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The Influence of Media on Himba Conceptions of Dress, Ancestral and Cattle Worship, and the Implications for Culture Change

Austin Sterling Cameron
Brigham Young University - Provo

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Cattle Worship, and the Implications for Culture Change

Austin Sterling Cameron

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Loy Clark Callahan, Chair
Robert Wakefield
John Davies

Department of Communications

Brigham Young University

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ABSTRACT

The Influence of Media on Himba Conceptions of Dress, Ancestral and
Cattle Worship, and the Implications for Culture Change

Austin Cameron
Department of Communications, BYU
Master of Arts

For the Himba, deeply embedded cultural symbols—traditional daily way of life, traditional beliefs about the sacredness of cattle, and religious beliefs of ancestral worship—are of ancient origin and have been retained in their culture throughout all of recorded history. While they still exist in Himba society today, some scholars have observed a potential widespread generational shift in adherence to these core cultural values and beliefs.

This study presents the findings of 41 in-depth interviews with members of the Himba tribe in northern Namibia—specifically Opuwo and Otutati— ages 18 to 65. It examines the degree to which cultural differences are emerging as a result of exposure to various influences including modern media. Special attention is given to differences among generational groups— young, middle-aged, and older Himba—that have occurred in the Himba daily way of life. Cultural differences are indicated by beliefs regarding dress and living style, cattle, and ancestral worship—the three major, deep-rooted Himba cultural symbols. Three theoretical explanations for culture change are discussed in order to explain observed differences among generational groups. Implications for culture change are provided as well as areas requiring future study.

This study is unlike any other conducted among the Himba in that it formally addresses the degree to which cultural change of core cultural values exists. Himba culture has proven to be resilient to foreign influences, but some observers suggest that this is changing. Given the resources, times, and methodological restraints involved in this study, it was necessary to limit its scope to just an exploration of the existence of a potential widespread generational difference in Himba cultural values, and not an in-depth exploration of the reasons behind it. This research hopes to provide a foundation of research from which subsequent researchers can progress in our collective understanding of what Himba generational changes are occurring and how these potentially unprecedented changes have occurred.

Keywords: Himba, Namibia, media influence, television, culture change, cognitive dissonance, urbanization, social learning theory, broad and narrow socialization

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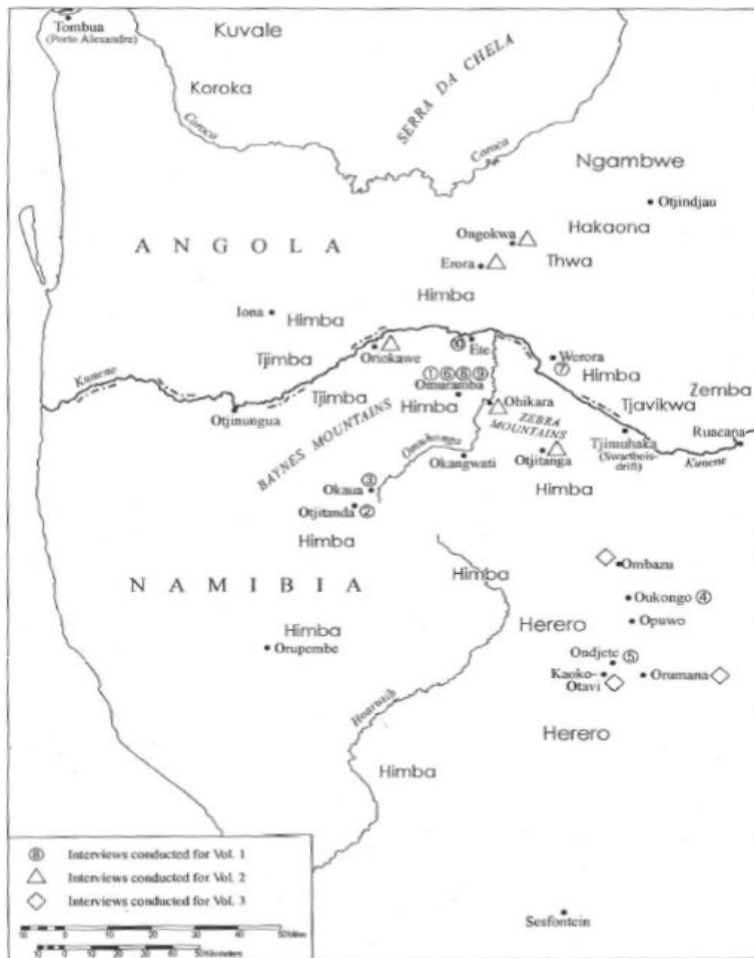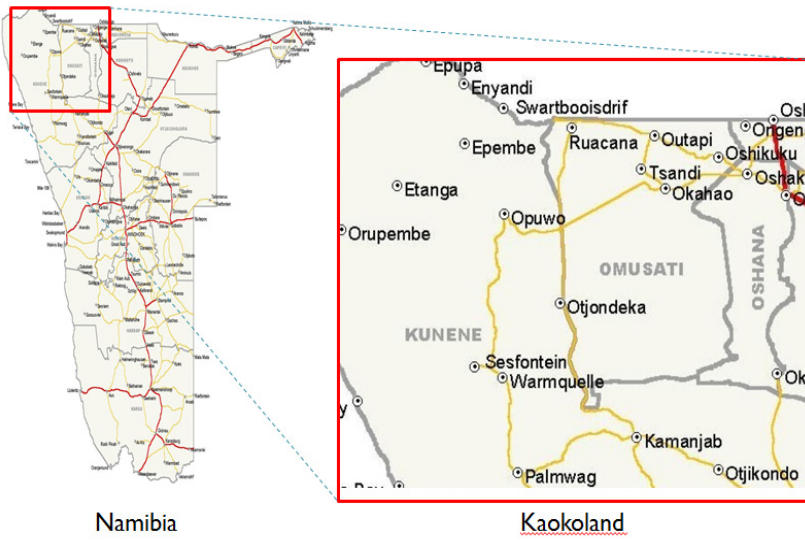
Namibia   Kaokoland

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Chapter I - Introduction

The Himba tribe of northern Namibia greatly values their ancient traditional culture. Their deeply embedded cultural symbols—traditional dress, cattle as mortal and immortal representational media, and ancestral worship through symbolic and ritualistic means—have remained unchanged as core cultural values throughout all of recorded history up to the present day (Bollig & Heinman, 2002; Buckley, 2001; Comaroff & Comaroff, 1990; Crandall 1998, 2000, 2009; Estermann, 1969; Hanes, 2008; Van Wolputte, 2004).

Despite adopting some modern technology and conveniences throughout their history—such as modern clothing, manufactured materials to make their traditional clothing and jewelry, modern medical care and technology for transportation—these core cultural values have persisted through any encroachment of foreign influence. However, within the past 15 years some observers have reported seeing signs that a shift away from core Himba cultural symbols and values in the rising generation may be occurring (Bollig, 1997; Crandall, 2000, 2002). In addition, the observations of this study's researcher during a visit to Kaokoland (the northern region of Namibia where Himba dwell) in 2006 yielded similar questions about potential changes in foundational principals of Himba traditional culture.

These observations identify not only the adoption of modern clothing and foreign beliefs among young generations of Himba, but diminished respect for parents, elders, and ancestors; lack of reverence for cattle and the traditional pastoral way of life; and the pursuit of personal wealth and status over concern for and contribution toward the health and well-being of the tribe, village, or community (Bollig & Heinman, 2002; Crandall, 2000; Crandall, personal communication, March 23, 2009; Dobler, 2007).

