

A STUDY ON THE PRE-AND POST-INDEPENDENCE PSYCHOLOGICAL
EXPERIENCES OF THE NAMIBIAN CHILDREN OF THE LIBERATION
STRUGGLE

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ABSTRACT

Namibia has a long history of colonialism and apartheid (racial segregation) which resulted in the liberation struggle to free the country and its people. The independence of Namibia in 1990 witnessed the voluntary repatriation of exiled Namibian people back home. Children of the liberation struggle (CLS) is the term used to refer to the children of veterans who were under the age of 18 years before independence. Since 2008, demonstrations and demands for jobs from government by the CLS have taken place regularly.

The present study aims to explore and describe the pre- and post-independence psychological experiences of the Namibian CLS.

A qualitative approach was employed where in-depth interviews were conducted with 10 employed CLS in the Khomas region from two generations of CLS born between 1972 and 1978 and between 1979 and 1984, all of whom lived in refugee camps until independence in 1990. The collected data were categorised by means of thematic analysis.

The results have revealed themes which demonstrate that most CLS were separated from their parents owing to liberation struggle-related missions or possible death of parents, hence both pre- and/or post-independence CLS experienced adversities. Results have also revealed that CLS in both generations have at least experienced one or multiple traumatic war-related situations which they still find difficult to cope with. Integration challenges were recounted more in the first generation of CLS in comparison to the later generation. Reports of feelings of excitement and disappointment during and after repatriation were noted in both generations. Finally, pre-and post-independence unaddressed emotional and psychological experiences emerged as themes.

The study recommends psychological interventions in the form of therapeutic group sessions for employed and unemployed CLS in order for them to reflect on the past, make sense of it and find healing in order to move on with their lives. To allow for the generalization of findings on the Namibian CLS population, it is suggested that future research in this area also draw participants from other regions of Namibia.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location & Event Data
APA	American Psychiatric Association
APA	American Psychological Association
CLS	Children of the Liberation Struggle
CCN	Council of Churches in Namibia
GDR	German Democratic Republic
LOC	Locus of Control
MYNSSC	Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture
NEKA	Namibian Exile Kids Association
NHEC	Namibia Health and Education Centre
OPC	Owamboland People's Congress
PEACE	People's Education, Assistance and Counselling for Empowerment
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
PPS	People's Primary School
PTSD	Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
RRR	Repatriation, Resettlement and Reconstruction
SADF	South African Defence Force
SIPE	Socio-Economic Integration Programme for Ex-Combatants

SWA	South West Africa
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
WFP	World Food Programme

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DECLARATIONS

I, Ndinelao Twahangana Kaxuxuena, hereby declare that this study is my own work and is a true reflection of my research, and that this work, or part thereof, has not been submitted for a degree at any other institution.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation of the study

Namibia, earlier known as South West Africa (SWA), has a long history of colonialism and apartheid. As early as the late 18th century, when Namibia was a colony of Germany, the Nama and Herero people displayed active resistance to the colonial rule (Dierks, 2002). In the early 19th century, Namibia came under South African rule, after Germany lost the First World War. In 1921, Namibia (then SWA) became a League of Nations trust territory administered by South Africa (Dierks, 2002; Sturges, 2004). In 1946, the South African government took substantial strides to merge Namibia into the Union of South Africa, however this was not granted by the United Nations which was the successor of the League of Nations (Dierks, 2002; Sturges, 2004). South Africa continued to colonize Namibia and applied the apartheid system, which was a system of social engineering that included such aspects as the pass laws and the migrant labour system (Sturges, 2004).

Unhappy with the state of affairs, the Namibian people's struggle against South African rule commenced formally in 1957 with the launch of the Owamboland People's Congress (OPC) (Dierks, 2002). OPC soon became the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) which was Namibia's anti-apartheid and anti-colonialism movement. According to Moore (n.d), SWAPO participated in diplomatic mobilization and engaged in an armed struggle through its 1966 founded military wing called the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) from 1960 to 1989. PLAN fought against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. "Most of SWAPO leadership was in exile, operating out of military and refugee camps in

Tanzania, Zambia, and Angola” (Moore, n.d, para. 4). The period between 1960 and 1989 is also the period during which more and more Namibians went into exile. Namibians who went into exile were both those who could directly participate in the liberation struggle as well as women, children and the elderly who could not fight actively. With the permission of respective neighbouring countries such as Angola and Zambia, SWAPO set up refugee camps for civilians, as well as military bases for PLAN fighters (Krause & Kaplan, 2017). These camps were also referred to as SWAPO camps (Nghiwete, 2010; Williams, 2009). In this study, the SWAPO camps for civilians will be referred to as refugee camps. Krause and Kaplan (2017) labelled the camp in Cassinga, the Namibia Health and Education Centre (NHEC) Kwanza-Sul in Angola, as well as the camp Old Farm and Nyango in Zambia as refugee camps. Although these refugee camps were expected to be safe for the Namibian refugees, absolute safety was not guaranteed against the assaults of the South African Defence Force (SADF) (Krause & Kaplan, 2017).

The Independence of Namibia on 21 March 1990 signified the end of the struggle against colonialism from Germany and South Africa. A voluntary repatriation of approximately 40 000 - 50 000 exiled Namibian people, including children born and/or raised in exile, back to Namibia happened as from 1989 (Preston, 1997; Wallace & Kinahan, 2011).

These children who were born and/or raised in exile are referred to as the Children of the Liberation Struggle (CLS). In Namibia, the CLS fall under the mandate of the Namibian Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture (MYNSSC). In 2008, as per cabinet decision no. 17th \16.09.002, the MYNSSC (2008) stated that

the CLS are children of veterans [veterans as defined in the Veterans Act which is Act no. 2 of 2008 (Parliament of the Republic of Namibia, 2008)], inclusive of exiled children, who until 21 March 1990 were under the age of 18 years. Thus, in this research study, CLS is the term used to refer to the children of veterans, including exiled children of veterans, who were under the age of 18 years before independence, although they are now adults and not children anymore. The CLS are also commonly known as the ‘struggle kids’, ‘struggle children’ or ‘SWAPO kids’.

Since 2008, their demonstrations and demands for jobs and national documents from government have been making headlines in the media (Mukundu, 2009). Those demanding employment from government were however allegedly accompanied in their demonstration by fellow CLS who were employees in various government ministries (Nakale & Jason, 2012). It can therefore be assumed that the employed CLS participated in the demonstration in solidarity with others.

The unemployed CLS have been claiming that “a special responsibility is owed to them because they were raised abroad and forced to repatriate ‘home’ to a Namibian culture of which they knew little” (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data [ACLED] Project, 2016, p. 6). In addition, the CLS raised in exile claimed that they do not have jobs because government failed to honour its promise of free education for CLS who came back from exile (Dealing with empty promises, 2013; Ikela, 2013). Lastly, the CLS are demanding jobs from the government because they were born in exile and some lost their parents to the liberation war of the 1970s and 1980s (Mukundu, 2009).

On the other hand, many Namibians who never left the country during the liberation struggle have also experienced hardships and are also unemployed, but do not demand special treatment from government. As a result numerous Namibians often refer to the CLS born and/or raised in exile as deviant and unproductive (Sakaria, 2009), although there are also those CLS who are productive and contributing to the country's economy. Nonetheless, the perceived demanding behaviour of a group of CLS in Namibia prompts one to consider possible reasons for such behaviour such as unresolved trauma in the CLS. An inquiry into the pre-and post-independence experiences of the CLS could provide useful information in this regard.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The demonstrations and problematic behaviour of the Namibian CLS have been observed since 2008 up to date (Mukundu, 2009; Pinehas, 2017). This has become a national concern for the general Namibian public. The experiences of the CLS who were born and/or raised in Germany (previously known as the German Democratic Republic [GDR] are substantially documented (Kenna, 1999; Krause & Kaplan, 2017) compared to the CLS born and/raised in other countries. Consequently, there is limited academic research on the pre-and post-independence experiences of the Namibian CLS who were not sent to the GDR, which has contributed to lack of understanding, and generalized negative views from the public concerning the CLS.

A study conducted by Shiningayamwe, Shalyefu, and Kanyimba (2014), on the unemployed and demonstrating CLS found that they faced social and economic challenges following independence which has negatively impacted their current life situation. This study on the other hand exclusively focuses on the post-independence

experience of the CLS, which leaves a gap in knowledge on the psychological effects of the Namibian liberation struggle on the CLS' lives in exile and post-independence. There is a need to explore the psychological experiences of the Namibian CLS pre- and post-independence as this may also offer a rationale for the behaviour and attitudes of the CLS.

Additionally, since independence, some studies were conducted on the Namibian war veterans by researchers and institutions like Preston and Solomon (1993), People's Education, Assistance and Counselling for Empowerment [PEACE] Centre (2005) and Metsola (2015). Of these three studies, only the PEACE Centre (2005) study specifically focused on the pre-independence experiences of the veterans, including their social, economic and psychological well-being after Namibia's independence. Although the CLS were mentioned in a post-independence context in some research studies (Metsola, 2015; Preston & Solomon, 1993), none addressed their pre-independence experiences. This study is therefore designed to explore and describe the pre- and post-independence psychological experiences of the Namibian children of the liberation struggle in order to find a possible link between those experiences and current difficulties adapting to life in Namibia.

1.3 Research questions

The research questions are as follows:

- 1.3.1 How did the Namibian CLS experience life in exile in the refugee camps?
- 1.3.2 What challenges have the Namibian CLS faced in Namibia after repatriation?

- 1.3.3 What opportunities have the Namibian CLS received in Namibia after repatriation?
- 1.3.4 What are the experiences of the Namibian CLS now?
- 1.3.5 Do the Namibian CLS have memories or experiences of the past, pre- and post-independence that they still find difficult to deal with?

1.4 Significance of the study

Namibia is faced with a challenge concerning the demonstrations of the unemployed Namibian CLS since 2008 claiming that they were not given the necessary support after repatriation to help them integrate in Namibia and therefore they have not been able to get an education and secure employment. Research by Shiningayamwe et al., (2014) has shed light on the social and economic challenges faced by the Namibian CLS post-independence; moreover, there is a knowledge gap on their pre-independence psychological experiences and how these have affected them psychologically. Dawson and Rahman (2016) have stated that developmental consequences of a refugee experience for a young person may be observed in identity formation, social inclusion and attachment development, self-esteem, future aspirations, distress tolerance skills and the formation of one's worldview. In the absence of early interventions to prevent the onset of mental health problems, their progression into chronic disorders is inevitable. Mental illness may negatively influence the ability of an individual to participate in economically productive undertakings, to benefit from educational opportunities, as well as makes one more susceptible to experiencing addictive substance abuse and a dysfunctional family life (Onyut et al., 2009).

An investigation into the possible presence of unresolved trauma as a consequence of pre-and post-independence experiences of the Namibian CLS may give insight into their behaviour and current psychological interventions needs. The findings emanating from this research might inform future interventions on addressing the psychological needs of the Namibian CLS. These findings may also be a source of an example for other countries to build counselling interventions into their repatriation and integration plans for their returnees after war.

1.5 Delimitation of the study

Owing to the fact that the unemployed and demonstrating CLS are currently in emotional turmoil and are unpredictable, as well as the fact that they are regarded as a vulnerable population, the researcher decided to focus on employed CLS. Likewise, the current study only concentrated on CLS who were born and/or raised in refugee camps in Angola and Zambia and then repatriated to Namibia after having lived most of their childhood years in exile in these refugee camps. The CLS who were sent to other countries such as Congo Brazzaville, Sierra Leone, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Cuba and others for education were excluded because the experience of life outside of the refugee camps and in another country was a different experience from that of CLS who were predominantly exposed to refugee camp life. Finally, this study recruited only research participants from the first generation and partly from the second generation of the CLS, excluding some of the second generation and the entire third generation of CLS. The exclusion was because they would likely not have sufficient memories of their pre-independence experiences due to their ages at the time of living in a refugee camp.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter consists of the literature review and the theoretical framework. The literature review gave a description of refugee camps. Particular focus was placed on the Namibian exile refugee camps situation and experiences. The researcher discussed how early childhood experiences of war and life in exile of children and adolescents may negatively impact their lives way into adulthood. The researcher further discussed the consequences of unresolved trauma of parents and guardians of refugee children and adolescents hence the importance of psychological support post-refugee life. In this chapter, the researcher as well presented the relevant theories on which the study was underpinned.

2.2. Literature review

2.2.1 Life in refugee camps for Namibian children

According to Harrell-Bond (2000), refugee camps are often overcrowded artificial environments where occupants are restricted in their freedom of movement. Refugee camps usually accommodate people who have fled their home country due to war. War in a country may be due to civil conflicts; it may be war of aggression, or war of liberation from colonialism and of freedom from oppression (Prime Focus Magazine, 2012). Refugees in camps survive on international aid which is “completely undependable, erratic and inadequate” (Harrell-Bond, 2000, p. 5). Furthermore, refugee camps are frequently overcrowded and underserved which is what leads to

malnutrition, waste accumulation, contaminated water, and transmittable diseases (Yaghi, 2014).

Refugee camps are often viewed as temporary places of safety for those in exile seeking refuge for as long as their countries of origin are not safe to return to. However, it was noted that living in refugee camps made refugees easy targets for attacks from enemies across the borders when they are gathered in refugee camps (Harrell-Bond, 2000). For example, in April 1996, the Ikafe refugee camp in Uganda was attacked by the Juma Oris's group which mutilated refugees by cutting off some refugees' noses and ears, and kidnapping others (Harrell-Bond, 2000). For the Namibians in exile, the 4 May 1978 Cassinga massacre is one such example which left over 800 of its 3,000 occupants dead when the SADF attacked the Cassinga refugee camp in Angola in the defence that it was a military facility. The majority of the camp inhabitants were women, children and old people. Over 400 Namibian refugees were wounded with over 200 captured as prisoners and taken off to concentration camps in Namibia (SWAPO, 1981).

Namibian exiles dwelled under the direct supervision of SWAPO (Williams, 2009). SWAPO leaders campaigned for humanitarian assistance from various countries and organizations around the world (Nghiwete, 2010) in order to provide food, shelter, clothing and medicine (Williams, 2009) for the refugee adults and children in its camps. The various camps in which the Namibians exiles lived had SWAPO representative who were referred to as commanders (Williams, 2009). Williams further added that commanders and other SWAPO officials communicated information with camp occupants during what was referred to as 'the parade'. Due to

security threats, the Namibian exiles and their children lived ready for danger from possible attacks from the enemies, the SADF, as well as the then powerful Angolan rebel political party, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Perhaps due to the fact that Namibia's war was that of liberation from colonialism and of freedom from oppression, many Namibians who went into exile had opportunities to go abroad for training and education in different fields and return to help the country continue the liberation struggle (Nghiwete, 2010), as well as benefit Namibia as a qualified workforce once it has gained its independence. Additionally, many exiled Namibians, men and women, were subjected to military training and fought on the frontlines (Nghiwete, 2010). Considering the movement of the parents of the Namibian CLS, it is evident that most of them were not raised by their parents while in exile. The absence of mothers in their young children's lives may have resulted in an inability for mothers and children to form bonds when reunited particularly after independence.

According to Nghiwete (2010), fathers were also frequently absent in their children's lives in exile because they were on the frontline fighting or away for studies or other missions. Some CLS never had the opportunity to see their fathers. The reality in the refugee camps for Namibians was that few men were present as the majority were fighting in the war. For those men who were not required for combat, some of their duties in the refugee camps would include guarding the camps from enemy invasions (Nghiwete, 2010). Finally, the absence of parents resulted in the majority of the Namibian CLS being raised by 'mothers'(guardians) in their respective

kindergarten/hostels and other adults in the community whom parents entrusted to care for their children (Nghiwete, 2010).

In view of the above described exile environment of the Namibian CLS who were born and/or raised in refugee camps, it may be argued that they grew up in vulnerable circumstances that may have caused them physical, emotional, and psychological harm which may be felt into adulthood. According to Sakaria (2009), constant instability and social dislocation formed part of the experience of the CLS growing up in those camps where they attended morning military parades, were exposed to danger, and witnessed bloodshed during battles. The UNHCR (1994) affirmed that refugee situations which are characterized by disruption and uncertainty can harm children's physical, academic, psychological and cultural development. This may be so due to refugee children's experience of extreme stress due to different forms of abuse, neglect, loss, illness, and lack of nutrition (Moroz, 2005). Moreover, they are also at heightened risk for considerable trauma and posttraumatic stress disorder when exposed to war related traumatic incidents (Moroz, 2005).

