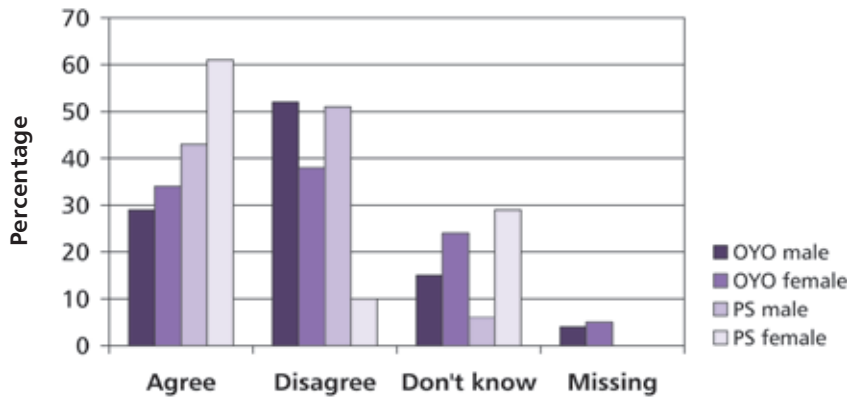


TABLE 73

28. Gay rights should be protected by the law – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO male	29%	52%	15%	4%
OYO female	34%	38%	24%	5%
PS male	43%	51%	6%	0%
PS female	61%	10%	29%	0%

When looking at age as a variable amongst the OYO cohort, lesbian rights found greater support than gay rights, especially amongst the 19- and 20-year-olds. The most meaningful finding here is that in general, the younger the respondents, the more likely they were to support both lesbian and gay rights. This suggests that younger people are more open to legal reform on sexual rights than their older counterparts.

Lesbian rights should be protected by the law – by age (OYO cohort)

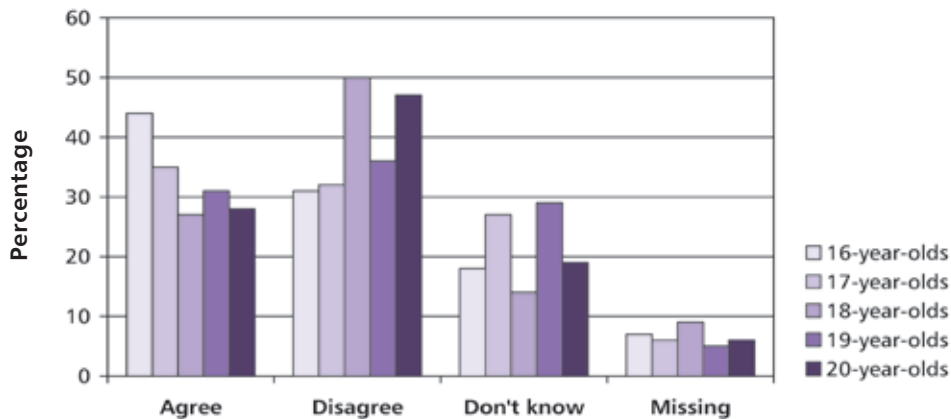


TABLE 74

26. Lesbian's rights should be protected by the law – by age (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	44%	31%	18%	7%
17-year-olds	35%	32%	27%	6%
18-year-olds	27%	50%	14%	9%
19-year-olds	31%	36%	29%	5%
20-year-olds	28%	47%	19%	6%

Gay rights should be protected by the law – by age (OYO cohort)

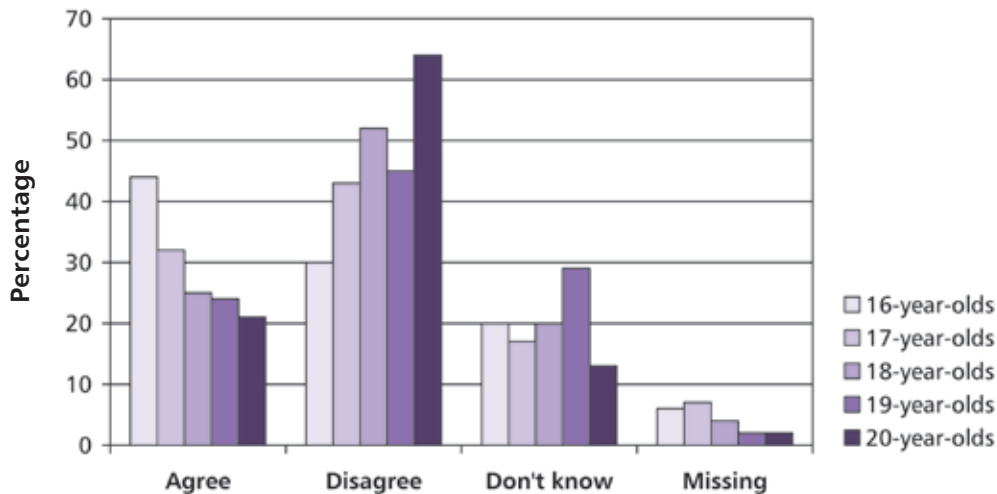


TABLE 75

28. Gay rights should be protected by the law – by age (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	44%	30%	20%	6%
17-year-olds	32%	43%	17%	7%
18-year-olds	25%	52%	20%	4%
19-year-olds	24%	45%	29%	2%
20-year-olds	21%	64%	13%	2%

Our data shows some differences amongst Namibia's ethnic groups in terms of attitudes towards gay and lesbian rights; however, as the charts below demonstrate, there were no strong trends and a considerable number of "Don't know" answers. Lesbian rights found more support than gay rights amongst Owambo respondents (37% versus 28%) and Herero respondents (39% versus 33%) respondents. In contrast, respondents from other groups showed less support for lesbian rights (21% of Himba/Tjimba respondents and 30% of Damara respondents) compared to support for gay rights (32% amongst both of these groups). The lack of support for homosexual rights amongst Damara respondents was surprising because IKhaxas (2007) has conducted intensive research within this ethnic group and found support for the rights of gay and lesbian people. Talavera has also noted the acceptance of sexual diversity amongst Damara communities. The Himba/Tjimba respondents were the most likely to disagree with the protection of lesbian (45%) and gay (53%) rights.

Lesbian rights should be protected by the law – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

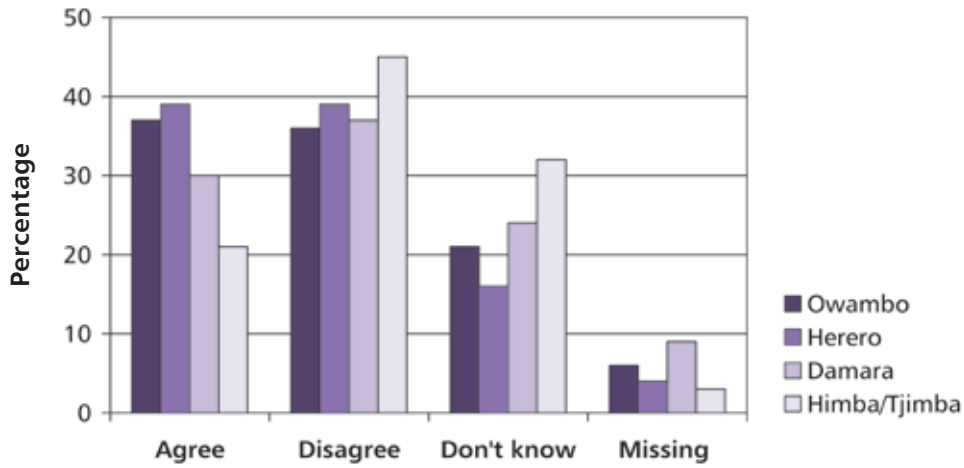


TABLE 76

26. Lesbian rights should be protected by the law – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	37%	36%	21%	6%
Herero	39%	39%	16%	4%
Damara	30%	37%	24%	9%
Himba/Tjimba	21%	45%	32%	3%

Gay rights should be protected by the law – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

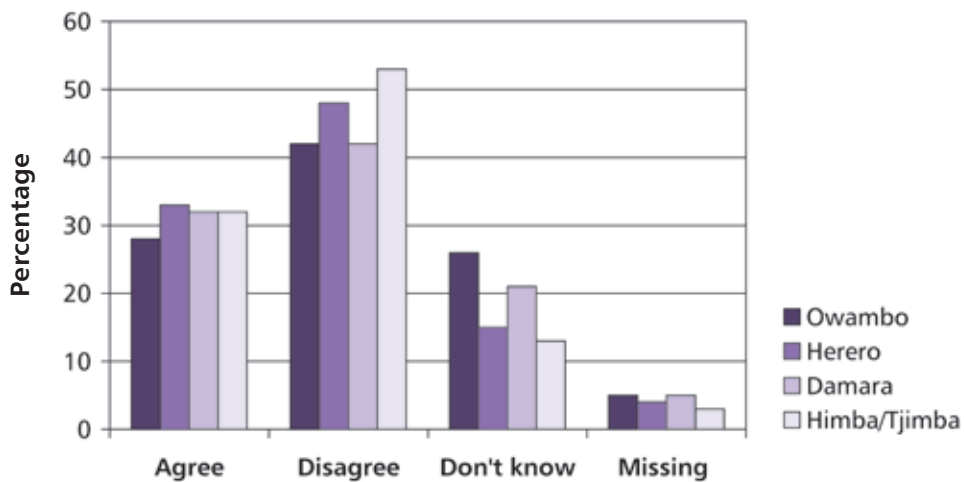


TABLE 77

28. Gay rights should be protected by the law – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	28%	42%	26%	5%
Herero	33%	48%	15%	4%
Damara	32%	42%	21%	5%
Himba/Tjimba	32%	53%	13%	3%

When analysing the data using our other variables, we did not find strong identifiable predictors of support or non-support for lesbian and gay rights. Amongst urban dwellers we found that 35% supported lesbian rights and 32% supported gay rights, whilst support for lesbian rights by rural residents was 33% and support for gay rights was 31%.

In sum, lesbian and gay rights found most support amongst the PS cohort, once again suggesting that living in a privileged urban environment is the best predictor of sexual liberalism. The number of OYO respondents who supported lesbian and gay rights, along with the number of "Don't know" answers, suggests that increased public support for legal reform on homosexual rights in the future is a possibility. Politicians and policy makers should be aware that state-sponsored homophobia is not necessarily supported by all Namibians.

Is it true that a person can get HIV/AIDS by making sex in the anus?

– question from focus group participant

Continued criminalisation of homosexual sex is not just a human rights issue. Currently the law against sodomy inhibits gay men from seeking treatment for STIs including HIV/AIDS. Recent research found that 18% of the MSM interviewed in Namibia reported that they were afraid to seek health care because of their sexual orientation and that they believe that violence is a greater danger to their health than HIV/AIDS (Baral et al 2009). Ironically, although politicians have blamed gays for the HIV/AIDS pandemic, prevention programs have focused almost exclusively on heterosexual transmission. Thus, some Namibian MSM believe that homosexual sex is safer than heterosexual sex (Lorway 2007).

4. SEXUAL TRANSGRESSIONS

Why do girls always murmur during sexual intercourse, when they are the ones who are forcing us to have sex?

– question from OYO respondent

There is a perception of increased sexual violence in Namibia which is often attributed to alcohol and drug abuse. This reasoning allows sexual violence to be dismissed as individual aberrance rather than being influenced or created by socio-economic circumstances which put young people in danger. Research indicates that young women in particular are at risk of sexual violence. The World Health Organisation surveyed 1500 women in Windhoek and when asked about their past experiences, one-third of the women in the study who had sex before the age of 15 reported that they were forced and another 38% reported that they were coerced, whilst only 30% of girls who had sex before the age of 15 reported that it was not against their will (MoHSS 2004). A UNICEF Knowledge, Attitudes, Practice and Behavioural Study (KAPB 2006) surveyed 1000 young people and adults in Kavango, Omaheke and Ohangwena and found that the first sexual encounter of 42% of sexually-active 10- to 14-year-olds had been forced. Blaming alcohol and drugs for these figures will not help reduce them or protect young people.

Respondents in this study were asked about sexual abuse, rape, what should happen to teachers who have sex with learners, and what should happen to female learners who become pregnant and the male learners who impregnate them.

Sexual abuse

We began by addressing sexual abuse within the family, asking "What should happen to someone who sexually abuses a family member?" The respondents were presented with three potential actions: "It should be dealt with within the family"; "It should be reported to the traditional authorities"; or "It should be reported to the police". Although the majority of both cohorts (64% of the OYO cohort and 96% of the PS cohort) chose the scenario in which the abuse should be reported to the police, a notable percentage of the OYO cohort (24%) answered that if someone sexually abuses a family member, it should be addressed within the family (only 3% of the PS cohort chose this answer). Whilst none of the PS respondents chose "It should be reported to the traditional authorities", 10% of the OYO respondents selected this answer. This is not surprising given that traditional authority has a greater role in dispute settlement in areas outside Windhoek. The fact that the majority of PS respondents chose "It should be reported to the police" shows that, in Windhoek at least, messages about how to address domestic violence using the law do appear to be filtering into public consciousness.

TABLE 78

19. What should happen to someone who sexually abuses a family member?

	It should be dealt with within the family	It should be reported to the traditional authorities	It should be reported to the police	Missing
OYO cohort	24%	10%	64%	2%
PS cohort	3%	0%	96%	1%

The sex of the respondents did not seem to be a factor in the selection of answers – almost equal percentages of males and females from both cohorts made the same selections. Amongst the OYO cohort, those living in an urban area were somewhat less likely (21%) to choose “It should be dealt with within the family” than their rural counterparts (28%). When the data was analysed by level of education, no trends emerged. The major differences in the answers related to ethnic group identity. The Damara respondents were the least likely to chose “It should be dealt with within the family” (16%) and the most likely to chose “It should be reported to the police (70%), whilst the Herero respondents were the most likely to chose “It should be dealt with within the family” (32%) and the least likely to chose “It should be reported to the police (57%). The full results are shown in the table below:

What should happen to someone who sexually abuses a family member? – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

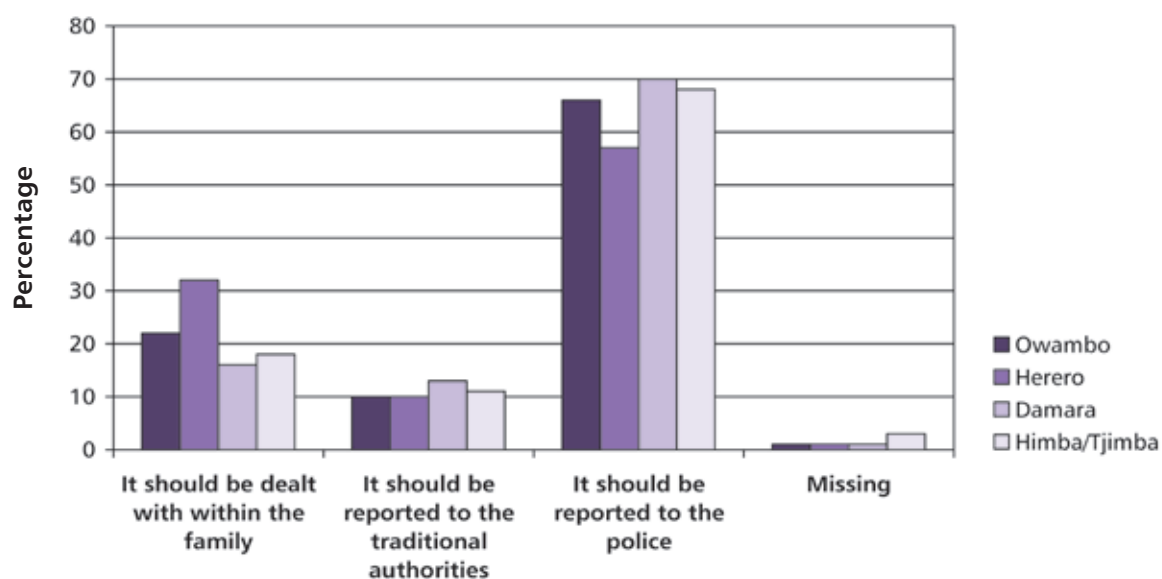


TABLE 79

19. What should happen to someone who sexually abuses a family member? – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	It should be dealt with within the family	It should be reported to the traditional authorities	It should be reported to the police	Missing
Owambo	22%	10%	66%	1%
Herero	32%	10%	57%	1%
Damara	16%	13%	70%	1%
Himba/Tjimba	18%	11%	68%	3%

It is positive to note that most respondents across the board chose "It should be reported to the police" but the fact that some respondents chose the other options is disturbing. It may be that some of the reluctance to involve the police could stem from perceptions that police will not take such matters seriously or that they will not respond promptly and appropriately. This could point to the need for more effective service delivery. Another factor is the fact that transgressions of this nature may be addressed through the exchange of compensation between family members, directly or through a traditional leader, which is viewed in some cultures as being an appropriate form of restorative justice. LAC (2009) researched this factor in the context of the frequent withdrawal of rape cases which often involved family members or acquaintances. They found that victims in the rape cases felt that they at least "got something" from compensation and that this resolved the case quickly and privately. However there were also cases where the victim was not consulted about the decision to accept compensation and was not necessarily adequately protected by this mechanism. Their research highlights the fact that the issue of "not reporting" is complex and relates to factors other than information and education.

Rape

Why do males have to rape females?

– question from OYO respondent

In our Ovahimba culture, when a man take a woman by force and rapes her, we don't call the police. The man is given a traditional hearing and he has to pay cattle. This is our practice...

– comment submitted to OYO and published in
OYO, Young, latest and cool, vol 6, no 1, February 2007

In 2000 the Namibian government reformed the laws concerning rape. The new Combating of Rape Act 8 of 2000 has a much broader definition of rape and imposes heavier sentences than the old law. Under the old law, rape was defined at "unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent." In contrast, the new law focuses on the presence of coercion instead of the absence of consent; the language in the new Act is gender-neutral and bases the definition of rape on the presence of "coercive circumstances" which include physical force, threats of force, and/or circumstances where the victim is intimidated.

The legal age of consent for consensual sex in Namibia is 16. Under the Combating of Rape Act and companion legislation, the Combating of Immoral Practices Act 21 of 1980, sexual encounters involving a person under the age of 16 with someone more than 3 years older – even in the absence of any coercive circumstances – are considered rape (if the victim is under age 14) or a somewhat lesser statutory crime (if the victim is between the ages of 14 and 16).

A recent report titled *Rape in Namibia*, based on research conducted by LAC (2006:ix) found that: "Reported rapes and attempted rapes in 2003-2005 amount

to 1100-1200 cases per year, which is equal to about 60 reported cases per 100 000 people in Namibia – as compared to about 117 reported cases per 100 000 people in South Africa and about 9 reported cases per 100 000 people in Kenya". However, it is well known that many rapes go unreported and increases in rape statistics can be attributed to actual increases in the number of rapes, an increase in the reporting of rape or a combination of these factors.

The LAC study found that one-third of all reported rapes involve victims under the age of 18 and that at least one-fourth of the rapes in the sample studied were committed by family members, spouses or intimate partners of the victims. About one-fourth of the perpetrators in the study were minors below age 21, with 13% being under age 18. These statistics support concerns about the attitudes and experiences of young people in Namibia regarding forced sex.

I want to know why females have sex more than males and why rape is spreading in Namibia.

– comment from OYO respondent

Respondents were asked "If a female/male is raped, they should ..." and were provided with three options: "Go to the police no matter what"; "Let their parent decide what to do"; or "Tell no one". The overwhelming majority of respondents from both cohorts chose "Go to the police no matter what" (88% of the OYO cohort and 96% of the PS cohort). The lack of missing data (only 2% of the OYO responses) indicates that the respondents felt strongly about this issue. An analysis of the data using the variables sex, age, education, urban/rural birth/residence and ethnic identity did not reveal any meaningful patterns.

TABLE 80				
20. If a female/male is raped, they should...				
	Go to the police no matter what	Let their parents decide what to do	Tell no one	Missing
OYO cohort	88%	8%	2%	2%
PS cohort	96%	4%	0%	0%

I have a brother who always forces me to have sex with him for money. I really don't want him to do this anymore. I have reported him to my parents but they haven't done anything to him. Can you please give me some advice as to what I should do about this brother of mine?

– letter to "Dear OYO", published in OYO, Young, latest and cool, vol 6, no 5, October 2007

When we compared the answers to question 20 (about rape in general) with the answers to question 21 (about rape by a family member) , we found that the OYO cohort was much more likely to "Let their parents decide what to do" (26%) than the PS cohort (3%) if the rapist was a family member. These answers mirror the responses from question 19 about sexual abuse by a family member.

TABLE 81

21. If a female/male is raped by a family member, they should...

	Go to the police no matter what	Let their parents decide what to do	Tell no one if the rapist is supporting the family	Missing
OYO cohort	68%	26%	4%	2%
PS cohort	96%	3%	0%	1%

When the OYO data for this question was analysed using the variables of education, ethnicity and urban/rural birth/residence, the only factor that seemed to be important was the urban/rural divide. Only 51% of the OYO respondents living in rural areas chose "Go to the police no matter what" and 44% of that group chose "Let their parents decide what to do". In contrast, the OYO respondents living in urban areas where more likely (76%) to chose "Go to the police", whilst only 18% chose leaving the matter in the family's hands. This could be due to a stronger sense of family and community loyalties but it could also relate to the rural respondents' relationship with the police and or the criminal justice system – or even the accessibility of police stations. The process of reporting rape and following through to convict a rapist can be complex and lengthy. The LAC report (2006) noted some difficulties reporting rapes in rural areas, such as lack of transport to police stations and concluded that dealing with rape outside of the criminal justice system, especially when compensation is involved, is sometimes seen as the best and more appropriate response to the crime. They recommend making the criminal justice system speedier and incorporating compensation into it in order to make it more comfortable for victims. Ideally, victims should make decisions with the support of their family and in retrospect, this should have been one of the scenario options available on the questionnaire.

If a female/male is raped by a family member, they should... – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

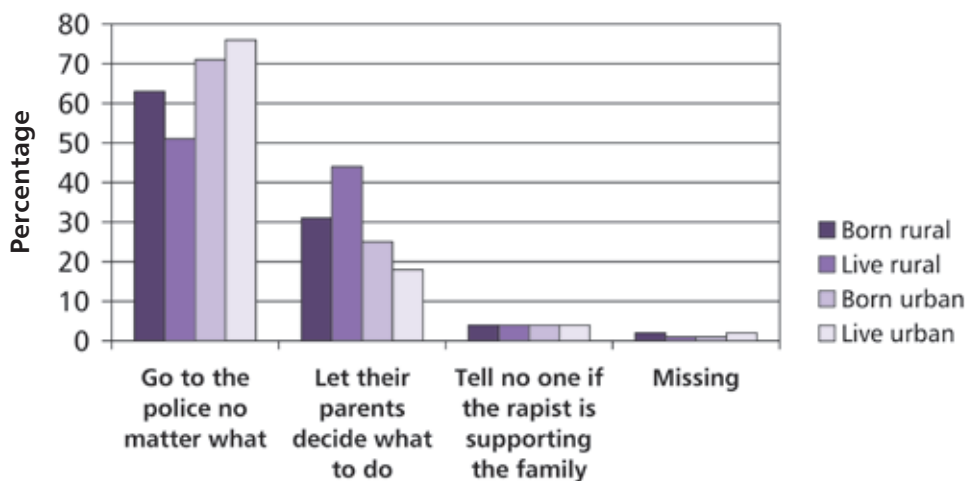


TABLE 82

21. If a female/male is raped by a family member, they should... – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

	Go to the police no matter what	Let their parents decide what to do	Tell no one if the rapist is supporting the family	Missing
Born rural	63%	31%	4%	2%
Live rural	51%	44%	4%	1%
Born urban	71%	25%	4%	1%
Live urban	76%	18%	4%	2%

Why does the rape law only favour women? Sometimes you and your girlfriend can agree to have sex, but after if she asks you for money and you don't give her, then she will go to the police and you will be jailed for rape.

– question from OYO respondent

Despite the concern voiced in the above comment, LAC's research (2006) found that there was evidence of false charges in only five out of the 409 police dockets which were studied. Yet this issue was brought up by young men in all of the focus groups. A related issue that was also discussed in the focus groups was who to blame when girls/women are raped. There seemed to be a general consensus that men were sexually urgent and that once sexually aroused, they were entitled to reap sexual pleasure from their arouser with or without consent. Thus, females/males could or should be held responsible for their own rapes under various circumstances.

Jewkes et al's research (2007) addressed concerns about the high prevalence of child rape in Namibia. This study found that the circumstances surrounding rape determined how it is viewed in the community. For example, there was outrage when very young children were raped but if older girls "walked around at night", they were "asking for it". Furthermore some parents punished their own children for being raped. The researchers asserted that in Namibia there is a social context that provides space for, without actually legitimising, rape and sexual abuse. The high status of men and pronounced age hierarchies leads to vulnerability by reducing girls' ability to refuse sexual advances and fostering male control of women and children. Although their data reveal that communities claim to abhor child rape, perpetrators were not always condemned and were often protected, whilst their victims were sometimes blamed. They concluded that responses to child rape are highly inadequate and that advances in gender equality are crucial to positive change.

To rape someone is good because if you ask girls to have sex with you they refuse. If a guy wants to have sex with a woman and the woman refuses, all the guy will do is to rape the woman, because he wants to cool down the heat. Sometimes women are the cause of rape because the clothes they wear are too short and they also go to clubs.

– comment submitted to OYO and published in *OYO, Young, latest and cool*, vol 6, no 1, February 2007

The questionnaire provided various scenarios under which persons might be blamed for their own rapes: wearing sexy clothes, being out late at night and having many sexual partners. The greatest difference in the responses was between the OYO and PS cohorts. The PS cohort was clear that wearing sexy clothes or being out late were not substantial reasons for being blamed for one's own rape. The answers of the OYO cohort suggested ambiguity, yet the number of respondents who agreed with the reasons for blame in these scenarios was disturbing. Interestingly, compared to the other scenarios, whilst the percentage of "Agree" answers amongst OYO respondents declined for "If they have sex with a lot of people" (28%), the "Agree" answers by the PS cohort for this scenario increased (27%).

TABLE 83

22. Females/males should be blamed for getting raped if...

a. They are wearing sexy clothes.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	40%	45%	7%	9%
PS cohort	12%	83%	5%	0%

b. They are out late at night.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	39%	41%	7%	13%
PS cohort	18%	77%	4%	1%

c. They have sex with a lot of people.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	28%	45%	14%	13%
PS cohort	27%	64%	8%	1%

When asked pointblank if people should be held responsible for their own rapes, again the greatest difference in the responses was between the OYO and the PS cohorts. Only 30% of the OYO cohort agreed with the statement "Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped," whereas, 70% of the PS cohort agreed with the statement. We used the term "getting raped" because this is how it is usually referred to by young people in Namibia. In retrospect, the wording carries a bias against the victim and this could have influenced the responses.