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Despite these observations, no formal research has explored whether the phenomenon of widespread culture change among the Himba is actually occurring. This study attempts to remedy that dearth of systematic research and identify the extent to which culture change among the Himba is actually occurring.

Diagnosing and Understanding Culture

Although more than 150 definitions of culture have been identified (Kluckhohn, Kroeber, & Meyer, 1952), the two main disciplinary foundations of culture are sociological (e.g., societies, groups, or organizations have cultures) and anthropological (e.g., societies, groups, or organizations are cultures). A review of the current literature on culture reveals that a majority of writers agree that the most accepted concept of culture refers to the taken-for-granted values, underlying assumptions, expectations, and definitions that characterize societies, groups, or organizations and their members. A classic definition, for example, was offered by Geertz (1973) in which culture is defined as the "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (p. 89). In other words, the functional, sociological perspective has come to dominate current conceptions of culture.

Most discussions of culture define it as a socially constructed attribute that serves as the social glue binding societies, groups, and organizations together. Culture encompasses the taken-for-granted values, underlying assumptions, expectations, collective memories, and definitions that usually define the core identify of various groups. It reflects the prevailing ideology that people carry inside their heads. It provides unwritten and often unspoken guidelines for what is acceptable. It stabilizes the social system that members experience (Schein, 1985).

Unfortunately, people are unaware of their own culture until it is challenged. Culture is undetectable most of the time. At the most fundamental level, culture is manifest as the implicit assumptions that define the human condition and its relationship to the environment. These assumptions are not recognized unless challenged by incompatible or contradictory assumptions. For example, most people did not wake up this morning making a conscious decision about which language to speak. Only when confronted with a different language or asked specific questions about their language do people become aware that language is one of their defining assumptions. The figure below illustrates the different levels and manifestations of culture, from the taken-for-granted and unobservable elements to the more overt and noticeable elements.

Figure 1 - Manifestations of Culture

Explicit Behaviors   Observable

Artifacts

Norms

Implicit Assumptions   Non-observable
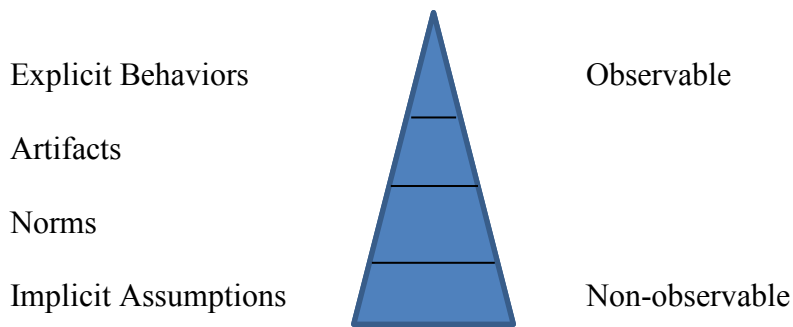
From assumptions emerge contracts and norms. These are the rules and procedures that govern human interaction. Regulations and expectations, for example, emerge from assumptions about how to organize a community, how to enable successful economic exchange, and how to maintain security.

Artifacts are even more observable and overt. Artifacts are represented by the buildings in which we live, the clothes we wear, the entertainment we enjoy, and the music we produce.

Artifacts are also exemplified by logos, flags, graffiti and magazines, and they symbolize the kinds of social recognition we value.

The most obvious manifestation of culture is the explicit behavior of members of the culture. In a group or community this is the way in which people interact, the amount of the "whole self" invested in the group, and the extent to which innovative or out-of-the-norm activity is tolerated or prohibited.

An indication that a culture is changing usually begins with overt behavioral change and a change in valued artifacts. By itself behavioral or artifact change does not signal a cultural shift, but it may be a signal that something deeper could also be transforming. It is difficult, unfortunately, to assess the extent to which internal norms, values, and implicit assumptions are changing (Cameron & Quinn, 2011). Consequently, the focus of any examination of potential culture change must begin with what is objective, what is explicitly reported, and what can be surmised from observation.

This study, therefore, focuses on the verbal reports of members of the Himba tribe who were asked to describe aspects of their culture that might be changing. In particular, the study investigates the extent to which generational differences exist regarding certain core indicators of culture: their daily way of life, their beliefs about cattle, and their religious values—each a key representation of some fundamental aspects of Himba culture. Based on these reports, conclusions are drawn about the extent to which certain aspects of Himba culture are changing among a particular segment of the population.

Research Questions

Through the analysis of in-depth interviews from 41 Himba individuals, ages 18-65, this study investigates generational differences in Himba conceptions of three core Himba values:

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traditional dress, beliefs regarding cattle, and religious values centered on ancestral worship. It

also identifies the sources and influences that may motivate the behaviors and beliefs observed

and reported by study participants. Finally, this study discusses implications drawn from the

research and areas requiring future study.

The objective of the study is to answer the following general research questions:

- RQ1: To what extent does generational diversity exist in culture and lifestyle

  among the Himba?

- RQ2: What are the sources of cultural information among the Himba?

- RQ3: What is the role of mass media in affecting Himba culture?

Basis for this Study

The most in-depth studies of the Himba tribe in the last 40 years have been conducted by

Crandall (1998, 2000). In the postscript to his publication, *The Place of Stunted Ironwood Trees*

(2000), he speculates that a culture shift has begun among the Himba people. Whereas no

systematic study was conducted to determine if this is true, he nevertheless reports his

observations that younger Himba were exhibiting widespread changes in dress, ancestral

worship, and beliefs and behavior centered on cattle. His observations provide the earliest report

of this phenomenon in any published work. In the following excerpt, he speculates about several

of the themes on which this current study is based:

> It is clear in May of 1999 that a transformation of Otutati life was well
> underway. The images, subtle and otherwise, of a brand of African modernity—
> peculiarly enticing to youths and young men—were everywhere to be seen.
> Among them, traditional Himba dress was fast becoming an indicator of
> primitivity . . . Most young men desired [modern clothing, much of it] paid for
> with stolen livestock. Clothing, however, is but a frivolous symptom for what
> elder Himba see as the real problem: the growth of individual liberties that work
> to erode the basis of their civil society, a society rooted more in collective good
> and obligation than in individual pursuits. Civil order was maintained by an
> unavoidable respect shown to the elder and the ancestors and a mild suppression

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of individual desire because of strong obligations to others. (Crandall, 2000, p. 264)

Crandall suggests that changes in dress per se was not as much an indication of culture change as was the change in attitudes and values that style of dress represented. Older Himba are concerned that civil society among the Himba has always been maintained by respect for elders and suppression of individual will in favor of community solidarity. Young Himba seem to be less and less accepting of generational respect and community solidarity. Older Himba attribute these changes, according to Crandall, to the modern education system to which many young Himba are exposed.

Crandall goes on to discuss how Opuwo—the only urbanized town in Kaokoland where Himba parents may send their children or where Himba may go to find work—has changed as an influx of merchants has permeated the town, bringing with them modern goods and technology and fueling the widespread shift to a modern lifestyle—and potentially away from respect for elders and ancestors—among young Himba. Regarding the source of this phenomenon, Crandall concludes,

> Whether correct or not, the elder generation identifies the school classroom and the efforts of Christianizing missionaries as the sources of changes. For the schools teach . . . the concept of powerful ancestors is not only false but morally corrupting. Thus, the traditions, ideas, and morality by which the elder generations govern themselves are deemed old-fashioned and seriously wrong. (Crandall, 2000, p. 265)

Because a monetary economic system has not traditionally been present in Himba society—cattle trade and bartering substitute for monetary exchange—Himba youth desiring to appear more modern in dress and activities have had to rely on other means. Some have moved to a town or village to work in traditional jobs, but others have resorted to stealing and selling goods in order to acquire financial resources. These behaviors represent a major change from a

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reliance on family and ancestral relationships to self-determination. Wandisa (an elder in the village of Otutati, quoted by Crandall) lamented, "Our whole world is being turned upside down, and I doubt my grandchildren's children will know anything about our life" (Crandall, 2000, pp. 266–268).