It is important to note that a significant number of Namibian children in exile, orphans and survivors of the 1978 Cassinga massacre were sent to the GDR following appeals by the SWAPO leadership to the international community to educate and give these children a better future (Nghiwete, 2010). In addition, other children were sent to Cuba in the same year and in subsequent years more children continued to be sent to the GDR and Cuba and to other countries such as Czechoslovakia and Congo Brazzaville. Nonetheless, the majority remained in the

Namibian refugee camps of Angola and Zambia until they were repatriated to Namibia (Nghiwete, 2010).

2.2.2 Young people's experience of war and life in exile

There is a substantial body of knowledge on the psychological effects of war on children and their experience of living in exile (Björn, 2013; Dubow, Huesmann, & Boxer, 2009; Milovancevic, Ispanovic, & Stupar, 2016). In war situations, children and adolescents may inevitably be exposed to traumatic circumstances which may have long term psychological effects in adulthood. Research studies conducted in post conflict situations on children and adolescents who experienced war were mainly done before the children entered adulthood (Macksoud & Aber, 1996; Wiese, 2010). These studies affirmed that children and adolescents experienced numerous traumatic war experiences such as unexpected violent deaths, became victims of violent acts, witnessed violent acts, were separated from parents, and were often displaced.

A study carried out by Felix (2015) aimed at understanding the war experience of adolescents, the role of forgiveness, and future prospects among Liberian young adults who had spent their childhood in conditions of armed conflict. Thirteen participants aged 25 to 35 years were interviewed, and the results revealed themes of painful experiences involving witnessing atrocities and abuses, loss of parents, reliving the memories of the war, and hardships. It is significant that the study of Felix (2015) also found that regardless of their traumatic past, some participants exhibited resilience, felt positive about the future, and showed a great effort to rebuild their shattered lives whilst perceiving life as meaningful.

2.2.3 Reintegration after repatriation

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) regards voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement as durable solutions for refugees. Voluntary repatriation is defined as “the return in safety and dignity to the refugees’ country of origin, based on their free and informed decision” (UNHCR, 2011, p. 31). Studies have however shown that repatriation and reintegration comes with numerous challenges for returnees and especially their children who were born in exile (Cornish, Peltzer, & Maclachlan, 1999; Fransen & Kuschminder, 2012; UNICEF, 2012). For instance, in a study by Cornish et al. (1999), they interviewed 36 young Malawian returnees who were born in exile (Zambia) with the age range between 9 and 21 years. The study aimed at exploring how the young returnee refugees were affected by the political, social and economic context in which they found themselves after their exile experience. The findings revealed that due to the challenging living conditions in Malawi, the young returnees experienced hardship in the attempt to generate an income for themselves and their families, were mistreated by the relatives who took them in, and also participated in a three day demonstration demanding aid for resettlement of returnees from the government.

The results of the study on the post-independence experiences of the Namibian CLS (Shiningayamwe et al., 2014) were similar to those found with the Malawian returnees. For example, the Namibian CLS also highlighted the hardships they faced back in Namibia due to the social and economic context in which they found themselves after repatriation and they perceived the Namibian government’s provision of education and job opportunities as a means to a better future. A number of CLS have been recruited into government ministries as well as offered skills

training (Shapwanale, 2016; Smith, 2017), with still a number of Namibian CLS seeking employment, while others have been able to secure employment by themselves.

2.2.4 Psychological and other support given to CLS after repatriation

It is not possible to discuss psychological aspects alone without considering the negative influence socio-economic challenges have on psychological well-being. The return of many adult Namibians from exile presented a mixed group of individuals, unskilled, uneducated, the educated with recognized qualifications (Gaomas, 2004; PEACE, 2005), and the educated but with unrecognised qualifications and experience obtained in countries such as the former eastern Europe, Cuba and parts of Africa (Simon & Preston, 1991). Failure to secure employment rendered most Namibian returnees unable to provide for their families (Gaomas, 2004), which is what may have contributed to the hardships experienced by the Namibian CLS post-independence.

The UNHCR had overall responsibility of the repatriation process but contracted a local partner, the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) within which the Repatriation, Resettlement and Reconstruction (RRR) committee was established (Simon & Preston, 1991). Some of the integration assistance received by Namibians and their children returning from exile after repatriation included food rations granted for up to 12 months from the date of their repatriation from the World food Program (WFP) through the RRR committee (Simon & Preston, 1991). According to Nghiwete (2010), counselling services were also provided to returning Namibians by

the RRR committee. It is, however, not clear what type of counselling was offered and whether it also involved the CLS or just the adults.

Other sources claim that no counselling was provided before or after independence to the Namibian CLS. This was affirmed by a CLS as stated in Shejavali (2008, para. 11), ““We needed counselling, something to prepare us for the environment here. We were not prepared psychologically, emotionally or economically. A transition phase was lacking, and Government was supposed to set up better structures in welcoming back children.””. The lack of psychological and emotional preparation was also echoed by Mubita (2016, para.17) who added that “apart from the absence of psychological, emotional or social preparation, these children were left to fend for themselves.” Mubita further added that “Some knew no home, no family and had no home or family. Namibia was a strange country for them. Those who were united with their parents’ families were often subjected to abuse” (Mubita, 2016, para.18).

According to the UNHCR (1994), when children and parents have endured long separations, both may need counselling to ease the reunification as counselling may help the parents or guardians know and understand what their child has been through in order to support and manage them. Counselling services for the Namibian CLS and their parents or guardians would most likely have been beneficial to help the CLS integrate in Namibia considering the possible unresolved exile traumatic experiences discussed earlier, and the identity and adjustment issues experienced by some orphans or half orphans of former plan fighters and those with parents. These counselling services could have been extended to all Namibian CLS whose exile

experience is only limited to the refugee camps and to those whose exile experience extends beyond the refugee camps to other countries they were sent to.

On the other hand, despite what appears as though no counselling or psychological support was offered to the Namibian CLS after independence, another type of support given to CLS after repatriation to help them integrate in an independent Namibia is the Socio-Economic Integration Programme for Ex-Combatants (SIPE). SIPE was one of the government funded programmes that was implemented to aid the disabled and jobless war veterans, and those orphaned by Namibia's liberation war (Gaomas, 2004). It was stipulated by the International Business Publications (2013) that the SIPE programme came about as a cabinet decision in May 1996, and that this assistance be given to orphaned children of parents who died during the liberation struggle fought between 26 August 1966 and 18 June 1989. Only war orphaned children up to the age of 21 were given this support. Furthermore, the support granted was initially an amount of N\$2000.00 given in two instalments which was later changed to N\$334.00 per month (International Business Publications, 2013). According to Gaomas (2004), this allowance was intended for school necessities, and it was granted with the aim of assisting orphans to complete their grade 12 without any interruption. SIPE was nonetheless suspended in 2004 because approximately 16 000 war veterans were absorbed into public service employment and most of the CLS beneficiaries were reported to have completed their grade 12 and obtained employment (Gaomas, 2004; Sasman, 2011).

2.2.5 Resilience

Universally, young people under the age of 18 experience diverse difficulties, for example, child maltreatment, homelessness, food insecurity, war, and family discord (Noltemeyer & Bush, 2013). These hardships may vary in their sources, severity, and presentations (Noltemeyer & Bush, 2013). According to the American Psychological Association [APA] (2009), resilience involves the positive adjustment of persons under circumstances of significant adversity. Resilience is further defined to involve a reintegration of self that includes a conscious effort to move forward in an insightful integrated positive manner as a result of lessons learned from an adverse experience (Southwick, Bonanno, Masten, Panter-Brick, & Yehuda, 2014). These two definitions then imply that resilient individuals are those who after having experienced hardships consciously find a way to progress with life without being paralysed or deteriorated to a state of helplessness.

Over time, definitions of resilience have changed as knowledge is generated. Several researchers and authors have looked at resilience and agreed that it is a dynamic concept in which cultural and contextual properties co-determine what coping mechanisms are relevant and effective in a given milieu (Agaibi & Wilson, 2005; Fletcher & Sarkar, 2013; Jones – Smith, 2016; Southwick et al., 2014). Theron, Theron, and Malindi (2013) conducted a study on understanding how South African adults, who possessed rich information of Black South African youth in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district, conceptualized local Black youth as resilient. These researchers found that in that particular African context, the aspects of a resilient personality seemed very much to be acceptance of current challenges, educational progress in the face of hardships, the capacity to dream and to exercise value-driven behavior. These aspects of a resilient personality were all encouraged by an active

support system in the Thabo Mofutsanyana district. The limitation of this study is however that the respondents of the study were the professionals who worked with the young people from the targeted cultural background and not the youth themselves and perhaps they would have given a different view on resilience. Nonetheless, the emerging concepts in the stated study were found to be appropriate in understanding the Namibian CLS.

In deliberating on resiliency, a common question which arises is that of, what makes some people resilient? Some survivors may seem relatively unharmed by their trauma, while others develop disorders like alcohol dependence, PTSD and depression (Southwick & Charney, 2012). On the other hand, despite their symptoms, individuals who developed trauma-related psychological symptoms managed to continue functioning exceptionally well (Southwick & Charney, 2012). Herrman et al. (2011) avowed that there are various sources of resilience which interact. The first source of resilience are personal factors which include personality traits such as internal locus of control (the degree to which individuals believe they have control over occurrences in their lives), mastery (denotes to having considerable skill at something and/or complete dominance over something), self-efficacy (a person's belief in their ability to succeed in specific circumstances or complete an assignment), self-esteem (an individual's evaluation of themselves), cognitive appraisal (one's personal interpretation of an event which eventually impacts the degree to which the situation is perceived as stressful), as well as optimism (positive attitude towards life and the future). The second source of resilience are some biological factors. For example, a developing brain structure may be impacted negatively by early difficult childhood experiences, and changes in the brain and other biological processes may disturb an individual's capacity to moderate negative emotions, and

consequently affect resilience to hardships. The last source of resilience according to Herrman et al. (2011) are environmental–systemic factors. These factors are social support, family stability and secure relationships with a non-abusive parent. According to Hermann et al. (2011) community factors that promote resilience include access to good schools, spirituality and religion, amongst others.

2.2.6 Parents or caregivers’ unaddressed trauma

The hardships experienced by children and adolescents born and raised in exile and repatriated to their country of origin could vary depending on whether they were physically accompanied by parents or caregivers. The loss of parental care may render young returnees more vulnerable to experiencing hardships if no protective measures are put in place in their country of origin (UNHCR, 1994). However, according to Melzak (2009, p. 387), even “children who are physically accompanied by parents or substitute parents may be ‘psychologically unaccompanied’”. Melzak further explained that lost parental care may be as a result of parents having changed intensely due to traumatic war experiences and the stresses of exile. Unresolved or untreated trauma in a parent or caregiver who may also have problems with affect regulation, anxiety, depression, aggression and substance abuse negatively impacts the mental health of children and adolescents (Moroz, 2005). Such caregivers are more likely to be physically and verbally abusive towards their children and adolescents, and have poor relationships with them. It is for this reason that Vossoughi, Jackson, Gusler, and Stone (2016) asserted that it is imperative to be cognisant of the role that parental health (mental and physical health) and the quality of parental coping strategies may play in their guidance of refugee children and adolescents and how these children’s mental health is thus influenced while in a refugee camp and post repatriation. It was noted in Maršanić, Franić, and Ćurković

(2017) that, when refugee children and adolescents witness the stress and suffering of their parents, they are less likely to disclose their emotional difficulties to them, in an effort to avoid overburdening them. It could thus be the case that the Namibian CLS, witnessing parental and guardian stress and suffering, never debriefed their own trauma.

According to the APA (2009), the mental health challenges and adjustment difficulties of parents and caregivers are risk factors for heightened internalizing and externalizing behaviors in children and adolescents. Children and adolescents who display internalizing behaviors do things that harm themselves which may lead to the development of depression, and substance use or abuse amongst many other things. On the other hand, if they exhibit externalizing behaviours, they harm others; for example, they may be physically aggressive and defiant.

2.2.7 Negative perception of the Namibian CLS

The demonstration of the Namibian CLS seeking employment and national documents from the Namibian government have been observed since 2008 to the current year (“Namibia: Struggle Kids Demonstrate”, 2014; Pinehas, 2017). The Namibian CLS have been displaying anger and frustration as a result of many years of waiting for employment from the government to the extent that the demonstrating CLS camping at the Ndilimani Farm at Brakwater have been intentionally trespassing and damaging the properties of the residents of Brakwater, provoking them to report and complain about it and consequently get government to react faster to their demands (Pinehas, 2017). In order for the camping CLS to meet their basic needs such as that of food, they in one instance resorted to begging for money from

motorists and passengers in some parts of Windhoek and smashing their cars with stones if they refused (Ntinda, 2009). In another situation, violence has been reported to be perpetrated by the CLS ('Struggle kids' attack bus driver, 2016). In August 2014, the violence between the Namibian police and the CLS had resulted in the death of a child of the liberation struggle (Tjihenuna, 2014). The unruly behaviour of the camping CLS in these separate incidents over the years seems to have led to the current negative perception on the general Namibian CLS population from the public and the media, branding them all as demanding and unproductive although there are those who are productive and contributing to nation building.

2.3 Theoretical framework

This research study is embedded in the trauma theory (König, 2015; Sadock, Sadock, & Ruiz, 2015) and the social learning theory of locus of control (Rotter, 1966), in an attempt to understand the pre- and post- independence psychological experiences of the Namibian CLS. The trauma theory helps us understand the nature of trauma in view of how traumatic incidents can be experienced and how they may and may not result in traumatization. The theory of locus of control will, on the other hand, look at the distinction between individuals with an internal locus of control and those with an external locus of control.

2.3.1 Trauma Theory

The history of the trauma theory extends back to the early 19th century observations of trauma related syndromes and the documentation thereof after the European Civil War, as well as the early works of psychoanalytic writers such as Sigmund Freud (Sadock et al., 2015; Tseris, 2013). The term trauma is also used in medicine in

which it refers to physical injury. The term posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a mental disorder with specific symptoms (König, 2015). PTSD may develop in human beings as a result of witnessing or being involved in a violent accident or crime, military combat, or assault, being kidnapped, or experiencing systematic physical or sexual abuse (Sadock et al., 2015). Notably, a traumatic experience does not necessarily translate into traumatization; it is rather an individual's subjective experience and response that ascertains traumatization (Dodd, 2013). Sadock et al. (2015) further state that PTSD symptoms may develop shortly after the trauma or take as long as 30 years to appear. According to Sadock et al. (2015), symptoms of PTSD tend to fluctuate and be extreme during stressful periods. Additionally, it was found that approximately 30% of people who experienced or witnessed a traumatic incident recuperate spontaneously without any treatment. Without any treatment, mild symptoms can persist in 40% of people who experienced or witnessed a traumatic incident and who did not receive treatment, whilst moderate symptoms persist in 20%, and 10% of people show no improvement or symptoms worsen. As already mentioned, trauma related symptoms can be triggered up to 30 years after experiencing or witnessing a traumatic event by something which reminds the individual of the incident (Sadock et al., 2015).

Traumatized individuals may react to the traumatic experience with fear and helplessness, persistently re-live the event, avoid being reminded of it and encounters of alterations in arousal and reactivity associated with the traumatic event may also be observed (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2013). Consequently, long-term consequences of war are imperative to comprehend, as emotional aftermaths may be felt many years post-war, when children reach adulthood (Llabre, Hadi, La Greca, & Lai, 2015). According to Llabre et al. (2015), war-trauma exposure appears

to have major effects on parents and children but more on parents than their children, although psychological distress followed from childhood into adulthood in multifaceted ways, and did not disintegrate over time. Social support for children was though correlated with reduced levels of psychological distress in adulthood (Llabre et al., 2015).

Trauma may also be the consequence of involuntary and forced separation from parents. According to Bowlby (1988), damaged early attachments and traumatic separation from primary caregivers and loved ones in childhood stimulates mental illness. Such a separation may result in an inability for the child to bond with their parent(s) and attachment figures when re-united, and the child may also have difficulty forming and maintaining future close relationships (Smith, Cowie, & Blades, 2015).