TABLE 84

23. Female/males should never get blamed for getting raped.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	30%	55%	10%	5%
PS cohort	73%	18%	9%	0%

Because this is such an important issue, we analysed the data using the different variables to try to pinpoint which subgroups were behind these findings. The most obvious place to begin was sex. We found that whilst the PS females were most likely (80%) to agree that people should not be blamed for being raped, their male counterparts showed less support (63%) for this statement. The PS males, however, had a much higher percentage of "Don't know" answers (17%) than

the PS females (2%). There was less difference between the answers of the OYO males and females with most (59 and 52% respectively) disagreeing with the statement that rape victims should never be blamed for the rapes. These findings suggest that many young people's beliefs about what constitutes rape and where the blame should lie are not clear cut.

Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped – by sex

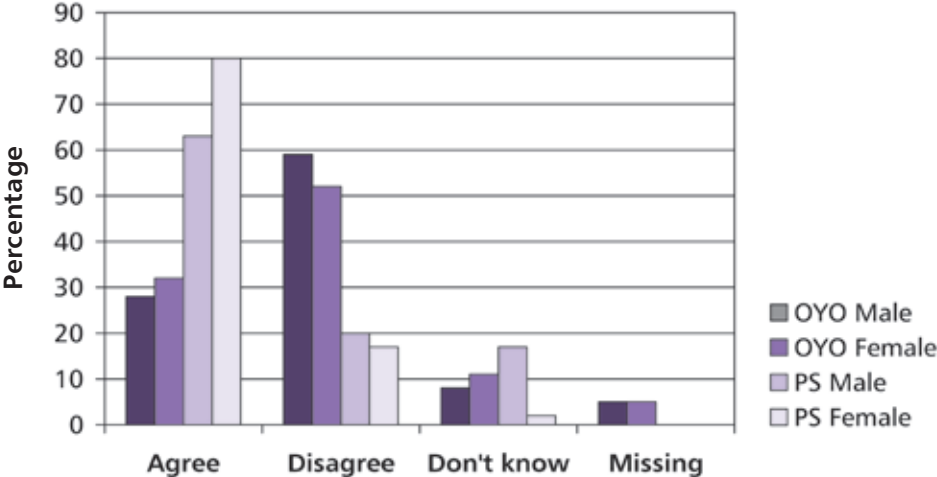


TABLE 85

23. Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	28%	59%	8%	5%
OYO Female	32%	52%	11%	5%
PS Male	63%	20%	17%	0%
PS Female	80%	17%	2%	0%

We also analysed the OYO data using age as a variable. Earlier in this report, we noted a correlation between youth and more liberal attitudes and the data here support that assertion. We found a relationship between age and blaming, or not blaming, a rape victim. The 16-year-olds were the most likely (40%) to select "Agree" to the statement that victims should never be blamed for getting raped, and the least likely to chose "Disagree" (39%), whereas the 20-year-olds were the least likely (21%) to select "Agree" and the most likely to select "Disagree" (72%). The high number of "Don't know" and missing data amongst the 16-year-olds suggest that the youngest sub-cohort may be more open to change than the older youths. These findings, along with findings throughout this report, suggest that there may be a small ideological generation gap between 16-year-olds and 20-year-olds. This could be attributed to interrelated factors such as the availability and importance of media and technology even in rural areas and wide-spread HIV prevention campaigns which have produced more open dialogues about sexuality.

Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped – by age (OYO cohort)

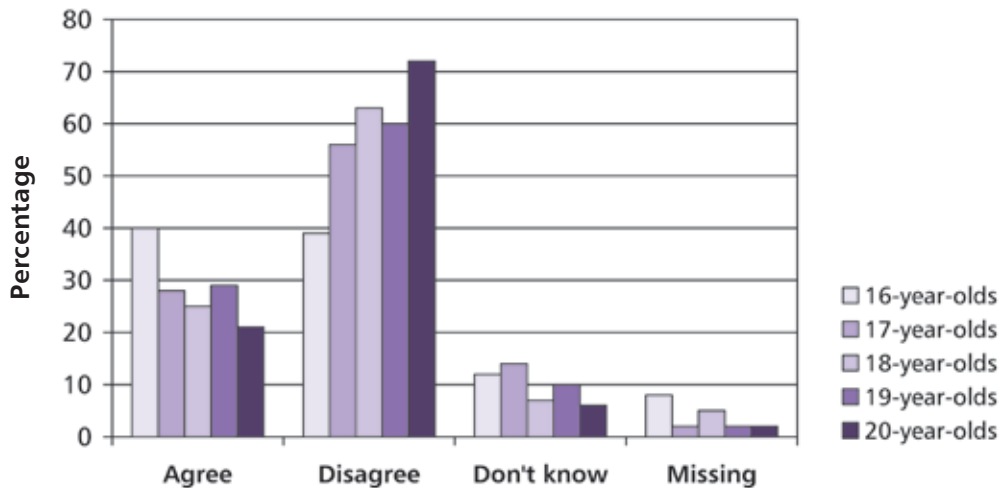


TABLE 86

23. Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped – by age (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	40%	39%	12%	8%
17-year-olds	28%	56%	14%	2%
18-year-olds	25%	63%	7%	5%
19-year-olds	29%	60%	10%	2%
20-year-olds	21%	72%	6%	2%

Although ethnic identity amongst the OYO cohort did not seem to be a major factor in agreement or disagreement with the statement about rape, there were some differences between the groups. The Damara were the most likely (38%) to agree with the statement and the least likely to disagree (50%). The Herero respondents were less likely than the Damara respondents to select "Agree (30%) and more likely to chose "Disagree" (57%). The percentages for Owambo and Himba/Tjimba respondents were very similar, with 23% and 26% respectively agreeing and 60% and 63% respectively disagreeing.

Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

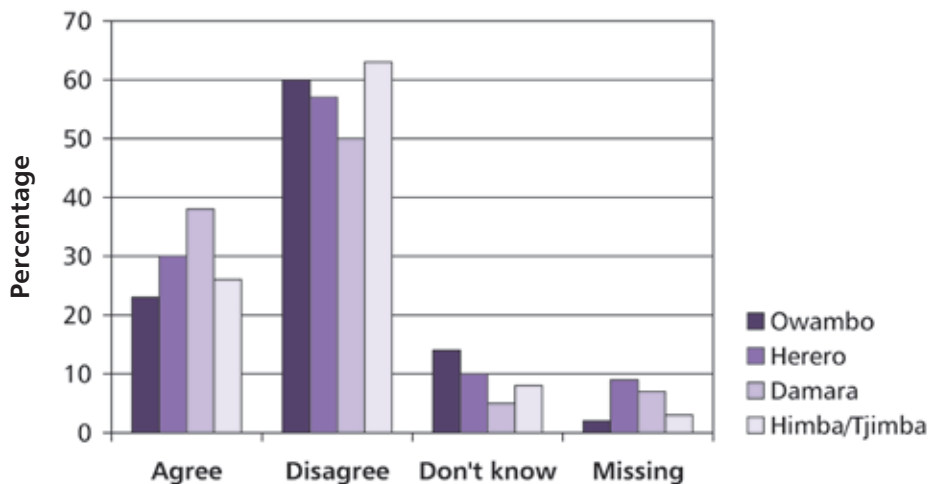


TABLE 87

23. Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	23%	60%	14%	2%
Herero	30%	57%	10%	9%
Damara	38%	50%	5%	7%
Himba/Tjimba	26%	63%	8%	3%

The ambiguity about blame in cases of rape appears to reflect some confusion about the consensual nature of sex under normal circumstances. These results point to a need for young people to be taught about every individual's right to sexual autonomy and about the importance of mutual respect in sexual relationships. Since taboos about discussing sex still inhibit such discussions within families in some communities, perhaps the Ministry of Education could incorporate more topics pertaining to sexuality into life skills courses in secondary schools.

Learner-parents and sexual relationships between teachers and learners

My friend was raped by her teacher. She said he touches her all over her body. Sometimes she feels lonely. This happens mostly on Fridays at school. She is afraid to tell her female teachers or her parents. The rapist said that she should not tell anyone and he would give money to have sex during break time. Please give me advice.

letter to "Dear OYO", published in
OYO, *Young, latest and cool*, vol 6, no1, February 2007

Whilst working on a different project in 2006, I conducted a focus group on sexuality with the San in Tsumkwe. I asked about the quality of sex education in the local schools. An older man laughed and said that their teachers taught the girls about sex by showing them how to do it. The other participants laughed and nodded their heads in agreement. Another participant mentioned a specific incident at their school where a teacher had impregnated a 15-year-old girl and was arrested.

In 2004 a new Code of Conduct for teachers was launched in Namibia. This code explicitly cites "sexual abuse" and "sexual harassment" as violations. The Code of Conduct states that a teacher "may not become involved in any form of romance or sexual relations with a learner or sexual harassment or abuse of a learner".⁷ Failure to comply with the Code of Conduct constitutes misconduct and must be dealt with in terms of Namibia's Public Service Act.⁸ Misconduct

⁷ Code of Conduct for Teaching Service, Government Notice No. 15 of 6 February 2004 (Government Gazette 3144), regulation 64 (2), Part A. Teacher and Learner.

⁸ Id, regulation 64 (3).

could potentially lead to suspension followed by an enquiry, with the ultimate result being a reprimand, a fine, transfer to another post, a reduction in salary or rank or possible dismissal, depending on the recommendation of the disciplinary committee which considers the case.⁹ However the stated consequences of violation are open to interpretation; the Code of Conduct also states: "(3) a teacher who commits misconduct, depending on the seriousness of the act or omission that constitutes misconduct, may be given the necessary counselling and advice and opportunity to correct his or her behaviour" (Republic of Namibia 2004).¹⁰

The Ministry of Education has reported that cases of sexual misconduct represent the largest single category of misconduct by teachers. There were 30 cases of sexual misconduct dealt with in 2005 which resulted in 7 dismissals. In 2006, 34 cases of sexual misconduct resulted in 9 dismissals. In 2007, 24 cases resulted in 11 dismissals. Of course, this only represents the sexual misconduct that was brought to the attention of the Ministry (LAC 2008). It can be safely assumed that many teacher/learner relationships are never discovered, do not result in pregnancy, or are settled informally with the girl's family because the teacher negotiates compensation with the victim and/or their parents.

A new policy on learner pregnancy was approved by Cabinet in 2009 and emphasises the serious nature of teacher misconduct. This provision also makes it clear that sexual harassment and abuse of learners will not be tolerated by any education sector employee such as clerical staff, cleaners, etc. The new policy (which will be published by the Ministry of Education) is as follows:

5.1.8 Safe environment: Schools shall strive to ensure that the school and the school hostel environment are safe and that learners are free from sexual harassment or sexual abuse by learners, teachers or other staff. Schools shall also make referrals to appropriate agencies if they suspect that a home environment is not safe or that a learner is suffering from sexual harassment or sexual abuse.

- **The Principal shall identify a specific teacher to lead the development of a School Code on Learner Protection which includes a section on combating sexual abuse and sexual harassment by the end of 2011, and to ensure that this Code is known to learners and enforced by school management.**
- **Any non-professional relationship or sexual involvement of a teacher with a learner, whether or not it results in pregnancy, shall be considered to be a serious violation of the Code of Conduct for the Teaching Service. Failure to comply with the Code of Conduct must be dealt with in terms of Namibia's Public Service Act. This means that the misconduct could lead to suspension followed by an enquiry, with the ultimate result being possible dismissal and criminal charges where the actions in question constitute a crime.**

⁹ Public Service Act 13 of 1995, Part III.

¹⁰ Code of Conduct for Teaching Service, regulation 64 (4).

- No education sector employee shall engage in sexual activity with, harassment of, or any other abuse of a learner. Such behaviour on the part of an education sector employee constitutes misconduct and will result in a disciplinary hearing and criminal charges where the actions in question constitute a crime.
- Public sector employees are obliged to report misconduct, according to regulations issued under the Public Service Act (Regulation 19). Regulation 23 gives supervisors such as Principals a legal obligation to act in cases of misconduct and further provides that failure to take appropriate action also constitutes misconduct.
- The Principal and Hostel Supervisor shall be encouraged to strengthen hostel supervision, and to involve School Boards and Learner Representative Councils in hostel management. The Principal shall ensure that systems and safeguards, including security and supervision at hostels and educational institutions, are in place and enforced to ensure that learners are not at risk of sexual, emotional or physical abuse from employees, peers, visitors, or anyone else.
- The Principal shall take immediate and appropriate action if a learner is sexually, emotionally or physically abused or harassed by employees, peers, visitors, or anyone else. Zero tolerance shall be adopted in this regard.
- Schools will encourage and support learners to lay criminal charges against learners, teachers or any other persons who violate the laws on rape, immoral practices or other sexual activities.

To explore young peoples' attitudes about the sexual relationships between teachers and learners, we presented questions and provided various scenarios from which to choose. The first question asked "What should happen to teachers who have sex with learners?". The scenarios were: "They should be fired and not allowed to ever teach"; "They should be warned but allowed to continue teaching"; "They should be suspended"; and "Nothing should happen to them". The majority of respondents in both cohorts (62% of the OYO cohort and 66% of the PS cohort) chose the answer "They should be fired and not allowed to ever teach". The second most common choice was "They should be suspended" (15% and 19% of the OYO and PS cohorts respectively). Very few (6% of the OYO cohort and 9% of the PS cohort) selected "Nothing should happen to them". In contrast to the answers to many other questions, the answers of the OYO and PS cohorts were similar. This suggests that young people's attitudes towards this issue cuts across lines of privilege. In addition, the lack of missing data indicated that they wanted to weigh in on this question.

TABLE 88

30. What should happen to teachers who have sex with learners?

	They should be fired and not allowed to ever teach	They should be warned but allowed to continue teaching	They should be suspended	Nothing should happen to them	Missing
OYO cohort	62%	13%	15%	6%	4%
PS cohort	66%	3%	19%	9%	3%

When we analysed the data using sex as a variable, we found a considerable difference between the answers of the PS males and the PS females. PS males were the least likely (51%) to agree that teachers who have sex with learners should be fired, whilst they were the most likely (26%) to agree that they should be suspended. This was in contrast with the PS females, 78% of who agree with the firing of teachers who had sex with learners. The difference in the answers between the OYO males and females was not meaningful (61% of the OYO males and 62% of the OYO females selected "fired").

What should happen to teachers who have sex with learners? – by sex

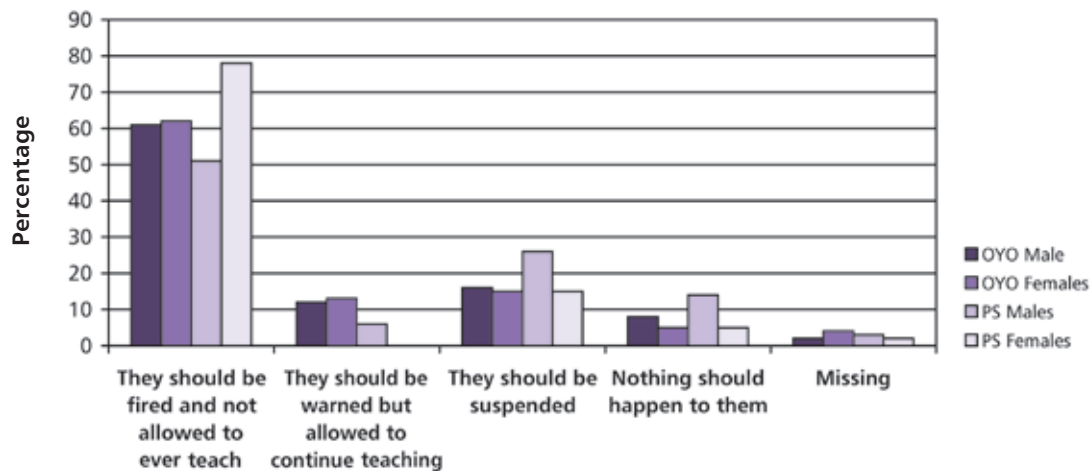


TABLE 89

30. What should happen to teachers who have sex with learners? – by sex

	They should be fired and not allowed to ever teach	They should be warned but allowed to continue teaching	They should be suspended	Nothing should happen to them	Missing
OYO Male	61%	12%	16%	8%	2%
OYO Females	62%	13%	15%	5%	4%
PS Males	51%	6%	26%	14%	3%
PS Females	78%	0%	15%	5%	2%

When analysing the OYO data by age, education and ethnic identity, we did not find patterns in the answers to this question. However we did find a difference in the answers when analysed by urban/rural birth/residence. Those who claimed urban birth or residence were more likely (68 and 66% respectively) than those of rural birth or residence (53 and 56% respectively) to answer that such teachers should be fired. Those respondents of rural birth or residence were also more likely to agree that teachers should only be warned (17 and 19% respectively), in contrast to those claim urban birth or residence (10% and 9% respectively). This may be due to the fact that those born or residing in urban areas are more likely to have heard about or know of such incidents and hence have greater sensitivity and less tolerance regarding this issue. However, higher acceptance in the rural areas may have something to do with close ties within a community – the police and teachers may collude to ignore indiscretions, creating a climate of normalcy.

What should happen to teachers who have sex with learners? – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

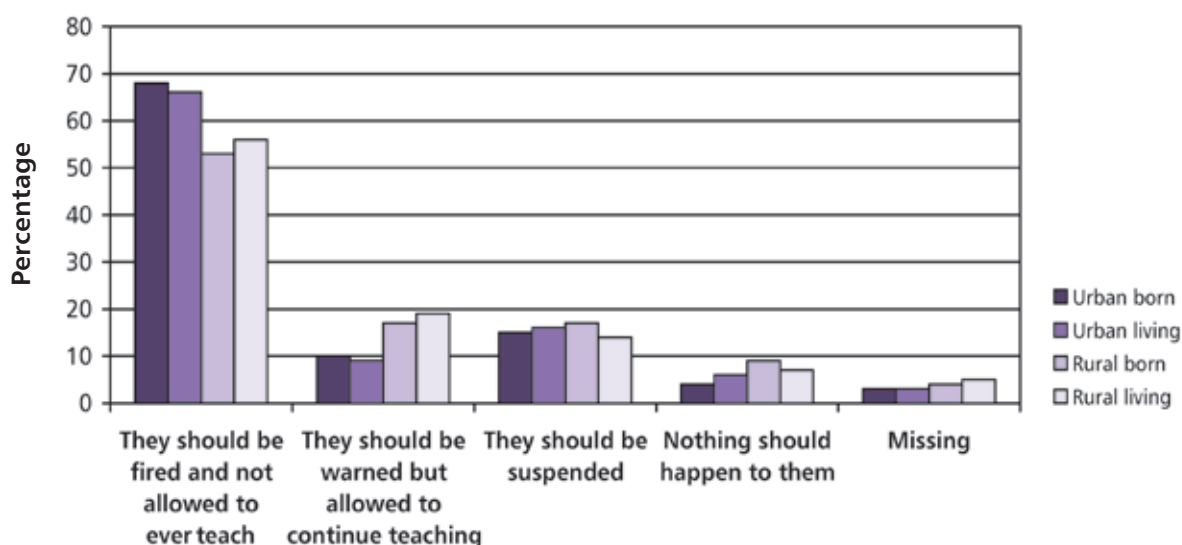


TABLE 90

30. What should happen to teachers who have sex with learners? – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort)

	They should be fired and not allowed to ever teach	They should be warned but allowed to continue teaching	They should be suspended	Nothing should happen to them	Missing
Urban born	68%	10%	15%	4%	3%
Urban living	66%	9%	16%	6%	3%
Rural born	53%	17%	17%	9%	4%
Rural living	56%	19%	14%	7%	5%

In order to explore what young people thought about punishing of teachers who have sex with underage learners, we asked respondents to select “Yes”, “No” or “Don’t know” to the statement “Teachers who have sex with learners who are younger than 16 years old should be charged with a crime”. Regardless of the variable being analysed, the overwhelming majority of respondents agreed that teachers who have sex with young learners should be charged with a crime. In fact under many circumstances it would be a crime. Teachers would be at least 22 years old by the time they earned their teaching certificates so having sex with a learner 16-years-old or younger, even without any form of coercion, would be a crime under Namibian law.¹¹ However the high percentage of “Yes” responses (81% of the OYO cohort and 96% of the PS cohort) here are probably due to a sense of moral injustice rather than specific knowledge of the law.

¹¹ The legal age of consent for consensual sex in Namibia is 16. Under the Combating of Rape Act and companion legislation, the Combating of Immoral Practices Act 21 of 1980, sexual encounters involving a person under the age of 16 with someone more than 3 years older – even in the absence of any coercive circumstances – are considered rape (if the victim is under age 14) or a somewhat lesser statutory crime (if the victim is between the ages of 14 and 16).

TABLE 91

31. Teachers who have sex with learners who are younger than 16 years old should be charged with a crime.

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	81%	7%	7%	5%
PS cohort	96%	1%	3%	0%

Learner-parents

The pregnancy of learners is a cause for concern in Namibia. It was reported that in 2008, 1541 girls between the ages of 15 and 19 were pregnant (MoHSS 2008). In 2007, 1465 learners, 96% of them being girls, dropped out of school pregnancy for pregnancy-related issues (LAC 2008). Prior to 2009 the guidelines for learner pregnancy stated that girls were allowed to attend classes only until the pregnancy became visible and that they were not allowed to return to their regular school until one year after giving birth (Ministry of Education, Circular Formal Education 5/2001, published in LAC 2008). These guidelines were in force when this survey was administered. The stated logic behind the one-year banishment from school was that mothers should spend time bonding with and raising their child and that going to school would interfere with their parental duties (Shejavali 2009a). However this approach to pregnant learners in Namibia was criticised as stigmatising and punishing learner-mothers because few girls return to school once their education has been interrupted (LAC 2008). LAC was one of several groups which called for a reform of the rules on learner pregnancy, arguing that the guidelines in force at that stage contradicted some of the international agreements to which Namibia is a signatory in that they inhibited a girl's right to an education. LAC (2008) pointed out that it is imperative for learner-mothers to continue their education so that they can achieve their professional goals and better provide for their children. The new policy, one of the most progressive in Africa, was approved by Cabinet in 2009 and in 2010 the Ministry of Education prepared a circular instructing all schools to implement the new policy. The new policy applies to all government schools and government-subsidised private schools. It focuses on preventing teenage pregnancy and helping those girls who do become pregnant to return to school as soon as possible if that is what they desire. It emphasises flexibility, so that all relevant factors can be taken into account, including the health of mother and child, the timing of the birth in relation to the academic calendar and the family support systems available to the learner in question.

It should be noted that the private school involved in this research did not have an official policy regarding learner pregnancy at the time the questionnaire was administered. The headmaster informed Dr. LaFont that there had been no cases of learner pregnancy at the school but that if a learner became pregnant, they would encourage the learner to stay in school and provide a support system to help her during and after the pregnancy.

Why is it that when learners fall pregnant they are suspended?

– question from OYO respondent

Research conducted by LAC (2008) found that some learners agreed with the old guidelines and believed having to leave school for a year was just punishment for a girl who became pregnant. To explore how young people felt about this issue, respondents were asked what should happen in terms of a girl's education if she becomes pregnant. Five scenarios regarding this issue were presented: "Be suspended from school immediately"; "Be suspended when she starts showing"; "Return to school 3 months after having the baby"; "Be suspended for 1 year after having the baby"; and "Staying in/leaving school should be up to the girl". Respondents were instructed to choose one of the scenarios. The distribution of answers, especially amongst the OYO cohort suggests some ambiguity. Their most common answer was "Be suspended for one year after having the baby" (31%), but they may have chosen this option because it was the official policy at the time. The PS cohort was the most likely (53%) to leave the decision up to the learner-mother, which was the unofficial policy of their school at the time. There was little support for the other part of the official public school policy – that the learner mother be suspended when the pregnancy becomes visible (7% and 1% amongst the OYO and PS cohorts respectively). This may have been because respondents were only allowed to choose one answer and in retrospect we acknowledge that this issue should have been addressed in two separate questions.

	Be suspended from school immediately	Be suspended when she starts showing	Return to school 3 months after having the baby	Be suspended for 1 year after having the baby	Staying in or leaving school should be up to the girl	Missing
OYO cohort	9%	7%	23%	31%	25%	4%
PS cohort	5%	1%	30%	8%	53%	3%

It would seem that female learners would have a vested interest in being able to make decisions about their education if they become pregnant. Thus the results of this question were analysed using sex as a variable. Interestingly, the OYO females were the most likely (34%) to agree that the learner-mother should be suspended for one year after the birth of her child, a policy which discriminates against them. A higher percentage of OYO males (37%) agreed that the decision should be left up to the girl. A slight majority of the PS males and females (54%) agreed with allowing the girl to make her own decision.

When female learners fall pregnant, they should... – by sex

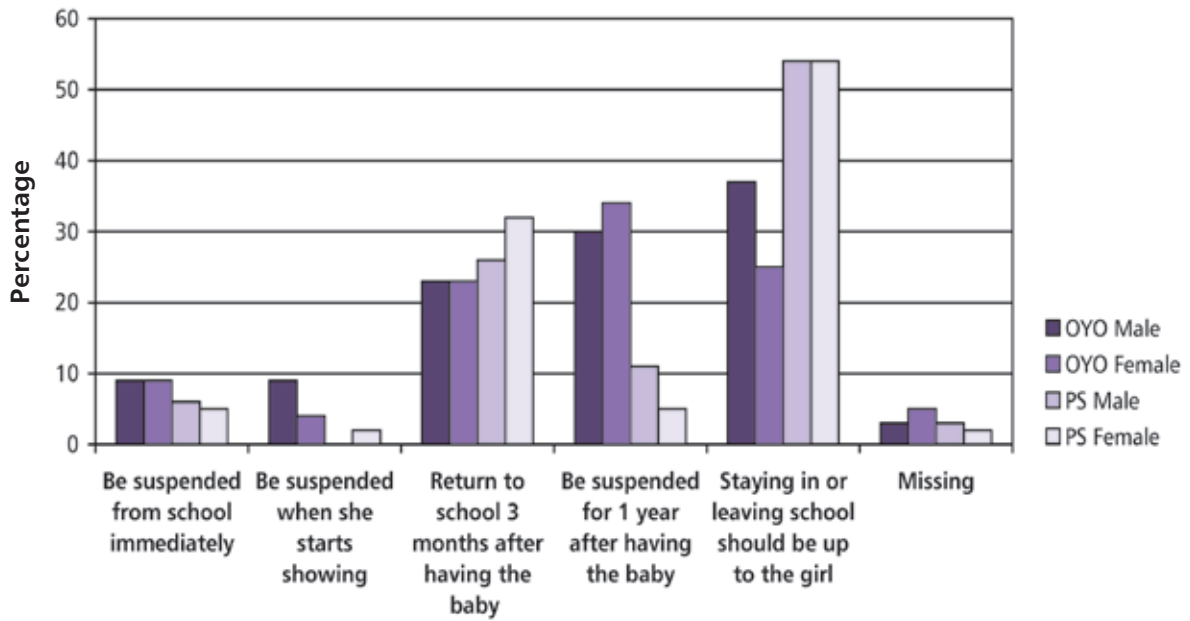


TABLE 93

32. When female learners fall pregnant, they should... – by sex

	Be suspended from school immediately	Be suspended when she starts showing	Return to school 3 months after having the baby	Be suspended for 1 year after having the baby	Staying in or leaving school should be up to the girl	Missing
OYO Male	9%	9%	23%	30%	37%	3%
OYO Female	9%	4%	23%	34%	25%	5%
PS Male	6%	0%	26%	11%	54%	3%
PS Female	5%	2%	32%	5%	54%	2%

When a male learner gets a female learner pregnant, he should remain in school, so that when he finishes he can help his child not to suffer.