Basis for RQ1: In summary, Crandall suggests in this postscript that several fundamental changes are occurring among the Himba of Kaokoland—the only region where traditionally-living Himba dwell. These changes have important cultural implications. Specifically, European goods offered in Opuwo, where many Himba youths are sent to school or to work, have introduced an enticing lifestyle of African modernity. The attraction to modern clothing has bred a belief among young Himba that traditional Himba dress is out-of-date, old-fashioned, and unpopular instead of a source of cultural pride. Crandall suggests that many of these modern goods are purchased through the sale of stolen cattle, which are regarded as sacred in some cases and as the primary source of wealth and respect in others in traditional Himba culture. These observations may indicate shifting beliefs regarding wealth, popularity, and reverence for cattle. This may also indicate a lack of respect for all traditional authority figures, including parents and elders in the tribe.

This encroaching world of foreign influence is not new to Himba. Foreign influences have been ever-present among them throughout their history as missionaries, merchants, explorers, tourists, and other tribes have mingled with them for more than a century. In fact, some groups of Herero—the tribe from which the Himba derive—adopted Victorian-style dress, which modern-day Herero still practice today (see Figure 2). Despite these influences, and despite some groups of Herero breaking away from traditional Himba culture completely, there has always remained a significant core group of Himba who maintained their traditional core

beliefs, values, way of life, and culture. Nowhere before Crandall's observations have any scholars suggested that foreign influences were threatening the survival of the core cultural values in the rising Himba generation.

This study, therefore, is motivated by this potentially dramatic observation regarding a fundamental shift never observed before among the Himba. While Himba culture remained stable for over a century despite the presence of foreign influences, important questions have arisen regarding how and why a potentially unprecedented changed are occurring. This is especially interesting if the young generation is the primary manifestation of this cultural shift. Thus, the first research question explores generational differences that exist in Himba culture.

It must be emphasized that the extent to which this change is occurring is conjecture. No formal research has explored Himba culture change, especially with regard to any generational differences in attitudes towards Himba traditional dress, reverence for cattle and the communal good, and ancestral worship. This researcher's observations based on two visits to the Himba homelands have provided anecdotal evidence that some interesting changes are, in fact, evident. Some youth, for example, appear to demonstrate diminished respect for their parents, Himba elders, and ancestors by means of their desire for a modern life void of immortal influence, traditional Himba conceptions of wealth and fortune, and traditional outward expressions of Himba pride. This first research question, therefore, is designed to investigate this phenomenon in greater depth.

Basis for RQ2 and RQ3: The second and third questions explore the influences causing these observed generational differences in attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Specific attention is given to this researcher's and others' observations that schools and outside religious influences could be sources of these changes.

In addition, the inclusion of media such as television, music, and magazines sources of behavioral change in Namibia was first introduced by two researchers' observations. LaFont and Hubbard (2007) quoted one 13-year-old Namibian boy, who said,

> If I think young kids are having sex, it might be because of nowadays this television thing. The kids are more attracted to it, see things on television and say let me give it a try, let me try it out. For example, the advertisement of using a condom, it is very wild. (p. 8)

While this boy was not specifically a Himba, the Himba in Opuwo are exposed to the same television broadcasting as Namibian youth throughout the rest of the country. The other researcher to corroborate this speculation that Himba youth are exposed more than ever before to culture-altering information is Dobler (2007), who observed,

> On my most recent visit to Namibia, I was surprised by the increasing number and popularity of local musicians. Creating hybridized musical genres that cut across Europe, Africa, and the [United States], and borrowing from the style and image of black American rappers and South African kwaito artists, these musicians address many issues of interest to Namibia youth." (p. 13)

Dobler's observations do not include his assessment of how these changes might be influencing a change in culture, but this researcher's observations of Kaokoland in 2006 mirrored Dobler's. In this study, numerous Himba youth in Opuwo spoke in slang they learned from American rap songs; anxiously bragged about their knowledge of American celebrities in an attempt to be impressive to a Westerner; and expressed their desire for the kind of lifestyle spoken about in American songs and represented on television, which includes having a car and other modern technology and lots of money. These desires stand in direct contrast to the traditional Himba desire to contribute to the wealth and happiness of the community by raising cattle, caring for one another above one's self, and seeking to gain wealth not through money—a foreign concept in Himba economics—but through the growth of a cattle herd. This priority on the collective good is ultimately the foundation of Himba social structure and hierarchy,

economic structure and dispersion of wealth, and a traditional community-based value system.

Research questions two and three, therefore, examine the sources of cultural information and the

special impact of the media.

Chapter II – A Review of the Literature

The review of literature will briefly outline the cultural history of the Himba, including observations from prior researchers regarding changes in Himba dress and bodily adornments, and the adoption of foreign technology, values, or behaviors throughout their history. Particular attention is paid to the history of Himba cultural symbols, including reverence for and the value system centered on cattle, a belief system of ancestral worship, and outward symbols manifested in traditional dress.

Cattle not only provide Himba with a primary source of food, but they also serve as symbols of social and political standing, as well as actual representations of ancestors and the immortal (Crandall, personal communication, March 23, 2009). The Himba belief system of regular supplication to ancestors is illustrated through the Holy Fire—the sacred, central feature of Himba homesteads that determines the physical organization of Himba dwellings, their corrals, and other fixtures within a homestead. This Holy Fire is where sacrifices and prayers are offered to ancestors, who have the power to bless, curse, or otherwise influence the homestead. Living in remote villages in homes made of mud and straw, making their own jewelry and clothing, and consuming a diet of animal and plant products that they produce themselves is illustrative of their self-sufficient, traditional lifestyle that is the core philosophy of the Himba traditional way of life.

A Caveat

This study is unlike any other conducted among the Himba in that it is the first to formally address the degree to which behaviors potentially indicating a change of core cultural values is occurring. While resource, time, and methodological constraints prevented an investigation with as much depth and breadth as would have been ideal, no other similar data set

has ever been obtained regarding the reasons, influences, and motivations behind the perceived culture change. The data provide, therefore, a glimpse of a very unique phenomenon. This research hopes to provide a foundation on which subsequent researchers can build in our collective understanding of what Himba generational changes are occurring and what is influencing these potentially unprecedented changes.

A History of Herero in Namibia

As archeological evidence of southwestern Africa is abundant but patchy, and often ambiguous, there is a fairly limited body of evidence from which to draw conclusions about the earliest native settlers. In the northern and central regions of present-day Namibia, very limited archaeological investigations have ever been carried out. Thus, little is known of the earliest arrival of inhabitants in the northern parts of present-day Namibia before the 15th century, when the first records of foreign settlers appear.

Beginning in the 15th century, the first written historical records of native inhabitants begin to appear from European explorers. In 1486, explorer January Diogo Cao of Portugal landed in the geographical area of present-day Namibia as the first foreigner of written record to arrive in the region. Interestingly, he described seeing a pastoralist native people who owned vast herds of cattle but, peculiarly, rarely ate from the herds (Bollig & Heinman, 2002). As will be discussed in detail in the next section, it is important to note that present-day Himba also refrain from eating certain types of cattle they deem very sacred.