Various studies have been conducted about the psychological after effects of war on children and adults, and demonstrated the presence of PTSD. Qouta, Punamäki and Sarraj (2003) assessed the prevalence and determinants of PTSD among 121 Palestinian children (6–16 years) living in an area of bombardment. These authors found that 54% of the children struggled with severe symptoms of PTSD. Some 33.5 % of the children suffered from moderate symptoms, while 11 % suffered from mild and doubtful levels of PTSD. It is argued that, perhaps, the prevalence rate of PTSD symptoms in this study was found to be reasonably high because the children felt unsafe since they were still living in danger (Qouta et al., 2003). In another study conducted by Mugisha, Muyinda, Wandiembe, and Kinyanda (2015) seven years after a 20-year long civil war in northern Uganda on 2400 participants aged 20 – 54 years, it was found that the prevalence rate of PTSD was excessively high. These researchers found that 39% of the participants suffered from a generalized anxiety

disorder, 53% of the participants struggled with a major depressive disorder, 21% experienced a moderate to high tendency for suicidality, and 12% of the participants displayed an alcohol dependency. Young people aged between 20 – 24 years made up 24% of the sample and they were under the age of 18 when the war ended. It is worthwhile to mention that anxiety, depression, suicidality and substance abuse can all be symptoms of PTSD. Other studies also reported similar findings on trauma related psychological disorders among children and adults in or from war situations (Espíe et al., 2009; Murthy & Lakshminarayana, 2006).

2.3.2 Social Learning Theory of Locus of Control

The social learning theory of Locus of Control (LOC) is pioneered by Julian Rotter (Rotter, 1966). This theory provides a framework for explaining an individual's subjective perception of how much control she/he has in a given situation. This theory operates on the premise that based on past experience, an individual may hold the belief that things that happen in life are beyond their control (external locus of control). This theory also holds it that, when people perceive events in their lives as dependent upon their own decisions and behavior or own relatively permanent characteristics, they experience internal locus of control. Individuals' perception of locus of control may cause them to excel because they depend on the power of their own internal resources (internal locus of control) or remain stagnant waiting for someone to rescue them (external locus of control) (Halpert & Hill, 2011). Research has confirmed that internal locus of control is correlated with resilience and high self-esteem (Cazan & Dumitrescu, 2016). Thus, individuals ascribing to an internal locus of control are able to progress in life despite early adverse lived experiences. In other words, such individuals are independent and motivated. An external locus of control, on the other hand, has been linked with poor emotional adjustment in

different domains of life such as social adjustment, educational development, home life, and physical and psychological health (Jain & Singh, 2015).

Taking both the trauma theory and the social learning theory of locus of control into consideration, one can speculate that, regardless of their pre-and post-independence experiences, some CLS with an internal locus of control, who were born and/or raised in exile in refugee camps experienced hardships in exile and after independence but have been able to benefit from educational opportunities and attain careers. However, others who may have had similar experiences have not been able to benefit from educational opportunities, hence the lack of career attainment, and they, with an external locus of control, possibly perceive themselves as unable to change their situation unless if the government (external locus of control) “rescues” them.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has looked at the various aspects of refugee camps as part of the experience of life in exile of refugee children and adolescents as well their experiences after repatriation to their country of origin. It has also looked at the possible negative psychological impact of their experiences into adulthood.

The following chapter will outline the research methodology of the current study with an overview of the research design, research procedures, research sample, description of the research instruments utilized, and finally the methods of data analysis.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter offered a synopsis of the literature on the different aspects pertaining to refugee life in camp situations and the experiences of refugee children and adolescents in refugee camps and after repatriation. The aim of this chapter is to offer the reader an account of the current research study's methodology by providing a description of the research methods employed to answer the research questions of this study.

3.2 Research approach and design

This study took a qualitative approach that aimed to explore and describe the pre-and post-independence psychological experiences of the Namibian CLS. Terre Blanche et al. (2006) defined qualitative research methods as “methods that try to describe and interpret people's feelings and experiences in human terms rather than thought quantification and measurement” (p.272). Additionally, this study took a narrative research design in which the researcher studies the lives of individuals by asking them to provide stories about their lives (Creswell, 2009). The use of a qualitative approach and a narrative research design offered deep insight into and thorough exploration of participants' experiences and how these affect them long into adulthood, and by recording and assessing the experiences of the Namibian CLS, this allowed for the generation of understanding of their psychological experiences.

3.3 Population

The Namibian Exile Kids Association (NEKA) refers to the Namibian CLS in three generations (B. Nakaambo, personal communication, March 11, 2016). The first

generation of CLS were born between 1972 and 1978, the second generation between 1979 and 1986 and the third generation were born between 1987 and 1989/90. The CLS are geographically located in all fourteen regions of Namibia. The population of three generations of CLS in the Khomas region is estimated at approximately 2169 individuals (MYNSSC, 2015), of which a certain proportion are members of NEKA. NEKA does not only represent its members but the affairs of all CLS in Namibia (B. Nakaambo, personal communication, September 22, 2017). Both NEKA members and non-members from the Khomas region were recruited to participate in this study.

3.4 Sample

The researcher selected research participants from the first generation and partly from the second generation of the CLS. In the second generation, the researcher excluded those born in 1985 and 1986, as well as the entire third generation of CLS because they would most probably not have memories of their pre-Independence experiences due to their young chronological and emotional age at the time when they lived in exile. Participants were selected by means of both convenient and purposive sampling through NEKA, as well as by means of snowball sampling when it became a challenge to find participants with the desired characteristics. Beins and McCarthy (2012) define convenience sampling as a sampling technique that involves using whatever participants can conveniently be studied. Purposive sampling is a sampling technique in which participants are selected for a study because of some desirable characteristics, such as expertise in some area (Beins & McCarthy, 2012). The convenience and purposive sampling techniques were considered most useful for this study because although there is a vast number of Namibian CLS in the Khomas region, not all approached may be available or interested to participate, and

participants with the required characteristics were selected as they would provide multiple and different perspectives of the lived experience which would help the researcher answer the research questions (Creswell, 2009). Moreover, snowball sampling was also used. It is described as a sampling process in which a sample is built from the participants suggested by previous participants (Baker, 1999).

It was observed that the second generation participants with the desired characteristics were easier to obtain compared to the first generation participants who were less interested to participate or whose exile experience often extended beyond the refugee camps. Snowball sampling was therefore useful because some participants were only recruited through the recommendations of others. As the interviews were conducted in English, an ability to understand and speak English was a requirement for the participants of this study. According to Terre Blanche et al. (2006) “no hard-and-fast rules” are available for the selection of the sample size of a research study, but that six to eight sampling units are sufficient for a homogeneous sample in a qualitative study.

This study originally had a sample size of 16 participants consisting of eight participants from each of the two generations of CLS. Eight participants per generation were considered as this was deemed a reasonable number for a homogeneous group such as what this study selected, as validated by Terre Blanche et al. (2006). Nonetheless, challenges were experienced during the recruitment of participants as many of the approached CLS from both generations who had the desired characteristics did not wish to be interviewed. The researcher thus interviewed 10 participants in total, however one of them, participant 6’s exile life experience extended outside of the refugee camp hence that interview was not analysed but replaced with participant 11, which maintained the number of

participants as five CLS from each generation. An adding benefit for studying the CLS in generations granted the researcher the opportunity to also explore whether the psychological effects of the liberation struggle vary between generations.

3.5 Research instruments

A semi-structured interview guide was researcher-designed, and it was informed by the literature review. This instrument was used as the main tool of data collection (see Appendix E). An interview guide is a prepared list of a few open-ended questions to be covered during the in-depth interview (Howitt & Cramer, 2005). According to Howitt and Cramer (2005), in-depth interviews are a highly specialized form of conversation that requires an interviewer to absorb a lot of information during the course of the interview in order to question and probe for detail and clarification. The individual interviews were digital-recorded after special permission from the participants for voice recordings was sought. The researcher also took notes of observations made during the interviews.

3.6 Procedure

The sampling process commenced with the design of a register to assist NEKA in selecting participants from the two generations. NEKA linked the researcher to the participants by informing them of the research study, carefully enquiring about the potential participants' interest to participate in this study, and finally granting permission to NEKA to give their contact details to the researcher to contact them. The participants were subsequently contacted telephonically by the researcher, who introduced herself, gave information on the nature of the study and what would be required of interested participants. This was mainly done in English and all the participants conveyed to be comfortable with English after this was established with

them although some words in Oshiwambo were occasionally used. The interviews were consequently also predominantly conducted in English with the random use of some words in Oshiwambo when the need arose for some participants. Those who had showed an interest to participate were scheduled for an individual interview at which participants were issued with an information sheet in English (see Appendix C) and more information on the study was given. All the participants had an ability to read however some found the information sheet too lengthy and requested that the researcher take them through briefly. The participants were granted an opportunity to ask for clarity if there were unclear matters regarding the study.

Once the researcher was sure the participant understood the details of the study and participants had indicated to understand the nature of the study and their role and rights, they were requested to sign an informed consent document (see Appendix D). Thereafter, the digital-recorded interview commenced. An individual interview, which was digital-recorded, was done in the form of a conversation in which the participant partially formulated the topic as they narrate their experiences, with the researcher asking questions from the guide as well as follow-up and clarifying questions to get rich details (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, & Delpont, 2011; Howitt & Cramer, 2005). The interviews were mainly conducted at the PEACE Centre where a venue that was free from noise and distraction was obtained. The Centre is situated in the Windhoek North area of Windhoek, the capital city of Namibia. It is therefore centrally positioned and relatively easily located. It is a non-governmental organization that was established “to develop and provide appropriate psycho-social services for victims of trauma, including the victims of organised violence, such as war” (PEACE Centre, 2005, p 1). The researcher deemed it appropriate to conduct

interviews from the PEACE Centre because the knowledge of the Centre's activities was anticipated to help the participants feel safe to share their experiences in that environment.

Participants were requested to travel to the PEACE Centre and their taxi fare was reimbursed. Some of the research participants refused to be reimbursed, because they explained that it was not necessary. The researcher found this particularly interesting because the general belief in Namibia is that the CLS only demand to receive favours. For the participants who preferred to be interviewed from their homes and workplaces the researcher travelled to their respective locations around Windhoek. An interview with a participant lasted on average for 50 to 90 minutes. Two of the participants broke down in tears during the interview when they recalled their experiences but they were still willing to continue. All the participants were debriefed after the interview, and the two participants who had an emotional reaction were recommended for psychotherapy. Contact numbers of pre-arranged psychologists were given to these two participants to make an appointment with these professionals when they are ready.

3.7 Data analysis

The recorded data was mostly transcribed by the researcher (De Vos et al., 2011), although she also made use of two transcribers (who signed appropriate confidentiality clauses). Based on the steps described by Braun and Clarke (2006), the data was coded with the aid of the qualitative data analysis instrument ATLAS.ti, 7th version (Scientific Software Development GmbH, 2013). After the initial coding, the data was sorted into potential themes by creating mind-maps. The relationship between codes and between different levels of themes was considered and sub-

themes were also identified. The discovered themes and sub-themes were then defined and named to come up with the final themes and sub-themes for the analysis.

3.8 Research ethics

Initially, ethical clearance (see Appendix A) for the study was obtained from the University of Namibia. Research participants were briefed concerning the nature of the research study and what will be expected of them (see Appendix C and Appendix D) according to the ethical principal of informed consent (Beins & McCarthy 2012). This information gave prospective participants the opportunity to decide whether they want to participate in the study or not. Participants were ensured that their participation will not lead to ridicule or any disadvantages as their identity will be kept anonymous by maintaining data records in such a way that a participant's identity is separated from the data. Interested participants gave an exclusive consent to participate, and all the data was handled with great care to ensure confidentiality.

The researcher made use of three transcribers to transcribe three interviews and all of them signed confidentiality contracts. The transcribers were issued with a non-disclosure form (see Appendix F) to sign before they started with the transcriptions. None of the interviews contained any identifying information, so that the participants remained anonymous to the transcribers. Recordings and transcriptions will be kept in a lockable cupboard for five years, where-after it will be discarded of in a responsible manner, like formatting of digital material and shredding of printed material. The participation of research participants was voluntary and free from coercion. It was made clear to them that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher was aware that participation in this study might re-traumatize participants. All the participants were therefore debriefed by the

researcher, who is a clinical psychology student, after the interviews and those requiring further interventions were referred to institutions that offer free counselling services, such as the Windhoek Mental Health Unit. Two participants who experienced re-traumatisation preferred to see private psychologists.

3.9 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to present a transparent sketch of the methodological approach and ethical considerations made in this qualitative research study. The practical aspects of carrying out this research were also outlined by looking at the procedures followed for obtaining participants to make up the research sample as well as methods of data collection. The process of data analysis to obtain the findings of the study was as well presented. Lastly, the researcher presented the ethical issues adhered to in conducting the current research. The research results will be portrayed in the ensuing chapter, followed by the discussion of the results in Chapter five.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study based on the interviews conducted on the pre – and post- independence psychological experiences of the Namibian CLS. The chapter commences with the presentation of the participants’ demographic details, followed by the themes that emerged from the answers of the interviewees. In this chapter, the themes and sub-themes are presented separately in terms of pre – independence and post- independence experiences of the interviewed CLS.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Participant demographics

Table 1

The gender, generation, refugee camp and country raised in, and country of birth of participants

Participant no	Gender	Generation	Refugee camp and country raised	Country of birth
1	Male	First	Kwanza - Sul (Angola) and Nyango (Zambia)	Angola
2	Female	Second	Kwanza - Sul (Angola)	Angola
3	Female	Second	Kwanza - Sul (Angola)	Angola
4	Male	Second	Kwanza - Sul (Angola)	Angola
5	Female	First	Kwanza - Sul (Angola) and Nyango (Zambia)	Namibia
7	Female	Second	Kwanza – Sul (Angola)	Angola
8	Female	Second	Nyango (Zambia)	Zambia
9	Female	First	Kwanza - Sul (Angola) and Nyango (Zambia)	Zambia
10	Female	First	Kwanza - Sul (Angola) and Nyango (Zambia)	Zambia
11	Male	First	Kwanza - Sul (Angola) and Nyango (Zambia)	Tanzania

Table 1 depicts that three males and seven females participated in the study. An equal number of five participants each was obtained for the first and second generation. All of the first generation participants lived in the refugee camps of both Nyango (Zambia) and Kwanza – Sul (Angola), of which most were born in Zambia and moved to Angola and sent back to Zambia again before repatriation to Namibia. Participant 5, born in Namibia, went to Angola at the age of two years while participant 11 went to Zambia at the age of two as well. All the second generation participants lived in one refugee camp in either Angola or Zambia.

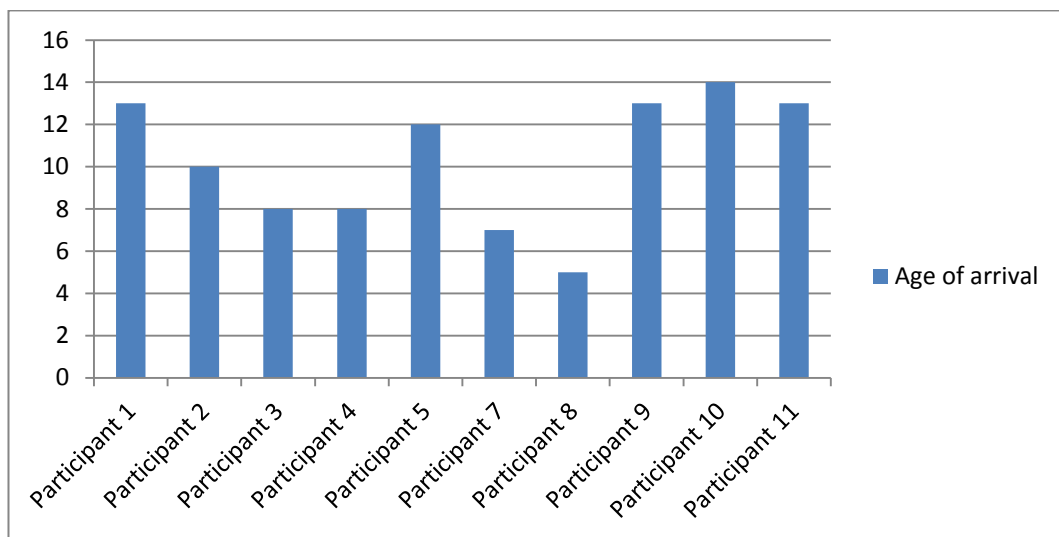


Figure 1. Age of arrival in Namibia

Figure 1 displays the age of arrival of participants in Namibia. As can be seen from this figure, one participant came to Namibia at the age of 14, three were 13 years old, one participant was 12 years of age, another was 10, two were 8 and the last two were 7 and 5 years old. This means that all the participants had a mental capacity to notice the difference between where they came from and their new environment.