– comment from OYO respondent

The official school pregnancy guidelines in force at the time of the survey technically applied to males as well as females. Yet in 2007 only 62 boys left school for pregnancy-related reasons, compared to 1403 girls (LAC 2008). When we compared the answers to the question on learner-mothers (question 31) with the answers to the question on learner-fathers (question 32), it became clear that the PS cohort's answers concerning leaving the decision up to the individual remained gender-neutral whereas the OYO cohort's answers were quite different regarding female and male learners. Whilst only 25% of the OYO cohort agreed that the decision should be up to the girl, 43% agreed that it should be left up to the boy. However, the range of answers suggests that many in the OYO cohort would like to see some action taken towards the male learner who impregnates a learner.

TABLE 94

33. When male learners get a female learner pregnant, they should...

	Be suspended from school immediately	Be suspended when the girl starts showing	Return to school 3 months after the baby's birth	Be suspended for 1 year after the baby's birth	Staying in or leaving school should be up to the boy	Missing
OYO cohort	13%	7%	14%	19%	43%	3%
PS cohort	9%	1%	26%	10%	53%	0%

When analysed using the variable of the sex of the respondents, we found more support amongst almost all groups for letting the boy make the decision about staying in school than we found for letting the girl make the decision (with the exception of the PS males – 3% more selected “Staying in/leaving school should be up to the girl” than “...up to the boy”). The OYO females, who were the most likely to select “Be suspended for 1 year after having the baby” in reference to learner-mothers (34%), were also the most likely to chose that same answer for the learner-father (27%).

They were also the least likely to agree that the staying/leaving decision should up to the boy (30%) or that the boy should be suspended from school immediately (17%). This could mean that the OYO females are more “rule-bound” than the other groups. That said, the range of answers here, as above, implied an ambiguousness regarding these issues. However, the low percentages of missing answers for both questions, suggested that it is an important matter to young people.

The new policy on the prevention and management of learner pregnancy adopted in 2009 treats learner-mothers and learner-fathers differently. Learner-fathers are allowed to remain in school to enable them to continue their education so as to be in a better position to support their children, whilst learner-mothers may take leave of absence for a flexible period (a place will be held for the learner for up to one year, provided that the learner remains in contact with the school). As the policy itself states, although it aims to ensure that the female learner who becomes pregnant and the male learner who shares responsibility for the pregnancy are treated as equally and fairly as possible, the differing rules are justified by the biological differences between learner-mothers and learner-fathers, modelled on the approach taken in Namibia's labour law.¹² The policy notes further that the leave of absence provided for the pregnant learner or the learner-mother is not in the nature of punishment and therefore need not be applied in the same way to the learner-father. It is clear from the new policy that allowing the learner-father to remain in school does not mean that his role in parenting is being ignored; it states that the learner-fathers “should be encouraged to take full responsibility for his actions and to play a full and active role in parenthood” and specifies that schools should provide both learner-mothers and learner-fathers with information

¹² The Labour Act 11 of 2007 provides for maternity leave but not paternity leave.

on the father's responsibility to pay maintenance in terms of the Maintenance Act 9 of 2003, including a contribution to the costs of pregnancy and childbirth. It is recommended that schools help both the mother and the father understand their different roles and responsibilities during this time (Ministry of Education n.d.).

When male learners get female learners pregnant, they should... – by sex

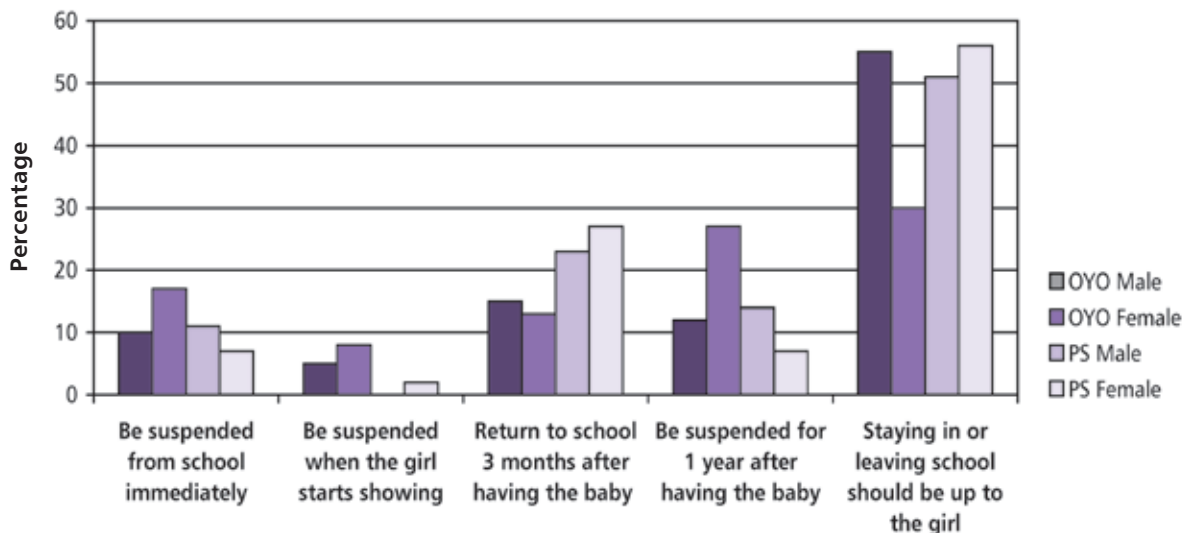


TABLE 95

33. When male learners get female learners pregnant, they should... – by sex

	Be suspended from school immediately	Be suspended when the girl starts showing	Return to school 3 months after having the baby	Be suspended for 1 year after having the baby	Staying in or leaving school should be up to the girl
OYO Male	10%	5%	15%	12%	55%
OYO Female	17%	8%	13%	27%	30%
PS Male	11%	0%	23%	14%	51%
PS Female	7%	2%	27%	7%	56%

As previously discussed, child support is an important but complex issue in Namibia. When Dr LaFont interviewed sex workers in Katutura, 73% of the girls/women interviewed who had children were not receiving any support from the fathers. Despite this, only 25% of the girls/women had taken the fathers to court for maintenance orders. When asked why they had not taken the men to court, a variety of answers were given. The most common reason was that "he has nothing" (31%). Some women were proud of the fact that they did not ask their children's father/s for support.

The findings discussed earlier in this report revealed that many respondents felt that men who impregnate women should be part of the decision-making process in terms of abortion. We wondered if the joint sharing of responsibility extended to the cost of raising a child, so we asked the respondents if learner-fathers should be forced to help support their children. The PS cohort was more likely (87%) to

agree with this statement than the OYO cohort (67%). Given the fact that there had not been any learner pregnancies in the PS, the PS cohort are less likely to identify with the situation, and hence can be more critical.

TABLE 96

34. When a male learner gets a female learner pregnant, he should be forced to help support the child

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	67%	22%	6%	5%
PS cohort	87%	5%	8%	0%

When analysed by sex, a different picture emerges. The OYO males were the least likely to agree with "forced" support (62%) and most likely to disagree with the statement (29%). The PS females (90%) and PS males (83%) overwhelmingly agreed, with very few (5% and 6% respectively) disagreeing. The difference in the responses between the OYO males and PS males may reflect realities of their situations. These findings support the trend that we have seen throughout this report; the PS female responses have fairly consistently been the most liberal and have embraced gender equality whilst the OYO male responses have been the most patriarchal and conservative.

When a male learner get a female learner pregnant, he should be forced to help support the child – by sex

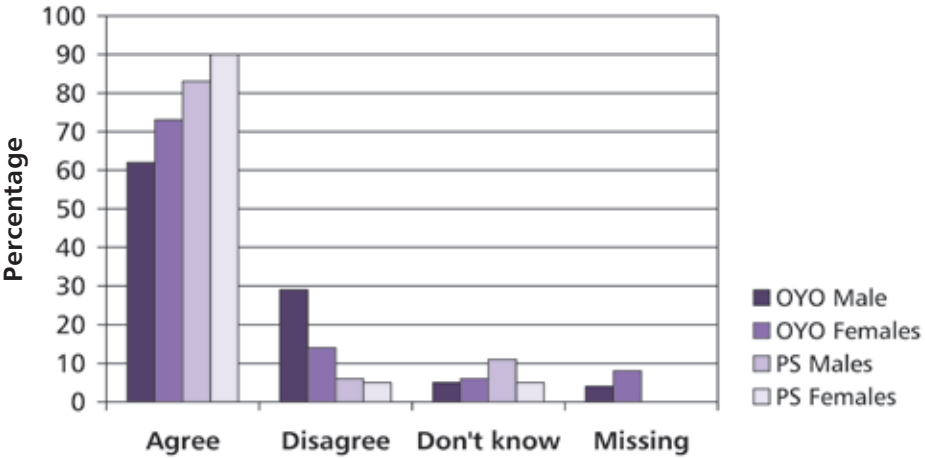


TABLE 97

34. When a male learner get a female learner pregnant, he should be forced to help support the child – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	62%	29%	5%	4%
OYO Females	73%	14%	6%	8%
PS Males	83%	6%	11%	0%
PS Females	90%	5%	5%	0%

We did not find any major patterns when analysing the OYO data using the variables of age, education, urban/rural birth/residence and ethnicity.

Unequal relationships

I would like to know more about whom I should have sex with because actually [I am] interested in people older than myself. At what age is it suitable for a girl like me who is 17 years old to have sex?

– question from OYO respondent

Can a married woman sleep with a boy who is in school?

– question from OYO respondent

Independence in Namibia has resulted in increased urban migration with subsequent decreases in support from the extended family. In addition, persistent poverty has been combined with an increased exposure to consumer goods. Heightened consumerism is blamed for the sugar daddy/mommy phenomena. Men are supposed to demonstrate their love by supplying their girlfriends/wives with material goods – often basic items such as soap or food. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that a variety of non-marital sexual relationships with economic components are thought to be flourishing. Some observers believe that transactional sex, survival sex and sugar daddy/mommy relationships are on the rise (Hailonga–van Dijk 2007). It is however difficult to fit this myriad of sexual contacts into neatly labelled boxes. Grey areas are probably the rule rather than the exception with various levels of emotional attachment, psychological connectedness, physical involvement and economic compensation. In fact, in Namibia as elsewhere, there is a very fine line between being involved in a romantic sexual relationship and transactional sex because the transactional aspect of such relationships is not explicit and sex-for-goods is often found in the context of romance and generalised reciprocity. Also traditionally the *lobola* could be considered an exchange of goods for sex so there is a cultural basis for gaining materially from sex.

...If you are from a poor family and you take many guys, they will support you with everything you need, and you will become a model, a sexy girl like the rich ones. If you have many sex partners you won't run around or wonder who to go and have sex with – you'll have plenty choices! Why do people who have children from different guys say we should only have one partner? Take sugar daddies! They are so cool, like cool friends. They will provide everything for you. As you know, today's people want cellphones. A sugar daddy will give you one.

– comment submitted to OYO and published in *OYO, Young, latest and cool*, vol 5, no 2, June 2006

Sugar daddy/mommy relationships, seen as exceptionally unequal relationships, have received a lot of attention in recent years: it is taken for granted that most of these intergenerational relationships involve young girls and older men, although it is also acknowledged that some young men have sugar mommies. There have also been cases of young men having sugar daddies because although would have preferred sugar mommies, they could not find them. Young people are supposedly seeking out the three Cs: cash, cars and cell phones. On a more modest level, it

is believed that young people are also sometimes involved in these relationships to help support their families and pay their school fees. Older men engage in such relationships because it boosts their esteem. It is also believed that younger women are more opened to sexual experimentation and will perform sexual acts, such as oral sex, which their wives refuse to do (OYO, personal communication).

In addition to the moral issue, the sexual exploitation of young people by older men and women is blamed for increasing the transmission of HIV/AIDS amongst young people because the inequality between the partners makes it difficult for the younger partner to negotiate safer sex (Potkins 2005). Although these relationships have been discussed and mentioned in newspaper articles and development reports, there has been no qualitative or quantitative research in Namibia which allows us to determine the prevalence of or the dynamics involved in such relationships.

What happens if I sleep with [an] old mother whilst I'm [a] young boy?

– question from OYO respondent

To explore how young people felt about these unequal relationships, the respondents were presented with several scenarios regarding involvement with people who are older (5 years, 10 years and 20 years older) or had an economic status different or the same as their own (poorer, as poor/rich, slightly richer and much richer).

The PS cohort's responses indicated that most (76%) would consider a relationship with someone five years older than themselves but would not consider a relationship with someone 20 years older than themselves (89%). The OYO cohort's answers were not as sharply divided regarding the question of age, with only 35% selecting "Yes" to considering a relationship with someone five years older than themselves. Two-thirds of this cohort indicated that they would not consider having a relationship with someone 10 or 20 years older (although there were more missing values here).

Interestingly the same percentage of the OYO and PS respondents (65%) selected "No" to considering being in a relationship with someone 10 years their senior. However, the OYO cohort answers were similar for considering relations with someone 10 years older (15%) and 20 years older (16%). In contrast, whilst 26% of the PS cohort would consider being in a relationship with someone 10 years their senior, only 3% would consider it with someone 20 years older than themselves.

In order to view this data in a more comprehensive way, we have altered the chart format that has been used so far in this report. The following charts show only the percentage of "Yes" answers because this allows us to easily compare the "Yes" responses for three questions at the same time.

In Namibia as elsewhere, it is common for girls/women to have relationships with men who are older than themselves. The standard explanation for this is that men acquire wealth throughout their lives and are interested in younger fertile women, whilst women lack direct access to wealth and power, hence, they need to marry

advantageously to achieve them. With this in mind, we analysed the age and wealth questions using the variable of sex.

Most of the PS respondents (69% of the males and 83% of the females) selected "Yes" to being involved with someone five years older. Yet those numbers drop off quickly and none of the PS males selected "Yes" to considering a relationship with someone twenty years older than themselves. The OYO males were the most likely (17%) to consider such an involvement.

TABLE 98				
29. Would you consider being a relationship with someone ...				
a. Who is 5 years older than you?				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	35%	47%	8%	10%
PS cohort	76%	14%	10%	0%
b. Who is 10 years older than you?				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	15%	65%	8%	12%
PS cohort	26%	65%	9%	0%
c. Who is 20 years or more years older than you?				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	16%	67%	7%	10%
PS cohort	3%	89%	8%	0%

Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by sex (percentage who selected "Yes")

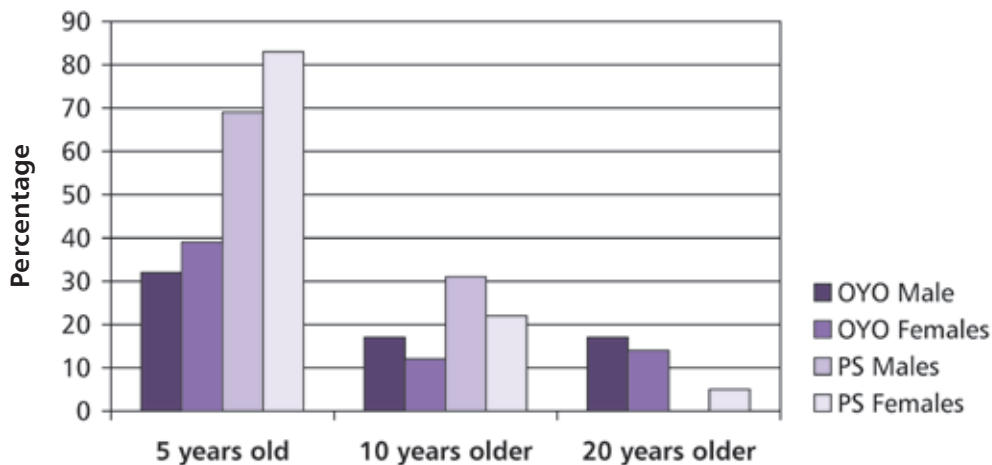


TABLE 99			
29b. Would you consider being in a relationship with someone who is 10 years older than you? – by sex (percentage who selected "Yes")			
	5 years older	10 years older	20 years older
OYO Male	32%	17%	17%
OYO Females	39%	12%	14%
PS Males	69%	31%	0%
PS Females	83%	22%	5%

When analysing the data from the OYO cohort using the variable of age, the most striking results were the answers of the 20-year-olds. They were the most likely (45%) to agree with asymmetrical age relationships whilst the 16-year-olds were the least likely (27%) to select "Yes". Perhaps this is because a 40-year-old does not seem so old to a 20-year-old or it could also be that 20-year-olds are under more pressure to be financially independent and they realise the economic advantages that may come with being involved with an older person.

Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by age (OYO cohort) (percentage who selected "Yes")

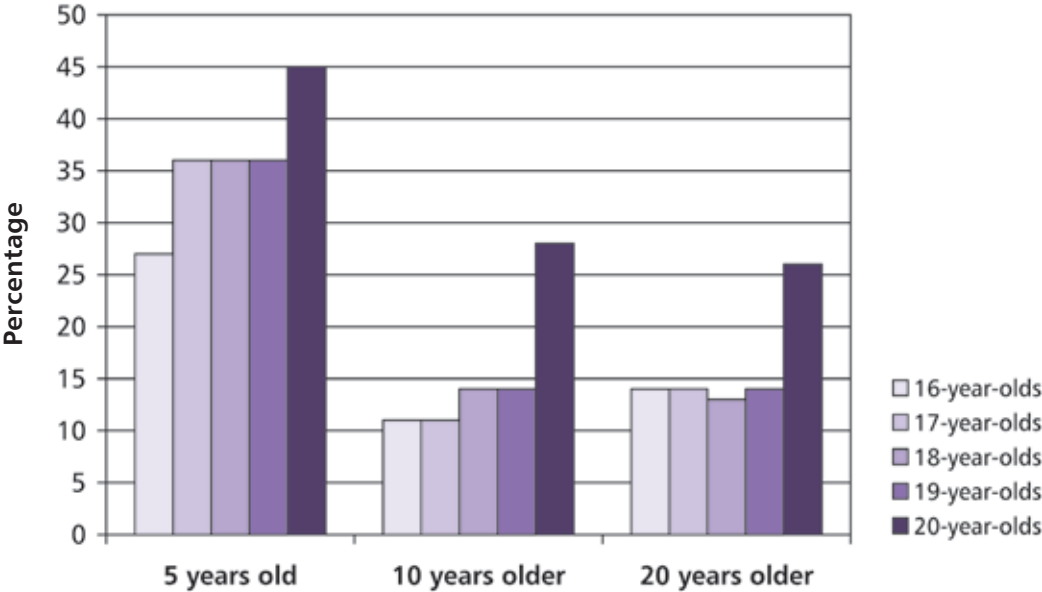


TABLE 100
29a.b.c. Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by age (OYO cohort) (percentage who selected "Yes")

	5 years older	10 years older	20 years older
16-year-olds	27%	11%	14%
17-year-olds	36%	11%	14%
18-year-olds	36%	14%	13%
19-year-olds	36%	14%	14%
20-year-olds	45%	28%	26%

There was noteworthy dissimilarity in the answers for these questions when analysed by ethnic identity. Amongst the Owambo sub-cohort, the percentage of "Yes" answer increased with age whilst amongst the Herero and Himba/Tjimba respondents the opposite was true. This suggests that Owambo communities may be more open to or in favour of sugar daddy/mommy relationships.

**Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)
(percentage who selected "Yes")**

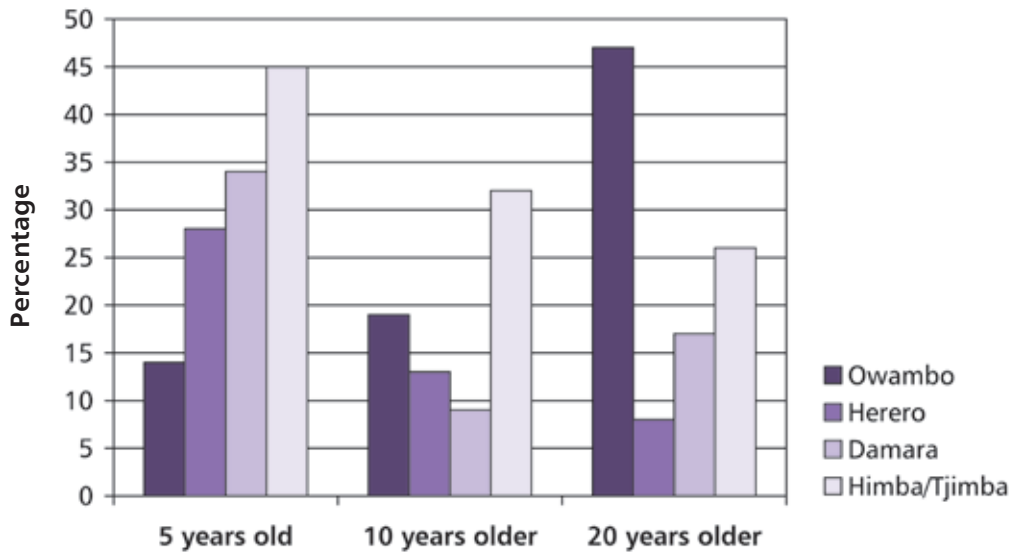


TABLE 101

**29a.b.c. Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by ethnicity
(OYO cohort) (percentage who selected "Yes")**

	5 years older	10 years older	20 years older
Owambo	14%	19%	47%
Herero	28%	13%	8%
Damara	34%	9%	17%
Himba/Tjimba	45%	32%	26%

The OYO data when analysed by urban/rural birth/residence did not yield meaningful findings. Also, being in-school versus out-of-school did not appear to be a factor in attitudes toward asymmetrical age relationships. Therefore we have not provided charts detailing the answers for these variables.

To further investigate young people's attitudes about asymmetrical relationships, we asked respondents how they felt about being in a relationship with people poorer, as poor, slightly richer and much richer than themselves. The majority of the PS cohort was willing to entertain the idea of economically symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships. The responses from the OYO cohort were more mixed with noteworthy percentages of "Don't know" and missing responses. If we can make the assumption that the PS cohort is, for the most part, more financially secure than the OYO cohort, then we would expect the opposite to be true. On the other hand, there could be a few alternative explanations: the PS cohort answers throughout questionnaire have demonstrated a greater sense of equality and that could be in play here – if everyone is equal then disparities in wealth do not matter or it could be that the privileged are simply more comfortable with the wealthy. The OYO cohort's answers suggest that they are most comfortable in relationships with people of their same economic level.

TABLE 102

29. Would you consider being in a relationship with someone...

d. Who is poorer than you?

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	41%	29%	18%	13%
PS cohort	78%	13%	9%	0%

e. Who is as poor/rich as you?

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	60%	16%	12%	13%
PS cohort	93%	3%	4%	0%

f. Who is slightly richer than you?

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	47%	27%	15%	12%
PS cohort	93%	4%	3%	0%

g. Who is much richer than you?

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	41%	32%	16%	11%
PS cohort	82%	8%	10%	0%

Are the three Cs – cash, car and cell-phone at play here? When analysing the data using the variable of sex, it was not clear. In fact, the majority of the males and female of both cohorts chose "Yes" to a relationship with someone "As poor as you". Both groups of males (54% of the OYO males and 80% of the PS males) were more likely to chose "Yes" to being in a relationship with someone poorer than themselves. The OYO females were the least likely to selected "Yes" to this answer (29%) but they were also the least likely to select "Yes" to being in a relationship with someone much richer than themselves (34%). It may be that OYO females believe that economic equality will translate into more equal power in a relationship or it could be that they are intimidated by wealth. In contrast, 76% of the PS females selected "Yes" to being involved with someone poorer than themselves and this suggests a belief in equality or that love is more important than finances. It could also relate to the fact that they feel more economically secure and do not need to rely on men financially.

Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by sex (percentage who selected "Yes")

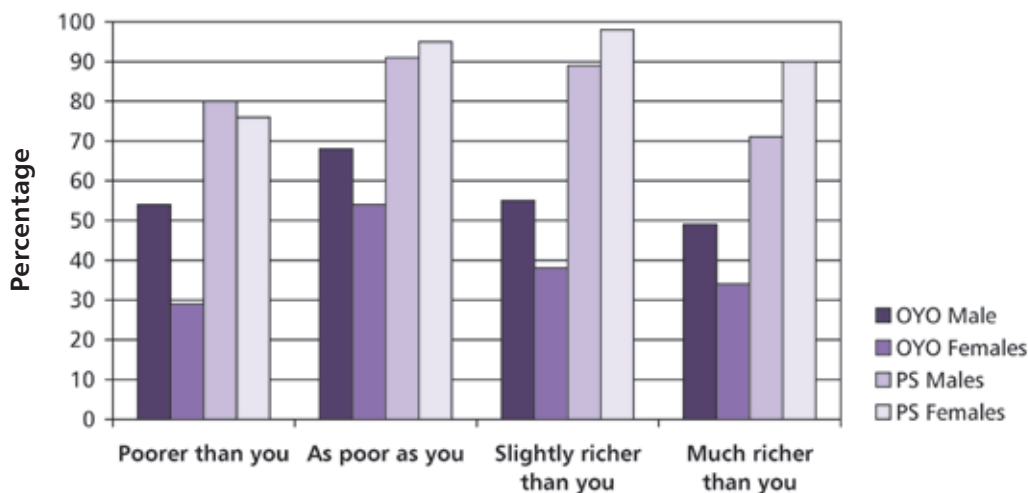


TABLE 103

29d.e.f.g. Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by sex (percentage who selected “Yes”)

	Poorer than you	As poor as you	Slightly richer than you	Much richer than you
OYO Male	54%	68%	55%	49%
OYO Females	29%	54%	38%	34%
PS Males	80%	91%	89%	71%
PS Females	76%	95%	98%	90%

When analysing the OYO data using the variable of age, we found no clear cut trends in the answers. The majority of each age group chose “Yes” to “As poor as you”, suggesting once again that this cohort is most comfortable with partners who have an economic status relatively equal to their own.

Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by age (OYO cohort) (percentage who selected “Yes”)

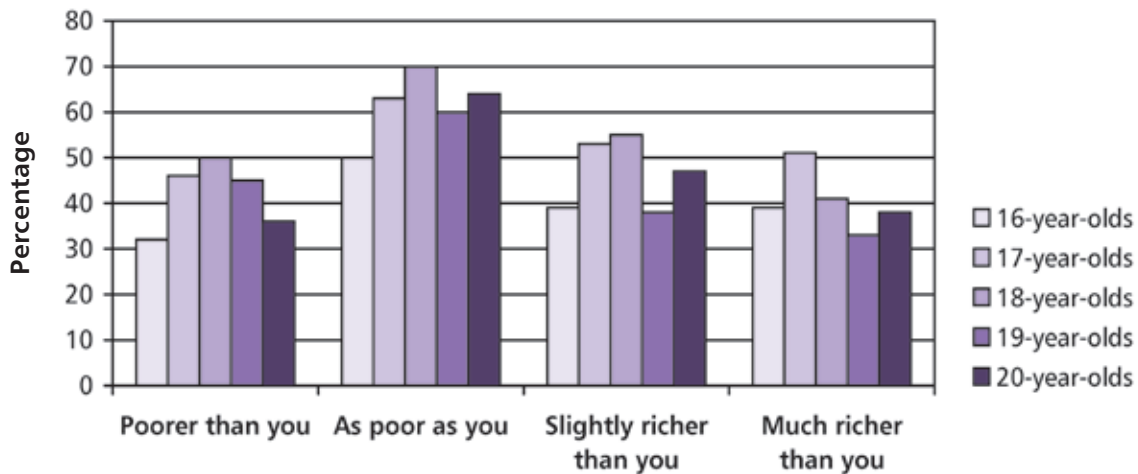


TABLE 104

29d.e.f.g. Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by age (OYO cohort) (percentage who selected “Yes”)

	Poorer than you	As poor as you	Slightly richer than you	Much richer than you
16-year-olds	32%	50%	39%	39%
17-year-olds	46%	63%	53%	51%
18-year-olds	50%	70%	55%	41%
19-year-olds	45%	60%	38%	33%
20-year-olds	36%	64%	47%	38%

An analysis of the OYO data using the variable of ethnic identity also failed to yield meaningful differences. The majority (except the 50% amongst Damara respondents) selected “Yes” to “As poor as you”. Himba/Tjimba respondents were the most likely (61%) to chose “Yes” to someone “Slightly richer” (Owambo - 42%, Herero - 49% and Damara - 43%). Himba/Tjimba respondents were also the most likely (47%) to select “Yes” to “Much richer than you” as compared to the other ethnic groups.

Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by ethnicity (OYO cohort) (percentage who selected “Yes”)

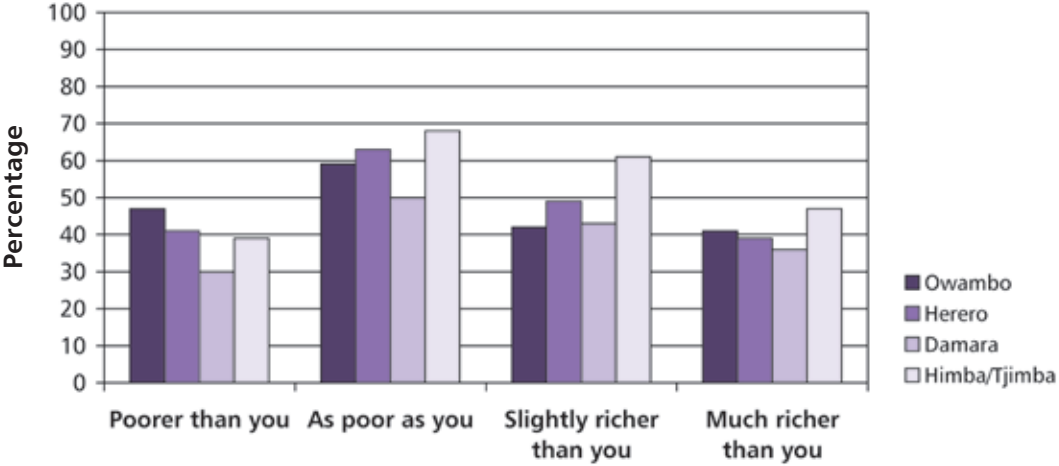


TABLE 105
29d.e.f.g. Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by ethnicity (OYO cohort) (percentage who selected “Yes”)

	Poorer than you	As poor as you	Slightly richer than you	Much richer than you
Owambo	47%	59%	42%	41%
Herero	41%	63%	49%	39%
Damara	30%	50%	43%	36%
Himba/Tjimba	39%	68%	61%	47%

Has urban living and urban life’s association with consumer goods encouraged economically asymmetrical relationships? The analysis of the OYO data using the variable of urban/rural birth/residence did not bear this out. For example, there were an equal number of “urban born” and “rural residence” responses for “As poor as you” (63%). Those with urban birth or residence were also less likely to chose “Yes” to “Much richer than you” (40%) than their rural counterparts (47% amongst the rural born and 45% amongst those living in rural areas).

Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort) (percentage who selected “Yes”)

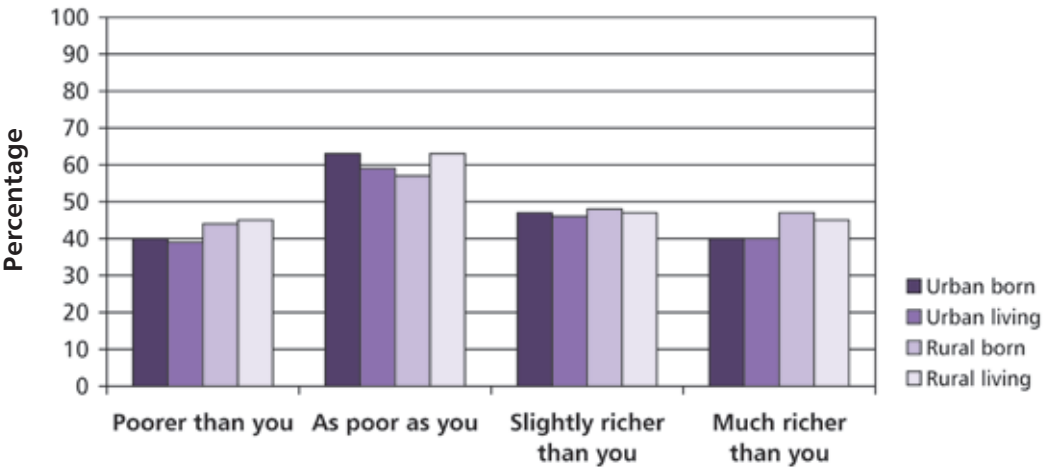


TABLE 106				
29d.e.f.g. Would you consider being in a relationship with someone... – by urban/rural birth/residence (OYO cohort) (percentage who selected “Yes”)				
	Poorer than you	As poor as you	Slightly richer than you	Much richer than you
Urban born	40%	63%	47%	40%
Urban living	39%	59%	46%	40%
Rural born	44%	57%	48%	47%
Rural living	45%	63%	47%	45%

Despite all the ink about asymmetrical relationships in Namibia, the answers from our respondents did not support the assumption that this is a growing trend. It would be easy to dismiss these findings with the suggestion that our respondents were “telling” us, through their answers, what they think we wanted to hear or what they have been taught at home, school and church. There is no way of knowing this for certain. However, their apparent honesty on other contentious issues throws this hypothesis in doubt. This suggests that there needs to be further, more detailed qualitative research on this issue.

The findings in this section reveal that there is still work to be done educating young people about their right to sexual autonomy. As noted earlier in this report, respect for elders is widespread; however, this reverence may also be a factor in silencing young people from reporting sexual abuse and rape. In addition, more needs to be done to make Namibian youth aware of the fact that men must be held accountable for the sexual actions and that women do not provoke rape. Blaming the victim prevents young people from coming forward, thus victimising them a second time.

Asymmetrical relationship, in terms of age and wealth, do exist in Namibia but the answers from our respondents, for the most part, suggest that these relationships may not be desirable and that most young people are comfortable within their own age and economic bracket.

5. ATTITUDES AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SEXUAL BEHAVIOURS

There should be groups that counsel lovers and parents and their children on how to talk about sex openly.

– comment from OYO respondent

People should have this kind of questionnaires at school more often as it is important to know what the youth of Namibia think about sexuality and the laws around it.

– comment from PS respondent

Learning about sex

Since the 1990s the Namibia government and several NGOs have mounted public health campaigns regarding safer sex and HIV transmission. Have young people internalised these messages? What are the major sources for sex information amongst Namibian youth? What types of knowledge and beliefs do young people hold about various sexual practices? In this section we addressed these issues. The questions were exploratory, sometimes following up sketchy information that was previously communicated to the researchers such as “Most young Namibian do not know about masturbation” or “Young people think sex should be over quickly”. We also posed several gender-specific questions about sexual behaviour, such as “Females need to have orgasms” and “Males need to have orgasms” to shed some light on the gender dynamics of sexual relations.

We began this section asking “Where have you received the most information about sex?” and “Where have you received the least information about sex?” We posed these as a multiple choice question with the available answers: friends; family; media; Ombetja Yehinga; and church. There were substantial differences between the OYO and PS cohorts regarding where information was received. The most common choice amongst both cohorts was “from the media”, although the PS cohort was almost twice as likely (63%) than the OYO cohort to choose this answer (34%). These findings may reflect the fact that the PS cohort could have greater access to technology so that media plays a larger role in their lives or that they take greater stock in what the media has to say. According to the 2006-7 NDHS 66% of urban households and 12% of rural households have television sets (MoHSS 2008).

Not surprisingly, 32% of the OYO cohort selected Ombetja Yehinga as the source for most of their information about sex. The OYO questionnaires were administered in schools where OYO had some presence – some were schools they had been working with for a long time, whilst others were new schools. Thus most of these young people have been exposed to their message and/or their magazine, *OYO, Young, latest and*

cool. This suggests that the “hip” age-appropriate messages which are the focus of Ombetja Yehinga’s bi-monthly magazine, theatrical performances, fashion shows and information sessions are having an impact. None of the PS cohort chose “Ombetja Yehinga” – this organisation has not conducted programs at the PS in Windhoek so this cohort would not have been familiar with their work. The OYO cohort was more likely to have received the most information from their friends (20%) than the PS cohort (12%). However, the PS cohort was more than twice as likely (22%) to have received information from their family than the OYO cohort (9%). None of the PS respondents and only 1% of the OYO respondents received the most information from their church. Although religious institutions in Namibia have not been the beacons of sex education, they are not silent on the topic of sex and often promote only abstinence. Hailonga-van Dijk (2007) reported the following comment made by a 17-year-old girl in a focus group “The church preaches the same thing all over. The preacher says do not use a condom. Jesus Christ is the condom. I really do not know what they mean by that...”. So it may be that respondents were qualifying their answers, indicating that the church does not provide the type of information which they want or need.

TABLE 107

35. Where have you received the most information about sex?

	From your family	From your friends	From the media (TV, radios, movies, etc)	From Ombetja Yehinga	From your church	Missing
OYO cohort	9%	20%	34%	32%	1%	4%
PS cohort	22%	12%	63%	0%	0%	3%

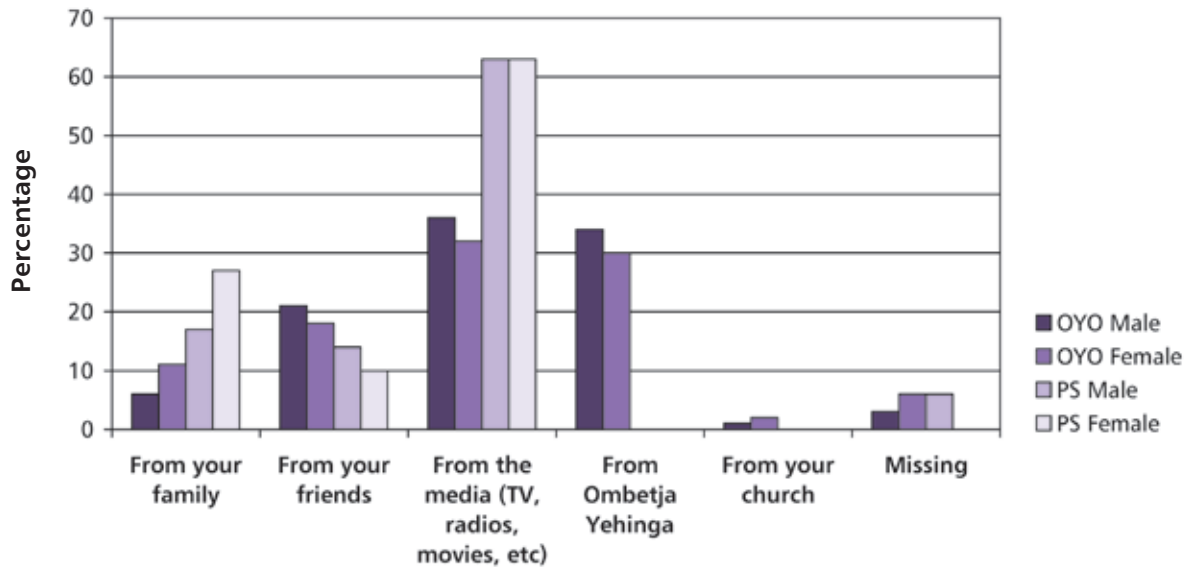
To determine if sex was a factor in where information was received, we analysed the data using this variable. As we have seen in some of the responses to earlier questions, the greatest difference was between the OYO and PS cohorts rather than between the males and females. Yet if we look at the sex of the respondents who selected “family” and “friends”, differences between the males and females become evident. The males of both cohorts were more likely than their female counterparts to indicate that they received the most information from their friends (21% of the OYO males and 14% of the PS males chose this answer). In contrast, 18% of the OYO females and 10% of the PS females selected “friends”. The males were also less likely than the females to chose “from the family” (6% of the OYO males and 17% of the PS the males chose this answer whilst 11% of OYO females and 27% of PS females made this selection).

TABLE 108

35. Where have you received the most information about sex? – by sex

	From your family	From your friends	From the media (TV, radios, movies, etc)	From Ombetja Yehinga	From your church	Missing
OYO Male	6%	21%	36%	34%	1%	3%
OYO Female	11%	18%	32%	30%	2%	6%
PS Male	17%	14%	63%	0%	0%	6%
PS Female	27%	10%	63%	0%	0%	0%

Where have you received the most information about sex? – by sex



The findings from some of our data have suggested that there is a mini-generation gap between the youngest and the oldest OYO respondents. We wondered if this held true regarding sources of information about sex. However, when the answers for the question about sources of most information about sex (question 35) were analysed using age as a variable, this phenomenon was not pronounced. However, this could be explained by the fact that question was not ideological but rather reality-based. For example, 16-year-olds were more likely to receive most information from their families (15%) than 20-year-olds (8%). It is likely that 16-year-olds are more likely to live with their family and that family is more influential amongst them than it is amongst 20-year-olds.

Where have you received the most information about sex? – by age (OYO cohort)

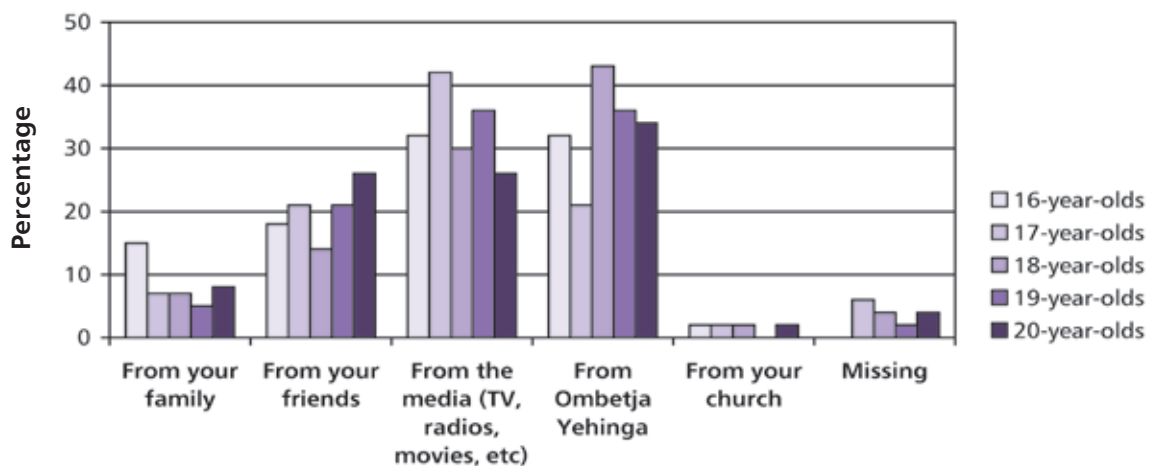


TABLE 109

35. Where have you received the most information about sex? – by age (OYO cohort)

	From your family	From your friends	From the media (TV, radios, movies, etc)	From Ombetja Yehinga	From your church	Missing
16-year-olds	15%	18%	32%	32%	2%	0%
17-year-olds	7%	21%	42%	21%	2%	6%
18-year-olds	7%	14%	30%	43%	2%	4%
19-year-olds	5%	21%	36%	36%	0%	2%
20-year-olds	8%	26%	26%	34%	2%	4%

When asked where they received the least information, the most commonly-chosen answer amongst both set of respondents was "church", although the PS respondents were almost twice as likely (48%) as the OYO cohort (25%) to select this answer. The high number of "church" responses amongst the PS cohort was puzzling. Churches are organisations that they were familiar with, yet they claimed to get less information from those sources than from Ombetja Yehinga (21%), an organisation which has not worked with them. This could be construed as a pointed criticism of the churches' messages about sexuality. As the table below shows, the remainder of the responses were spread out over the other possible choices.

TABLE 110

36. Where have you received the least information about sex? – by sex

	From your family	From your friends	From the media (TV, radios, movies, etc)	From Ombetja Yehinga	From your church	Missing
OYO cohort	24%	14%	15%	19%	25%	3%
PS cohort	13%	10%	4%	21%	48%	4%

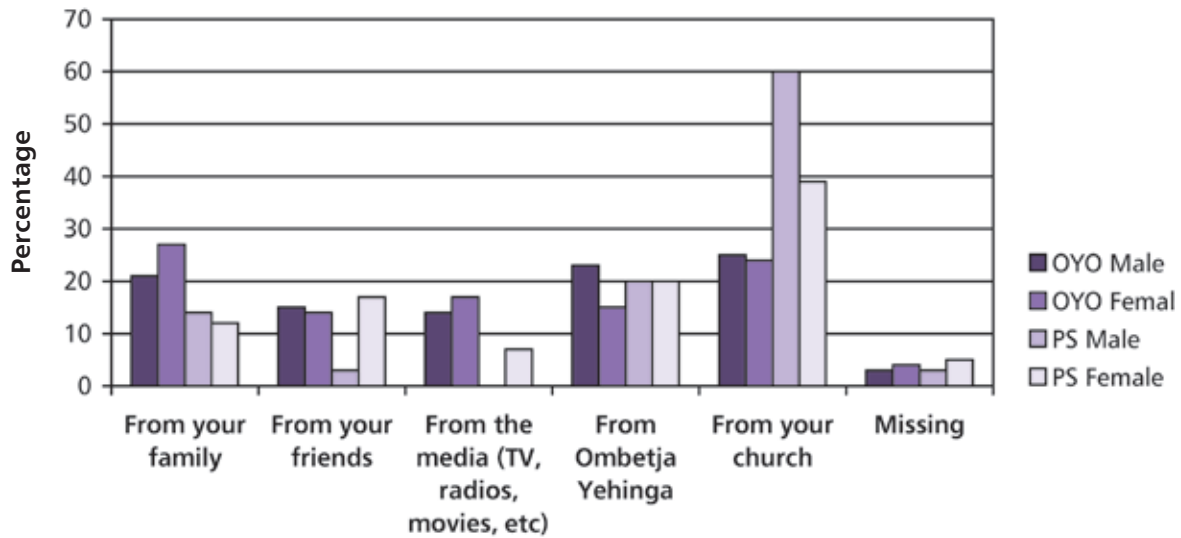
When the data was analysed using sex as a variable, we found that greatest difference was between the cohorts rather than between males and females. However, there was a notable difference between the PS males and PS females regarding receiving information from church (60% and 39% respectively). Both OYO males and females were more likely to chose "from your family" (21% and 27% respectively) than their PS counterparts (14% and 12% respectively).

TABLE 111

36. Where have you received the least information about sex? – by sex

	From your family	From your friends	From the media (TV, radios, movies, etc)	From Ombetja Yehinga	From your church	Missing
OYO Male	21%	15%	14%	23%	25%	3%
OYO Female	27%	14%	17%	15%	24%	4%
PS Male	14%	3%	0%	20%	60%	3%
PS Female	12%	17%	7%	20%	39%	5%

Where have you received the least information about sex? – by sex



The findings in this section suggest that families need to be encouraged to discuss sex with young people. According to Talavera (2007), there has been a reduction in the transmission of sexual information amongst some groups in Namibia. His research in northern Namibia revealed that, regarding some topics such as masturbation, older people had more knowledge than today's youth and that grandmothers once had the role of transmitting information about sex. They imparted information as part of some traditional ceremonies. As these ceremonies are disappearing, so is the accompanying informal sex education. Our data suggest that the media is filling the information gap. This is disturbing because the accuracy and quality of sexual content in the media can be dubious at best. In addition when young people receive information from a variety of sources (media, OYO, churches) the information can be contradictory, leading to mistrust or confusion. Further complicating the sex information issue is the fact that whilst some NGOs and public health campaigns promote the ABC of sex (abstain, be faithful and condomise), other organisations emphasise different parts of the message which can lead to further misunderstandings.

Sexual behaviours

I want to know why it is important to have sex and what does sex bring to a person?

– question from focus group participant

The right age for one to break his/her virginity. How long must one have been dating someone to have sex with them?

– question from PS respondent

Is it good or bad to not have sex for a long time? Here the Herero say unohura (you are horny), because you haven't had sex for a long time.

– question from OYO respondent

Earlier in this report, we addressed "Men as head of the household" as a tradition and reported that 46% of the OYO cohort and 26% of PS cohort agreed that this is an important tradition to preserve. We wanted to explore how this concept of male dominance translates into attitudes towards sexual behaviours and pleasure. Do young people believe that males and females have different levels of sexual desires, needs and responses? The respondents were presented with a series of sexual behaviours and scenarios and asked to "Agree" or "Disagree" or select "Don't know". Our goal was to investigate attitudes and knowledge of sexual practices, so we purposely did not ask the cohorts about their own sexual behaviour. Instead we focused on perceived differences between male and female behaviour.

According to the 2006-7 Namibian Demographic and Health Survey, 19% of boys and 7% of girls age 15-19 had sexual intercourse by age 15 (MoHSS 2008). The average age of the OYO respondents was 17.7 and amongst the PS respondents, the average age was 16.5. Therefore we can make the assumption that many of our respondents were or have friends who were sexually active. It is clear that some of the questions, especially those written by focus group participants, were written by sexually-active people. However, there were also a few comments, i.e. *"Some of these questions should be asked to people who are able or who have been having sex for along time"*, which implied that some of the respondents were not sexually active.

The data were analysed using sex, ethnic identity, age, education and urban/rural birth/residence. Tables with the percentage from the two cohorts have been provided for all of the questions. Charts have been generated only for the variables where the findings were noteworthy for their difference or similarity.

Orgasms

Earlier in the report we found that a noteworthy percentage (55% of the OYO and 18% of PS cohorts) disagree with the statement "Male/females should never be blamed for getting raped". Furthermore, as stated earlier, in the focus groups there seemed to be consensus that men were sexually urgent – they needed to have sex once aroused. Does this idea of sexual urgency extend to females? We began by asking about female and male orgasm. We qualified the word "orgasm" with sexual climax and coming, which are words more commonly used to describe achieving orgasm. However, when considering the data regarding orgasm, it should be noted that some of the respondents may not have understood the terminology.

The data revealed that all most all of the respondents chose the same answer to the statements "Females need to have orgasms" and "Males need to have orgasms". The word "need" was purposely used here to explore the idea of sexual urgency. The majority of both cohorts selected "Agree" to both of these statements (55% of the OYO cohort and 67% of the PS cohort). These findings seem to contradict the idea that young Namibians think men are sexually urgent but women are not. A more nuanced inquiry into this subject is warranted.

Perhaps the most noteworthy finding for this question was difference of the "Don't know" between the OYO (28% and 26%) and PS cohorts (12%). Although the OYO respondents were, on average, 14 months older than the PS cohort, their answers throughout this section indicate less knowledge of, or less confidence regarding sexual behaviours than those of the PS cohort.

TABLE 112

37. With regards to sexual pleasure

a. Females need to have orgasms (sexual climax, coming).

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	55%	9%	28%	8%
PS cohort	67%	17%	12%	4%

b. Males need to have orgasms (sexual climax, coming).

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	55%	9%	26%	9%
PS cohort	67%	17%	12%	4%

When we analysed the data relating to female orgasm using the variable of the sex of the respondents, the picture became more complex. The OYO females were the least likely to select "Agree" (52%) to the statement "Females need to have orgasms", whilst the PS males were the most likely to chose this answer (71%). It is difficult to explain the difference in these answers. PS males may have adopted the 'modern' Western model of sexuality which promotes the idea that bringing your partner to orgasm is part of being a successful and skilled lover. Yet this does not explain the answers selected by the PS females who were the most likely to select "Disagree" (22%). Perhaps the PS females were reacting to the ambiguity of the word "need". An alternative explanation could be that the PS female are less invested in the idea that sex should be goal oriented.

"Females need to have orgasms (sexual climax, coming) – by sex

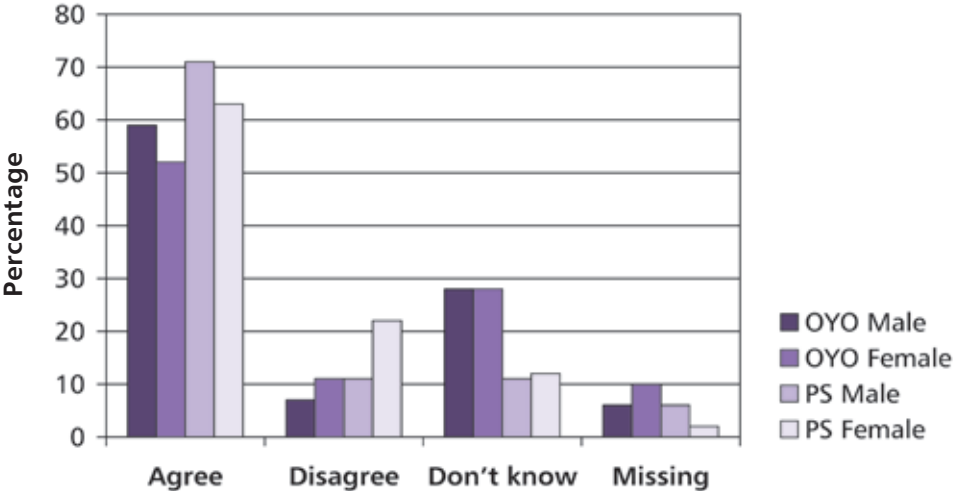


TABLE 113

37a. With regards to sexual pleasure: Females need to have orgasms – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	59%	7%	28%	6%
OYO Female	52%	11%	28%	10%
PS Male	71%	11%	11%	6%
PS Female	63%	22%	12%	2%

When we analysed the OYO data using the variable of ethnic identity, some differences amongst the ethnic groups emerged. Whilst 70% of the Herero respondents selected "Agree", only 42% of the Owambo respondents chose this answer. The Owambo cohort were also almost twice as likely (36%) as the Herero (19%) to select "Don't know". The answers from Damara (53%) and Himba/Tjimba (55%) respondents were similar.