From this point in time to the 17th and 18th centuries, records of foreign visitors and interactions with the natives are very sparse and mostly involve details of natives in coastal regions of Namibia. European involvement amounted to little more than initial exploration of the coast by the Dutch East India Company in the 1650s (Wallace, 2011). Interest increased with

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whaling expeditions in 18th and 19th centuries by British, French, U.S., and Dutch companies, and the first permanent European influence came through the presence of missionaries in the early 1800s and merchants in the 1850s. Many coastal towns are named after the first merchants to come into the area.

While there is an abundance of records of European merchants, traders, and explorers beginning in the 17th century, this study bypasses these historical details and, instead, focuses on a historical overview specifically of the Herero tribe. This native tribe settled in the northern highlands of the country as a pastoralist society and is the tribe from which the Himba derive.

The northern region where the Herero settled is called Kaokoland, and it only began to appear in maps in the 17th and 18th centuries (See Figure 3). Before this point, there is virtually no evidence that the slave traders, missionaries, and merchants that may have visited Kaokoland up to the 19th century had interaction with the inhabitants (Bollig & Heinman, 2002). In fact, very little foreign interaction with these pastoralist communities is documented until European settlements were established in the northern highlands of Kaokoland in 1880 (Bollig & Heinman, 2002).

Even the first records that appear in 17th century literature provide very sparse description of the general region, let alone its inhabitants. The first explorer to provide insight into the Kaokoland region is Oliviera de Cardornega, a Portuguese man who went to southern Angola in 1639. While his writings focus heavily on the relationship between Portugal and the upper Congo, his descriptions do provide geographical information of the region (Bollig & Heinman, 2002). The Italian missionary Cavezzi explored Angola from 1654 to 1667, and his writings include several assumptions about the native inhabitants of the southwestern region of Angola (which was essentially a part of the pastoralist Herero community at the time) and how they

related to ancient east African populations. While these explorers certainly had interactions with the native populations of this region, very little detail is offered.

Even these early explorers' general geographic observations provide only a very basic understanding of the region. The lack of general knowledge of the region in the 17th century is illustrated in the fact that the Kunene River—the major geographical landmark of the region— did not appear in any maps before the 1700s. From this point until the mid-1800s, maps of the region showed progressively more detail. Maps showing the existence of elephants indicate that the area was initially of interest because of the ivory trade. However, maps and other historical records divulge little about the characteristics of the pastoralist communities that occupied the region (Bollig & Heinman, 2002)

Through the descriptions of missionary ethnographers in the mid-1800s, a widely understood image of the Herero tribe developed. Some of these descriptions emerged from the writings of early explorers, and one example comes from Josephat Hahn, the son of Carl Hugo Hahn, who was the first missionary to work among the Herero. Hahn (1869) stated, "One hundred years ago a mighty and beautiful Negro people, rich in measureless herds of cattle and small stock, came from the north and occupied the lands of the Ovaherero" (p. 227).

During this same time period and into the turn of the 20th century, some of Hahn's colleagues also produced some of the first detailed descriptions of the Herero inhabitants. While they were vaguer in ascribing the migratory route from which the inhabitants came, they fully subscribed to Hahn's description of the "beautiful Negro people." Through subsequent descriptions by missionary Heinrich Vedder and mining engineers Hartmann and Esser, the Herero were viewed as a physically superior race. At the turn of the century, traditionally-living Herero members became widely known as Himba and Herero were considered those who

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adopted Victorian-style dress and abandoned primitive traditions. The Himba were viewed as the "ultimate" and "pure" pastoralists who embodied ancient African tradition (Hahn, H. et al., 1928).

These descriptions are illustrative of how well Himba had maintained their tradition up to the 20th century despite exposure to foreign culture and foreign influence. A discussion about the specific cultural traditions and values they maintained is included in the next chapter.

Herero Clashes with Colonists

By the end of the 19th century, a number of European nations—including Portugal, Germany, England, and Spain—had established a presence in Namibia. The Herero's relationship with Europeans deteriorated, however, as they incurred large financial debts. As a result of trading with the Europeans based on borrowed money—a concept foreign to and misunderstood by most natives—their naiveté was exploited by many foreign merchants. Many natives in debt turned to cattle raiding of other tribes to pay off debts, resulting in escalating hostilities between both tribes and foreigners (Wallace, 2011).

During this time of escalating tensions with native tribes and seemingly insurmountable financial obligations to foreigners, the Herero sought protection from the Germans, who were the most established foreign influence in the region at the time. The Germans obliged, providing protection from other tribes and other foreigners. This alliance resulted in tremendous Herero support of Germany during its endeavor to establish the entire region as an official colony. In 1884, Germany succeeded in creating a formal colony, and the region became known as German South West Africa (Wallace, 2011).

The good relationships between the Herero and the Germans did not last long. By 1902, large numbers of German colonists had arrived, and despite aforementioned depictions of Herero

and Himba as a beautiful people that embodied traditional African pastoral tradition, this perception was not widely shared by the colonists. Instead, they brought with them the prevailing philosophy of social Darwinism, which caused them to view the natives as savages and subhuman. As a result, colonists' treatment of the Himba was poor as they usurped the natives' land and cattle. Although several treaties were signed with the natives, the German colonists' relationship with natives—particularly the Herero people—deteriorated dramatically (Dirks, 2003).

The first German protection troops arrived near the end of the 19th century, and in 1904 the Herero, led by Chief Samual Maharero, attacked and killed hundreds of Germans at the beginning of what became a large and long-lasting rebellion called the German-Herero War. In response to this initial attack, German General Lothar von Trotha devised a plan to annihilate the Herero nation—an initiative that evolved into the genocide of Herero. German leaders also denied the natives the right to be German subjects, and the Herero were ordered to leave the country or be killed. Eventually von Trotha was able to push the Herero to the northern border of the colony, where they fled north into the desert of southern Angola. Many of them died of thirst and starvation or were tracked down by the Germans and killed. The Germans ended up killing 80% of the Herero population—a massacre from which they have never recovered. By the end of the conflicts with the Germans around 1908, up to 100,000 Himba and Herero had been killed, nearly exterminating the tribe. After the war, approximately 70,000 Himba and Herero remained, which is approximately how many exist today (Wallace, 2011).

After the conflict, the Himba and Herero that survived fled with their cattle north to Angola. Most of them were forced to seek refuge and aid after their cattle were pillaged by rival tribes in the early 1900s. As a result of the ensuing poverty experienced by the tribe, Himba and

Herero were forced to sustain themselves through non-livestock-based activities (Bollig, 1997) such as trading ivory, ostrich feathers, eggshells, and other tropical commodities with Ovambo and Portuguese traders (Kuntz 1912, Vedder 1914).

Around 1910, the Himba and Herero began to slowly migrate back as German authorities encouraged another tribe—the Tjimba of Kaokoland—to persuade the Himba over the border to return. The Germans offered the impoverished Himba their ancient pastoral land in Kaokoland and helped to facilitate the growth of their once massive herds of cattle to support the growing German colony. Muhona Katiti, a prominent Herero leader, came first, followed by another leader, Vita Tom, and his followers, who finally settled permanently in Kaokoland in 1917. Despite the brief departure from their traditional cattle-centric way of life, the Himba quickly returned to their traditional way of life once they were restored to their lands (Demhardt, 1991-1992).