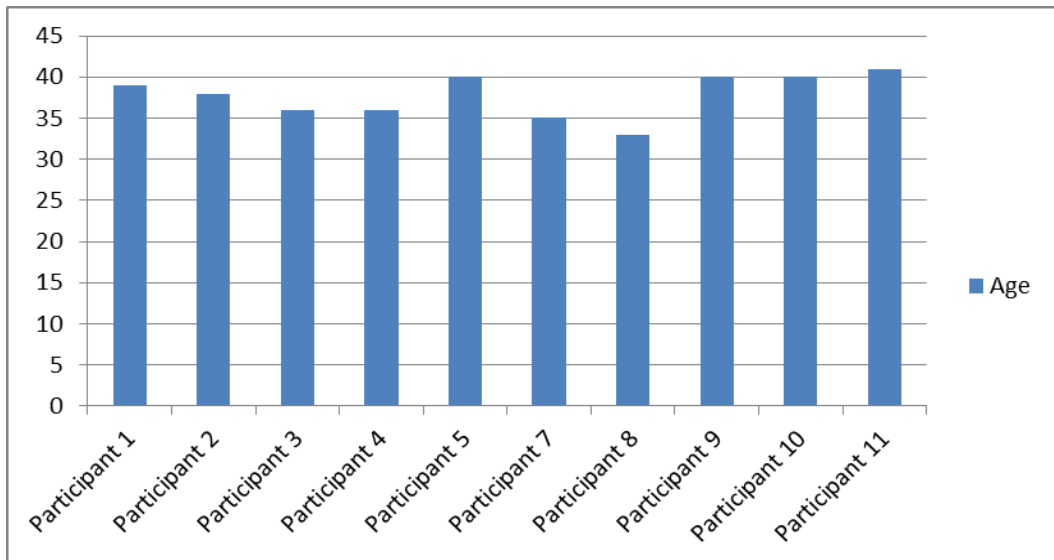


Figure 2. Current age of participants

Figure 2 depicts the current ages of the participants. As can be seen from it, the oldest participant was 41 years old while the youngest was 33 years old.

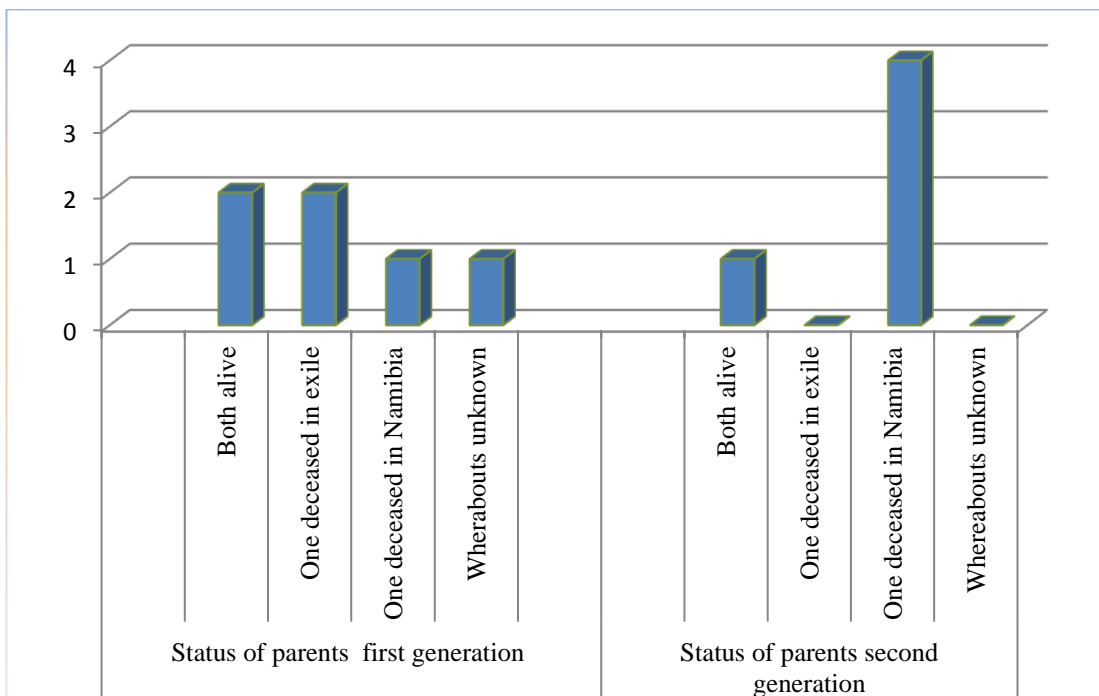


Figure 3. Status of parents

Figure 3 is a depiction of the status of parents of the first and second generation participants. It indicates that two participants have lost one parent in exile. Furthermore, four participants indicated that they have lost one parent in Namibia, of which one of the participants who has lost their remaining parent also does not know the whereabouts of their father as he is believed to have been captured by the SADF before independence. Lastly, only three participants reported that both their parents are alive.

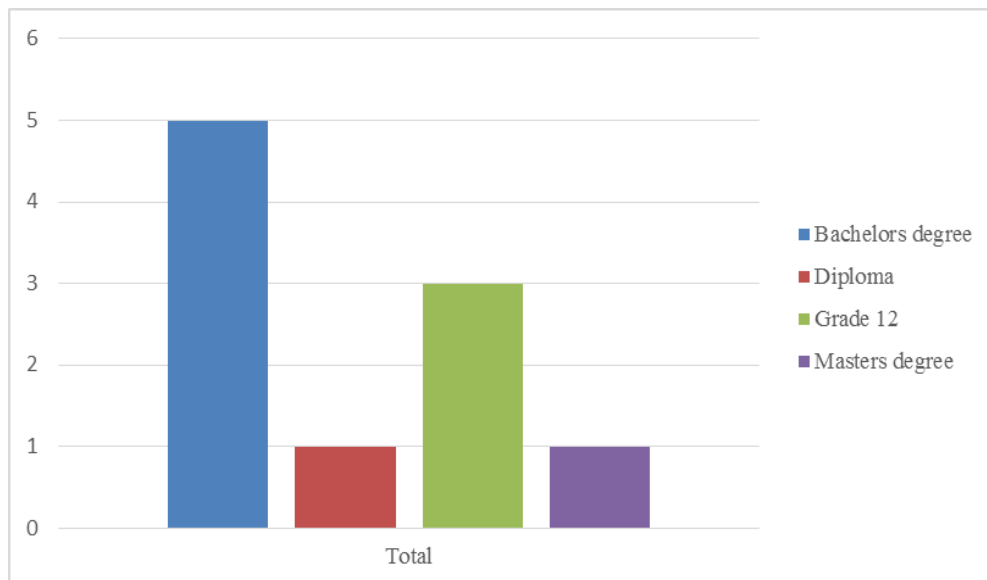


Figure 4. Highest qualification

Figure 4 reveals that the majority of the participants are bachelor's degree holders. Three participants have completed Grade 12, and one participant is a master's degree holder, whilst another is a diploma holder. The participants in this study all have a form of formal education.

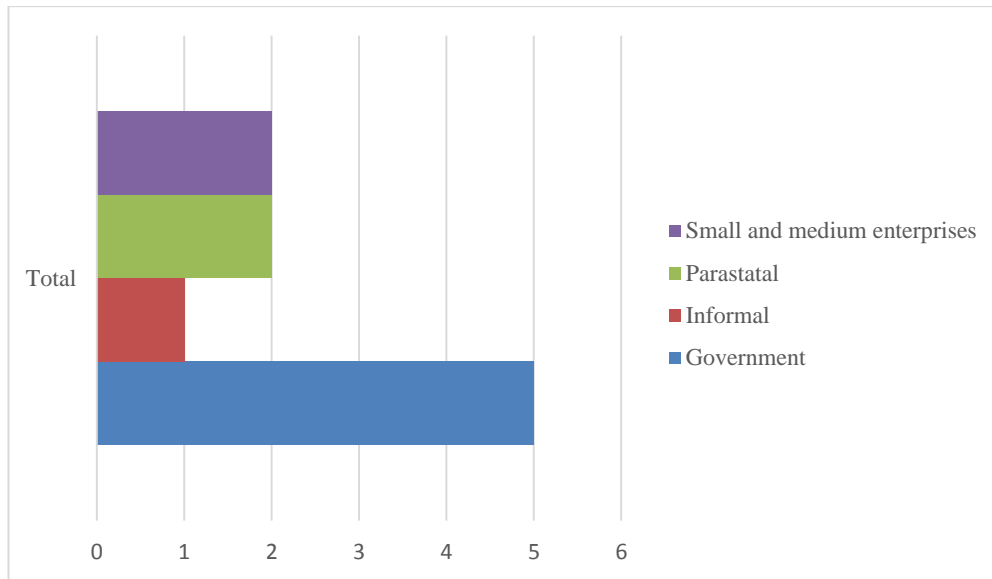


Figure 5. Employment sector

Figure 5 illustrates the various sectors in which the participants are employed. Only one participant is employed in the informal sector. Two participants indicated that they are working in the small and medium enterprises sector as self-employed individuals. Two participants are employed in the parastatal sector. Five participants indicated to be civil servants. All the participants reported that they have obtained employment through their own efforts.

4.2.2 Results: Pre-independence

With the first research question, the participants were asked about their experience of life in exile in refugee camps. The reports of the participants contained four main themes which were separation, maltreatment, safety, and traumatic incidents. Some sub-themes were formulated for each of the four main themes.

Table 2

Pre-independence themes and sub-themes

Main themes	Sub-themes
Separation	Separated from biological parent(s)

	Unstable living arrangements
Child maltreatment	Child abuse Self-comforting
Safety	Cautious of the enemy Fleeing from the enemy Felt safe versus unsafe in exile
Traumatic incidents	Witnessed horrific events Experienced an attack Hearing bomb explosions Experienced attempted rape

4.2.2.1 Separation

All the participants indicated that they were left by their biological parents. Some of the participants did not see their parents for the duration of time they grew up in exile. Other participants reported that they had occasional contact with their parents, while a few were raised by their parents although they did report having been left by their parents for a period of time. Reasons for separation mainly included that parents went studying abroad and others were serving on the frontline. Also, a common experience amongst the participants was that of being placed in the care of different caregivers.

4.2.2.1.1 Separated from biological parent(s)

The majority of the participants from both generations stated to have been separated from their biological parents in exile at a young age and left in the care of caregivers/“foster parents” related or unrelated to them. Participants stated, for example, the following:

...my mother left me actually when I was a baby. A baby I refer to a 2 year, year and a half old child when she went to school and she left me with somebody I do not know in Zambia. ...she went to school to study in Jamaica... It's not like I was left in a care of a relative or so, it's just somebody really up to now I cannot tell who she left me with. ...my father, I have never seen my father during exile time. (...) Only that in exile he was one of those who got injured in the war in Tanzania and he was sent to Germany for medical attention. (Male, 41 years old, participant 11)

...actually my mother left me, according to what I understand when I was about a year old, or about 9 months if I am not mistaken. She left me in Zambia to further her studies in Sierra Leone so I was left with an aunt, a cousin of my father's, and my father was also not there because he was mostly in the battle fields – he was a soldier. (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

My mom left me when I was 3 years old and my dad left I think even before that. My dad went to war. My mom went to study in Zambia. So I didn't know them. I didn't know my parents. I had foster parents taking care of me. (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.2.1.2 Unstable living arrangements

The absence of biological parents in the camps resulted in participants being cared for by caregivers related or unrelated to them in individual family homes, or by who they referred to as 'mothers' at a kindergarten or centre. A kindergarten or centre had a large number of children and the appointed 'mothers' were responsible for a group of children. More specifically, those cared for by caregivers/"foster parents" moved from one family to another. One participant stated the following:

...there were some [foster parents] that were related to my parents and there were some that weren't. They were just friends. So I would move from one house to the other, in between. (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.2.2 Child maltreatment

Child maltreatment was recounted by participants who were reported to have been raised by caregivers/"foster parents" related or unrelated to them, including a biological father in one case. The forms of child abuse that the participants experienced included physical, emotional and verbal abuse, and abusive work assignments. They described it as something that was happening to many other CLS in exile. The participants could also remember that the hope that their parents might return one day, gave them hope to continue with life.

4.2.2.2.1 Child abuse

More than half of the participants from both generations, although more in the second generation than the first, revealed the harsh manner in which they were treated by their caregivers/"foster parents" as a difficulty they faced as children growing up in exile. They described their caregivers/"foster parents" as strict and that many other CLS were subjected to various types of abuse. One female participant, 35 years old stated her experience of physical abuse:

Participant: (...) She [mother] came a few months before independence, she came to get us and we came to Windhoek. Ja [yes], when she saw us she started crying (laugh) and the thing that made her cry is like I told you staying with someone that is not your mother the person will beat you up. So me and my sister ended up having marks, you know when the person has beaten you up, like this one here.

Researcher: On your face?

Participant: Ja.

Researcher: Ja, I see the scar, what was it, what did she use?

Participant: I don't know. I don't know, really. (Starting to cry)

Another stated her experience of emotional abuse:

She'll bring something on the table, put it there and then her child would start eating, but me I would be waiting for her to tell me because if I start eating right away she'll be like why are you eating? Is this your food? And then if I don't eat, you why don't you eat? Do you expect to be told to eat? So it was a very confusing situation, you don't know what to do so rather I chose to just withdraw and keep to myself. (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.2.2.2 Self-comforting

Going through the above-mentioned forms of abuse at the hand of their caregivers/"foster parents", the participants shared with the researcher that their awareness of their parents' reason(s) for their absence, such as fighting for their country or furthering their studies abroad, was somewhat comforting. In this way the CLS could at least hope that their parents would eventually return to shower them with gifts in the same way that other parents did when they returned from the battlefield or tertiary studies. The participants expressed to have comforted themselves as follows:

It was hard. But it didn't hurt as much because I didn't know any better, it's what I grew up into and I didn't know any better and I knew they were not my parents. So I didn't expect it to be because it was just not happening to me, it was happening to many other kids in exile so it was the norm. ... And if somebody would beat me or hurt me then I would always think, if my mother comes... I would probably be like these people who are with their mothers. (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

I guess just the hope of meeting my mom or my mom coming back so I could also feel that love. I think it's really what kept me going. (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

4.2.2.3 Safety

Like in any war situation, the risk of injury or death of those involved is high. As a result, safety measures were taught to and practiced by children and adults. All the participants recounted that they were aware of who the enemy was and of what they needed to do to be safe during security threats.