Females need to have orgasms – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

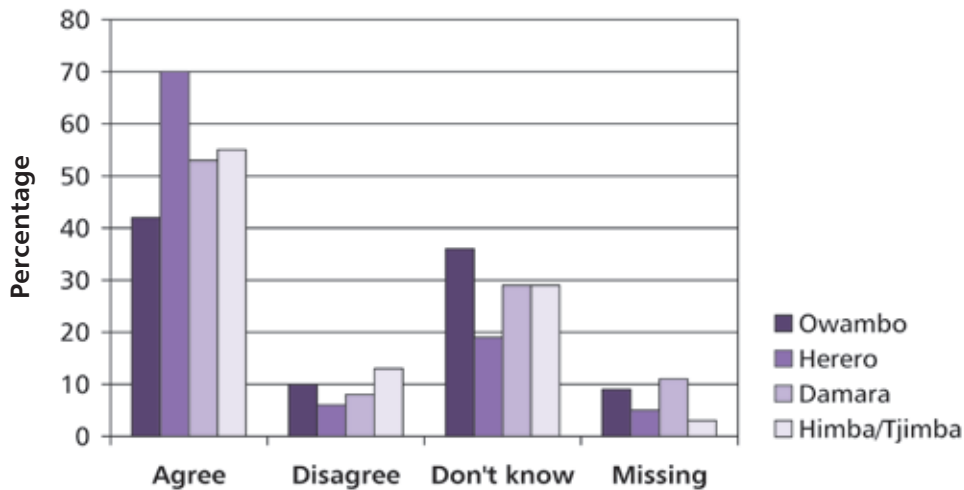


TABLE 114

37a. Females need to have orgasms – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	42%	10%	36%	9%
Herero	70%	6%	19%	5%
Damara	53%	8%	29%	11%
Himba/Tjimba	55%	13%	29%	3%

When analysed by the sex of the respondents, the answers for "Males need to have orgasms" were not meaningfully different than those for "Females need to have orgasms". This was an important finding because it suggests that the patriarchal attitudes so prevalent in other aspects of Namibian society do not necessarily pertain to sexual satisfaction.

Males need to have orgasms – by sex

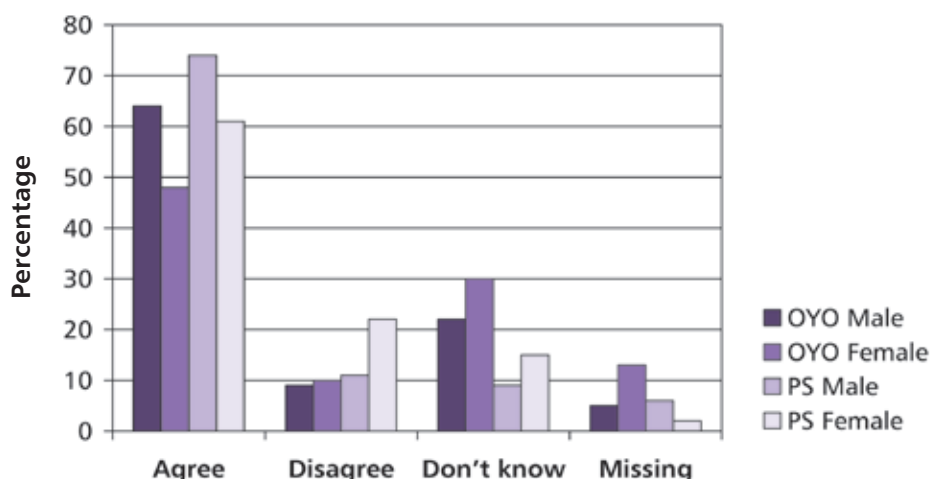


TABLE 115

37b. Males need to have orgasms – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	64%	9%	22%	5%
OYO Female	48%	10%	30%	13%
PS Male	74%	11%	9%	6%
PS Female	61%	22%	15%	2%

When analysing the data using the variable of ethnic identity and comparing the answers for "Females need to have orgasms" and "Males need to have orgasms", the only major difference was found in the answers from the Himba/Tjimba respondents. Amongst this sub-cohort 55% selected "Agree" to "Females need to have orgasms", whilst 76% selected "Agree" to the male counterpart of this question. Only 5% chose "Disagree" to "Males need to have orgasms", as compared to 13% who selected "Disagree" to the necessity for female orgasms. In addition, 29% of the answers regarding female orgasm were "Don't know" whilst this dropped to 16% on the question of male orgasm. This may reflect the subsistence strategy of the Himba/Tjimba, many of who rely on or value livestock. Traditionally, the Herero and the Himba/Tjimba were herders and because men usually own the herds, alienating women from wealth and power, it is common for herders be patriarchal (Stearns 2006) The male role in the reproductive process may be exulted, thus male orgasm may be seen as more important in these groups Not surprisingly, Himba/Tjimba respondents (53%) and Herero respondents (52%) were also slightly more likely than the respondents from other ethnic groups to agree to the statement for preservation of "Men as head of the household", suggesting that these groups may be more phallogocentric or patriarchal than the other groups.

Males need to have orgasms – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

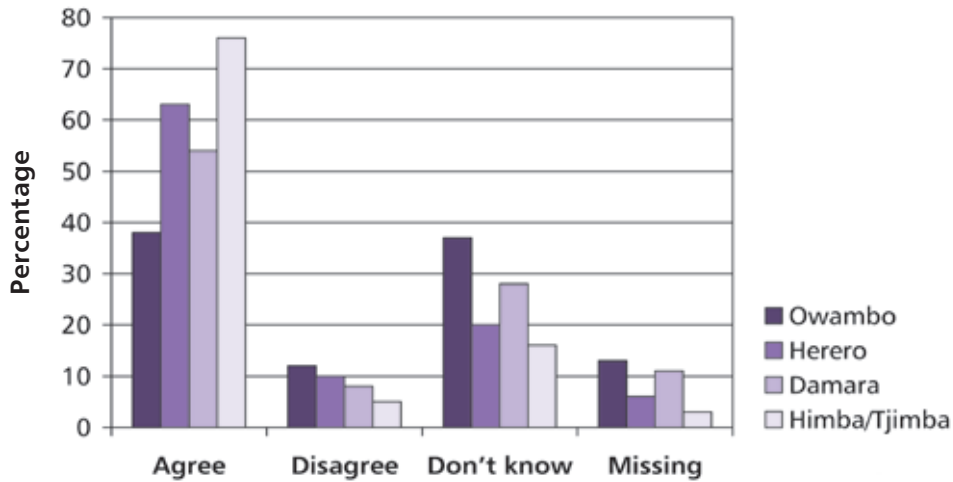


TABLE 116

37b. Males need to have orgasms – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	38%	12%	37%	13%
Herero	63%	10%	20%	6%
Damara	54%	8%	28%	11%
Himba/Tjimba	76%	5%	16%	3%

Achieving orgasm is often the basis for defining the success or failure of a sexual encounter. We wanted to find out if young Namibians are goal-oriented when it comes to sex so we asked if males and females should have orgasms each time they engage in sex. Two gender-specific statements were presented: "Females should have an orgasm each time" and "Males should have an orgasm each time".

In the West it is widely believed that female orgasm is more complex and difficult to achieve than male orgasm and that a higher proportion of the female population is non-orgasmic compared to the male population (Tiefer 2004). The evolutionary basis for female orgasm is still debated and theories abound (Lloyd 2006). It has been established that the frequency of female orgasm varies cross-culturally. In some cultures it is reported that women are multi-orgasmic whilst in other cultures there is no word for female orgasm and it is thought to be non-existent or rare (Gregor 1987, Levy 1973).

The answers to "Females should have an orgasm each time" from the OYO cohort were fairly evenly spread out amongst "Agree" (31%), "Disagree" (31%) and "Don't know" (29%). The answers of the PS cohort were also distributed across "Agree" (35%), "Disagree" (40%) and "Don't know" (22%) but not quite as evenly as the OYO cohort. These findings indicate that the respondents had conflicting beliefs about this or were unsure. Comparing the answers to the statements 37a. "Females need to have orgasms" and 37c. "Females should have an orgasm each time", we found an overall drop in "Agree" answers (from 55%

for 37a to 31% for 37c amongst the OYO cohort and from 67% for 37a to 35% for 37c amongst the PS cohort). We found a corresponding increase in "Disagree" answers (from 9% for 37a to 31% for 37c amongst the OYO cohort and 17% for 37a to 40% for 37c amongst the PS cohort). What this data cannot reveal is how the participants interpreted the word "should".

There is no baseline data regarding the prevalence of female orgasm in Namibia; nor is there data regarding the beliefs and attitudes towards it. Therefore is it difficult to explain our findings; the explanation may be a complex of various beliefs and attitudes. It could be that youth and inexperience translate into non-orgasmic experiences for females because neither males nor females have sufficient knowledge of female sexuality to bring females to orgasm. It may also be that there is no clear expectation that females need to orgasm within each sexual encounter.

TABLE 117

37c. Females should have an orgasm each time.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	31%	31%	29%	9%
PS cohort	35%	40%	22%	3%

When analysed using the variable of sex, the greatest difference was between the PS male and the PS females. This is a departure from most of the other findings in that the greatest difference was between the two cohorts rather than between the males and females within a cohort. Whilst the PS males were the most likely to agree with the statement "Females should have an orgasm each time" (43%), the PS females were the least likely to agree with the statement (27%). The PS females were also the most likely to disagree with the statement (46%). Compared with the statement 37a "Females need to have orgasms", there was overall decrease in number of respondents who selected "Agree" to "Females should have an orgasm each time" (27% decrease amongst the OYO males, 23% decrease amongst the OYO females, 28% decrease amongst the PS males and 36% decrease amongst the PS females). It is uncertain if these responses are based on experience or inexperience, or the fact that female orgasm is not seen as necessary to sexual 'success'. Perhaps more female respondents view sex as an expression of intimacy which does not depend upon orgasm. This theory is supported by the small differences between answers to this question on male versus female need to have orgasms each time. If sexual pleasure is seen as sinful, religious beliefs could also be a factor in the responses. The fact that the PS cohort receive the majority of their information about sexuality from the media may also suggest that the female participants have been exposed to Western ideas about orgasms (such as it can be harder for a female to have an orgasm), and their responses may be a reflection of these attitudes.

Females should have an orgasm each time – by sex

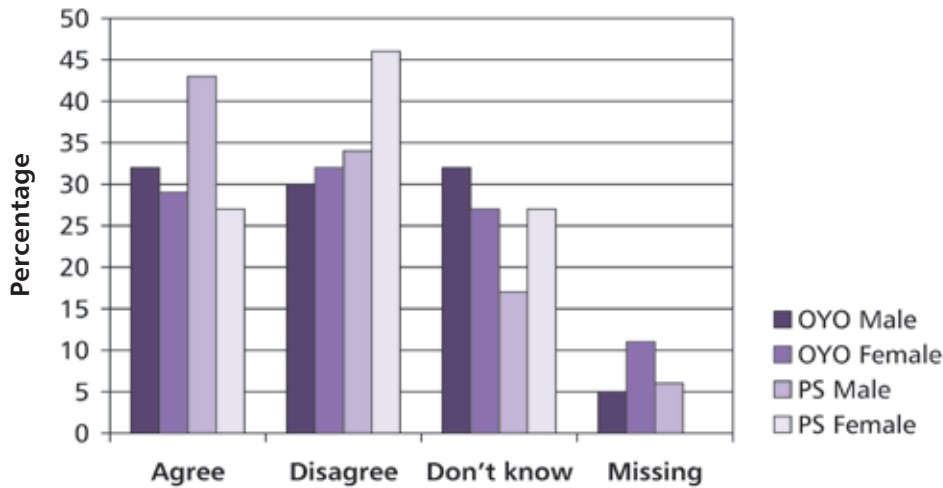


TABLE 118

37c. Females should have an orgasm each time – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	32%	30%	32%	5%
OYO Female	29%	32%	27%	11%
PS Male	43%	34%	17%	6%
PS Female	27%	46%	27%	0%

Amongst both cohorts, more respondents selected "Agree" to "Males should have an orgasm each time" (36% and 42% amongst the OYO and PS cohorts respectively), than those who selected "Agree" to "Females should have an orgasm each time" (31% and 35% respectively). However, what is interesting is the similarity between the answers rather than the differences. In terms of selecting "Agree" to the male statement in comparison to the female statement, only 5% more of the OYO respondents and 7% more of the PS respondents selected "Agree".

TABLE 119

37d. Males should have an orgasm each time

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	36%	28%	27%	9%
PS cohort	42%	34%	21%	3%

When analysing the data using the variable of the sex of the respondents, we found that the males of both cohorts were more likely to select "Agree" (42% of OYO males and 56% of PS males) than their female counterparts (29% of OYO females and 29% of PS females). In fact, the responses from the females remained relatively the same for the statements "Males should have an orgasm each time" (question 37d) and "Females should have an orgasm each time" (question 37c); 29% of the OYO females selected "Agree" to both statements whilst 27% of the PS females selected "Agree" to "Females should have an orgasm each time" and 29% selected "Agree" to "Males should have an orgasm each time". Amongst

males, 10% more of the OYO males and 13% more of the PS males chose "Agree" to 37d as compared with 37c. However, there were also a considerable number of "Disagree" and "Don't know" answers, suggesting that male orgasm may not be necessary for the sex act to be considered successful because sex may be seen as an expression of intimacy.

Males should have an orgasm each time – by sex

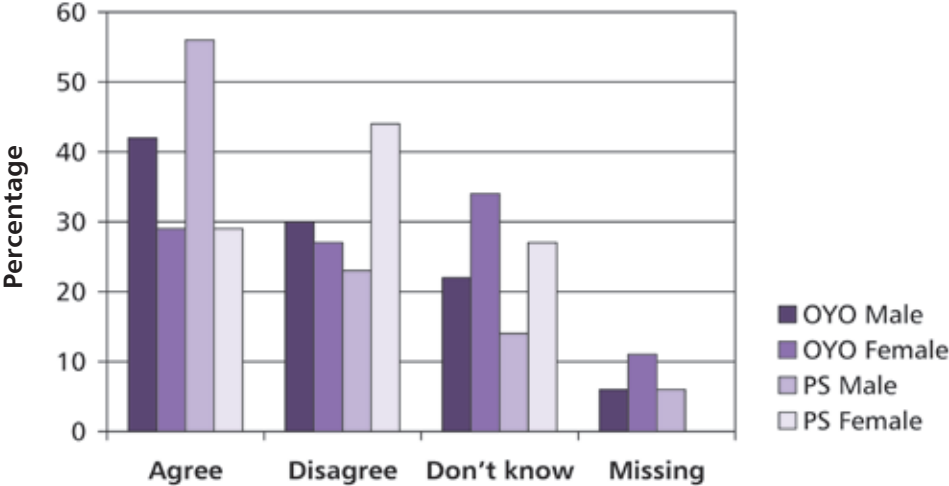


TABLE 120
37d. Males should have an orgasm each time – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	42%	30%	22%	6%
OYO Female	29%	27%	34%	11%
PS Male	56%	23%	14%	6%
PS Female	29%	44%	27%	0%

Vaginal penetration

The next two questions dealt with the importance of vaginal/penis penetration. Because pregnancy and HIV transmission are associated with unprotected intercourse, we wanted to explore the role and importance of heterosexual intercourse amongst young people. Whilst 36% of the OYO cohort agreed with the statement "Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for males to achieve orgasm", only 12% of the PS cohort selected "Agree" to this statement. The majority of the PS cohort disagreed with the statement (57%) but only 23% of the OYO cohort disagreed. There was a high percentage of "Don't know" answers (29% for the OYO cohort and 27% amongst the PS cohort). Tentatively, these findings suggest that urban youth living in a privileged environment have a wider knowledge of sexual activities than their rural counterparts and may be exploring non-penetrative sexual activities.

TABLE 121

37e. Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for males to achieve orgasm.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	36%	23%	29%	13%
PS cohort	12%	57%	27%	4%

When analysing the data using the variable of the sex of the respondents, we again find the largest difference is between the cohorts rather than between males and females. However there were some differences based on sex. The OYO males were more likely (40%) to agree with the statement than the OYO females (32%). The females of both cohorts were more likely to choose "Don't know" (34% of the OYO females and 37% of the PS females) than their male counterparts (24% and 17% respectively). The explanation for this could be the females' lack of knowledge about male sexuality or lack of knowledge about sex in general.

Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for males to achieve orgasm – by sex

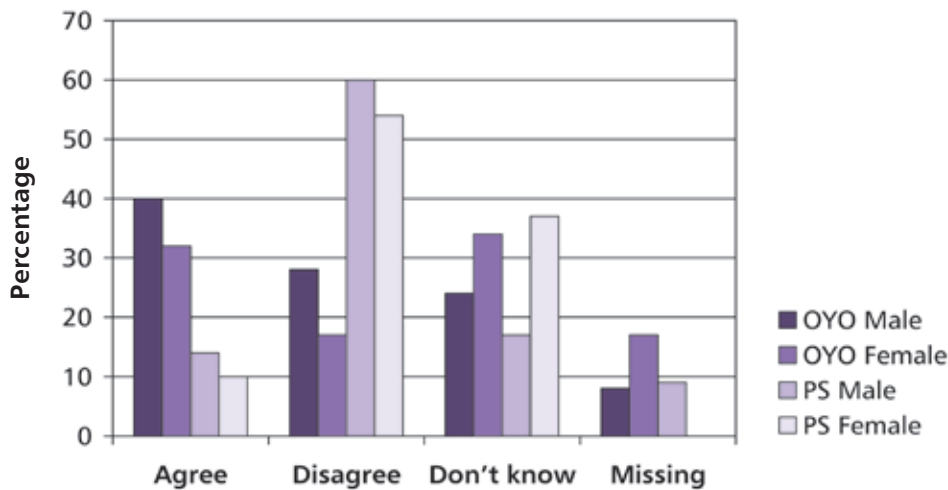


TABLE 122

37e. Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for males to achieve orgasm – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	40%	28%	24%	8%
OYO Female	32%	17%	34%	17%
PS Male	14%	60%	17%	9%
PS Female	10%	54%	37%	0%

We then asked the respondents to agree or disagree to the statement "Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for females to achieve orgasm" (question 39f) The answers to this question were not meaningfully different from the corresponding question pertaining to males achieving orgasm through penetration (question 37e). Amongst the OYO cohort, 3% more selected "Agree" to question 39f as compared to 37e; amongst the PS cohort there was only a 1% difference in the number of "Agree" answers to the two questions.

TABLE 123

37f. Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for females to achieve orgasm

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	39%	21%	30%	10%
PS cohort	13%	56%	27%	4%

Once again when analysing the answers using sex as a variable, we did not find a great difference between the answers for 37f and 37e, the corresponding question regarding males achieving orgasm through penetration. What is most interesting about these findings is that no matter which answer was chosen, the respondents overwhelmingly chose the same answer for male and female orgasms regarding penetration. This again suggests some level of gender equality in terms of male and female sexuality.

Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for females to achieve orgasm – by sex

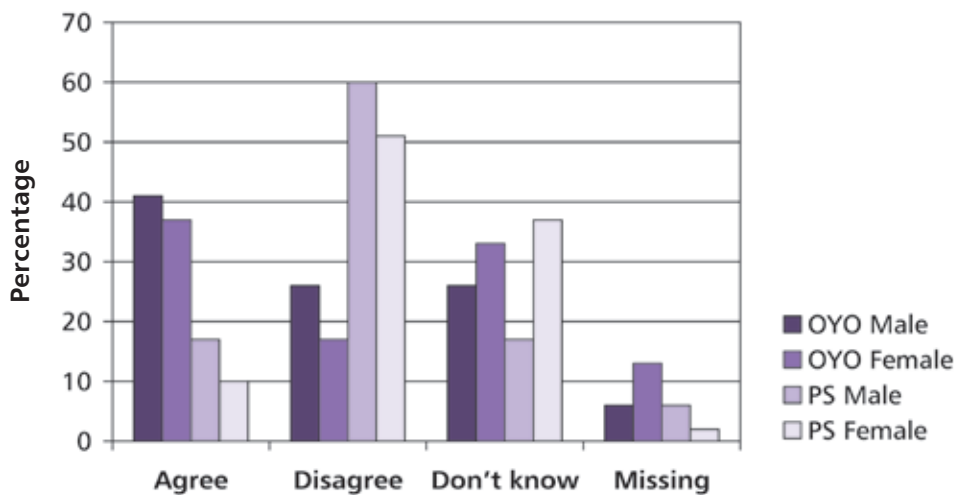


TABLE 124

37f. Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for females to achieve orgasm – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	41%	26%	26%	6%
OYO Female	37%	17%	33%	13%
PS Male	17%	60%	17%	6%
PS Female	10%	51%	37%	2%

To investigate the depth of young people's knowledge about female sexuality, we asked respondents to agree or disagree with the statement "Females can have more than one orgasm per sex act". The PS cohort was more likely to select "Agree" (62%), than the OYO cohort (33%). They were also less likely (5%) to disagree with the statement than the OYO cohort (19%). This suggests that the PS cohort may have a greater knowledge of female sexuality than the OYO cohort. However amongst both groups the selection of "Don't know" was high (39% amongst the OYO respondents and 29% amongst the PS respondents).

TABLE 125

37g. Females can have more than one orgasm per sex act

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	33%	19%	39%	9%
PS cohort	62%	5%	29%	4%

Foreplay

We followed up the statements about penetration and orgasm with a series of statements relating to various sexual behaviours. We began by asking whether foreplay was an important part of sex. When formulating the questionnaire we learned that there is no word for foreplay in the indigenous languages so we clarified the term by adding the phrase "foreplay is the kissing and touching that leads to sex". The overwhelming majority of both cohorts agreed that foreplay is an important part of sex (68% of the OYO cohort and 73% of the PS cohort).

TABLE 126

38. What do you think about the following sexual activities?**a. Foreplay* is an important part of sex *(foreplay is the kissing and touching that leads to sex)**

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	68%	11%	12%	9%
PS cohort	73%	3%	21%	3%

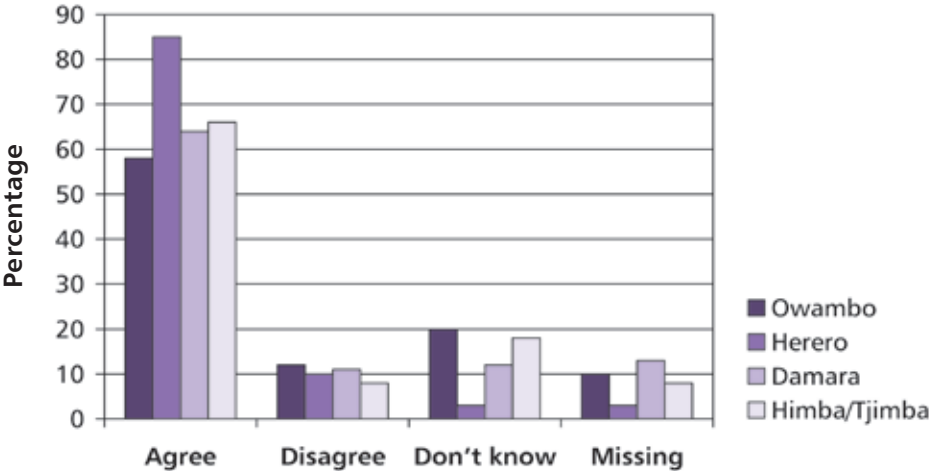
When analysing all the data using the variable of sex of respondents and the OYO data using age, education, urban/rural birth/residence, no meaningful differences were found. However, there were differences in the responses based on ethnic identity. Whereas 85% of the Herero respondents agreed with the statement, only 58% of the Owambo respondents agreed. The answers for the Damara and Himba/Tjimba respondents were similar (66% and 64% respectively). The Herero respondents were the least likely to select "Don't know" (3%) whilst the Owambo respondents were the most likely to choose this answer (20%). A trend in the responses of the Herero respondents is beginning to emerge. Their answers to the questions in this section suggest that they are more open about sexuality than the other ethnic groups.

TABLE 127

38a. Foreplay is an important part of sex – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	58%	12%	20%	10%
Herero	85%	10%	3%	3%
Damara	64%	11%	12%	13%
Himba/Tjimba	66%	8%	18%	8%

Foreplay is an important part of sex – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)



Oral sex

In the West, oral sex has been steadily increasing in popularity and is often seen as an alternative to vaginal penetration (Halpern-Felsher et al 2005). Engaging in oral rather than vaginal sex allows females to avoid pregnancy and to technically remain virgins. Research also indicates that many young people view oral sex as less risky than vaginal sex (Halpern-Felsher et al 2005). Although the potential of the transmitting of HIV is much lower through oral sex than anal or vaginal sex, such cases have been documented (CDC 2009). Furthermore other STIs can be transmitted through oral sex so the risks associated with this behaviour need to be part of general sex education.

To explore young people's attitudes towards oral sex we presented gender-specific statements regarding this activity ("Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females" and "Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for males") and asked our respondents to agree or disagree. The PS cohort was much more likely to agree with the statement "Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females" (58%) than the OYO cohort (38%). Very few of the PS respondents disagreed with the statement (4%) whilst 29% of the OYO respondents selected "Disagree". There was also a considerable number of "Don't know" answers (26% amongst the OYO cohort and 35% amongst the PS cohort). In general, these findings suggest that some young people have a positive attitude towards female sexual pleasure from oral sex but that many lack knowledge about it.

TABLE 128
38b. Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	38%	29%	26%	7%
PS cohort	58%	4%	35%	3%

A clearer picture emerges when analysing the data using the sex of the respondents as a variable. The OYO females were the least likely to agree with

the statement "Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females" (30%) and the most likely to disagree with this statement (34%). In fact, the males of both cohorts were more likely (46% amongst the OYO males and 63% amongst the PS males) to agree that receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females than their female counterparts (30% and 54% respectively). The females of both cohorts were also more likely to select "Don't know" (30% of the OYO females and 41% of the PS females). This may indicate that more females in the two cohorts lacked personal experience of oral sex and hence have a harder time imagining that it is pleasurable.

Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females – by sex

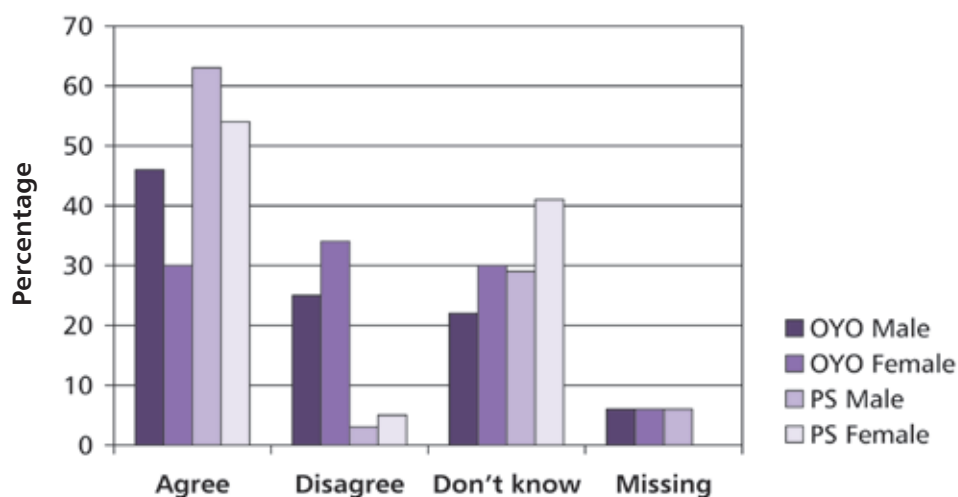


TABLE 129

38b. Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	46%	25%	22%	6%
OYO Female	30%	34%	30%	6%
PS Male	63%	3%	29%	6%
PS Female	54%	5%	41%	0%

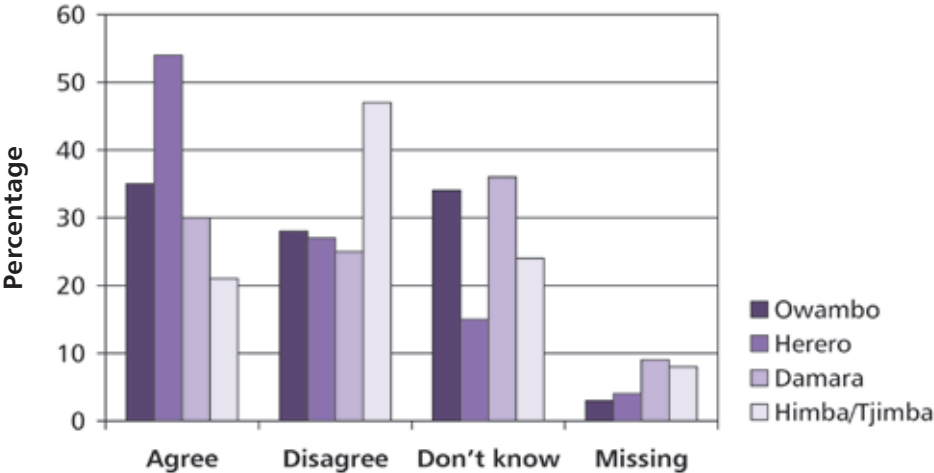
When analysing the responses using the variable of ethnic identity, we found that the Herero respondents were the most likely to agree with the statement (54%), whilst the Himba/Tjimba respondents were the least likely to agree with the statement (21%). These findings follow the trend of the Herero respondents being more open to a variety of sexual activities than the other ethnic groups.

TABLE 130

38b. Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	35%	28%	34%	3%
Herero	54%	27%	15%	4%
Damara	30%	25%	36%	9%
Himba/Tjimba	21%	47%	24%	8%

Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)



When presented with the statement “Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for males”, the answers indicated that oral sex was slightly more known and/or accepted for males than for females. More respondents from both cohorts were likely to select “Agree” (41% of the OYO cohort and 64% of the PS cohort) for this statement when compared to the percentage that selected “Agree” to “Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females” (38% and 58% respectively).

TABLE 131

38c. Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for males

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	41%	26%	25%	9%
PS cohort	64%	4%	29%	3%

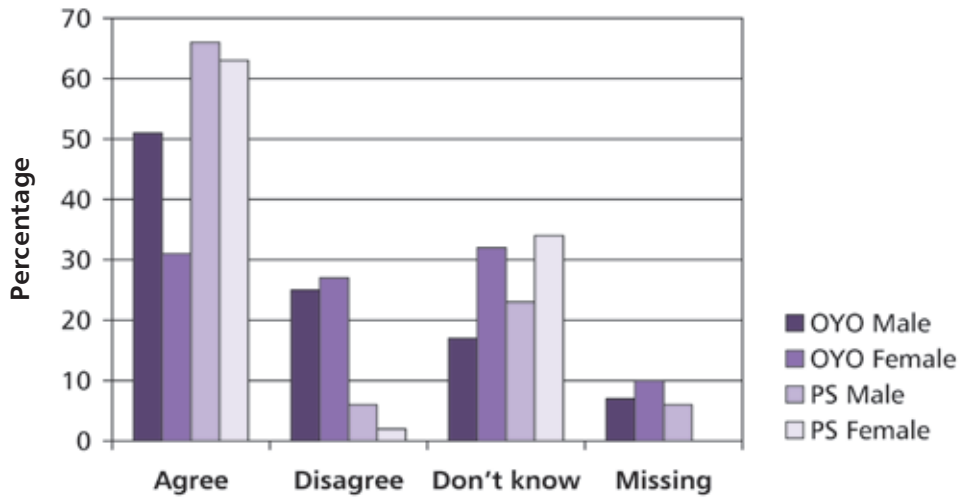
When analysed using the variable of the sex of the respondents, we found slightly higher percentages of “Agree” answers from males and females of both cohorts (51% for OYO males, 31% for OYO females, 66% for PS males and 63% for PS females) as compared to their responses for females enjoying oral sex. However, as we found earlier, the most interesting finding was the fact that there was so little difference between the responses regarding male and female sexual pleasure. The high number of “Agree” answers for both questions amongst the PS cohorts, along with the low number of “Disagree” answers, suggests that they are more likely to consider experimenting with alternative sexual behaviours and their attitudes may be mirroring Western attitudes in regards to this behaviour.

TABLE 132

38c. Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for males – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	51%	25%	17%	7%
OYO Female	31%	27%	32%	10%
PS Male	66%	6%	23%	6%
PS Female	63%	2%	34%	0%

Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for males – by sex



Masturbation

Is masturbation a part of sexuality?

– question from OYO respondent

Is it advisable to masturbate?

– question from OYO respondent

The next sexual activity we asked about was masturbation. The respondents were presented with statements regarding female masturbation and male masturbation. The questions above from the OYO respondents suggest that masturbation is not clearly understood amongst that cohort. Our findings support this assumption and in retrospect, we should have qualified the term masturbation to be certain that the respondents understood the statements.

Whilst 32% of the OYO cohort agreed with the statement “Masturbation is pleasurable for females”, 30% disagreed and although 58% of the PS cohort agreed with the statement, there were a considerable number of “Don’t know” answers from both cohorts (30% amongst the OYO cohort and 34% amongst the PS cohort).

TABLE 133				
38d. Masturbation is pleasurable for females				
	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	32%	30%	30%	8%
PS cohort	58%	4%	34%	4%

When the data was analysed using sex as a variable, we found no noteworthy differences between males and females.

Masturbation is pleasurable for females – by sex

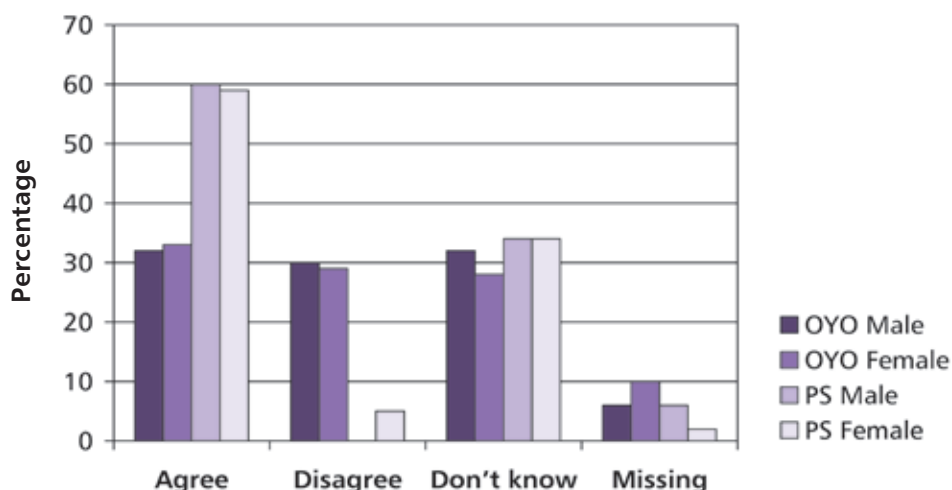


TABLE 134

38d. Masturbation is pleasurable for females – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	32%	30%	32%	6%
OYO Female	33%	29%	28%	10%
PS Male	60%	0%	34%	6%
PS Female	59%	5%	34%	2%

Similar to the findings regarding oral sex, we found that the PS respondents were slightly more likely to agree that masturbation is pleasurable for males (66%) than for females (58%). The answers of the OYO cohort were almost identical for female and male masturbation (32% of the males and 33% of the females selected "Agree").

TABLE 135

38e. Masturbation is pleasurable for males

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	32%	28%	29%	11%
PS cohort	66%	5%	25%	4%

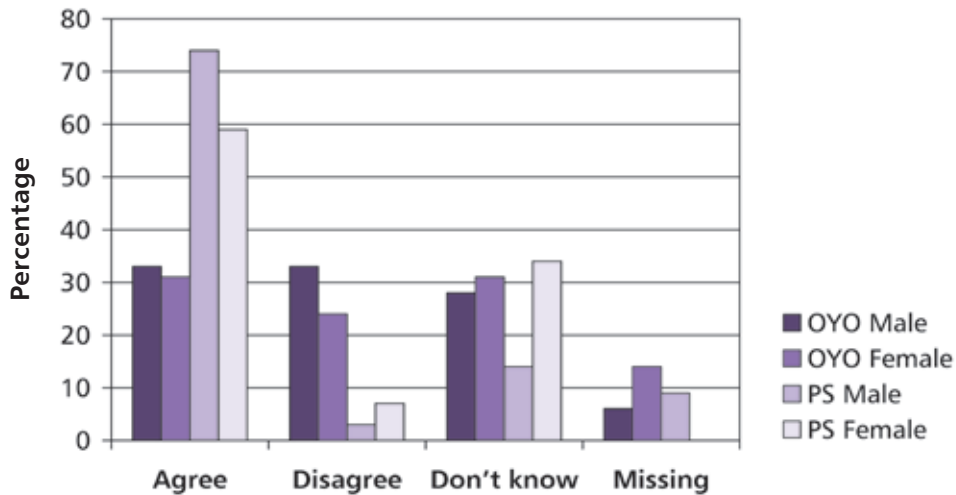
When the data was analysed using sex as a variable, the only meaningful finding was the increase in "Agree" answers from the PS males (74% for male masturbation versus 60% for female masturbation). We could reasonably conclude from this that masturbation is part of the PS male sexual repertoire. However, due to the high number of "Disagree" (33%) and "Don't know" (28%) answers from the OYO males, we could not necessarily make the same conclusion about their behaviour.

TABLE 136

38e. Masturbation is pleasurable for males – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	33%	33%	28%	6%
OYO Female	31%	24%	31%	14%
PS Male	74%	3%	14%	9%
PS Female	59%	7%	34%	0%

Masturbation is pleasurable for males – by sex



It is clear from the findings that some young people in Namibia have a negative attitude or lack knowledge about masturbation. UNESCO (2009) is currently advocating that children be taught that masturbation is not harmful and that it can be a source of sexual pleasure. Due to the fact masturbation is a safe alternative to vaginal, anal or oral sex, this is an area that deserves more attention.

Initiating sex

Who must decide to have sex, the boy or the girl?

– question from OYO respondent

To explore another aspect of gender dynamics in sexual relations, we presented the respondents with the statement “It is OK for females to initiate sex” and asked them to select “Agree”, “Disagree” or “Don't know”. There was a notable difference in answers of the two cohorts. The findings of the OYO cohort suggest an ambiguity on this matter, with 37% of these respondents agreeing with the statement, 20% disagreeing and another 31% selecting “Don't know”. The answers of the PS cohort were less ambiguous with 76% agreeing with the statement, only 4% disagreeing and 16% selecting “Don't know”. These findings follow the clear trend that has been evident throughout this report. The PS cohort consistently demonstrated a greater support for gender equality and the adoption of western values than their OYO counterparts.

TABLE 137

38f. It is OK for females to initiate sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	37%	20%	31%	12%
PS cohort	76%	4%	16%	4%

A slightly more nuanced picture emerged when the data was analysed using the variable of the sex of the respondents. The most noteworthy difference in the

answers to this statement concerns the responses of the OYO males; 43% agreed that it was acceptable for females to initiate sex, as compared to the 32% of the OYO females who agreed with the statement. This may be explained by various, probably correlated factors: the gendered double standard was greater amongst the females; the OYO males are slightly more liberal than the OYO females; or OYO males have a stronger belief that sex is a positive experience no matter who initiates it. There was only a 1% difference between the "Agree" answers of the PS males and females. However, the PS females were more likely (20%) to choose "Don't know" than the PS males (11%).

I strongly believe that a girl cannot ask a guy on a date or propose to him. It is considered a very bad thing for a girl to do. Even if other people hear about it, it is an embarrassment to the girl.

– comment submitted to OYO and published in OYO, Young latest and cool, vol 9 no 4, July-August 2010

It is OK for females to initiate sex – by sex

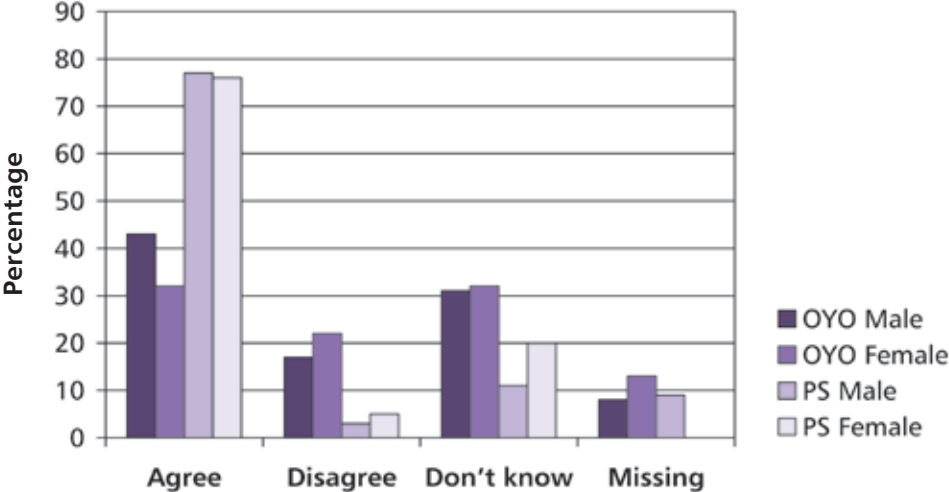


TABLE 138

38f. It is OK for females to initiate sex – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	43%	17%	31%	8%
OYO Female	32%	22%	32%	13%
PS Male	77%	3%	11%	9%
PS Female	76%	5%	20%	0%

When analysing the OYO data using the variable of ethnic identity, we found considerable differences in attitudes between the ethnic groups. Whilst 56% of the Herero respondents agreed with the statement, only 21% of the Himba/Tjimba selected this answer. These findings, considered together with the Herero responses for question 38a ("Foreplay is an important part of sex"), suggest that the Herero may have a more positive attitude towards sex than other ethnic groups in Namibia. However, as seen in their answers for preserving men as head of the household (52% chose agree to the statement), this does not necessarily translate into a belief in gender equality. This is something that warrents further research

and may also provide a foundation for culturally-appropriate sex education amongst Herero communities which could build on their positive attitudes about sex toward a greater acceptance of gender equality. The high number of “Don't know” responses from the other ethnic groups suggest that they may be open to the idea of women initiating sex.

It is OK for females to initiate sex – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

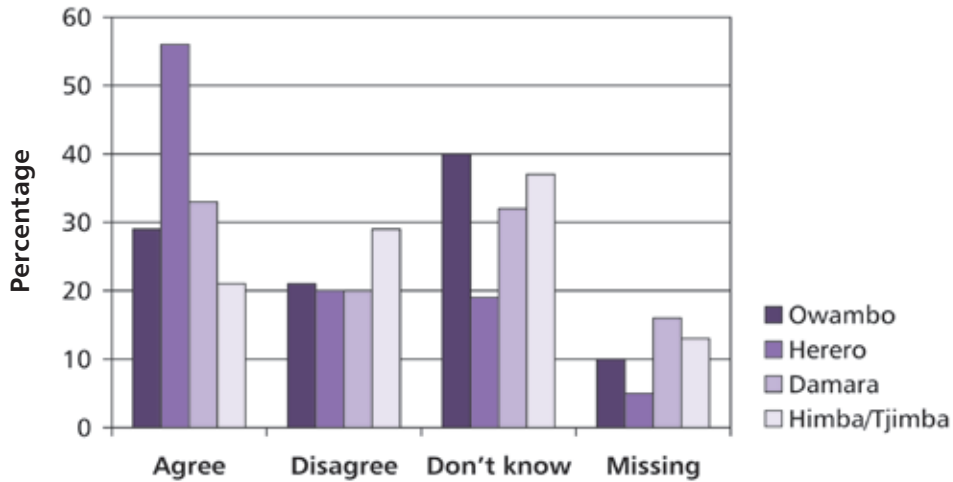


TABLE 139

38f. It is OK for females to initiate sex – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	29%	21%	40%	10%
Herero	56%	20%	19%	5%
Damara	33%	20%	32%	16%
Himba/Tjimba	21%	29%	37%	13%

Length of the sex act

Will you get HIV if the person you unprotected sex, that is infected, [and they] just have sex with you for three minutes?

– question from focus group participant

Will you get pregnant if you have sex in 5 minutes?

– question from focus group participant

The quotes above suggest that some young people have erroneous beliefs about quick sex being safer in terms of pregnancy and HIV transmission. Dr Talavera has also heard from young people that short-duration sex was desirable. To further explore the topic, the respondents were presented with two questions relating to quick sex: “It is better for females if the sex act is quick (less than 5 minutes)” and “It is better for males if the sex act is quick (less than 5 minutes)”. We found little support for short-duration sex practices amongst the PS respondents (3% agreed it

would be better for females and 8% agreed it would be better for males). There was more support for these statements amongst the OYO cohort (20% agreed it would be better for females and 24% agreed it would be better for males). Although the majority of the respondents in both cohorts selected either "Disagree" or "Don't know", the above comments and the OYO responses suggest that there may be misinformation regarding short-duration sexual encounters. Dispelling such beliefs should be incorporated into future sex education programmes. However, the results may have been more informative if the concept of "better" had been qualified or follow-up questions had been asked.

TABLE 140

38g. It is better for females if the sex act is quick (less than 5 minutes).

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	20%	42%	27%	12%
PS cohort	3%	48%	48%	1%

TABLE 141

38h. It is better for males if the sex act is quick (less than 5 minutes).

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	24%	44%	24%	8%
PS cohort	8%	43%	39%	3%

Discussing sex with your partner

The questionnaire was very interesting and an eye opener. This will make me consult my sexual partner about how she feels about sex.

– comment from OYO respondent

The majority of the respondents from both cohorts agreed with the statement "You should discuss what gives you sexual pleasure with your partner" (65% of the OYO cohort and 84% of the PS cohort). The OYO cohort was more likely to disagree with the statement (14%) than the PS cohort (4%). Interestingly, the sex of the respondents was not a factor. The percentage of "Agree" answers from the OYO females (64%) were very similar to that from the OYO males (65%), and the same held true for the PS cohort (83% of the PS females and 86% of the PS males selected "Agree"). These findings suggest that discussing sex (at least with your sexual partner) is not taboo amongst this generation. The hope would be that dialogue between intimate partners could include expressing desires about contraception and safer sex.

TABLE 142

38i. You should discuss what gives you sexual pleasure with your partner.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	65%	14%	10%	10%
PS cohort	84%	4%	9%	3%

Group sex and multiple partners

We stay in a group and like having sex with one girl at the same time.

– comment from OYO respondent

More information about group sex, oral sex and how to remain a virgin until you are ready.

– comment from OYO respondent

Much of the research and public education campaigns addressing HIV transmission target concurrent relationships as one of the major causes of high HIV prevalence rates. In order to ascertain how young people feel about multiple partners, we asked respondents to agree/disagree with two questions relating to this issue: "It is OK to have group sex" and "It is OK to have more than one boyfriend/girlfriend at the same time".

Group sex is not an unknown phenomenon in Namibia. The terms *tournament*, *after-after* (one after another), *gang sex* or *group sex* are sometimes used to describe sex acts involving one girl and more than one boy. To my knowledge, there has been only one in-depth research project which addressed the knowledge and prevalence of tournaments in Namibia. In 2001, Women's Solidarity (which closed in 2004¹³) developed and administered a questionnaire to men and women aged 15 and older in various towns and cities in Namibia, but the data were never thoroughly analysed. I acquired the raw data in 2006 and analysed the 335 questionnaires made available to me. These findings were originally published in *OYO, young latest and cool*, vol 5, no 2, June 2006 (LaFont 2006).

According to the data (LaFont 2006), 25% of the women and 43% of the men indicated that they knew about tournaments. More young people knew about tournaments than older people but it was not clear if this was because it was a new phenomenon or if it is just a new name for something that has been going on for a long time. For example 38% of women aged 15 to 17 knew of gang sex being called tournaments, but only 14% of women aged 24 and over knew about the use of this term. The same holds true for men; 65% of the men aged 15-17 knew of gang sex being called tournaments, whilst only 37% of the men aged 24 and over had such knowledge. Yet, if we look at the percentage of respondents who reported that gang sex had happened at their own schools and at other schools, the age discrepancy virtually disappears, and in fact, older men reported that gang sex had taken place at their schools (37%) more frequently than younger men (16%).

The data also revealed that most people believed that gang sex was a more frequent occurrence at schools other than their own. This is probably due to the fact that when gang sex happens at one school, the news of it spreads to many other schools. It may also be that tournaments were considered unacceptable by adults and the

¹³ This group should not be confused with Women's Solidarity Namibia, which is currently active.

respondents did not want to implicate their own schools as being involved in them. Anecdotal inquiries suggested that girls are coerced or intimidated into participating in tournaments, yet only 9% of the respondents believed that tournaments were forced sex or rape.

	Number of questionnaires	Knew about Ts*	Believed Ts involved force	Gang sex at their school	Gang sex at other schools
Women 15-17	72	38%	7%	22%	43%
Women 18-20	60	28%	17%	22%	45%
Women 21-23	34	21%	6%	26%	59%
Women 24+	29	14%	7%	21%	55%
Women averages		25%	9%	23%	51%
Male 15-17	37	65%	14%	16%	51%
Male 18-20	36	47%	11%	28%	56%
Men 21-23	29	21%	0%	3%	41%
Men 24+	38	37%	11%	37%	66%
Men averages		43%	9%	22%	54%
Totals all	335	34%	9%	22%	52%

* Tournaments

In order to further explore the issue of more than two people having sex with each other at the same time, we asked our respondents about group sex. We did not specify the gender of the group sex scenario but can rather safely assume that respondents took it to mean one female with more than one male. Although the majority of both cohorts (70% of the OYO cohort and 64% of the PS cohort) disagreed with the statement "It is OK to have group sex", 13% of the OYO cohort and 19% of the PS cohort agreed that it was OK. In addition, 10% of the OYO cohort and 16% of the PS cohort selected "Don't know". Taken together these data imply that a large number of young Namibians were open or unclear about this subject. According to the 2006 KAPB study, 4.5% of males and 1.8% of females age 15 to 24 reported having "Sex with more than one person at the same time" (UNICEF 2006). Although, the difference in the age range of our sample and their sample makes generalising somewhat problematic, the two sets of data taken together could indicate that more young people are open to group sex than those who are actually engaging in it.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	13%	70%	10%	7%
PS cohort	19%	64%	16%	0%

When the data was analysed using the variable of sex, differences between the male and female respondents emerged. The PS males were the most likely to choose "Agree" (26%) and the least likely to choose "Disagree" (57%) and "Don't

know" (17%). The OYO females were the most likely to chose "Disagree" (72%) and the least likely to chose "Agree" (10%). Amongst the PS females, 15% agreed with the statement and another 15% selected "Don't know". This suggests that group sex is a more acceptable activity to males, yet a considerable percentage of females are open to it or are uncertain. Due to the potential dangers of group sex, this indicates an area to be targeted by sex educators.