Over the next few decades in the mid-1900s, Himba populations rose as the non-Himba Herero people eventually migrated into central Namibia and traditionally-living Himba stayed in the north. After World War II, the British took power and German South West Africa became a British colony. During the next few decades the Himba and their herds continued to thrive, relationships with the British government were amicable, and the tourism industry in Namibia grew, with the Himba as its exotic main feature. In the 1980s the Himba suffered one of their worst disasters: a severe drought that killed 90% of their cattle. Most Himba gave up their herds and once again became refugees, this time in the town of Opuwo, living in slums on international aid (Wallace, 2011).

As was the case in Angola in the early 1900s, their departure from their traditional way of life was short-lived. After a century of colonial rule and a 23-year liberation war, Namibia held

its first democratic elections in 1989 as an independent nation. During this time, plentiful rains also allowed the Himba to rebuild their herds and move back into their tradition villages away from Opuwo. Today the numbers of Himba and Herero combined have rebounded to between 20,000 and 50,000—the vast majority of whom live in traditional villages around Opuwo (Wallace, 2011).

Core Values

It is important to recognize that despite economic, political, or social circumstances necessitating brief departures from the daily practice of traditional Himba pastoral way of life, Himba always returned to their core cultural values. These are focused on a reverence for and daily life centered on cattle, their traditional ancestral belief system, and traditional dress and adornment. It has only been forces outside of their control, such as war, politics, and drought that have forced these brief departures from the daily practices associated with their core values. They have always returned to these foundational and central aspects of their traditional culture when circumstances allowed.

Today, residents of Kaokoland are praised for continuing to embody old African pastoral tradition. As will be discussed further, archeological, written, and pictorial historical records attest to the preservation of their core values throughout history.

Cattle-Centric Values and Lifestyle

Despite scant archeological evidence in present-day northern Namibia, evidence shows that ownership of domestic stock was widespread in the region 1,000 years ago. The earliest archeological evidence of Otjiherero-speakers (Otjiherero is the language of the Himba) has indicated that they placed a strong emphasis on both cattle for ceremonial purposes and as a store of wealth. While 80% of all rock art found in Namibia depicts human forms, the other 20% is

primarily animal drawings, particularly animals that were seen as having supernatural powers. Early rock art depicts men and women participating in communal trance rites, surrounded by additional symbolic depictions of cattle (Wallace, 2011).

As previously discussed, cattle is a prominent feature in our understanding of Namibia's earliest inhabitants. The earliest explorers, merchants, missionaries, and settlers in Namibia often described its inhabitants as having vast herds of cattle (Ravenstein, 1900; Wallace, 2011; Bollig & Heinman, 2002). Throughout history, beef was in considerable demand by ships visiting the region and the high volume of beef offered by the natives was able to fill this demand. Natives received a variety of goods such as beads, porcelain, alcohol, and firearms for their cattle (Wallace, 2011).

While history substantiates the pastoralist way of life of Himba descendants, it was not until very recent history that researchers gained a greater understanding of the symbolism cattle has in Himba culture, as well as its true centrality in their traditional belief system. An early doctoral dissertation by Herskovits (1926) entitled *The Cattle Complex in East Africa*, was an important early work of African pastoralism focusing on the symbolic content of the bond between humans and cattle. Through Herskovits's thesis and in subsequent works (Berglund, 1989; Evans-Prichard, 1940; Klima, 1970; and Lienhardt, 1961), it is well documented that African pastoralists have symbolic associations with cattle, and that cattle derive their value only as they come to represent things entirely foreign and exterior to themselves. These historical examples mirror the presently-held Himba beliefs regarding the sacredness of and power ascribed to cattle, as well as cattle's participation and sometimes central feature in rituals.

In Himba tradition, cattle relationships symbolizing aspects of a perceived stable, timeless, encompassing reality (or those in the patrilineal category) are symbolically superior to

cattle relationships reflecting the temporal, unstable, and encompassed aspects of human life (or those in the in matrilineal category) (Crandall, 1998). All cattle are differentiated into these two unequal patrilineal and matrilineal categories which carry important (but different) mystical, economic, and political consequences. The patrilineal cattle belonging to the husband's family hold a certain value and sacred distinctions, and matrilineal cattle hold very different significance. The most sacred cattle represent ancestors, who continue an active and meaningful patrilineal membership in Himba culture once they have died (Iteanu, 1983; Keesing, 1975; Kopytoff, 1971). The belief system centered on ancestral worship is associated with these types of cattle.

The cattle of the matrilineal category have little symbolic import, though they are used on some ritual occasions and, in sufficient quantity, are a means of generating wealth and power. There are generally no restrictions that govern their use, whether it is selling, trading, loaning, or slaughtering them. However, it is possible for these cattle can be ritually transformed into patrilineal cattle by the head of the homestead (Crandall, 1998).

The patrilineal cattle, on the other hand, are perceived to be actual representations of ancestors. The flesh and milk of these animals are held sacred, and the use of these animals is governed by very strict rules. The violation of these rules could incur the wrath of the ancestors, who carry power to bless, curse, and influence mortals from beyond the grave. Patrilineal cattle are used more often in sacred rituals and rites, specifically those conducted at the Holy Fire, which is a gateway of communication with ancestors (Crandall, 1998).

The variety of rituals in which both matrilineal and patrilineal cattle are used is great, but a few involving major life events are described below. For instance, when a person dies, the ancestors are summoned and the firekeeper formally announces the death of the man at the Holy

Fire, telling the ancestors that the dead man is to become one of the ancestors. Earlier that morning the man's favorite ox will have been slaughtered. The skin will become the man's coffin and the horns the memorial marking. The animal is so closely associated with the person that it becomes a literal representation of him, such that nobody eats the meat as they say it would be like eating the man himself (Crandall, 1998).

Another major ritual involves childbirth. After a child is born and the umbilical cord has fallen off, the father will bring the child to the Holy Fire along with a matrilineal heifer. The forehead of the infant is brought to rest upon the forehead of the heifer and the child formally takes possession of the beast as his/her property.

Additionally, Himba marriage involves cattle transactions, including the groom's family transferring cattle to the bride's father. When boys transition from youth to manhood, their fathers bring an ox from his matrilineal herd to be slaughtered, cooked, and eaten as well (Crandall, 2000).

Cattle also hold unique symbolism for each individual Himba family. Each Himba family avoids products from cattle with certain characteristics. For example, one family will not eat meat from cattle with crooked horns while another will avoid cattle of a certain color or with a certain coloration pattern. In fact, during feasts that multiple Himba families attend, preparers of meat keep track of which meat came from which cattle to ensure that no family eats "forbidden" meat (Crandall, 2000).

While there are many other specific examples of the role cattle play in various rituals, rites of passage, and other Himba practices, the discussion above suffices to establish the reverence for and centrality of cattle in Himba culture. The degree to which a Himba man or woman honors cattle as symbols of immortal and mortal relationships and representations of

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highly powerful ancestors is a key measure of how strongly that person holds to traditional

Himba values.

Belief System of Ancestral Worship

Himba believe in a God which they call "Mukuru." This God, they believe, brings

balance in the universe and is the ultimate, all-powerful being in the heavens. However, they

believe his dealings with humans are limited due to his residence in a place very far away from

the earth, which inhibits communication with and access to him. The more immediate influence

comes from ancestors, whose power and dominion are distinctly inferior to Mukuru's. Ancestors

are believed to be near, accessible, and a frequent influence in the lives of their living kinsmen.

They have the ability to bless, curse, and intervene in the lives of their posterity, and therefore it

is an essential task to maintain good relationships with these ancestors. The relationship between

mortal and immortal is given priority over relationships between mortals, and the management of

mortal relationships and the daily tasks of life are governed by these ancestors who ultimately

control the fate of men (Crandall, 1998).