4.2.2.3.1 Cautious of the enemy

All the participants concurred that they grew up in exile being informed of the enemies who were at the time the South African Defence Force, whom they referred to as the 'Boers', and UNITA whom they referred to as 'Kaxuxua'. They recounted that they were always reminded to be cautious. One participant narrated the following:

...it was kind of like you should be careful wherever you are, be careful of your surroundings and who you are talking too. ...because UNITA's fight was no longer now just against the Angolan government, the Angolan people authority, it was also against us, SWAPO. Because I remember sometimes when we used to go to Luanda for holiday, you will be accompanied by a military convoy in case UNITA attacks us at least we have some protection. (Male, 41 years old, participant 11)

4.2.2.3.2 Fleeing from the enemy

Although refugee camps are meant to be safe for refugees, safety from the enemy is not always guaranteed. This is demonstrated by the narrations of participants below:

[In Kwanza-Sul] We were scared of even getting shot. When they said the 'Boers' have come we used to be really scared as well. We would go and hide with the adults. We would pack a few clothes and they would say, don't carry a lot of things. Just carry small bags and blankets for where you would be able to sleep, and water bottles, that way when the Boer's come at least you would still be able to run... When we just hear the bell at night, we are already packing our things, we go to the field, and at the field we would be informed of what is happening... then the soldiers would escort us in the forest directing us. (Female, 40 years old, participant 10)

[In Nyango]... I remember once we were just told that all the women and children should vacate the place and we were taken somewhere in the bush. It was very late at night. I remember that that time I was still being carried at the back. Not that I couldn't walk, but it's just that it was late and people were leaving in a hurry. And then we were actually kept under some make shift tents like with shrubs. I think for almost a week we were kept in the bush, and at night you could hear the guns and the bombs going off and the elders would be talking, 'yes, they are busy fighting and bombing' ... It just comes back as a flash but not in so much detail. (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

[In Kwanza-Sul] ...we are going to hide in the bush because if UNITA for example comes to attack, he will not find anybody at the settlement... And even when you are

there as a child we already know what to do... No matter what situation whether you are hungry or sick, you don't cry, you don't make noise. It's like you take it that this is the situation, I have to be strong until we are informed that the situation is normal we can go back. Sometimes you may find that you are there for 2 or 3 days just in the bush... You forget about you left your clothes, you left your school books, there's nothing like that because they [PLAN fighters] will just come and say get up, stand up, pack up, run, just like that. Or sometimes they don't inform us verbally. ...they ring a bell. When you hear that you already know that something is up. You don't wait to be told or informed that no guys...when you just hear that bell it's time to go to 'ready'. Whatever you were doing you just leave it. (Male, 41 years old, participant 11)

4.2.2.3.3 Felt safe versus unsafe in exile

Some participants felt safe growing up in exile because of the protection they had from the PLAN fighters and their parents. One participant from the second generation stated in this regard:

"...it was safer in exile because there, there were always soldiers, your parent's were more over protective." (Female, 38 years old, participant 2)

Some participants from the first generation also concurred that it was safe. On the other hand, others found exile neither safe nor unsafe because that was the situation that they grew up in and it was all they knew. One participant from the first generation mentioned in this regard:

“...it was fine except when things got heated up... I didn’t know anything else, for me my childhood was like it’s okay until that time when there is war, when they are warning you the enemy is closer, that’s when you get frightened but sooner or later it gets back to normal then you will be a child again.” (Female, 40 years old, participant 9)

In contrast, other participants maintained that they felt unsafe in exile as one of them voiced:

“...it was obviously not a nice environment because you knew somewhere somehow any day you could be under attack and we were prepared for that as kids, every day.” (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.2.4 Traumatic incidents

Most of the participants especially from the first generation recounted to have either witnessed or experienced a traumatic incident in exile. The majority of participants of the second generation reported that they were aware that there was a war happening but never had direct exposure to any situation that signified actual war. Some first generation participants recalled that they have not been able to forget some of these traumatic memories although these memories do not currently cause any negative psychological states in them. One of the participants reported to still experience nightmares and have emotional reactions when traumatic memories are triggered.

4.2.2.4.1 Witnessed horrific events

Some of the participants stated that they witnessed horrific events during their time in exile. Flashbacks of these scenes have formed part of the difficult memories that they have of life in exile as they recalled below.

I think now my brain is trying to kick those memories, I don't want to think about it...

I think I remember seeing bodies in a place called 'matrenga' (the trenches), but I was very, very young. So my memory is really trying to work it so I don't see those. Because I cannot handle blood or seeing somebody being beaten or hurt, I get very scared and nervous, because I've seen dead bodies. (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

You can see that this thing maybe it just happened recently, the way you see them [PLAN fighters]. And there were those whom you see that when they left you they were all okay... After they end up in the battle front there, I don't know. They are there screaming. There was a certain section also where they put those people, those who were, what do you call it? Traumatized... (Male, 39 years old, participant 1)

4.2.2.4.2 Experienced an attack

The participants in this research study concurred that, as exiled civilians, they were protected by the soldiers. However, they always expected an attack from the enemy. In this way, the participants were always filled with fear. One participant narrated his experience as follows:

[Driving in a convoy] ...that fateful day, I remember we lost I think a few soldiers who were shot...out of shock, as kids we started screaming and our parents tried to calm us down not to make noise but we could hear the gunshots all over... And that attack it's like UNITA bombed, he was using like this bazookas. I remember one of our trucks, I think it was somewhere in the back (...) we just saw smoke (...) and the truck lost control, it overturned. And that road, the bad part of it; it's a very terrible road. It's very small, very squeezezy, and it's mountainous, it's on the hills, very dangerous hills... So we were attacked and (...) we survived... Luckily, there were only a few soldiers, most of them survived, it's only the things that were loaded in the car, the luggage and food and stuff like that, some got spoiled... (Male, 41 years old, participant 11)

4.2.2.4.3 Hearing bomb explosions

The fact that refugee camps were guarded by the PLAN fighters offered a certain level of protection to the participants. However it is evident from their responses that a battle in a nearby area brought fear and signalled possible danger for them.

...the bombs when people are fighting you hear that and once you hear that it's a sleepless night for you, you know already, because it's outside the camp but you can hear that is war. Gun shots, bombs, so probably in the ears and the mind it really did bother because you are not supposed to sleep you are just waiting to be told that it has come and then you start to be ready already, you know already when a situation comes, everybody knows. (Female, 40 years old, participant 9)

...there was a certain time when a certain town nearby where we've been in Kwanza that was "Kalulu". It was bombed. There was a certain, I don't know what has happened we just heard firing. I mean we were at school...we heard gunshots. It was some few or far kilometres away.... (Male, 39 years old, participant 1)

4.2.2.4.4 Experienced attempted rape

The female participants reported that they were not afraid of rape, as no one taught or warned them about it. Although they mentioned that it was not really an unsafe environment where they had to fear sexual violation and abuse, one participant recalled how she was sexually molested in an exile camp and how it still affects her (please note that this response also answers to the fifth research question of this study):

There was an older guy... Then he said I have to be naked... and I must show him my private parts... he was kind of like forcing and so forth. I don't remember really what happened but before he got too physical, I think the mom came and then I left... And then recently, was it this year? I saw this guy and he said hi. I just kind of went out and cried. I felt like he really like did something because I don't remember that he slept with me but there's a part of me that he saw as a child. I don't remember the whole details. But I don't think he raped me... But that memory when it came back I just started crying... I do not know, maybe he raped me, but I don't think so... but I don't know why I was so angry. But as I remembered he just saw a part of me uncovered... I think I was about seven. (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

4.2.3 Results: Post-independence

In order to address the second, third, fourth and fifth research questions of this study, the participants were asked about 1) challenges they faced in Namibia after repatriation; 2) the opportunities they received in Namibia after repatriation; 3) what their experiences as Namibian CLS are now; and 4) whether they have memories or experiences of the past, pre- and post-independence that they still find difficult to deal with. The analysis showed eight main themes which were homecoming and safety, separation, adjustment difficulties, counselling support, privileges/opportunities, inspiration, government assistance, and connectedness (see Table 3).

Table 3

Post-independence themes and sub-themes

Main themes	Sub-themes
Homecoming	Excited versus disappointed
Safety	Felt unsafe during repatriation
Separation	Lived with relatives Separated from siblings
Adjustment difficulties	Cultural differences Sense of belonging Relationship with parents Unmet expectations Poor school performance
Counselling support	Counselling services for CLS after repatriation Dysfunctional home Sought counselling Persistent nightmares
Privileges/opportunities	No school verses smooth school entry Assistance received

	Parental/family support
Inspiration	Hardships
Government assistance	Sympathize with fellow CLS Effort from fortunate CLS
Connectedness	Negative comments on CLS Common story

4.2.3.1 Homecoming and safety

The majority of the participants stated to have repatriated from Angola and Zambia to Namibia in a school group of children accompanied by their teachers. Some of them reportedly came with their caretakers/“foster parents”, while one came with their parents. Many of the participants recalled feeling excited about coming to Namibia and had high expectations.

4.2.3.1.1 Excited versus disappointed

Most of the participants expressed feelings of excitement and joy coming to Namibia. Those who landed in Windhoek before they progressed to the northern part of the country found what they had been told about Namibia to have been accurate, while others felt misled. The following were the feelings of some participants whose expectations were not met:

[Arrived in the northern part of the country] I was excited. I mean the way they used to talk about Namibia is the way we talk about heaven right now... So at the end of the day I was excited to come to Namibia the land of milk and honey and gold but as time went on it became more of a disappointment because I felt like life was hard you know. (Male, 36 years old, participant 4)

I was very excited coming home because my mom has always told us Namibia is so beautiful and that there are crops like eendunga (palm fruits) and our homestead was like fenced high, beautiful and green. When I came I was disappointed big time (laughing), I expected to see paradise. (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

...it was exciting; just looking forward to going to Namibia, and experiencing Namibia. You know as a child you actually create this image that Namibia is a type of a heaven or something or a paradise that you are going to move to and leave behind the sufferings and everything else you are going to find the other side. But when we came we realized, but what's the difference between Namibia and Zambia? (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

4.2.3.1.2 Felt unsafe during repatriation

Some participants disclosed to have felt unsafe in Namibia during the repatriation process considering that it was the period before the first election and the safety of returnees and non-returnee Namibians was a concern. The following were the feelings of some participants during repatriation:

There was a time when they would tell us that before we go to bed that we should be prepared. We should get dressed because should anything happen they'll just load us in the car and just go because it was that time of the election and things were not okay. They were scared that maybe some people would attempt to bomb the school where we were so it was really scary sometimes. (Female, 38 years old, participant 2)

Because I remember when we were at the centre at Döebra there were quite a couple of 'Boers' around although they were not in the centre, they were just in the neighbourhood... But also there we were also informed that we have to be careful

because now we are in the country, we are about to get independence but you will never know your enemy because we were actually surrounded by so many enemies, you know. That's why also that talk of like you should be careful is something that we grew up with, it's already there so you don't need to like 'you, you, I told you to do this but you are still doing this', no it's already there. (Male, 41 years old, participant 11)

4.2.3.2 Separation

The issue of separation from their biological parents for approximately three years and beyond after repatriation was highlighted by several research participants. They stated that the separation from their biological parents in exile was accepted and understood as it was not uncommon and they were fighting to liberate Namibia. The aspect of separation from biological half siblings and friends they grew up with in the kindergartens/centres as siblings was also highlighted by a few responded as a major challenge.

4.2.3.2.1 Lived with relatives

Separation from biological parent(s) resulted in living with relatives following repatriation. There is evidence of instability, movement from one home to another which was a repetition of the exile experience. This experience represented uncertainty.

...when we came to Namibia... I lived with that lady [caretaker in exile] for about two or three months if not more. I think my father came to get me from that house... he came to get me from that house and he took me to my uncle's house where I lived for almost 4 years. He left me there, at my uncle's house, and then he went to work

as a soldier now in Namibia... I came to live with my mom in 94 [1994]. (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

I came with an aunt of mine. When I first arrived I went to my mom's side of the family, to my mom's older sister's house. We stayed there for some time. My dad came to get me... I think he also came in 89 [1989]. He took me to their village. My mom was not yet here. And then I fell sick, my dad brought me to come and live with his cousin here in Windhoek. I still stayed with my aunt until.... 93[1993] there. That's when I started living with my parents. (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.3.2.2 Separated from siblings

Half brothers and sisters grew up together in exile looking after and protecting each other when their parents were absent. After arriving in Namibia, the different biological parents/relatives fetched their children from the various reception centres and this resulted in half siblings being separated. Feelings of helplessness and sadness were reported as one participant expressed below:

...her parents did not come and fetch her from Mweshipandeka [school]. But she did know where I lived so she would come and visit me at our village.... She [participant's mother] just said, no I can't take (paternal sister's name mentioned) until her parents come for her, or until I've spoken to them because maybe they are still coming. But years went by and they were still just there. They were then taken from there and brought to PPS. As for (maternal half-sister's name mentioned), her paternal family was in Ondangwa, they were the ones who took her...we were separated, I went with my mother, and (maternal half-sister's name mentioned) went to her father, and (paternal sister's name mentioned) remained there. But I didn't

feel good about it that my sister remained while I went. I also wanted to be where my sister was... (Female, 40 years old, participant 10)

4.2.3.3 Adjustment difficulties

The research participants from both generations indicated that they had difficulty adapting in Namibia to the food, the language, ways of interacting with adults, and the changed system of buying of goods and not receiving free sponsored goods. Most of the participants of the first generation CLS in this study also emphasised that adapting to Namibia after years in exile in Angola and Zambia was a challenge for them.

4.2.3.3.1 Cultural differences

The cultural differences aspect was mentioned by participants of both generations. This was experienced as a shock in terms of ways of doing things, spoken language differences and cultural expectations.

So the major problem was trying to fit in this new culture, and it was not just one culture but many cultures. And it was this culture of our tradition, of Oshiwambo, and then there's this culture of when I am now here in Windhoek, so there was a lot of adjustments. (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

4.2.3.3.2 No sense of belonging

A few participants recounted that they grew up seeking where they belong. Unstable living arrangements and cultural differences led to no sense of connection to anywhere, and a perception of life as being unpredictable. Some respondents expressed some of their feelings in this manner:

I think also that transition of always moving from family to family, and different people looking after you, and different rules. It also has an effect on you because as a child you know you feel like you want to belong. So for me I felt like that, I think I had or even now, or when I was growing up it's something that had a very big effect on me because, how do I say this? I think I had difficulty to really place myself in a situation and feel like I belong there. Cause it felt like it was still just going to be a transition. Like something else was going to happen and I was going to have to move on or something...like for the next level. It's like there's no stability. (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

At home, when you came to settle you are not adjusted, you did not get proper integration or counselling, there's new challenges... And I remember saying to myself, I will leave Namibia, I will not stay in this country, I don't want to be here, I will leave and I'll never come back. So then I left, and then I was in a new land. And then in that new land again you don't feel you belong... So I was like okay, where do I belong? (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

4.2.3.3.3 Relationship with parents

Most participants whose biological fathers were still alive reported to have met them for the first time in Namibia. During the years in exile, the participants did not have ample of contact with their fathers as most of the adult males were either actively engaging in combat or were abroad for further studies. Therefore, the participants' relationships with their fathers was not as good as compared with that of their mothers. Additionally, the majority of the respondents reported to have come to live with their mothers for the first time when they were 10 years old and above. They

reported their relationships with their parents to have been challenging. The following expressions echo their experiences:

...I was 10 years. It wasn't an easy relationship because I think we were both still learning about each other, actually still discovering who the other one is. And I think both of us had expectations of what the other one would/may behave like towards you or be like actually. So, and it was edgy cause as a child you expect your mother to treat you in a special way and if there was ever a time and she becomes harsh on you, you become rebellious, you become like ...ja [yes], you are not my mom, why did you even come and pick me up. I was better off the other side... (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

In 93 [1993] that's when I started living with her... My relationship with my mom was completely not what I expected. It was difficult, it was painful. We could not, I don't know if it was acceptance or maybe I expected too much from her, or she, I don't know, but it was abusive, physically and mentally.... from her side... And out of that, I think I just decided it's enough pain, and it's not gonna hurt anymore. I just need to focus and do things for myself. I stopped expecting things from people; expecting the beauty to come from people. I started doing it on my own and just setting my own standards and making things better for myself. (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.3.3.4 Unmet expectations

In an independent Namibia, participants' expectations of love, care and protection from parents, particularly their mothers, were not met. The following was stated by the participants:

But me now as their child, as much as I need now that bond, that love from both, it seems like it's a bit too late. I didn't have it the other side and also coming here it's a bit challenging because when you look at the set-up of nowadays, you find that some parents don't want stepchildren... And as a growing up person, I also didn't want to be a stumbling block to someone's marriage or in someone's life, because I accepted life that I can move on with or without them. Like for me I made it a point that if that is the case I know where they are, if maybe one day they miss me and want me to come over I don't have a problem. (Male, 41 years old, participant 11)

...when I was in exile, I actually thought, you know, my mom went to study, we are going to have a good life. So I didn't really feel bad for that because I believed she was sacrificing for me... Only when I came back, that disappointment, that not meeting that expectation. That's what killed. ...that's what kept me going all the difficult times...and things are even worse. So I think that's why I find it so hard to even forgive her more because the expectation, the hope that I had in our relationship was even more than what transpired. (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.3.3.5 Poor school performance

As an experienced challenge after repatriation, poor school performance was mentioned by participants from the first generation only, were some expressed to have been unhappy and unsupported at home. Two participants shared their experiences as follows:

Through the years I ran away from home many times ...when I came to Namibia, staying in the hostel for me really worked.... I didn't have to stay with people to tell me things I didn't even know, and after grade 7 I had no choice but to go stay at

home because there was no hostels (...) it even affected my education, I don't know how many times I failed. I think I also failed grade 8 and I went to fail which grade again? So my mother was like 'no, you are not serious, you cannot keep failing' and she decided 'no I'm just taking you to your grandmother'. (Female, 40 years old, participant 9)

Imagine you don't have much support and stuff; you can't even discuss this at home because the parents just expect you to go to school and get A's.... So it was just at a point where you don't feel supported. I remember one time when my dad was asking, 'so you didn't do well?'(...) At a point where I think I wanted to kill myself. And ja [yes], I remember, I don't talk about it... I think it's just everything go on your shoulders and you carry it for so long and then it's just like you are tired, so I think I went and drunk some chemical or something then I end up in hospital. And I think it was my first year of high school. (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

4.2.3.4 Counselling support

Based on participants' responses, this theme indicates that some participants and their parents required counselling services after repatriation and some participants may still benefit from psychological interventions or therapy today. However, there are those who reported to have made peace with the past and have moved on.