It is OK to have group sex – by sex

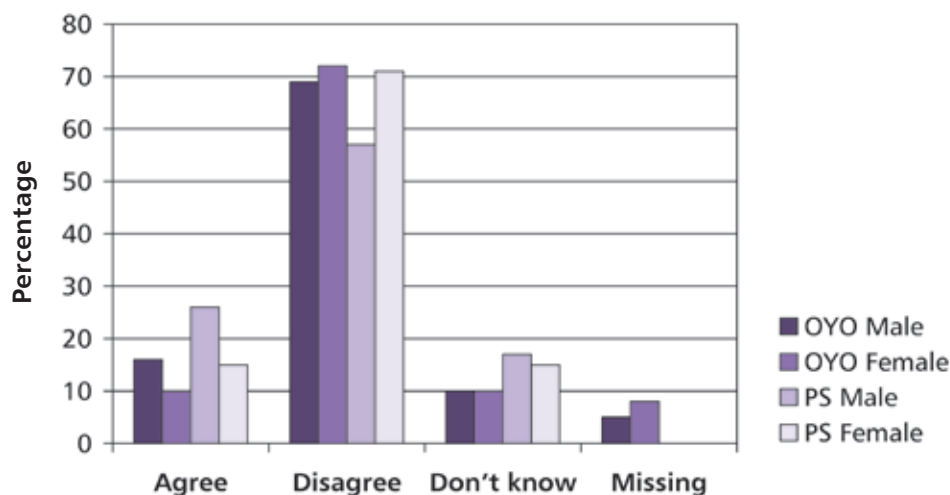


TABLE 145

38j. It is OK to have group sex – by sex

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	16%	69%	10%	5%
OYO Female	10%	72%	10%	8%
PS Male	26%	57%	17%	0%
PS Female	15%	71%	15%	0%

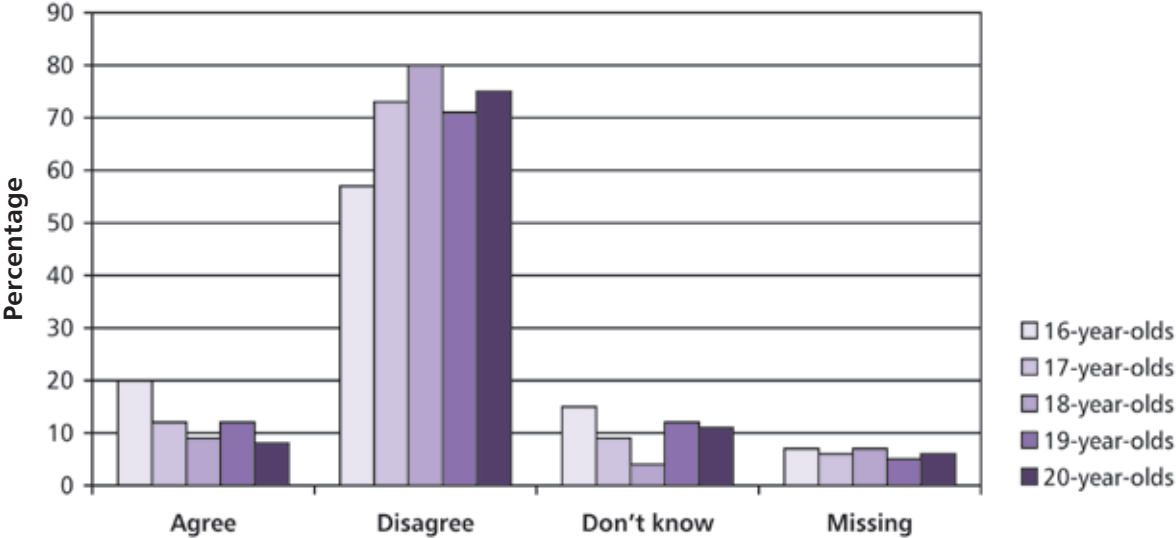
When the data was analysed using the variable of age, there was a notable correlation between age and the acceptance or rejection of group sex. The youngest OYO sub-cohort (16-year-olds) were the most likely to agree with the statement "It is OK to have group sex" (20%) and least likely to disagree (57%) or select "Don't know" (15%). This suggests that that it is more fashionable nowadays and younger Namibians are more willing to experiment with this type of sexual activity than those who are slightly older, a potentially disturbing trend which should not be ignored.

TABLE 146

38j. It is OK to have group sex – by age (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
16-year-olds	20%	57%	15%	7%
17-year-olds	12%	73%	9%	6%
18-year-olds	9%	80%	4%	7%
19-year-olds	12%	71%	12%	5%
20-year-olds	8%	75%	11%	6%

It is OK to have group sex – by age (OYO cohort)



To investigate the acceptance of concurrent relationships, we asked the cohorts to respond to the statement "It is OK to have more than one boyfriend/girlfriend at the same time". Keeping in mind the responses to the group sex statement, the responses proved interesting. The PS cohort was more likely to disagree with this statement (87%) and the least likely to agree (4%) even though they were more likely to condone group sex (19%). This suggests that the PS cohort was more prone than the OYO cohort to separate emotional attachment from sex. Also, the fact that 31% of the OYO respondents selected "Agree", "Don't know" or left the answer blank suggests that they were more ambiguous about the subject. Due to the potential danger of concurrent sexual relationships, these findings identify beliefs and attitudes which need to be addressed.

TABLE 147

38k. It is OK to have more than one boyfriend/girlfriend at the same time

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	14%	69%	10%	7%
PS cohort	4%	87%	9%	0%

When we analysed the data using the variable of sex we found that most of the variance between the answers of the OYO cohort and PS cohort was due to differences in the answers of the PS males and females. This represents a change from much of the other data. Amongst the OYO cohort the selection of "Agree" (15% for the males and 13% for the females), the selection of "Disagree" (69% for both males and females), and the selection of "Don't know" (12% for the males and 10% for the female) was very similar. In contrast, whilst 9% of the PS males agreed with the statement, none of the PS females did so and whilst 77% of the males disagreed, 95% of the females chose this answer. The lack of missing data from both cohorts suggests that they wanted to weigh in on this issue.

It is OK to have more than one boyfriend/girlfriend at the same time – by sex

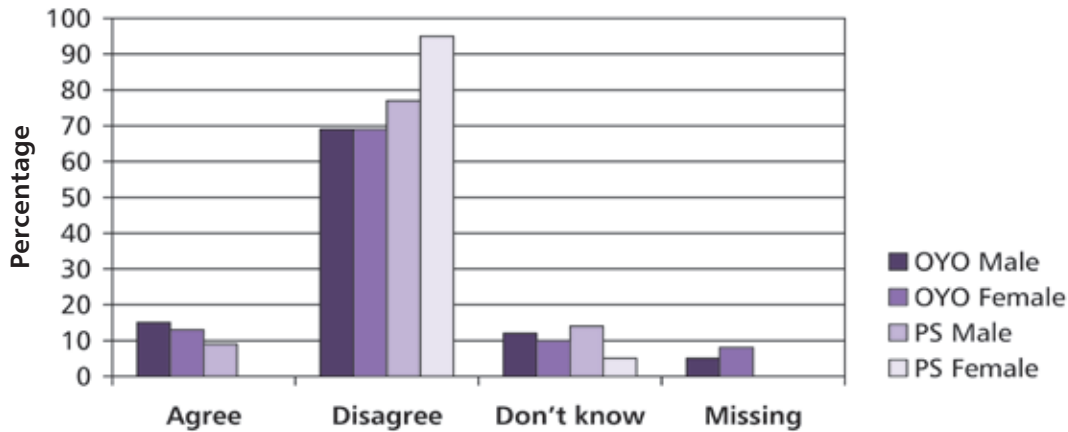


TABLE 148

38k. It is OK to have more than one boyfriend/girlfriend at the same time

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	15%	69%	12%	5%
OYO Female	13%	69%	10%	8%
PS Male	9%	77%	14%	0%
PS Female	0%	95%	5%	0%

Dry sex

Dry sex is a term to describe putting herbs or other drying agents into the vagina to create maximal friction during intercourse. The unlubricated vagina is more susceptible to the trauma and micro tears which are associated with increased risk of HIV transmission (Edwards 2007). Although this practice has been reported in Namibia, its prevalence remains unclear. To investigate what young people think about it, respondents were asked to respond to the statement "Dry sex is pleasurable". The majority of respondents from both cohorts selected "Disagree" (52% of the OYO respondents and 45% of the PS respondents) or "Don't know" (26% of the OYO cohort and 51% of the PS cohort), indicating that this practice is not popular amongst young people. The fact that 14% of the OYO but only 1% of PS cohort chose "Agree" suggests that this practice is not seen as part of modern sexuality and may be dying out. When analysed using sex as a variable, the findings were not meaningful. None of PS females agreed with the statement and only 3% of the PS male selected "Agree". Amongst the OYO cohort, 16% of the males and 13% of the females selected "Agree".

TABLE 149

38l. Dry sex is pleasurable.*

* (dry sex is achieved by putting substances in the vagina that causes it to be dry)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	14%	52%	26%	8%
PS cohort	1%	45%	51%	3%

Although dry sex has been reported amongst the Damara (OYO, personal communication), their answers were not notably different from the other groups who reportedly do not practice it. It is clear from the findings that this practice is least popular amongst the Himba/Tjimba.

Dry sex is pleasurable – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

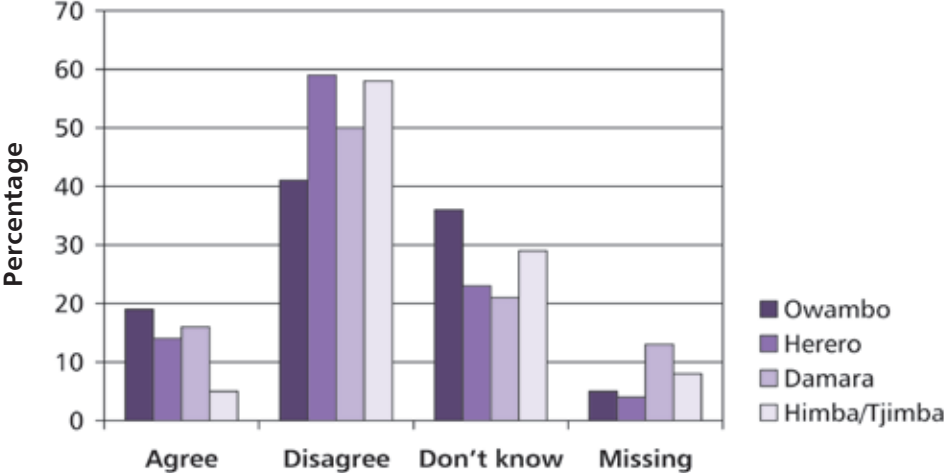


TABLE 150

38I. Dry sex is pleasurable – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	19%	41%	36%	5%
Herero	14%	59%	23%	4%
Damara	16%	50%	21%	13%
Himba/Tjimba	5%	58%	29%	8%

Sexual pleasure and gender

Earlier in the questionnaire we posed several questions regarding gender differences in receiving pleasure from various sex acts (orgasm, penetration, oral sex and masturbation) and found a surprising amount of gender equality regarding sexual response. To further explore the sexual gender dynamic, we asked "In your opinion, who gets the more pleasure out of the sex act?". The possible answers were "Males", "Females", "Equal pleasure for both sexes" or "Don't know". A small number of both cohorts chose "Females" (13% of the OYO respondents and 6% of the PS respondents), whilst a greater number, but still a minority chose "Males" (29% of the OYO cohort and 19% of the PS cohort). The most commonly chosen answer for both cohorts was "equal pleasure for both sexes"; however the PS cohort was much more likely (56%) than the OYO cohort (31%) to choose this answer. The variables of age, education, ethnicity identity or urban/rural birth/residence were not important factors regarding the response to this question.

TABLE 151					
39. In your opinion, who gets more pleasure out of the sex act?					
	Females	Males	Equal pleasure for both sexes	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	13%	29%	31%	19%	8%
PS cohort	6%	19%	56%	16%	3%

When analysing the data using the variable of the sex of the respondents, the most interesting difference was in the percentage of PS females who selected "Equal pleasure" (66%) as compared to the percentage of PS males who chose this answer (46%). PS females were more than twice as likely to choose this answer as OYO females, who were the least likely to select "Equal pleasure" (29%). Not surprisingly, the males and females of both cohorts were more likely to select "Males" rather than "Females" (30% of OYO males, 28% of OYO females, 26% of PS males and 12% of PS females). These results seem to contradict the earlier findings where many of the respondents indicated that female sexual pleasure in terms of orgasm and oral sex was on par with male sexual pleasure. It is interesting to note that OYO males (15%) and OYO females (12%) were more likely to select "Females" to "Who get more pleasure out of the sex act?" than their PS counterparts (6% of the PS males and 7% of the PS females). This might be related to the cultural tradition and religious influences that indicate that women are not expected to initiate sex or show their interest in it. Given the fact that modest dress is still traditional for women amongst many groups, it is not surprising that young people have especially contradictory attitudes about females and sexuality

In your opinion, who gets more pleasure out of the sex act? – by sex

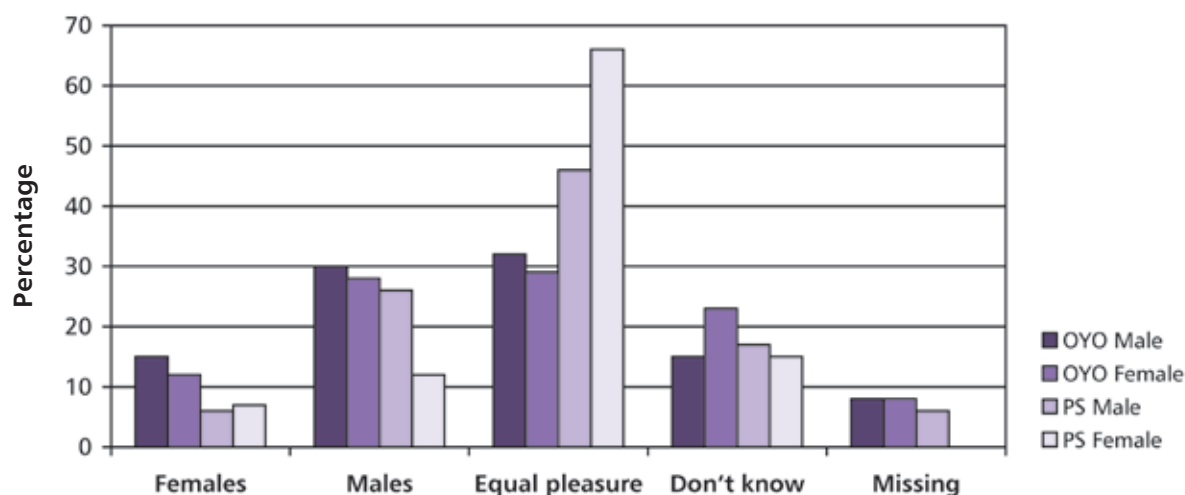


TABLE 152					
39. In your opinion, who gets more pleasure out of the sex act? – by sex					
	Females	Males	Equal pleasure	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	15%	30%	32%	15%	8%
OYO Female	12%	28%	29%	23%	8%
PS Male	6%	26%	46%	17%	6%
PS Female	7%	12%	66%	15%	0%

6. FOLLOW-UP

Please, we really want the results of this research.

– comment from OYO respondent

It is quite interesting that you are doing this survey for young people. In my opinion it will help a lot of people.

– comment from PS respondent

I appreciate you guys doing something like this for the youth. I hope you get the most out of the survey as possible.

– comment from OYO respondent

The majority of the respondents from both cohorts (78% of the OYO cohort and 93% of the PS cohort) indicated that they wanted to know the results of the questionnaire. This strongly suggests that young Namibians are curious about sexuality and want to know more about the attitudes and behaviours of their peers.

40. Would you like to find out the results of this survey?				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	78%	14%	0%	8%
PS cohort	93%	4%	0%	3%

What did respondents want to know more about?

Finally we asked the respondents to identify topics for which they wanted more information. They were presented with a list of topics: HIV/AIDS; other sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy, homosexuality, relationships, and sex in general and were asked to select "Yes", "No" or "Don't know" to indicate whether or not they wanted to have further information on each specific topic. Respondents were also provided with an "Other" write-in option. Please refer to Appendix B for a full list of questions and comments which were filled in for question 41g "other" or question 42: "Do you have any questions or comments"?

I am a school learner and very worried about myself but I had unprotected sex and am not sure about the person's status. What can I do because I am afraid I might be positive and then it will affect me academically? Help please.

– question from focus group participant

Do people who are raped by [an] HIV positive person get special medicine to prevent infection?

– question from OYO respondent

If I have sex but the lady [is] having HIV but I [had] sex with [a] condom, I can get HIV?

– question from focus group participant

If you use a condom during anal sex will you be infected and can the condom fit?

– question from focus group participant

Will you get AIDS if you sleep with [an] HIV positive person if you do sex for the first time?

– question from focus group participant

What will happen to a person if they have sex whilst both of them are positive?

– question from focus group participant

Despite all of the outreach that has been done to education young people about HIV/AIDS, we can see from the above questions that many of the respondents still have some erroneous beliefs about HIV transmission and want to have more information. The OYO cohort was considerably more likely to indicate a desire for more information on this topic (74%) than the PS cohort (47%), which suggests that the PS cohort were more confident that they had enough information on this topic or that they did not believe that they were at risk. The KAPB study found significant denial of personal risk regarding HIV infection amongst 15- to 24-year-olds (28.9% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "People like me do not get HIV/AIDS") (UNICEF 2006). Such beliefs could have had an impact on these responses, especially if there is an 'elitist' element to denial. Wise (2007) conducted research amongst elite men in Windhoek and found that many saw HIV as a "black disease". There were a higher number of whites in the PS cohort than the OYO cohort so such perceptions could also be a factor in the difference in their answers. Or it may simply be that young people living in the capital have had more exposure to HIV prevention education than their non-Windhoek counterparts.

TABLE 154

**41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?
a. HIV/AIDS**

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	74%	13%	3%	11%
PS cohort	47%	39%	6%	8%

Is it true that to protect yourself against STDs, you must use two condoms at the same time?

– question from OYO respondent

There is down syndrome and other diseases not just HIV/AIDS. People are getting bored. There are other diseases so start talking about them.

– comment from OYO respondent

Compared to the responses to HIV/AIDS, the difference between the answers from the OYO cohort and the PS cohort almost disappeared in the response to "Other sexually transmitted diseases". The majority of both cohorts selected "Yes" to this statement (72% of the OYO cohort and 68% of the PS cohort). This indicates that these young people want to know about the risks of sex beyond HIV/AIDS.

TABLE 155				
41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?				
b. Other sexually transmitted diseases				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	72%	12%	2%	14%
PS cohort	68%	22%	4%	6%

Whilst you are on your menstruation if you do sex, will you become pregnant?

- question from focus group participant

What will happen to a women if she has sex whilst she is pregnant?

- question from focus group participant

What can I do when I have a baby and my baby is positive but me, I'm not positive? How come?

- question from focus group participant

In general the respondents were somewhat less interested in information about pregnancy. The PS cohort was slightly more likely to choose "Yes" (64%) in respect of this topic than the OYO cohort (60%).

TABLE 156				
41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?				
c. Pregnancy				
	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	60%	20%	4%	16%
PS cohort	64%	25%	6%	5%

When analysed using the variable of sex, it became clear, not surprisingly, that the females were more interested in this topic (66% of the OYO females and 71% of the PS females) than their male counterparts (54% of the males from both cohorts). In a departure from the answers to many of the other questions, the difference in the responses about interest in more information on pregnancy was greatest between males and females, rather than between the two cohorts. The males of both cohorts (30% of the OYO males and 29% of the PS males) were more likely than the females of both cohorts (11% of the OYO females and 22% of the PS females) to indicate that they did not want more information about pregnancy. This suggests additional areas which need to be addressed: What is it that females want to know? How can young men be encouraged to take a more informed and responsible role in the reproductive process?

TABLE 157**41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about? – by sex**
c. Pregnancy

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO Male	54%	30%	4%	13%
OYO Female	66%	11%	4%	19%
PS Male	54%	29%	9%	9%
PS Female	71%	22%	5%	2%

Why do people have to do sex and why does love hurt and who brought AIDS in [to] the world?

– question from focus group participant

The right age for one to break his/her virginity. How long must one have been dating someone to have sex with them?

– question from PS respondent

People are saying that my boyfriend is abnormal when he does not sleep with me as I am a virgin. Is that true?

– question from focus group participant

The majority of respondents from both cohorts wanted more information about relationships (70% of the OYO respondents and 85% of the PS respondents). The fact that more PS than OYO respondents selected "Yes" suggests that residing in the capital and living in a privileged environment increases rather than decreases thirst for knowledge about this subject. This curiosity should be seen as an opportunity to provide young people with information about a broad range of topics relating to sexual and romantic relationships.

TABLE 158**41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?**
e. Relationships

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	70%	12%	3%	14%
PS cohort	85%	8%	3%	5%

Do small boys also need to put [on] a condom when making sex?

– question from focus group participant

Why do humans get pain when having sex?

– question from focus group participant

I want to know how to use a female condom.

– question from focus group participant

The majority of respondents from both cohorts (66% of the OYO cohort and 63% of the PS cohort) indicated that they would like to receive more information about sex in general. Many of the written questions from the respondents and from the

focus group participants revealed various sexual myths which are held by young people. This suggests that sex educators need to find out what young people believe and replace erroneous beliefs with straightforward information.

TABLE 159

41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?
f. Sex in general

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
OYO cohort	66%	14%	6%	15%
PS cohort	63%	22%	9%	6%

When analysing the OYO data using the variable of ethnic identity, notable differences between the ethnic groups appeared and followed the pattern which emerged earlier in the questionnaire. The Herero sub-cohort, who were most likely to agree that females need to have orgasms and that it is OK for females to initiate sex, were also the most likely to choose "Yes" to wanting more information about sex in general (80%). The Owambo respondents, who were the least likely to agree to the importance of foreplay, female and male orgasm, also seemed less interested in receiving more information about sex (59%). The Himba/Tjimba respondents were the least likely to want more information about sex in general (55%). However the fact the majority of the respondents regardless of ethnic identity wanted more information indicates a widespread need to broaden and expand young people's knowledge of sexuality.

TABLE 160

41. What would you like to know more about? – by ethnicity (OYO cohort)
f. Sex in general

	Yes	No	Don't know	Missing
Owambo	59%	15%	8%	18%
Herero	80%	14%	0%	6%
Damara	63%	12%	6%	19%
Himba/Tjimba	55%	28%	5%	13%

This section of the questionnaire addressed knowledge and attitudes towards a variety of sexual practices and identified subjects that arouse young people's further interest. Perhaps the most interesting finding from this section was the fact that the responses for female sexual pleasure were not meaningfully different from the responses to equivalent questions about male sexual pleasure. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, throughout this section females were generally more likely to answer "Don't know" than their male counterparts. This suggests that males are better informed than females or are more confident about their opinions, although they were more likely to gain their information about sex from their friends; hence, the accuracy of their knowledge is dubious. In addition, the greatest variance in responses was between the two cohorts rather than between males and females. This suggests that young people living in the capital and living in a privileged environment may be closer to their Western counterparts than to the OYO cohort in their beliefs and attitudes. Further supporting this assertion

is the fact that PS males seemed to be better informed than the OYO males even though they were on average more than a year younger. This probably relates to their being more exposed to a variety of ideas, having better access to computers, the internet and DSTV.

The responses to several of the agree/disagree statements identified areas where there are gaps in sexual knowledge and the need for sex education in general. The questions and comments, along with the number of "Don't know" and missing responses, suggest that there is substantial misinformation about sexuality amongst Namibian youth and that dispelling such beliefs should be part of future sex education programmes. The high percentages of "Yes" selections in response to the questions about the desire for more information indicate that sex education should address a broad range of topics relating to the subject.

Summary

During 2007 and 2008, 395 questionnaires exploring young peoples' beliefs and attitudes towards gender, sexuality and traditions were administered to 15- to 20-year-olds in rural and urban Namibia. The questionnaires were answered by 318 respondents outside Windhoek who have regular contact with the Ombetja Yehinga Organisation (referred to as the OYO cohort) and 77 students in grade 11 at a private school in Windhoek (referred to as the PS cohort , for private school). This information was supplemented by focus group discussions held with students at four schools in the Opuwo and Khorixas vicinities.

Conducting research on sexuality is notoriously difficult and involves issues of honesty, compliance and confidence. Our research was designed to minimise dishonesty by guaranteeing anonymity and by not asking about the respondents' personal sexual activity. However, it is important to remember that we did not have a random sample and as such, we cannot generalise the findings from our data nationwide. Nevertheless, we have been able to identify some overall basic patterns in the responses which help shed light on young Namibians' beliefs and attitudes towards gender, sexuality and traditions. Throughout the questionnaire, the responses of the PS cohort, in particular the responses of the PS females, were the most supportive of gender equality and sexual rights and the responses of the OYO cohort, in particular the responses of the OYO males, were the most conservative. In general, when the data was analysed by cohort, the greatest difference was between the two cohorts, rather than between males and females within cohorts. This indicated that living in a privileged environment in Windhoek is the most important factor in willingness to embrace gender equality and sexual rights.

However, another important pattern became clear through the analysis of the data. The youngest sub-cohort of the OYO respondents (16-year-olds) were consistently more likely to chose answers supporting gender equality and sexual rights, than the older OYO sub-cohort (20-year-olds). This suggested that there is a mini-ideological generation gap in Namibia, with the younger people embracing, or at least wanting to be seen as embracing, more inclusive ideology about gender and sexuality. Amongst the OYO respondents, educational level also seemed to be a key factor in progressive attitudes. (The PS cohort were all in the same grade, with little variation in age, so there was no comparison data for the variables of age and educational level.)

Amongst the OYO cohort, ethnic identity was also a factor with some noteworthy but seemingly conflicting conclusions. The Damara respondents were fairly consistent with less support for patriarchal traditions, such as preserving men as the head of household, but were not as supportive of sexual rights such as gay rights and decriminalising sex work. The Herero respondents and the

Himba/Tjimba respondents supported the continuation of patriarchal cultural practices, and in general did not support sexual rights but were often (especially the Herero respondents) the strongest supporters of gender parity in respect of various sexual behaviours.

Responses to some questions revealed a superficial understanding of "equality" as meaning that men and women should be treated identically regardless of relative situations. Interestingly, this occurred when men would be disadvantaged by 'special' treatment of women, but did not hold true where women would be disadvantaged by 'special' treatment of men. For example, whilst half of the respondents (50% of the OYO cohort and 51% of the PS cohort) thought that men and women should decide together about whether a woman should have an abortion, fewer respondents (16% of the OYO and 56% of the PS) agreed with the statement "If men are allowed to have more than 1 wife, should women be allowed to have more than 1 husband?".

Traditions

This research addressed how young people view traditions as they relate to gender equality and sexual rights. We found that the majority of the young people in our sample support the preservation of general traditions in Namibia such as traditional language, food and dress. More specific cultural practices, such as the first menses ceremony and widow inheritance, found little support regardless of sex, ethnic identity, education and urban/rural birth/residence. There was some support for traditional healers, especially amongst the older OYO respondents.

Most respondents from both cohorts supported the preservation of respect of elders. In fact, there was slightly higher support for this amongst the PS cohort (85%) and those from the OYO who were born or living in urban areas (80 and 81% respectively), than from the OYO cohort as a whole (79%). These findings contradict the widely-held assumption that urban living is responsible for the breakdown of age-related authority. It also suggests that elders, because their authority is already recognised, could be an important resource in HIV education and prevention.

In terms of traditions which impact gender equality, preservation of men as head of the household found little support amongst the PS cohort (26%). There was more support amongst the OYO cohort (46%), especially amongst the OYO males (56%) and amongst the Herero (52%) and Himba/Tjimba (53%) respondents. We also noted a correlation between youth and more progressive attitudes in the answers for this question (35% of the OYO 16-year-olds supported preserving men as head of household, whereas 60% of the 20-year-olds chose this answer). Our data found little support for the practice of *lobola* regardless of sex, ethnic

identity, or urban/rural birth/residence. Most PS respondents (72%) believed that polygamy should be against the law, whilst only 46% of the OYO cohort had this response. Amongst the OYO cohort, younger and in-school respondents were the least likely to support polygamy. Differences also emerged amongst the ethnic groups, with the Herero (48%) and Himba/Tjimba (50%) respondents being most supportive of the continuation of polygamy. Questions regarding polygamy had strikingly few missing answers, indicating that the respondents wanted to weigh in on this issue.

Sexual rights

Reform of reproductive rights in terms of legalising abortion found considerable support amongst the PS cohort (62%) but less support amongst the OYO cohort (28%). There was support for the right of women to terminate their pregnancies if they have been raped, but less support was reported for abortion rights under different circumstances, with the exception of most of the PS cohort (54%) agreeing that a woman should be able to have an abortion if she becomes pregnant at a young age. Most respondents disagreed that lack of financial support from fathers should be a factor in terminating a pregnancy, yet a considerable number of the respondents of both cohorts (50% of the OYO cohort and 51% of the PS cohort) indicated that the decision to have an abortion should be made by both parties.