This belief system influences much of Himba life. The way that the Himba organize their

homesteads is indicative of their reverence for (and fear of) ancestors. The dominant feature of

traditional Himba homesteads is the ancestral or Holy Fire, which only the father of the family

can approach to pay homage to and communicate with ancestors. As previously discussed, cattle

are offered as sacrifices to the ancestors at this Holy Fire along with other rituals that involve

ancestors. The Fire is composed of branches from ironwood trees, which are harvested near the

graves of the ancestors (see Figure 4). It is located directly between the main dwelling in the

homestead and the corral, which always lies in the very center of the homestead. The Holy Fire

is so sacred that besides the firekeeper, the father, all other family members and visitors to the

homestead are not to cross the path between the main homestead and the Holy Fire, nor are they to get too close to the Holy Fire out of respect to ancestors (Crandall, 2000).

The tribal structure based on bilateral (patrilineal and matrilineal) descent is mirrored through traditional Himba homestead organization. Surrounding the Holy Fire and the corral, dwellings for the matriarch and members of her clan (such as her parents) are located on one side of the main dwelling, and the patriarch and members of his clan have dwellings on the opposite side.

Ernst Hecker, a German photographer, was the first to take photos of Himba and Herero traditional homesteads. His pictures reveal huts made of mud and other natural materials, which are the materials that the Himba continue to use in dwelling construction today. These huts are arranged in a circular organization representing the traditional arrangement of division between matrilineal and patrilineal members (see Figure 5).

One recent illustration of the continued importance of their belief system is seen in the recent Epupa Dam controversy. In 2007, the Namibian government proposed the construction of a dam near Himba lands (Lasieur, 2010). The project would have resulted in the flooding of sacred Himba land containing generations of Himba graves as well as seasonal grazing land for cattle. The issue gained international attention after media outlets highlighted the central importance of cattle and ancestors to Himba culture. As one Himba elder said, "If they build the dam, they will kill the Himba culture" (Crandall, 2000). Under intense pressure, the Namibian government abandoned the project.

Traditional Himba Dress

Martine Prins explained the symbolism of Himba traditional outward adornment:

Objects are not just practical to use or nice to wear; they can also refer to
someone's social and individual identity and position in society, represent the

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continuity with the ancestral heritage, emphasize the importance of fertility and potency, or mediate the relationship between people and their herds. (Van Wolputte, 2003, p. 23)

Referring to symbolic Himba adornments, Crandall (1998) said, "Culturally-created objects have social lives and meanings . . . These objects serve as cultural metaphors and symbols, and are not to be taken as simple material implements with nothing more than practical value" (p. 76).

Himba traditional dress carries tremendous social, political, and cultural value and meaning. It is a source of pride and status to traditional Himba. Women wearing necklaces made of a certain sea shell, for example, along with special ankle cuffs made of metal beads, are seen as wealthy. A headdress made of leather communicates her marriage to her husband. Fully covering their bodies in otjize (a mixture of animal fat and red ochre) and wearing all of their traditional coverings and jewelry is considered the ideal outward appearance for females, and it is seen as a sign of respect toward Himba culture. Males who wear a special necklace with a small springbok horn communicate high status within the tribe, or if they wear special metal bracelets it communicates a sacred connection with ancestors. Men can also communicate their wealth and high social status by wearing particular animal skins (Crandall, 2000). These and many other examples establish dress as a key element in traditional Himba perceptions of wealth, social relationships, political status, and outward symbols of cultural pride.

Prior to the 18th century, written records describing native Namibian dress, adornment, and lifestyle are few beyond general observations of the inhabitants of Namibia as pastoral nomads (Wallace, 2011). The first descriptions from European explorers describe inhabitants as barbarically dressed in animal skin garments covering only the lower half of their bodies, hand-made jewelry, and headdresses (Ravenstein, 1900). In the 18th century the first portrait of a

Namibian seen by an outsider was drawn by Thomas Bolden Thompson in 1786 (see Figure 6).

In this portrait we see beads adorning the female's hair, necklaces around her neck, and what

appears to be a sealskin cloak. This was likely a coastal-dwelling native and not a pastoral

nomadic Herero.

Nearly a century later we see the first photos taken of a Himba. German photographer

Ernst Hecker took a photo in 1876 showing a Himba woman wearing traditional leather

coverings, traditional jewelry, and otjize on her skin. Adolf Luderitz also took pictures in the late

1800s showing Otjiherero-speaking women dressed in full traditional garb composed of leather

and traditional jewelry. It should be noted that while Himba and some of their Herero

descendants resisted European influences and maintained their traditional dress, many other of

their Herero descendants did not. While Adolf Luderitz's 1885 photos show Otjiherero-speaking

women adorned in the traditional dress that Himba mirror today, he also documented other

groups of Otjiherero-speaking women dressed in Western-style dresses made of fabric. Today,

modern-day Herero—seen as a completely different social group than Himba—continue to wear

Victorian style dresses (see Figure 7).

Despite Herero women adopting Western clothing, most Himba women continue to dress

very similarly to their traditionally-dressing ancestors by continuing to applying otjize, wear

leather coverings, and adorn themselves in traditional and symbolic jewelry (see Figure 8).

The earliest known photos of Himba men also parallel early descriptions of inhabitants as

wearing skins covering only the lower half of their bodies. Kuntz (1912) took pictures of

Otjiherero-speaking males who wore leather coverings on the lower half of their bodies (see

Figure 9). However, it has become more widely acceptable over time for Himba men to dress

modernly, wearing pants and shirts. Researchers who visited Himba villages in the late-1800s

described a native population that showed some modern adaptations. They wrote that virtually all women and most men dressed in full traditional garb, with some men using cloth lower-body coverings instead of leather, some wearing sandals or shoes made of modern-day materials, and a small percentage wearing modern shirts and pants (Ravenstein, 1900). Frederick Hodgson's 1876 photographs show three Herero tribal leaders in completely modern, European dress (Wolfam et. al., 1999). Kuntz (1912) and Nitche (1913) took photos that reveal a combination of traditional and modern dress among the natives, with some Himba and Herero men wearing cowboy-style hats and toting guns while others maintained traditional coverings.

Today, most Himba males wear some modern clothing while most Himba females wear the full traditional garb. Given the cultural male dominance in the Himba tribe, male deviation from Himba dress is more culturally acceptable than female deviation from Himba dress, and it is not seen as a significant deviation from traditional Himba culture. However, while it is accepted in Himba culture today for many Himba men to wear modern clothing, many still wear traditional dress by covering only the lower half of their body with cloth coverings (see Figure 10).

Himba traditional dress serves as a good representation of whether a member of the Himba believes in traditional conceptions of wealth, popularity, and beauty. It communicates how much pride one takes in the traditional Himba way of life, which is considered primitive and outdated by today's standards. The degree to which an individual adheres to traditional dress along with traditional daily lifestyle in the village correlates directly with the degree to which he or she reverences and worships ancestors and respects and values cattle, particularly more than modern conceptions of wealth and value.

Chapter III - A Theoretical Explanation for Culture Change

The centrality of cattle, the ancestral belief system, and the traditional dress are symbols of core Himba values as verified by historical evidence and the current body of research on Himba culture. Also established in the historical record is how these core values have been maintained, notwithstanding brief periods of poverty or unrest brought about by uncontrollable social, political, or environmental factors.