4.2.3.4.1 Counselling services for CLS after repatriation

The research respondents expressed that they needed counselling services when they were repatriated to Namibia, as part of a healthy integration process. In this regard participants said the following:

... to give us counselling. At least the basic so we could say okay, now I'm fine. You don't heal completely but at least they could have given us support so that we can

support ourselves. If somebody is sick, how can they support themselves? Psychologically, if you are not fine? (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

Once we came here there was no certain project done to get them either to get into school or to be counselled... (Male, 39 years old, participant 1)

4.2.3.4.2 Dysfunctional home

A few participants stated that their parents were not in happy marriages when they lived with them after repatriation. This consequently had a negative impact on their well-being. One participant affirmed the following:

I always felt, had my dad not gone into exile he would have probably been better off than having been a soldier and coming back to be a soldier...he had gone away from home, but that was common amongst other soldiers... I felt very sorry for him... My mom was the one that lived with me, and maybe sometimes she would take the frustration of my dad's situation, or the situation at home, on me, or maybe she didn't understand or didn't know how to treat the situation... I think it [psychological interventions or therapy of some sort] could have done, especially my father, and even my mother, I think they would have, or even the whole family when we came together. Maybe we needed that to bring the bond back or to create that environment. Maybe things would have turned out better or we could have functioned as a normal family rather than the way things turned out to be... Everybody was on their own... (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.3.4.3 Sought counselling

As a result of the experiences related to the liberation struggle, one of the participants highlighted her experience when she sought counselling.

...I decided to see a psychologist for the first time in my life. When I went there I was even in a very bad situation and I think it's because I was also not getting support from my spouse... So I discovered that I was angry that I didn't grow up with my parents and it really has affected me. And I realized that I was also angry with the 'Boers'. I was very upset with them. And obviously I couldn't tell him that I was angry with the 'Boers' because I don't know whether he was coloured or white. I couldn't really tell because his hair was red. So I couldn't really fully tell that I'm really upset with the 'Boers'. (...) I think I had this anger since as a child growing up without my parents in a refugee camp and I just kept it in. (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

4.2.3.4.4 Persistent nightmares

Some participants recounted to have experienced nightmares as children growing up in exile after witnessing or experiencing so many traumatic events. For one participant these nightmares persisted into adulthood as revealed below:

And then my dad was diagnosed, they moved him to a new place called TB. ...we used to go there also and that was scary because they had like scary hills. And then I used to have dreams even after exile that I was falling, even recently I had dreams that those mountains and hills like I am trying to cross them and I was afraid. (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

The same participant also mentioned that *...Even now I still have dreams running away from those planes in exile, running away like there's war. (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)*

4.2.3.5 Privileges/opportunities

Since their arrival in Namibia as children, until adulthood, a few participants reported to have benefitted from the limited government supported initiatives that had been set up to assist the CLS, especially those whose parents died during the liberation struggle. These respondents confirmed to have received government assistance, especially assistance that was directed towards their educational wants and needs.

4.2.3.5.1 No school verses smooth school entry

Some difficulty finding school was disclosed as a challenge after repatriation by a few respondents:

“...I came home, my mother was now married to another man. And I don’t know what happened to their relationship... So the man had to find schools for only his biological children that he took to Gibeon and to other places. So me I was left out... That time I even didn’t find school. People were going to school.” (Male, 39 years old, participant 1).

The majority on the other hand expressed no difficulty finding school:

“...I wanted to go to Peoples Primary School because that is where my friends are schooling and it was easy for me to get admitted at PPS. So I feel like that was because of who I am as an CLS and my application was taken serious, I don’t think my dad ‘hustled’ much for me to get in...” (Male, 36 years old, participant 4).

4.2.3.5.2 Assistance received

Only one participant recounted having benefitted from the educational grant:

“...I happen to get assistance from the SIPE company... When we received maybe only ones money, 2 500 [Namibian dollars... I only benefitted ones ...because it found me already in matric” (Male, 39 years old, participant 1).

Another participant reported to have been assisted to further her studies:

“...I didn't have my father's death certificate but then I had to go to the SWAPO offices were they issued me with a letter saying that my father was a member of SWAPO... It was because of them [Ministry of Youth, National Service, Sport and Culture] that I got my loan from the Ministry of Education cause they wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education so I can get my loan. Because initially, I was rejected for a loan but then I went to the Ministry of Youth, and they wrote a letter, and after writing the letter they took it to the Ministry of Education then I got my loan...”(Female, 36 years old, participant 2).

The two participants who admitted to have received some assistance have both lost their fathers during the liberation struggle. However, another participant whose father is presumed to be dead in exile as his whereabouts are unknown since he was captured by the SADF before independence reported to not have received any assistance since repatriation:

“...I didn't get anything. (...) I don't know what it is but some of my colleagues got things. But me, no, I didn't get anything, nothing at all. And I am also not the kind of person, who could say no, people are going to demonstrate, but if they say go back to your houses, I will just go peacefully even though we had that determination to fight for what is ours like what we used to do there [exile]. (...) I didn't get anything at all, not even as my mother is dead, that maybe her money or whatever, never. I didn't get anything.” (Female, 40 years old, participant 10)

4.2.3.5.3 Parental/family support

The majority of the participants revealed that their parents and/or relatives were able to secure employment soon after they repatriated, except for one participant whose mother was not able to secure employment. They acknowledged the support they received from their parents and/or relatives as one of the major contributing factors to obtaining an education which in the end helped them to become eventually self-reliant. The following was stated by the participants:

Whoever was around me at that time, I took cognisance. ...although my parents were not here with me I still had somebody and that somebody is my aunt and other relatives who played an important role in my life in terms of shelter, clothing, in terms of just guiding me through... Like when I went through this integration at least they were there and that's why I could easily adapt to the environment that I found here. (Male, 41 years old, participant 11)

...he [father] asked what is it that I wanted to do and he would support me, so he was always there for emotional and financial support. ...I can say if it wasn't for my dad I wouldn't be here today... I was lucky to have had 4 parents, two fathers and two mothers. (Male, 36 years old, participant 2)

4.2.3.6 Inspiration

In response to what motivated the participants to achieve what they have been able to achieve at this point in their lives, the majority of participants cited that their lived difficult experiences in exile and also during post-independence years as a motivating factor. Some participants mentioned that they have been inspired by a life of lack of material resources and opportunities whilst growing up, which motivated

them to work for a life in which they could sustain themselves better. Some participants were inspired by the support they got from their parents.

4.2.3.6.1 Hardships

Participants' responses indicate that the hardships they endured growing up in exile and in Namibia have driven them to work hard to end the suffering as demonstrated by some participants below:

...What I experienced, things have never been good, and when I came here again it has never been good again up to coming to Wanaheda [location], I always have to move and eat at Ombili [location] some kilometres again each and every time. And I can only eat ones per day. And there was a time also when my mom could not afford a 20 dollar to pay for the school... She just didn't know what to do, she went to make a ghetto just because of me to assist... Selling chips... I didn't find it that conducive for her. This is just suffering again so I must just struggle myself... I motivate myself to just do whatever can be done to provide for myself... I happen to get some casual job which I assisted myself and also my mom. ...she didn't work also... Its many things. Many things. Cause I happen to pay for myself until when I completed. (Male, 39 years old, participant 1)

...immediately after I matriculated, I fell pregnant also and then had my child. I think that child now brought the strength in me to really just do something and make a difference for her. And that is when my whole entrepreneur role/side grew and I started then. (Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

...the relationship with my mom... I remember as I was growing up we did not have a mother daughter relationship, and it was always edgy, and I was always feeling out of place. So I think what motivated me more was just to grow up and be my own

person, be on my own. Without relying on anybody, without asking anyone anything... (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

4.2.3.7 Government assistance

When asked about their thoughts on whether it is the Namibian government's responsibility to provide employment for their fellow unemployed CLS, participants in both generations expressed mixed feelings about it. The majority of the participants stated that it is the Namibian government's responsibility to provide employment to the CLS, especially due to the lack of integration of the CLS after repatriation. The participants emphasised that the Namibian government should especially assist the CLS who were orphaned as a result of the war, and those whose parents did not have employment many years after repatriation. However, some participants also felt that there are unemployed CLS who were provided with some opportunities while growing up, and those should try to achieve more on their own.

4.2.3.7.1 Sympathize with fellow CLS

The research participants in both generations sympathised with their fellow unemployed CLS who did not have opportunities to obtain a better life. They mentioned the following:

...like for me I cannot compare myself with a child who went straight to the north, whose parents could not work, some of these kids, didn't have inspiration to look up to, coming from a war zone and then you end up in an environment where people have to work in the field for their food, that's not how we grew up... (Female, 40 years old, participant 9)

But then I just feel for those who have probably lost their parent's in exile, I think maybe for them it probably should be a different situation cause maybe they didn't have the support system they needed as growing up although studying is actually on your own, some people need a push factor or just some comfort... (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

I will not go out and say ja [yes], look at me, you are supposed to do it. No, we are not the same... I was lucky that I had a home. At least I had a place that I could call home when I was in high school. What about those from exile you were traumatized, your father died, your mother died or maybe one. Then you come here in Namibia, you are staying with your aunties and you are traumatized again. Can you imagine what kind of life you would have? (Female, 40 years old, participant 5)

4.2.3.7.2 Effort from fortunate CLS

Many of the participants conveyed that for CLS who were raised by their parents and had opportunities to get at least some education should make an effort to obtain employment on their own as expressed below:

...for those of us who actually came back with our parents or who came back and our parents were alive and we got an opportunity to live with our parents even if we had not gotten that opportunity in exile. I don't think the government owes us anything... (Female, 33 years old, participant 8)

...it's not everybody that didn't get that opportunity. Those that got the opportunity should of course do whatever they can to get employment on their own, get education and make a difference...(Female, 36 years old, participant 3)

4.2.3.8 Connectedness

Most of the participants, particularly from the first generation, affirmed to be more attached and comfortable with fellow CLS because they can relate to each other due to their shared past. The negative comments of the Namibian society in general regarding the CLS were expressed as hurtful by both generations.

4.2.3.8.1 Common story

The participants reported that, when they are with fellow CLS, they are like a family because of the shared conditions under which they grew up in exile. Participants conveyed the following:

...even to connect it's just with those ones whom we came, or been with together. But to make new friends like, it's so quite difficult...those I came with. Those I am able to know because our story is our story. (Male, 39 years old, participant 1)

...we grew up like in a group, and these are people that you grew up together with and these are people you look at as your own brothers and sisters, it's like we are family. We have this bond that we grew up with, it's something I will say you can't really break it easily... (Male, 41 years old, participant 11)

4.2.3.8.2 Negative comments on CLS

Participants have indicated to be hurt by the generalized negative words used to describe the CLS. Some participants expressed their feelings as follows:

...I really feel bad when people are talking about exile kids saying that 'all exile kids are just foolish, they are useless... they do not specify. The ones there [demonstrating CLS] ...at Brakwater, Ndilimani... When they misbehave... they just generalize... I read a comment were they said "Untouchable stupid exile kids". Do you know that

that comment it's actually meant for all of us? So it's really painful knowing that these kids are causing problems but we are being blamed for these things all of us... (Female, 38 years old, participant 2)

As CLS we are also judged...now we are just seen as 'idiots'... Somebody, a friend of mine even said it on Facebook, 'you guys are talking about you have fought for this country, I think us, our parents who have stayed here fought for this country than your parents because your parents were just in camps making love, having a good time making you guys' ... (Male, 36 years old, participant 4)

4.3 Summary

This chapter aimed to highlight the themes as derived from the analysis of the collected data. The various themes and their sub-themes were presented in an attempt to answer the specific research questions of this study. These findings give an overview of the psychological experiences of the children of the liberation struggle in exile and in Namibia following repatriation until present. The subsequent chapter aims to discuss the results presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, attention will be placed on merging the results of this research study with the findings of preceding research as well as discuss the limitations of the study. The findings will also be linked, where applicable, to the theoretical framework of this study as outlined in chapter two, as well as to the research questions of this study. This study reports the pre- and post-Independence psychological experiences of the Namibian children of the liberation struggle in view of their experiences in exile, after repatriation and their current situation. The results present numerous themes that emerged from their pre-independence experiences, as well as from their post-independence experiences, and in some cases these themes appeared in both eras.

5.2 Experience of life in exile for the Namibian CLS in refugee camps and after repatriation

5.2.1 Separation

The results revealed that the participants in the first and second generation were separated from their biological parents during the pre-independence years from the age of three years and below. Some were raised in groups with other children by whom they referred to as ‘mothers’ at a kindergarten/centre, while others reported to have been raised by caregivers related or unrelated to them whom they referred to as ‘foster parents’. Parents mainly left their children to go for studies abroad or to serve at the frontline, resulting in feelings of helplessness, sadness and loneliness for the

CLS. According to Bowlby (1988) being forcefully separated from biological parents and loved ones, can lead to negative developmental consequences including mental illness.

Most of the participants remember how they looked forward to meet with their biological parents (some for the first time) and living with them in Namibia after being repatriated. However, critical life circumstances such as a parent's ill health, lack of employment and parents having remarried did not permit such a happy reunification. For this reason, most first and second generation CLS lived with relatives for approximately three years and beyond in Namibia before they were reunified with their biological parent(s), while others never stayed with their loved ones and only visited them. As documented by Leinaweaver (2014), kinship fostering is common in several traditional societies where children may live with relatives in order for them to have better opportunities in life although this practice may also have negative outcomes. This delayed reunification or lack of it may have led to feeling somewhat abandoned (Sherr, Roberts, & Croome, 2017), and possibly feeling deeply cheated, hopeless and angry. These deep-seated abandonment experiences might form the basis for the CLS to perceive that the Namibian government also abandoned them, thus leading to a very strong reaction.

Additionally, the research findings revealed that unstable living arrangements also characterized their exile and post-independence experiences of the CLS, which lead to feelings of lack of sense of belonging and a feeling of life as uncontrollable due to constant relocation. Human beings have a need for belongingness (Maslow, 1943) which is an affective need to be an accepted member of a group. The experience of separation and unstable living arrangements both occurring pre- and post-

independence tells of unmet expectations and lack of stability which may have contributed to adjustment difficulties after repatriation, which last until today.

5.2.2 Child maltreatment

Results reveal that more than half of the participants from both generations, though more in the second generation than the first, were maltreated as children by their caregivers/“foster parents”. The types of child abuse they mentioned they endured in exile included physical, emotional and verbal abuse, and abusive work assignments. They reported that countless other CLS were subjected to these types of abuse in exile. These findings are supported by UNHCR (1994), who claims that constant exposure of parents or caregivers to trauma or stress increases the probability of child neglect or abuse. The UNHCR further claimed that even though children regularly received good care from non-relatives, the risk of maltreatment such as taking the child's food ration, emotional neglect and abusive work assignments may still exist. The long term effect of child abuse and neglect may extend into adulthood hence the CLS may possibly be experiencing mental health problems such as anxiety disorders, personality disorders, PTSD and depression, which may be observed in their behaviour.

The results further revealed that the CLS’s optimism about their re-unification with their biological parents one day, even while in exile, was what kept them hopeful through the experience of maltreatment and abuse. As the CLS seem to rarely have experienced such a long-awaited, happy re-unification with parents, one can speculate that the negative effects of the maltreatment and abuse were just accentuated by the disappointment of non-reunification with parents, leaving this vulnerable population disillusioned and angry.

5.2.3 Safety

The CLS highlighted safety as a theme, both during the time before and after independence. Some participants in both generations expressed to have felt safe growing up in exile while others felt unsafe. Interestingly, the researcher expected that all the participants would state that they felt unsafe in exile, after they concurred that they grew up in exile being reminded to be cautious of the enemies (the ‘Boers’ and ‘Kaxuxua’). Even when no significantly dangerous events occurred in the refugee camps, the general situation was one of war, with a subsequent spoken or unspoken discourse of death, danger, enemies, uncertainty, anxiety and unsafety. How come would some CLS report that they felt safe in the refugee camps?