Although support for continued criminalisation of abortion amongst the OYO cohort seemed to cut across sex, ethnic identity, urban/rural birth/residence, and educational attainment, the fact that 45% of the OYO respondents either supported legal reform or selected "Don't know" suggests that young people may be more open than older people to reconsidering women's reproductive rights. The lack of missing data for this question indicates that it is an important issue to the respondents.

Our findings suggest that the decriminalisation of sex work has some support amongst young people in Namibia. In what could initially be seen as a reverse of the findings elsewhere in this report, the OYO cohort (37%) demonstrated a stronger support for the liberalisation of sex work than the PS cohort (27%). Although, there was a lack of consensus, the few missing answers suggest that this is an important issue to young people.

Lesbian and gay rights found most support amongst the PS cohort, once again suggesting that living in a privileged urban environment is the best predictor of sexual liberalism. However, the number of OYO respondents who supported lesbian and gay rights, along with the number of "Don't know" answers, suggest that legal reform on homosexual rights could find acceptance in the future.

Sexual transgressions

Our findings suggest that many young people's beliefs about what constitutes rape and where the blame should lie are not clear cut. The ambiguity about blame in cases of rape appears to reflect some confusion about the consensual nature of sex under normal circumstances. Only 30% of the OYO cohort agreed with the statement "Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped," whereas 70% of the PS cohort agreed with the statement. However amongst the OYO cohort we found a relationship between age and blaming or not blaming a rape victim, with 16-year-olds being the most likely (40%) to agree that victims should never be blamed for getting raped, and the least likely to chose "Disagree" (39%), whereas the 20-year-olds were the least likely (21%) to select "Agree" and the most likely to select "Disagree" (72%). The high number of "Don't know" and missing data amongst the 16-year-olds suggest that the youngest sub-cohort may be more open to change than the older youths.

The majority of respondents in both cohorts (62% of the OYO cohort and 66% of the PS cohort) indicated that teachers who have sex with learners should be fired and never allowed to teach again. In contrast to the answers to many other questions, the answers of the OYO and PS cohorts were similar. This suggests that young people's attitudes towards this issue cut across lines of privilege. In addition, the lack of missing data indicates that this was topic that they wanted to weigh in on.

Despite all the ink about asymmetrical relationships in Namibia, the answers from our respondents did not support the assumption that this is a growing trend. Asymmetrical relationships in terms of age and wealth do exist, but the answers from our respondents for the most part suggests that these relationships may not be desirable and that most young people are comfortable within their own age and economic bracket. Most of the PS respondents (69% of the males and 83% of the females) selected "Yes" to being involved with someone five years older. Yet those numbers drop off quickly when a larger age gap is contemplated, and none of the PS males selected "Yes" to considering a relationship with someone twenty years older than themselves (although 17% of the OYO males would consider such an involvement). The majority of the PS cohort was willing to entertain the idea of economically symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships. The OYO cohort's answers suggest that they are most comfortable in relationships with people of their same economic level.

Attitudes and beliefs toward sexual behaviours

The most interesting finding from this section of the questionnaire was the fact that the responses for female sexual pleasure were not meaningfully different from the responses to equivalent questions about male sexual pleasure. However when responding to questions about sexual behaviours females were generally

more likely to answer "Don't know" than their male counterparts. This suggests that males are more confident about their knowledge of sexuality than females, although they were more likely to gain their information about sex from their friends or media; hence, the accuracy of their knowledge is dubious.

Throughout this section, the greatest difference in responses was between the OYO and PS cohorts rather than between males and females. This suggests that young people living in the capital and living in a privileged environment may be closer to their Western counterparts than to the OYO cohort in their beliefs and attitudes. PS males seemed to be better informed than the OYO males even though they were on average more than a year younger.

When asked about what they wanted to know more about, the responses to several of the statements identified areas where there are gaps in sexual knowledge and the need for sex education in general. The questions and comments, along with the number of "Don't know" and missing responses, suggest that there is substantial misinformation about sexuality amongst Namibian youth and that dispelling such beliefs should be part of future sex education programmes. The high percentages of "Yes" selections in response to questions about the desire for more information indicate that sex education should address a broad range of topics relating to the subject.

Discourse about sexuality remains difficult. However innovative practices can prove useful. For instance every second month OYO publishes a magazine, *OYO, young, latest and cool*, investigating a specific issue and giving a platform to the youth to express themselves and learn from one another. Started as a four-page newsletter in 2002, the magazine is now 42 pages long, and between 16 000 and 24 000 copies are printed per issue. Other innovative practices include the use of drama and films. OYO developed a writing process whereby young people wrote scripts for two OYO films: *5 minutes of pleasure* which dealt specifically with the issue of teenage pregnancy and *A crack in the wall* which dealt rape. Both films are used by OYO in schools during facilitation sessions. A number of other organisations also use the films in their outreach work. If young people can identify with the protagonists, then they may reflect on their own lives. More work of this nature is needed because knowledge alone is not enough. OYO and LAC are currently cooperating on a drama/film project looking at the issue of relationships. Other organisations, such as Sister Namibia and the Women's Leadership Centre, also address issues of sexuality although their target groups are generally predominantly female.

Conclusion

In Namibia, sexuality has been constructed and reconstructed by complex historical interactions of racial, political, economic and religious forces. Since independence various rights relating to gender and sexuality have been debated and changes have occurred. Although legal reform has taken place, many of the

laws imposed by the white South African government concerning 'morality' are still in effect in Namibia today. Furthermore, legal reform has not necessarily translated into attitudinal and behavioural change. Reproductive rights, sex work, pornography and gay sex are criminalised under the old laws and the current government seems determined to keep these actions and behaviours illegal and claim that their perspective is from a moral higher ground. In contrast, the post-colonial South African government which inherited the same laws as Namibia, has reformed laws, repealed legislation and passed new laws expanding personal sexual freedoms including same-sex marriage. In Namibia the discourse on gender and sexuality ideologies is usually formulated in two schools; one argues for the recognition of human rights, whilst the other argues for the importance of morality and tradition.

The two cohorts in this study in some ways reflect these two stances; the responses of PS cohort indicating a greater acceptance of gender equality and sexual rights could be construed as representing the stereotype of liberal/modern elites who support human rights, whilst the responses from the OYO cohort indicating more acceptance of 'traditional' beliefs could be read as the stereotype of the conservative/traditional majority who support the status quo. However reducing either group to these pigeonholes does a disservice to both. The most important finding from this research is that attitudes and beliefs towards gender equality and sexual rights are not clear-cut and there is variance based on sex, ethnicity, education and urban/rural birth and residence. And although age was one of the most important variables in terms of acceptance of gender equality and sexual rights, Namibian youth do not seem intent on doing away with Namibian traditions. There is no reason why gender equality and sexual rights need to be pitted against traditional practices or morality. Tolerance and inclusion exclude discrimination, not tradition or morality.

What is abundantly clear from our findings is that there is a thirst for information about sexual and equality issues amongst Namibia youth. They have indicated that the door is open for a more nuanced and honest dialogue.

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Appendix A

Purpose of this research: Ombetja Yehinga Organisation and the Legal Assistance Centre are conducting research on traditions, gender, sexuality, and sexual rights in Namibia. The information collected here will be used by scholars, policymakers, and other organisations to better understand sexuality and gender in Namibia. Learning about young people's attitudes and beliefs about gender and sexuality will allow us to identify the needs of young people in terms of sex education and the prevention of HIV/AIDS.

Consent Statement: We would like to ask you some questions about male and female behaviour. Some of the questions are about sexuality. We are not asking you what you do personally. We are interested in what you think about various gender and sexuality behaviours and issues. All of the answers you give will be anonymous. We will not ask you your name. You are free to say that you don't want to fill out the questionnaire. You are also free to refuse to answer any of the questions or stop filling out the questionnaire at any time.

If you agree to fill out the questionnaire, please write one of your initials here _____.

We are very interested in your views and opinions! Please answer all the questions letting us know what you (not your parents, teachers, or friends) think. Thank you.

1. Which sex are you? (please tick one) Female Male

2. What is your age? (please tick one) 16 17 18 19 20

3. What would you describe yourself as? (please circle one)

- | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Owambo | 7. German Namibian |
| 2. Kavango | 8. San |
| 3. Herero | 9. Himba |
| 4. Damara | 10. Coloured |
| 5. Caprivian | 11. Other, which group? _____ |
| 6. Nama | |

4. Where do you live? (please circle one and indicate whether it is a rural or urban area)

- | | | | | |
|--------------|---|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Windhoek | | 8. Erongo | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 2. Kavango | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 9. Hardap | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 3. Kunene | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 10. Karas | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 4. Caprivi | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 11. Otjozondjupa | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 5. Omusati | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 12. Omaheke | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 6. Oshana | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 13. Khomas | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 7. Ohangwena | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 14. Oshikoto | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |

5. Where were you born? (please circle one and indicate whether it was a rural or urban area)

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Windhoek | | | 8. Erongo | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 2. Kavango | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 9. Hardap | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 3. Kunene | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 10. Karas | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 4. Caprivi | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 11. Otjozondjupa | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 5. Omusati | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 12. Omaheke | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 6. Oshana | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 13. Khomas | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |
| 7. Ohangwena | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban | 14. Oshikoto | <input type="checkbox"/> Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> Urban |

6. Are you filling out this questionnaire at Youth Group? (please tick one)

- Yes No

7. Are you filling out this questionnaire at school? (please tick one)

- Yes No

8. What grade are you in? (please circle one – if you are not in school, circle a)

- a. I am not in school
- b. grade 8
- c. grade 9
- d. grade 10
- e. grade 11
- f. grade 12

9. If you are not in school, what was the highest grade you completed? (please circle one, if you are in school, circle a)

- a. I am in school
- b. less than grade 8
- c. grade 8
- d. grade 9
- e. grade 10
- f. grade 11
- g. grade 12

10. Are you employed? Yes No

11. How important is it to preserve Namibian traditions? (please choose only one answer)

- a. Very important
- b. Somewhat important
- c. Not important

12. Which traditions are important to preserve? (please tick one for each statement)

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. Language | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| b. Food | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| c. Dress | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| d. Traditional healers | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| e. Traditional authority | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| f. Lobola | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| g. Respect for elders | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| h. 1 st Menstruation ceremony | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| i. Circumcision ceremony | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| j. Men being head of the household | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| k. Widow inheritance* | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |

(*A woman is supposed to marry her husband's brother if her husband dies)

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| l. Cleansing ceremony* | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

(*A widow needs to have sex with one of her husband's male relatives after her husband's death)

13. When should a man marry a second wife? (please tick one for each statement)

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. When his 1 st wife can't have babies | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| b. When he can afford it | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| c. When his 1 st wife is getting old
and cannot do her work | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |

14. If men are allowed to have more than 1 wife, should women be allowed to have more than 1 husband?

- Agree Disagree Don't know

15. Polygamy (having more than one wife) should be against the law.

- Agree Disagree Don't know

16. When should a female be allowed to have an abortion? (please tick one for each statement)

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. If she has been raped | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| b. If she is too poor | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| c. If there is something wrong with
the unborn baby | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| d. If having a baby will threaten the
mother's health | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| e. If she is too young | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| f. If the father will not support the
child | <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |

17. Who should have the final say on when a woman can have an abortion? (circle only one)

- a. The pregnant woman
- b. The man who impregnated the woman
- c. They should make the decision together
- d. I don't know

18. Should abortion be legal in Namibia? (circle only one)

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't know

19. What should happen to someone who sexually abuses a family member? (please circle only one)

- a. It should be dealt with within the family
- b. It should be reported to the traditional authorities
- c. It should be reported to the police

20. If a female/male is raped, they should... (please circle only one)

- a. Go to the police no matter what
- b. Let their parents decide what to do
- c. Tell no one

21. If a female/male is raped by a family member, they should ...(please circle only one)

- a. Go to the police no matter what
- b. Let their parents decide what to do
- c. Tell no one if the rapist is supporting the family

22. Females/males should be blamed for getting raped if ...(please tick one for each statement)

- a. They are wearing sexy clothes Agree Disagree Don't know
- b. They are out late at night Agree Disagree Don't know
- c. They have sex with a lot of people Agree Disagree Don't know

23. Females/males should never be blamed for getting raped.

- Agree Disagree Don't know

24. Should it be a crime to exchange sex for money?

- Agree Disagree Don't know

25. If a female has sex with another female...(please tick one for each statement)

- a. It is a sin Agree Disagree Don't know
b. It is against the law Agree Disagree Don't know
c. It is no one's business Agree Disagree Don't know

26. Lesbian rights should be protected by the law

- Agree Disagree Don't know

27. If a male has sex with another male...(please tick one for each statement)

- a. It is a sin Agree Disagree Don't know
b. It is against the law Agree Disagree Don't know
c. It is no one's business Agree Disagree Don't know

28. Gay rights should be protected by the law

- Agree Disagree Don't know

29. Would you consider being a relationship with someone (please tick one for each statement)

- a. Who is 5 years older than you? Yes No Don't know
b. Who is 10 years older than you? Yes No Don't know
c. Who is 20 years or more older than you? Yes No Don't know
d. Who is poorer than you? Yes No Don't know
e. Who is as poor/rich as you? Yes No Don't know
f. Who is slightly richer than you? Yes No Don't know
g. Who is much richer than you? Yes No Don't know

30. What should happen to teachers who have sex with learners? (circle only one)

- a. They should be fired and not allowed to ever teach
b. They should be warned but allowed to continue teaching
c. They should be suspended
d. Nothing should happen to them

31. Teachers who have sex with learners who are younger than 16 years old should be charged with a crime.

- Yes No Don't know

32. When female learners fall pregnant, they should....(please circle only one)

- a. Be suspended from school immediately
- b. Be suspended when she starts showing
- c. Return to school 3 months after having the baby
- d. Be suspended for 1 year after having the baby
- e. Staying in/leaving school should be up to the girl

33. When male learners get female learners pregnant, they should... (please circle only one)

- a. Be suspended from school immediately
- b. Be suspended when the girl starts showing
- c. Return to school 3 months after the baby's birth
- d. Be suspended for 1 year after the baby's birth
- e. Staying in/leaving school should be up to the boy

34. When a male learner get a female learner pregnant, he should be forced to help support the child.

- Yes No Don't know

35. Where have you received the most information about sex? (choose only one)

- a. from your family
- b. from your friends
- c. from the media (TV, radios, movies, etc)
- d. from Ombetja Yehinga
- e. from your church

36. Where have you received the least information about sex? (choose only one)

- a. from your family
- b. from your friends
- c. from the media (TV, radios, movies, etc)
- d. from Ombetja Yehinga
- e. from your church

The following questions are about sexual knowledge and behaviour. We are not asking you what you do or do not do; we are interested in your views and opinions.

37. With regards to sexual pleasure ... (please tick one for each statement)

- a. Females need to have orgasms (sexual climax, coming)
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- b. Males need to have orgasms (sexual climax, coming)
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- c. Females should have an orgasm each time
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- d. Males should have an orgasm each time
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- e. Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for males to achieve orgasm
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- f. Penis/vagina penetration is the only proper way for females to achieve orgasm
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- g. Females can have more than one orgasm per sex act
 Agree Disagree Don't know

38. What do you think about the following sexual activities? (please tick one each statement)

- a. Foreplay* is an important part of sex
 Agree Disagree Don't know
*(foreplay is the kissing and touching that leads to sex)
- b. Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for females
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- c. Receiving oral sex is pleasurable for males
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- d. Masturbation is pleasurable for females
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- e. Masturbation is pleasurable for males
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- f. It is OK for females to initiate sex
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- g. It is better for females if the sex act is quick (less than 5 minutes)
 Agree Disagree Don't know

- h. It is better for males if the sex act is quick (less than 5 minutes)
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- i. You should discuss what gives you sexual pleasure with your partner
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- j. It is OK to have group sex (more than one partner in your bed at the same time)
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- k. It is OK to have more than one boyfriend/girlfriend at the same time
 Agree Disagree Don't know
- l. Dry sex is pleasurable*
 Agree Disagree Don't know

*(dry sex is achieved by putting substances in the vagina that causes it to be dry)

39. In your opinion, who gets more pleasure out of the sex act?

- a. females
- b. males
- c. equal pleasure for both sexes
- d. don't know

40. Would you like to find out the results of this survey?

- Yes No

41. With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?

- | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. HIV/AIDS | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| b. other sexually transmitted diseases | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| c. pregnancy | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| d. homosexuality | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| e. relationships | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| f. sex in general | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| g. other _____ | | | |

42. Do you have any comments or questions?

Appendix B

Please note that in order to make the questions and comments easy to read, some spelling and grammatical changes have been made. The order of the questions and comments correspond to the order in which the data of the questionnaires was recorded. The numbers corresponding to the questionnaire have been removed to further protect the anonymity of the respondents.

OYO COHORT:

Compilation of responses to the "Other" option for Question 41:

With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?

- I want to know about HIV/AIDS because when you know about AIDS is good
- What will happen when you have sex with a person who is HIV-positive?
- I would like to know more about sexual transmitted disease.
- Why does a female have sex with another female?
- I want to know why females have sex more than males and why rape is spreading in Namibia.
- Why do males and females have sex?
- Why is sex important?
- Why do females and females have sex? I can't understand this!
- Do people get AIDS from kissing each other? It confuses me, from which age to people start being in relationships?
- Can a married woman sleep with a boy who is in school?
- What is homosexuality?
- More information on respect between partners and bisexuals.
- What is the right age to become sexually active?
- More information about teenage pregnancy.
- Why do males have to be head of households?
- More information about teenage pregnancy
- Why do males have to rape females?
- What does cleansing ceremony mean?
- Do people who are raped by HIV positive people get special medicine to prevent infection?
- More information on education and Christianity.
- How did AIDS come to Namibia, through who and when?
- What should I do to get an orgasm?
- Further everything was ok, but what does it mean to have dry sex?
- Can children under the age of 16 have sex? If no, why then do we get sexual feelings?
- What should we do, when the law says that children under 16 may not have sex?
- What does sexuality mean?
- More information on oral sex.
- More information on what triggers homosexuality, marriage between different races and sex using hands.

- Can you contract the virus through oral sex? Why do more men prefer sex than women?
- More information on group sex, oral sex and how to remain a virgin until you are ready.
- There should be groups that counsel lovers and parents and their children on how to talk about sex openly.
- More information on sex methods such as foreplay, blowjobs, dry sex, the sassor, the wheel, etc.
- How will we get the results of this survey?
- Why do girls always murmur during sexual intercourse, when they are the once who are forcing us to have sex?
- Why would women want to have sex for less than 5 minutes?
- What should a girl do when a boy loves her and she is in his favour?
- More information on menstruation.
- More information on changes in the body during growth.
- Why do penises pain while erect and why can't a penis become erect after urinating?
- What can a guy do when he proposes a girl, but doesn't want to kiss or have sex with her?
- What makes a person want to commit suicide when their boyfriend or girlfriend divorces them?
- Who must decide to have sex, the boy or the girl?
- In terms of gender, who is responsible for deciding to have sex?
- I would like to know more about whom I should have sex with, because I am actually interested in people older than myself. At what age is it suitable for a girl like me who is 17 years old to have sex? I'm afraid of having sex, but it's not like I want to.
- More information on family planning.
- More information on how to use a condom.
- More information on family planning.
- Is it good or bad to not have sex for a long time? Here the Hereros say "unohura" (you are horny), because you haven't had sex for a long time.
- What will happen to you if you don't have sex for a long time? Is it good or bad to be a sex maniac or to have sex everyday?
- More information on lesbians.
- If you are HIV positive, how must you behave to remain healthy and alive with the virus?
- Please tell me what the symptoms of HIV are when you are a lady.
- More information on external symptoms of HIV with males and females. If HIV stays in the blood, then why don't doctors remove that blood and replace it with uninfected donated blood?
- More information on lesbians.
- When is the right time to start having sex? I'm really curious.
- What do you mean by receiving oral sex?
- Is masturbation part of sexuality?
- More information on abortion and oral sex.

- I want more information on rape and TB. Can someone have an abortion if they were impregnated through a rape?
- For how long do we have to wait for the outcome of the research and how will we get the results?
- Why is it that when learners fall pregnant they are suspended? Why is it against the law in Namibia for a female to have sex with another female?
- If a girl falls pregnant whilst at school, is it possible for her to get an abortion? This problem may cause her to commit suicide.
- More information on sugar daddies and mummies and rape.
- Please we really want the results of this research.
- Is it true that to protect yourself against STDs, you must use two condoms at the same time?
- I'd like to know more about different sex style and when it is the right time to have sex.
- What is homosexuality?
- Is it true that women get fat from condom oil?
- I want to know what people can do when it comes to sex relationships and suicide in this country.
- What is the purpose of this questionnaire?
- Is it important to tell my parents everything I'm doing with my boyfriend?
- More information on alcohol abuse. When are we going get the results?
- More information on sugar daddies and mummies, alcohol and sex abuse.
- Is it possible that when a pregnant woman is about to give birth, her cervix can sometimes not be large enough for the baby to get through? At what age can a boy make a girl pregnant?
- *Comment (Q24):* It's not the governments vaginas or penises.
- *Comment (Q37b):* If males didn't have orgasms, then they wouldn't need to use condoms to prevent pregnancies, ie when you are sure of their HIV status.
- Is it possible for a 13-year-old boy to impregnate a girl? Why do parents have doubts about their child's feelings towards a boy?
- Do females who have sex with other females get sexual feelings? If someone gets sexual feelings from both males and females what must they do?
- More information on peer pressure.
- More information on rape.
- Is it a good thing to introduce my boyfriend to my mom or dad? If yes why?
- More information on dry sex and whether it is pleasurable.
- When is it the right time (age) to have sex?
- I want to know more about foreplay and dry sex.
- More information about masturbation and abortion. Is masturbation part of sex?
- More information on abortion. Will our contribution to this research bring something to the communities we are living in?

Comments from OYO respondents

- The questions were very good I learnt a lot from it. I think that we also have to have workshops concerning these. Keep up the good work!!!!
- I really like what you are trying to give us and I am interested in being one of the persons to explore the news to other people. Thank you.
- It's important to talk about this topic and sexuality for people between 18 and 25, especially for girls who are entering puberty.
- It's important to put more effort on the killer disease AIDS.
- It's good to have sex.
- You should keep yourself away from sex to keep your virginity. If you have sex with someone, don't forget to use a condom or femidom. Be with one partner.
- It's fair that you are giving young people a chance to say what they think about this matter.
- I hope that you guys see to it that our answers are used to the best advantage.
- Why give teenagers such grown up questions? Not right!
- You should send out more of these questionnaires, through them we learn what we agree with and what we disagree with.
- Teenagers should learn to control their emotions and sexual needs. They should think things through before having sex and should use protection.
- I appreciate you guys doing something like this for the youth. I hope you get the most out of the survey as possible.
- This questionnaire was very interesting and an eye opener. This will make me consult my sexual partner about how she feels about sex.
- There is Down Syndrome and other diseases not just HIV/AIDS. People are getting bored, there are also other diseases, so start talking about them.
- Its good that you're finding out how we feel.
- When a male learner gets a female learner pregnant, he should remain in school, so that when he finishes he can help his child not to suffer.
- Polygamy is a problem for woman especially with the high rate of HIV/AIDS.
- Let us fight HIV/AIDS in our country and everywhere and educate everyone about this disease and virus. Let us improve on condomising and improve on next generation.
- Interesting!!!
- Some of these questions should be asked to people who are able or who have been having sex for a long time.
- This paper gave me information I didn't know.
- I have learned some things I never knew through this paper.
- You have to know about your private parts and also how big or small your girl/ boyfriend's is. Question 33, boys must be suspended more times than girls.
- No comments, but you should rather provide more information than ask questions. Be a resource of HIV/AIDS.
- We stay in a group and like having sex with one girl at the same time.
- Both males and females should know in detail about sexual intercourse so that they know everything that is happening to them.
- Women and men should not have equal rights. Men should have more rights than women.

- Ombetja must keep on giving information about sex and HIV/AIDS.
- I think your organisation is doing a great job by interviewing learners to fill in questionnaires, because it's also letting them know about STDs and HIV/AIDS. It's especially good for learners who are involved in sexual relationships and the dangers that may come from such relationships.
- Thank you, we hope to see the results.
- Its good for people in the country to understand sexuality.
- Why does the rape law only favour women? Sometimes you and your girlfriend can agree to have sex, but after if she asks you for money and you don't give her, then she will go to the police and you will be jailed for rape.
- Should abortion and prostitution be legalised in Namibia? Are learners who are under 16 years allowed to have sex?

PS COHORT:

Compilation of responses to the "Other" option for Question 41: *With regards to sexuality, what would you like to know more about?*

- The right age for one to break his/her virginity. How long must one have been dating someone to have sex with them?
- Methods of achieving full sexual pleasure, fun, sports for sex.
- Socio-economic affects of STDs and statistics on herpes and other STDs in Namibia.
- What does a man need to do to make a woman have more than one orgasm during sexual intercourse?
- Different ways of aborting (eg surgery, morning after pill).
- Is it advisable to masturbate?
- How to please my woman properly. How females want sex done.
- The trends in the modern world relating to abortion, vasectomy and hysterectomy rate. The exact condition of re-infection (pertaining to HIV). The influence of culture.

Comments from PS respondents

- How the results will affect our country's future?
- No, not really, very interesting questions though.
- These questions cover the spectrum of sexual relations in this country well.
- People should have this kind of questionnaires at school more often as it is important to know what the youth of Namibia think about sexuality and the laws around it.
- It was a very good questionnaire as it something that affects our everyday life.
- Someone should take a stand and teach abstinence instead of using protection. God created sex for marriage so that two bodies can become one. We should forget people's feelings and being politically correct. Teach abstinence! That solves teenage pregnancy and disease. Finally God created Adam and Eve not Adam and Steve.

- I think this is a good survey. Thank you.
- Should sex be discussed in school more than abstinence?
- It is quite interesting that you are doing this survey for young people. In my opinion it will help a lot of people. I would like to know more about racism.
- I just think that it is good that we are opening up about situations like this especially when your girl/ boyfriend decides its time we have sexual intercourse
- Not actually, except that most things depend on the people going through the problem.
- Thank you for the free period.
- This is really helping a lot, more of these surveys should be done. Thank you.
- When looking at making abortion legal in Namibia aspects must be considered.
- Very interesting and may turn educational.
- Yes this survey should be used in anthropology circles (to determine social patterns) or as psyche assessment of underprivileged youths. Should there results published will mention be made to specific school and organisation? Has a similar survey be made in more developed global regions? I do find the questionnaire to be of a comprehensive level although general answers are provided to most questions. Well done.



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