Whether the widespread change in traditional dress is also indicative of an alteration or loss of the other traditional Himba cultural values has not been verified by research. No published research does more than acknowledge that increasing numbers of Himba youth are exhibiting changes in dress and preferences for modern goods and lifestyle (Buckley, 2001; Hanes, 2008; Crandall, 2000; Pickford & Jacobsohn, 1990). Although several potential explanations have been proposed (Crandall, personal communication, March 23, 2009; Hanes, 2008b), the primary causes of these changes as well as their effect on individual perceptions of Himba core cultural values is also unknown.

In exploring the degree to which these core values may be changing, understanding three social theories related to cultural change is important: cognitive dissonance, urbanization, and social learning theory.

Cognitive Dissonance

An understanding of the relationships between changes in Himba lifestyle, dress, and preferences and fundamental cultural changes can be informed by a theoretical examination of how and why change in attitudes and beliefs occur. The foundation of attitude-change research lies in the theory of cognitive dissonance proposed by Festinger (1957). The underlying assumption of cognitive dissonance is that individuals strive for consistency in opinions,

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attitudes, and values. When inconsistency exists in attitudes or beliefs, there is "pressure to produce consonant relations among cognitions" so as to avoid dissonance (Festinger, 1957, p. 9). Sherwood, Barron, and Fitch (1969) explain a cognition as, "any knowledge, belief, attitude, or value that a person holds about himself, about his behavior, or about his environment"; they further explain that cognitive relationships are acquired "through an individual's experience, the mores of his culture, and his notions about logical relationships between events" (p. 56).

For example, a Himba boy may learn through personal experience or traditional Himba culture that he will experience rewarding social outcomes from those in his village if he wears traditional Himba clothing and jewelry, or if he becomes expert in caring for livestock. Dissonance may occur if the same boy goes to Opuwo and receives negative social outcomes from wearing traditional Himba clothing and jewelry, or, alternatively, if rewarding social outcomes are associated with modern dress and lifestyle.

To remedy dissonance, individuals employ a number of tactics. One major tactic is selective exposure. Ehrlich, Guttman, Schonbach, and Mills (1957) found that people seek out dissonance-reducing information and may consciously avoid dissonant-increasing information. For example, the Himba boy described above may seek out positive feedback from those in Opuwo that favorably view his traditional Himba dress while avoiding those people he knows will give him a negative social response. Other studies such as those by Rosen (1961) and Adams (1961) found that many research subjects employed this tactic.

A second tactic is changing behavior. Weick (1964) found that significant attitude and behavioral change were employed by individuals who committed to participate in an experiment but were later told they would not receive the promised reward. Some chose to leave the experiment, but those participants who stayed changed their attitude about the value of the

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experiment and interpreted it as an inherently valuable experience. They acted in such a way during the experiment that they became motivated by something other than the promised reward.

This is also consistent with Katz and Stotland (1959), who explain that attitude and behavioral change is motivated by the desire to maximize satisfaction and reduce perceived dissatisfying outcomes. In the case of the Himba boy described above, he may remedy his dissonance by either changing his traditional dress to clothing more socially accepted and desired by the majority of those he interacts with in Opuwo, or he may choose to leave Opuwo and go to his village or someplace else where the majority of the population views his Himba traditional clothing as accepted and desirable. Cognitive dissonance theory predicts that his selection of a location and a behavior pattern will align with his attitudes and beliefs in order to reduce dissonance.

One particular place where youth Himba are likely to experience dissonance is in any of the numerous educational institutions in Opuwo, which is a 30-minute drive away from Otutati and anywhere between one and several hundred kilometers away from other traditional Himba villages. Increasing numbers of Himba parents are sending their children to Opuwo (Crandall, personal communication, March 23, 2009). These primary and secondary schools are modeled after British elementary schools and curriculums, which contrast greatly to a typical traditional Himba education youth would receive in their own village. Harvat and Antonio (1999) and Hyams (2000) found that educational institutions are powerful spaces for social change in which young people learn social and educational norms, such as what kinds of social and educational behaviors are accepted, desirable, or undesirable. For example, the perception of "success" is one such social norm communicated in these social and educational environments. Within the school, educators may "promote alternative versions of adulthood thus contributing to the

proliferation of images of Western success through entry into formal-sector work" (Jeffrey & McDowell, 2004). In other words, adolescents in non-Western cultures may adopt Western ideas of success such as employment in an industry where formal education or technical expertise is required. This belief clashes with Himba traditional views of success, which are tied to working for oneself raising cattle (Crandall, 2000).

Dissonance about perceptions of success may not only occur in the classroom but also in the social environment outside of it. Achieving success in social environments is linked with social popularity, which is often positively correlated with what Richins (1994) and Dawson (1992) call "possession-defined success," or the view that success is based on the number and quality of material possessions. Individuals with possession-defined success use material possessions to attach social status to themselves or others within a society, which can then heavily influence cultural and personal values, styles, and behaviors.

One specific study by Webster and Beatty (1996) revealed that Thai consumers heavily defined success in terms of their materialism. They placed great importance on possessions that reflected the "public self," or, in other words, items that communicated favorable social status to others. In a recent example, a 17-year-old Chinese boy sold his kidney to buy an Apple iPad, an Apple laptop, and an Apple iPhone. In response to the event, one expert said, "The gadgets are increasingly coveted by youth as status symbols. The high demand among teens for these devices has led to many other issues, including fights outside Beijing Apple stores" (Goh, 2012).

In Opuwo, where Western clothing and consumer goods are seen as desirable because they communicate social and economic success (Crandall, 2000), Himba youth may thus experience dissonance with their traditional Himba cultural perceptions of success, which include the attainment of cattle, numerous wives, a large homestead, and a prestigious position

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within the tribe or village. To remedy the dissonance and gain greater social acceptance in Opuwo, Himba youth may change their attitudes and behavior toward modern Western clothing and goods as a way to reduce dissonance. As the Himba traditionally have no monetary system, youth Himba may also desire employment in Opuwo that allows them to earn money to buy these modern goods. Several studies support this notion of dissonance-reducing attitude-change and behavioral modification as authors have examined the desire for accumulation of material goods and social popularity as indicators of success (Skinner, 1966; Glenn, 1988; Webster & Beatty, 1997; Malagodi & Jackson, 1989).

One other relevant factor to consider is the historical views of Himba traditional culture (Crandall, 2000; Moore, 1921; Asch, 1948; Wagner & Sherwood, 1969). Unfortunately for Himba, their traditional culture has not been highly esteemed throughout history. The first Europeans to visit the region saw the native culture as primitive and barbaric, and foreign governments controlling the region consistently degraded the native Himba and Herero population and served them with unequal treatment (Crandall, 2000). Today, traditional Himba culture in Opuwo seems less highly esteemed by other tribes and by Himba youth, and traditionally-dressed Himba are often mocked. This collective, negative view of Himba culture by the majority of Opuwo's residents, who are mostly of African descent and from other local tribes, is a likely influencer of youth Himba behavioral change. Moore (1921) conducted studies showing that the majority opinion heavily influences the judgment and perceptions of individuals. Asch (1948) followed with studies that show that the majority opinion promoted conformity in a large group of people. If youth Himba value social acceptance, then Wagner and Sherwood (1969) postulate that dissatisfaction with old perceptions of success as defined by traditional Himba culture may lead to attitude and behavioral change.

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Urbanization

A few explanations have been offered for why changes in dress and behavior may be occurring. One popular theory is that the urbanization of Opuwo is the cause of these changes (Buckley, 2001; Hanes, 2008b; Crandall, 2000). Crandall (2000) has described Opuwo as, "a gateway to the world beyond it. And it is a world that is attractive to the teenage boys . . . These men have a leg in the Himba world and have a leg in what they see as a new, hip life in Opuwo" (p. 268). Remote Himba villages have become increasingly easy to access because of better road infrastructure and more vehicles transporting people along routes running through Himba land. This easier access to Opuwo has given many Himba more frequent exposure to Opuwo's urban environment, and many Himba indicate the easier access has motivated them to visit town more frequently for medical care, shopping, or drinking.