It was however noted that the majority of those participants who expressed to have found the time they stayed in exile to be safe, were mostly those who reported to have been raised by their parents in exile. Also, the area in Kwanza – Sul where these particular participants resided with their parents appeared to have been less exposed to enemy threats (Nghiwete, 2010).

In contrast, those participants who were separated from their biological parents during exile and who had reported exposure to war related traumatic incidents could not conclusively relate whether the time in exile was safe or unsafe. They expressed the war situation as what they were born into and the only way of life they knew. High levels of stress and the development of PTSD symptoms (Freh, 2015) are possible long term psychological effects on people who are used to trauma in war. Constant exposure of young people to death and destruction at a tender age may cause them to develop hearts that are no longer frightened and potentially indifferent to the sufferings of others (Freh, 2015).

Literature has shown that traumatized individuals, as a matter of self-preservation, become emotionally numb. Such individuals, subconsciously, become emotionally detached from their thoughts, behaviors, and memories (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2014) in an attempt to stay sane. Emotionally numb individuals may appear to be less severely affected by trauma as was demonstrated in a longitudinal study by Malta, Levitt, Martin, Davis, and Cloitre (2009). The fact that some CLS in this study reported that they are not sure whether circumstances in refugee camps were safe or not, could be the result of such self-numbing. Untreated self-numbing consequently negatively impacts the well-being of human beings, and can even produce a belief of a foreshortened future (Sadock et al., 2015).

Interestingly, one participant reported that growing up in exile in a refugee camp was 'fine' except for when there were security threats. These security threats caused significant discomfort, but after such a threat, all returned to "normal" and people felt comfortable again. On the contrary, although participants may have perceived their lives to have returned to normal in exile after the occasional random threats of attacks, the experienced possible threats of an attack and possible fear of death on a daily basis implies that the childhood of the Namibian CLS may have been abnormal. The constant threats may potentially have aroused trauma symptoms, however, some of them were able to adapt with minimal symptomatology (Freh, 2015). Furthermore, growing up in exile under unsafe conditions, the psychological effects of war may involuntarily be re-lived by individuals from childhood into adulthood. Lastly, these effects may as well unknowingly manifest behaviour that is harmful to self and others (Herman, 1992) after the war or exile, if unaddressed,

which may likely explain the current perceived aggressive and unruly behaviour of the Namibian CLS.

5.2.4 Homecoming

The study found that most of the participants were excited concerning coming to Namibia, but felt disappointed shortly after arrival. Most of the participants recounted hearing Namibia being described as a rich and beautiful country or a type of ‘paradise’. This utopian image constructed by the adults with whom the CLS stayed, about Namibia, thus caused significant disappointment to the CLS after they arrived in Namibia. There is evidence that the participants also constructed their own utopian image of what they expect Namibia to be like. In a study done by Kropiwnicki (2014) on South African second-generation exiles who were born and/or spent their formative years in exile, it was discovered that “myths of homecoming” were constructed due to their parents’ narrated memories and hopes of a “new” South Africa. These myths heightened expectations of homecoming.

Those participants who arrived in Windhoek before travelling to the northern part of the country found what they had been told about Namibia to have been somewhat accurate, while those participants who landed in the northern part of the country at the village found it worse than the refugee camps they lived in. For example, some of the CLS mentioned that the unexpected village challenging lifestyle and unavailability of fruit bearing trees in their surroundings as a source of food was experienced as a great disappointment. It may perhaps then be concluded that the part of the country where participants went to live, made the difference in whether the expectations of the participants about what they will find in Namibia were met or not. When people experience disillusionment, they may form a skewed picture of

reality and experience circumstances as much more hopeless than they are, leading to an overreaction in behaviour.

5.2.5 Adjustment difficulties

Findings of this study reveal that participants from both generations had difficulty adapting in Namibia to for instance the food, language, cultural ways of interacting with adults, school, and the changed system of buying and not only receiving goods and services without payment.

Also, based on the participant demographics presented earlier on the age of arrival in Namibia, the youngest participant was five and the oldest was 14 years old. Hashmi (2013) states that the change from childhood to adolescence is characterized by biological, cognitive, social and emotional changes, which can make this developmental stage a turbulent stage for young people. This period is said to occur roughly between the ages of 10 and 20 years. The majority of the participants in this study reported that they arrived in Namibia (after being in exile) at a stage when they were also transitioning from childhood to adolescence which may have also contributed to experienced adaptation difficulties.

This study also found that, as an adjustment difficulty, poor school performance was reported mainly by the first generation participants. Developmental age and feeling unsupported at home might have contributed to poor academic performance. As a result, attempted suicide or continuously ran away from home were poor coping skills with which these youngsters attempted to remedy their dysfunctional adjustment. Literature has shown that poor behavioural or academic functioning at

school may signify that a child or adolescence is emotionally unwell (Dawson and Rahman, 2016; Preoteasa, Axante, Cristea, & Preoteasa, 2016).

The study additionally found that participants in both generations had difficult relationships with their biological parents, particularly mothers, after reunification. Although joyous, the process of family reunification after a lengthy separation may also present with challenges (Luster, Qin, Bates, Johnson, & Rana, 2008). The participants expressed to have been hurt in these relationships as a result of not receiving the affection they had expected and hoped for while growing up separated from their parents. According to Smith et al. (2015), a damaged early attachment between child and parent can result in an inability of the child to bond with the parent(s) when re-united.

Ultimately, one can speculate that the lack of or poor emotional support in a new environment coupled with unmet needs and expectations again resulted in Namibian CLS feeling abandoned or neglected by a government that once cared for them, as well as by their parents. These feelings seem to have given birth to anger and blame hence the current perceived demanding and aggressive behaviour.

5.3 Opportunities received by the CLS in Namibia after repatriation

5.3.1 Privileges/opportunities

The study found that from the time that participants arrived in Namibia, until they were adults many years later, only three participants (of 10) benefited from the limited government supported initiatives that had been set up to assist the Namibian

CLS. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, these opportunities were mostly targeted towards those CLS whose parents died during the liberation struggle. This government assistance was mainly directed towards the educational needs of some CLS, such as a once-off Socio-Economic Integration Programme for Ex-Combatants benefit, as reported by one of the participants, because he was in his last year of high school.

The study further found that the majority of the participants' parents and/or relatives who took care of the returnee CLS were able to secure employment soon after repatriation. Parental/family support was acknowledged as one of the major factors that ushered participants to maximize their potential and move into a direction of self-reliance even if they were all not well off. Bandy, Andrews, and Anderson – Moore (2012) in their study found that children and adolescents from both disadvantaged and advantaged families may be protected from negative outcomes if their mothers are emotionally supported. However, when there is poverty, it poses a threat to schooling and future prospects. Poverty further promotes a need for dependency which may be expressed in lack of initiative and shifting responsibility to others (Ratele, 2012). The limited government supported initiatives for the Namibian CLS and lack of or delayed employment of their parents and/relatives has potentially hampered their future prospects. Meaning that for CLS whose parents and/relatives lived in poverty whilst they were also not eligible to benefit from the limited government sponsored initiatives, they were likely forced to drop out of school or not have an opportunity to attend school (Dealing with empty promises, 2013; Ikela, 2013) which perhaps explains why the demonstrating CLS currently blame the government and shift the responsibility to secure employment to it.

5.4 Current experiences of the Namibian CLS

5.4.1 Inspiration

The research participants were Namibian CLS who are employed. This study revealed that the majority of the first and second generation participants have been motivated to complete their education and become self-reliant by the hardships they faced in exile and after the independence of Namibia. This is best explained by the social learning theory of Rotter (1966). This theory stipulates that an individual may hold the belief that things that happen in life are out of their control (external locus of control). In contrast, internal locus of control refers to when an individual views what happens in her/his life as dependent upon own decisions and behaviour. It appears as though the participants of this study spontaneously applied an internal locus of control, which is displayed by their motivation to get an education for future employment or to start their own businesses despite the hardships experienced in exile and in Namibia after repatriation (as mentioned by participants 3, 8 and 11).

Internal locus of control is associated with high levels of resilience. Individuals who are leaning towards an internal locus of control and have high levels of resilience are believed to be able to advance in life despite adverse lived circumstances (Cazan & Dumitrescu, 2016). Therefore, it may also be concluded that the participants in this study are similarly resilient, hence their demonstrated ability to achieve in the midst of hardship. However, the achievements of these participants cannot alone be attributed to their inner internal resources. Getting into school and staying in school require family support, be it from parents (biological or foster) or relatives. Family support forms an important part of external resources. Hence, although they faced hardships, through family support they could take advantage of the educational

opportunities presented to them, which is what was found to be absent in the lives of the demonstrating and unemployed Namibian CLS at Berg Aukas Camp in the study by Shiningayamwe et al. (2014). On the contrary, indeed the demonstrating and unemployed CLS have been exposed to hardships with no family support, however there is a likelihood that they may have an external locus of control and possibly low levels of resilience which may have contributed to an inability to become self-reliant and consequently rely on the government as their rescuer.

5.4.2 Government assistance

The findings of this study also showed that participants had mixed feelings concerning whose responsibility it is/was to provide employment for fellow unemployed Namibian CLS. The majority of the respondents sympathized with their fellow CLS due to the lack of opportunities such as employed or supportive parents/relatives to help them integrate better in Namibia after repatriation. The participants in this study thus perceived the unemployed CLS in Namibia as unable to succeed on their own without the Namibian government's intervention. On the other hand, some participants felt that not all unemployed Namibian CLS were necessarily disadvantaged after repatriation hence they should become self-reliant without any state assistance.

The International Organization for Migration [IOM] (2015) asserts that returnees are likely to cope with the impact of return if they had access to psychosocial counselling both before and after the actual return. A major life change such as a move to a new country with little or no support which was experienced by the CLS may trigger mental health problems which may affect an individual's ability to effectively benefit from opportunities and contribute to nation building. Furthermore,

the high unemployment rate in Namibia, currently at 34 percent in 2016 (Namibia Statistics Agency [NSA], 2016) appears to have also pushed the CLS who were genuinely disadvantaged as well as those who may have had opportunities to become self-reliant but failed to achieve to demonstrate seeking employment from the government.

5.4.3 Connectedness

This study further found that most of the participants, particularly from the first generation, avowed to relate better with other Namibian CLS and feel a sense of oneness as for example participant 1 stated “...*our story is our story*”. This implies that they understand each other and their shared experiences connect them. This was reinforced by the findings of Shiningayamwe et al. (2014) when they indicated that through the demonstration, the Namibian CLS at Berg Aukas Camp were able to comfort and connect to one another. Although this study interviewed employed CLS, this finding conveys that both employed and unemployed shared the same experiences and feel connected. Consequently, the employed CLS are able to relate and empathise with the unemployed ones.

Another finding to highlight as a current challenge in both generations is that of negative generalized comments conveyed by the Namibian public concerning the CLS which participants 2 and 4 expressed to be hurtful and judgemental. One can also speculate that the fact that some CLS studied further and secured good employment highlights the hurt, the sense of betrayal and disillusionment of the unemployed and suffering CLS who may compare themselves to the others and possibly consider having remained in exile to have guaranteed them a better future

hence their very strong reaction which invites generalized criticism (Sakaria, 2009) from the Namibian public.

5.5 Memories or experiences of the past, pre- and post-independence that the Namibian CLS still find difficult to deal with

5.5.1 Traumatic incidents and counselling needs

The findings of this study, furthermore, reveal that some participants witnessed and experienced war, war related traumatic events and none war related events in exile. The war related traumatic events were mostly experienced by the first generation participants such as the experience of an attack from the enemy, hearing bomb explosions, and witnessing horrific events. There was also a report of a none war related traumatic incident, such as an attempted rape. The majority of participants in the second generation stated to have been aware of the war but never had direct exposure to any situation that indicated actual war. One of the second generation participants reported of her exile experience of child physical abuse which she still struggles to deal with. This difference in exposure again appears to be due to the different eras the participants were born, as well as the camp (Kwanza-Sul) they were raised in and perhaps the part of the camp they resided.

The majority of participants who were exposed to war related traumatic incidents reported no current symptoms of PTSD although they recounted to have experienced nightmares as children in exile. One participant reports to still experience war related nightmares and to still be angry as a result of her difficult exile experiences. This participant also reported to experience negative emotions when her attempted rape memories are triggered. In view of the theoretical framework to which this study is

underpinned, the trauma theory, this theory informs that an individual's reaction to trauma is subjective and this is demonstrated by the experiences of the individual participants (Dodd, 2013; Ehlers & Clark, 1999). Therefore, in light of the ongoing difficult memories of the pre-independence experiences expressed by a few participants, this suggests that some Namibian CLS may currently benefit from psychological support even though it is 27 years after independence. These findings are consistent with what other studies found on former refugees needing psychological interventions even years after repatriation (Mugisha et al., 2015; Shiningayamwe et al., 2014).

5.6 Limitations of the study

The researcher is also a CLS and is aware that her own perceptions, feelings and experiences may influence the data analysis and interpretation of the study. These will therefore be bracketed in order to mitigate the researcher's influence. Bracketing is referred to by Terre Blanche, Durkheim, and Painter (2006, p. 322) as "temporarily 'forgetting' about everything we know and feel about the phenomenon, and simply listening to what the phenomenon is telling us now." The study required participants to self-report and give a retrospective account of their pre- and post- independence experiences of which they may have an inadequate memory. The information gained from subjective reporting from participants might also not be reliable. Additionally, the interviews were conducted in English. This may be regarded as a limitation as the participants might have better expressed themselves or spoken more about their experiences if they could speak in their own language. However, English was used as

an interview language because the researcher wanted to use a homogenous approach to all participants.

Furthermore, the selection of participants was partly made by the Namibian Exile Kids Association (NEKA), and they may have been biased. Additionally, NEKA's involvement in the selection of participants might cause participants to perceive the study as being for political reasons hence the researcher ensured to emphasize that it was purely for academic purposes. Finally, due to lack of funding to cover travelling expenses, the study has only drawn participants from the Khomas region in Namibia, hence the findings cannot be generalized to the Namibian CLS population, but it will give insight into the pre-and post-independence psychological experiences of some of the CLS.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

Many Namibians went into exile to fight the colonising powers from outside the country. Namibian children (CLS) born and/or raised abroad had to be repatriated after independence. Certain promises were made to the CLS by the Namibian government which, according to the perceptions of some of the CLS, were not adhered to. These CLS started demonstrating against the Namibian government, earning themselves a bad reputation in the country. With this study, it was attempted to understand the CLS and their behaviour better by exploring and describing their life experiences before and after independence.

The research questions of the current study were designed in order to support the findings and discussion to make meaning of current CLS behaviour. The findings from this study demonstrate that pre-independence, the Namibian CLS of both the first and the second generation endured many hardships like separation from biological parents from an early age, were maltreated as children, and exposed to life threatening traumatic incidents in exile. These experiences produced feelings of abandonment, lack of sense of belonging, a sense of life as uncontrollable, increased generalised anxiety and general feelings of uncertainty, possibly resulting in more frustrated and aggressive feeling. An individual's exposure to such situations (exile, war, unmet expectations about Namibia) can result in mental health problems. It can thus be anticipated that some CLS may possibly be experiencing mental health problems such as anxiety disorders, adjustment disorder, PTSD and depression, which may be observed in their behaviour.

This study also demonstrated that, after independence, the first and second generation Namibian CLS's expectations of reuniting with their biological parents for the first time (for some) and residing happily with them were unmet and they had difficult relationships with their parents. The disappointment of non-reunification with parents left this vulnerable population disillusioned and angry. Findings of this study thus validate the importance of preparing families for reunion when both parents and children have been separated for lengthy periods of time as emphasized by the UNHCR (1994). This, however, may be challenging to facilitate after a repatriation process of returnees to their country of origin in especially countries that are coming out of many years of war and where resources are limited. However, counselling interventions can be tailored for a specific context and build into the repatriation process plan of each country due to receive returnees.

Other findings revealed that the CLS received limited to no opportunities/privileges from the government to help them re-integrate into the country. In addition, the inability or delay in securing employment of their parents and/or relatives interrupted their schooling and hampered future prospects. A current consequence of this is observed in the way the CLS blame the government for their life outcomes and the shifting of responsibility to secure employment.

Linking to the trauma theory as one of the theoretical perspectives which support this study, the findings proved that some CLS currently still experience painful memories of the past, pre- and post-independence war and non-war related traumatic experiences. These are experienced in the form of dreams of war, triggered negative emotions due to reminders of traumatic incidents, and child maltreatment painful memories which demonstrated the need for psychological services for some Namibian CLS although several reported to have made peace with the past and have

moved on. Although it may appear as though individuals have moved on, some individuals may have become emotionally detached from their thoughts, behaviors, and memories to maintain their sanity. However, as a symptom of PTSD, the effects of war may involuntarily be re-lived as revealed by the employed CLS in this study, as well as unknowingly manifest behaviour that is harmful to self and others (Herman, 1992) as currently perceived in the aggressive and unruly behaviour of the unemployed demonstrating CLS.

Furthermore, the social learning theory of locus of control may also support this study. This theory can be utilized to explain why the employed Namibian CLS were able to become self-reliant (or not) despite endured hardships. On the CLS's current experiences, the findings demonstrate that the employed CLS were inspired to succeed by hardships because of the spontaneous application of internal resources (internal locus of control and high levels of resilience) and external resources (family support) while the unemployed and demonstrating CLS have been paralysed by hardships coupled with lack of family support which is a crucial factor in aiding individuals to reach their full potential. The non-utilization of their own internal resources point to the probability that some of the CLS rather live an external locus of control. Therefore they possibly struggle with low levels of resilience, hence their inability to become self-reliant and ultimately currently rely on the government as their only rescuer. In addition, the high unemployment rate in Namibia may also have acted as a factor that prompted both CLS who were genuinely disadvantaged and those who may have had more opportunities, to frustrate and anger them.

Moreover, the findings reveal that the employed and unemployed CLS shared the same experiences and feel strongly connected with one another, which is conveyed by the expression of empathy of the employed CLS towards the unemployed CLS.

Although the CLS have the same background of being born and/or raised in exile, the different outcomes of their lives portray a sense of disillusionment of the unemployed and suffering CLS who may compare themselves to the employed CLS. This might lead to a feeling that they are betrayed by a government that once cared for them, hence their very strong reaction which attracts generalized negative comments from the Namibian public in response to their perceived demanding and unruly behaviour.

The fact that the employed CLS were able to succeed despite the hardships they faced, demonstrates that “history is not destiny” (Fonagy, Steele, Steele, Higgitt, & Target, 1994, p. 234). However, this study demonstrates that the unemployed CLS are a disillusioned, hurt, angry and misunderstood population that is still bearing the bitterly negative consequences resulting from their experiences before and after independence, which are related to the Namibian liberation struggle.

6.2 Recommendations

The lack of integration programmes involving psychological services appears to have disadvantaged the Namibian CLS. The question is, whether it is too late to offer psychological interventions 27 years after independence? Based on the findings obtained in this study, there are individuals who have managed to get into careers without relying on the Namibian government’s assistance but could still benefit from psychological interventions along with other CLS who are still seeking employment as recommended in the study by Shiningayamwe et al. (2014).

This study therefore makes the following recommendations:

- Namibian public sensitization on the lived experiences of the Namibian CLS in order for the public to understand their behaviour, have empathy and connect with the CLS.
- Psychoeducation of the Namibian CLS on the possible consequences of their lived experiences which have an influence on their current behaviour.
- Psychological interventions in the form of therapeutic group session for employed and unemployed Namibian CLS to reflect on the past, make sense of it and find healing in order to move on with their lives. Group sessions may be beneficial for the Namibian CLS as they revealed to find comfort in one another and have a sense of oneness.
- Group sessions to be followed by individual counselling sessions for those that need them.
- Government and other institutions to provide targeted psychological interventions for CLS alongside the training opportunities and employment opportunities awarded to them by the government as part of alleviating their plights. These may comprise of a mixed group of CLS and other same age category Namibian non CLS population to create awareness of each other's experiences and foster understanding and empathy.

In addition, this study recommends that future research in the area of the pre-and post-independence psychological experiences of the CLS also draw participants from other regions of Namibia in order to allow for the generalization of findings to the Namibian CLS population. Secondly, this study has not been able to ascertain the full extent of the effect of early separation from parents on the Namibian CLS in their

current lives and this may also be a possible area for future research. Lastly, this study failed to explore the current specific coping strategies employed by the CLS in order to deal with their difficult memories or experiences of the past, pre-and post-independence experiences. Information on the specific current coping strategies employed by the CLS is important when planning for psychological interventions, hence future research in this regard can be beneficial.

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APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: FHSS /252/2017 **Date:** 27 September, 2017

This Ethical Clearance Certificate is issued by the University of Namibia Research Ethics Committee (UREC) in accordance with the University of Namibia's Research Ethics Policy And Guidelines. Ethical Approval Is Given In Respect Of Undertakings Contained in the Research Project outlined below. This Certificate is issued on the recommendations of the ethical evaluation done by the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee sitting with the Postgraduate Studies Committee.

Title of Project: A STUDY ON THE PRE-AND POST-INDEPENDENCE PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIENCES OF THE NAMIBIAN CHILDREN OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Researcher: Ndinelaio Twahangana Kaxuxuena

Student Number: 200306863

Faculty: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Supervisor: Dr. M. Janik

Take note of the following:

- (a) Any significant changes in the conditions or undertakings outlined in the approved Proposal must be communicated to the UREC. An application to make amendments may be necessary.
- (b) Any breaches of ethical undertakings or practices that have an impact on ethical conduct of the research must be reported to the UREC.
- (c) The Principal Researcher must report issues of ethical compliance to the UREC (through the Chairperson of the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee) at the end of the Project or as may be requested by UREC.
- (d) The UREC retains the right to:
 - (i) Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance if any unethical practices (as outlined in the Research Ethics Policy) have been detected or suspected,
 - (ii) Request for an ethical compliance report at any point during the course of the research;

UREC wishes you the best in your research.

Prof. P. Odonkor: UREC Chairperson

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "P. Odonkor", written over a horizontal line.

Ms. P. Claassen: UREC Secretary

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "P. Claassen", written over a horizontal line.

APPENDIX B: PERMISSION LETTER



18 July 2017

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY

Dear Ms. Ndinelao Kaxuxuena

The Namibian Exile Kid's Association (NEKA) would like to thank you for taking an interest of Children of the Liberation Struggle (CLS), even so that you have decided to carry out a study for the purpose of understanding them better in your research titled "**The Pre-and Post-Independence Psychological Experiences of the Namibian Children of the Liberation Struggle**". As the president of NEKA, I would hereby like to grant you permission to access and contact any CLS from the Khomas region that are also members NEKA to participate in your study.

We are sure that the study will come to benefit society in terms of better understanding of these people. The research could also work as a therapeutic process for those of whom have not yet find themselves, It could serve as a reflection of themselves especially those who are able to access and read about how they are and how psychologically they have been impacted.

Benitha Nakaambo

President: NEKA

Directors: Benitha Nakaambo (Chairperson) · Magongo Ipinge (Vice Chairperson) · Rauna Amutati (Secretary General) · Netumbo Aukongo (Treasurer)
(Additional Members) Morris Muyoyeta, Sonia Heita, Jafet Veshinge Haundjodjo

APPENDIX C: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Dear Participant

My name is Ndinelao T. Kaxuxuena and I am studying at the University of Namibia (UNAM) for a Master's Degree in Clinical Psychology. I am currently doing research on the pre-and post-independence psychological experiences of the Namibian Children of the Liberation Struggle (CLS). This letter is to invite you to participate in this research study and to give you the necessary information in order for you to decide whether or not you would like to participate.

What will you be asked to do if you decide to participate?

If you decide to participate, you will be requested to travel to the interview venue and your taxi fare will be reimbursed. You will further be asked to be interviewed for about 60 to 90 minutes. And you will also be asked permission that the interview be digital-recorded for purposes of transcription. This means that only our voices will be recorded. Recording of interviews for the purpose of research is common. It ensures that the researcher does not miss important information that is provided by the interviewee.

Will your participation in this research be kept confidential?

Yes, your personal information will be kept anonymous and no information that can reveal your identity will be shared. The information collected in the interview will be kept confidential and only be used for research purposes. A transcription (written text) of our interview might be included in the final research report but no names or identifying information will be included. Also, if an article is developed for publication based on this research, your identity will still be protected. This means that your words may be made known but your identity will not be revealed.

Are there any risks participating in this research study?

There is a risk of bringing up unwanted memories that may trigger some emotional reactions. However, if you experience unwanted thoughts and uncomfortable feelings

from participating in this research study, the interview will immediately be stopped, initial counselling will be done, and you will be referred for further intervention.

Is this research being conducted for political reasons?

No, it is purely for academic purposes and it is not linked to any political party or association. The Namibia Exile Kids Association (NEKA) is merely an identified association through which participants could be selected from the association's existing database.

What are the benefits of this research?

Information gathered through this research study will hopefully offer insight into the pre- and post-independence experiences of the Namibian CLS. It is hoped that such information will also provide relevant evidence to guide governmental and non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) initiatives on addressing the plights of the Namibian CLS. By sharing your experiences, you will be contributing to the learning of others and to the discipline of psychology.

Do you have to participate in this research?

No, you do not have to participate. Your participation in this research study is completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate and then decide that you do not want to continue, you may stop participating in this research study. Your withdrawal from the research will not be held against you in any way.

If you have any questions about this research study or the information above, please contact the researcher on 081 231 6609 or at ndinatk@gmail.com. Permission for this research study has been granted by the University of Namibia. However, if you wish to report any problems you have experienced relating to this research study, please contact the UNAM approved supervisor for this study:

Dr M Janik (Head of Department: Human Sciences)

081 242 8620

061 206 3144

mjanik@unam.na

APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Participant number:

This is a consent form that will be signed by you and the researcher if you are willing to participate in this research.

If you decide to participate in the study please sign the following:

I, (INITIALS) am willing and give my full consent to participate in this research study. I am aware that I will be requested to travel to the interview venue. I know that as a result of participating I may experience unwanted memories that may trigger some emotional reactions. Furthermore, I am aware that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from this research study at any time. I have read and understand the information sheet and have been provided with information regarding this research study.

I understand that the interview will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes and give my consent for the interview to be digital-recorded. I have also been assured that my identity will be protected and not revealed at any time. I understand that if I have any questions regarding this research study, I can contact the researcher (Ndinelao T. Kaxuxuena) on her mobile: 081 231 6609 or via email at ndinatk@gmail.com.

.....

Participant's signature

.....

Researcher's signature

.....

Date

.....

Date

APPENDIX E: RESEARCHER'S INTERVIEW GUIDE

Date of interview: Duration:..... to

Participant number:

1. Demographic profile of participant

1.1 Age: 1.2 Gender:

1.3 Date of birth: 1.4 Place of birth:

1.5 Country of birth: 1.6 Year of arrival:

1.7 Employment status: 1.8 Highest qualification:.....

2. Interview questions

Exile:

2.1 What was it like growing up in exile?

Probe: Who raised you? If not parents, why not your parents?

What difficulties do you remember facing as a child?

Did you witness or experience fighting or attacks?

Did you feel safe growing up in exile? If yes, why? If no, what made you feel unsafe?

Repatriation:

2.2. How did you feel about coming to Namibia?

What challenges did you experience as a CLS in Namibia after repatriation?

Probe: Identity, acceptance in society, support from your parents/family/relatives, education.

Opportunities:

2.3. What opportunities did you receive as a result of being a CLS in Namibia after repatriation?

Probe: Education, shelter/accommodation, food, grants.

Current situation:

2.4. What are you facing now as a CLS?

Probe: In terms of employment, what are you doing now for yourself?

What motivated you to succeed? If unsuccessful, what prevented you from succeeding?

Do you think that it is the Namibian Government's responsibility to provide employment for the CLS? If yes/no, why do you say so?

Do you think that CLS can also get employment without the help of the Namibian Government? If yes/no, why do you say so?

Psychological well-being:

2.5. When you think of what you experienced as a CLS _____, are there things that you cannot forget and are still painful to think about until now? Can you tell me about it?

Probe: In exile, after repatriation, current.

APPENDIX F: NON-DISCLOSURE FORM

I, (transcriber's name), hereby declare that I shall maintain the confidentiality of the data collected from or about the research participants through the transcription process. I shall maintain security procedures for the protection of privacy and will not disclose any information regarding the participants of the study or the study itself - **The Pre-and Post-Independence Psychological Experiences of the Namibian Children of the Liberation Struggle.**

.....
Signature of transcriber

.....
Date

APPENDIX G: RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS RECRUITMENT FORMS

Date: _____

Research Participants Recruitment Form (1)

First generation of CLS born between 1972 and 1978

No	Name and surname	Age	DOB	Place of birth	Refugee camp raised in	Employment status	Contact number (s)
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							

Research Participants Recruitment Form (2)

Date: _____

Second generation of SCL born between 1979 and 1986

No	Name and surname	Age	DOB	Place of birth	Refugee camp raised in	Employment status	Contact number (s)
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							

APPENDIX H: CODING OUTPUT ATLAS.ti 7

CODES-PRIMARY-DOCUMENTS-TABLE
Report created by Super - 2017/10/02 01:02:46 AM
HU: [C:\Users\Ndinela0 Kaxuxuena\Desktop\Pre and Post Independence CLS.hpr7]
Code-Filter: All [130]
PD-Filter: All [10]
Cultural differences after repatriation
Sought counselling after repatriation
Adaptation after repatriation
Adjustment difficulties belonging
After repatriation no school
Ambition
Attempted rape
Attempted suicide after repatriation
Biological Father not met exile
Bond between CLS
Cautious of the enemy after repatriation
Cautious of the enemy exile
Challenges after repatriation adjustment difficulties
Challenges after repatriation citizenship
Challenges after repatriation did not know where to go
Challenges after repatriation dysfunctional home
Challenges after repatriation kept failing
Challenges after repatriation relationship with parents
CLS are stuck
CLS difficult circumstance post-independence
CLS difficult circumstance pre and post-independence
CLS refusing training unwise
Comfortable with fellow CLS
Common story
Counselling services after repatriation
Cultural differences
Current challenge no childhood home
Current challenge unforgiveness
Current challenges negative comments CLS
Current challenges sense of belonging
Current situation government job lost
Death of mother
Death threat from parents disciplinary measure Namibia
Desired better life
Difficult memories hunger exile

Disappointed arrival in Namibia
Discomfort around mother
Easily angered
Effort from opportuned CLS
Enjoyed life exile
Exile experience fun
Exile normal experience
Exited coming to Namibia
Experienced an attack
Fairness CLS and non-CLS
Father absent
Father deceased exile
Father deceased Namibia
Father visited exile
Father whereabouts unknown
Felt safe exile
Fleeing from attack exile
Fleeing from enemy exile
Government as abusive
Health deteriorated in Namibia
Hearing bomb explosions exile
Hunger exile
Individual differences
Lived with relatives Namibia
Maltreatment exile
Misunderstood
Motivated by difficult relationship with mother
Motivated to achieve by hardship
Motivated to achieve by hardships
Motivated to achieve by lack
Motivated to achieve by lack of opportunities
Motivated to achieve by negative comments on CLS
Motivated to achieve by parents
Needed counselling CLS
Neglected CLS Namibia
Never bought food exile
Never met father exile
Never net father exile
Nightmares fleeing in exile
No assistance received
No integration of CLS
No integration of CLS and parents
No memory of father
No place to call home
Normalized maltreatment exile

Not connecting with relatives
Opportunities further studies
Opportunities repatriation package
Opportunities SIPE
Painful memories Physical abuse exile
Painful memories separated from parents exile
Parental/Family support
Physical abuse
Physical abuse exile
Raised by mother exile
Ran away from home Namibia
Relocation exile
Remembering exile
Safe exile
Safe exile indifferent
Safety measures exile
Security threat exile
Self-enriching government leaders
Separated from father exile
Separated from mother exile
Separated from parents exile
Separated from parents Namibia
Separated from siblings after repatriation
Shooting scare exile
Shooting triggers war memories
Smooth school entry
Still has nightmare
Sympathize with fellow CLS
Sympathy with fellow CLS
Take cover exile
Treated as a slave exile
Triggered traumatic memories
Unanswered question after repatriation
Underprivileged CLS
Unfair treatment exile
Unfair treatment Namibia
Unsafe after repatriation
Unsafe during repatriation
Unsafe exile
Unstable living arrangements exile
Unstable living arrangements Namibia
Unwanted after repatriation
Unwelcomed by society
Verbal abuse exile
Welcomed by family/society

Wishful thinking exile
Witchcraft
Witnessed horrific sights
Witnessed horrific sight exile
Witnessed violent act