Being exposed to this urban environment provides an epicenter for frequent social interaction. Numerous studies (Bourgois, 1995; Coté, 2002; Jamieson, 2000; Raffe, 2003) have emphasized the importance of social relationships in young people's efforts to negotiate the uncertainties that accompany adolescence. These studies emphasize the strong influence social pressure plays in the behavior and decision-making processes of young people. Given the drastically different cultural norms and social environments young Himba are exposed to in Opuwo compared with their rural villages, Opuwo is a likely place for the outcomes of urbanization to occur and for social pressures to influence the decisions youth Himba make to seek social acceptance in networks of relationships.

Present in Opuwo are also opportunities for formal, modern education, which, as mentioned earlier, can be an important source for the abandonment of traditional Himba culture. Under German and British rule, the Himba were provided with little opportunity to formally

educate their children, and many Himba were opposed to the concept of having their children educated by foreigners. Since the political independence of Namibia in 1990, however, many Himba parents accept and even encourage formal schooling, sending their children to the village mobile schools or to primary and secondary schools in Opuwo. This illustrates a shift in Himba cultural education values. Sending children outside of the village for long periods of time to attend school replaces the emphasis on education obtained in the village of traditional Himba beliefs, native crafts, and values from their parents and relatives.

Changes in government regulations have also been proposed as a potential driver of this behavior change. One such regulation, passed in 1991 by the Namibian Supreme Court, mandated the abolishment of corporal punishment in government schools and is currently enforced by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare (Namibia: Country Report, 2011). While corporal punishment in homes is not officially outlawed, Himba leaders have reported that government officials visiting their villages in the early 1990s, after the country gained independence, informed them that children could report their parents to the police if their parents hit them (Katere, Personal Communication, June 23, 2009). As a result, many Himba parents have reported that being unable to physically punish their children has resulted in defiant or rebellious behavior (Crandall, personal communication, March 23, 2009).

Urbanization—including the attraction of closer social networks and peer associations, a uniform educational system espousing values inconsistent with Himba family traditions, and increasing governmental regulations and controls—is another theoretical perspective that can be applied in explaining the potential Himba culture change. In modern Opuwo, forces of urbanization are stronger and more pervasive than at any time in the Himba's previous history.

Mass Media and Social Learning Theory

The perceived behavioral changes in Himba youth may also be explained by the introduction of mass media in the local area. The body of literature documenting mass media's ability to influence behavior is extensive. Bandura's (1961) seminal bobo doll study was the first to explore the direct correlation between depictions in a mass medium and their direct effects on human behavior. In this case, Bandura studied the effect of depictions of aggression on the behavior of children. Bandura (1973) concluded that children learn what behaviors are appropriate and potentially rewarding from media, and out of this research stemmed the social learning theory. This seminal theory predicts that the more intense the physical or verbal hostility presented through media, the more such behaviors and attitudes are reinforced to the consumers of the media (Bandura, 1977; Warren & Kurlycheck, 1981).

The domain of social learning research extends beyond aggression to other kinds of behaviors. One example is the destructive use of drugs. Numerous studies suggest that social learning theory is useful in explaining the abuse of non-prescription drugs, as most abusers of prescription drugs obtain them from friends (Hurwitz, 2005; McCabe, Boyd & Teter, 2005; Peralta & Steele, 2010).

Cigarette advertising studies are another example. In one study researchers found that individuals exposed to cigarette advertisements began smoking earlier in their lives and to a greater extent than those with less exposure to advertisements (Pollay et al., 1996). Analyses of mass media's effect on perception of body image and various behaviors such as academic success or consumer habits are also well documented (Myeres & Biocca, 1992; Jarry & Kossert, 2007; Stice & Shaw, 2002; Toro, Salamero & Martinez, 1994; Garner & Garfinkel, 1980).

The literature on mass media's ability to influence the behavior and attitudes of young people is also extensive, and it extends to thousands of studies conducted on cultures all around the world, including Japan, Brazil, South Africa, and Indonesia (Santomura, K., et. al., 2000). Many decades of research have demonstrated that television may affect viewers' perceptions of social reality, with the influence of television on viewers' perceptions thought to be particularly strong when viewers lack direct experience with the content being depicted. In other words, when television functions as the primary or exclusive source of information about other people or cultures, it is predicted to have strong influences on shaping and often distorting perceptions (Butsch, 1992; Freeman, 1992; Hirschman, 1988; Lichter, Lichter, & Rothman, 1994; Thomas & Callahan, 1982). In the case of the Himba, where most situations, events, and concepts depicted in Western media are completely foreign to the viewers' environment and experience, the potential for Television to influence Western viewers is theoretically very high.

Beyond this, several studies have explored if American programming cultivates capitalist values among international viewers. One study of Philippine high school students by Tan, Tan, and Tan (1987) found that heavy viewers of U.S. television were more likely to rate ''pleasure'' as an important value, while they deemphasized ''salvation'' and ''wisdom'' (traditional Philippine values). Shrum (2005) found that there was a positive association between television viewing and materialism among their sample of U.S. respondents, and Churchill and Moschis (1979) found that television viewing was positively correlated with materialism among U.S. adolescents. In a study of Hong Kong high school students, Cheung and Chan (1996) also found positive correlations between the amount of weekday television viewing and the viewer's materialism and trivialization of moral value.

Even if Western television is not broadcast but the programming imitates American story lines, characters, and even genres, it may have the same effects. This imitation is called "Western recombination" (Crabtree & Malhotra, 2000) and describes much of the content broadcast to Namibians on the Namibian Broadcasting Company (NBC).

Despite this vast body of literature on media-effects, few studies have been conducted on the influence of mass media on traditional societies who are maintaining the high degree of ancient cohesive customs, values, and lifestyle that the Himba display. No such studies have been conducted on traditional African societies or on the impact of media effects on cultural change. This is, in part, due to the sparse existence of truly traditionally-living African cultures still in existence today. In addition, in the case of the Himba, the most influential mass media—namely television, radio, and the Internet—have only recently become available in remote locations where Himba traditional culture exists.

The setting for this study, therefore, is particularly unique in exploring the impact of media on traditional cultural values. Namibia's only television station, NBC, was formed when the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation Act of 1991 was established, paving the way for the establishment of commercial media companies (Kandjii, 2001). This television station and free public television in general was not available in Opuwo, however, until around the year 2000. Around this same time, infrastructure in Opuwo also began to progress. Dirt and gravel roads leading into the region were paved, and soon after the first chain grocery store—OK Grocery—and a bank branch were opened in 2003 (The Namibian, 2004). Commercial establishments in Opuwo continued to increase in number, and today dozens of stores and businesses have established themselves in the town, including many who have television sets for customers to view.

Also after the independence of Namibia in 1990 there was dramatic growth in the number of radio stations, and in Opuwo today there are multiple radio stations available in both Otjiherero and English. The number of Internet service providers has also grown slightly. In 2009 in Opuwo there were two locations at which the general public could use the Internet, which was an improvement from 2006, when there was only one location available.

When the first OK Grocery store was established, it was the first local business at which Opuwo residents could buy magazines. The magazines sold by the store included gossip magazines such as Drum, which is a very popular South African magazine modeled after American gossip magazines such as Us and Star. Drum quickly became the most popular magazine in Opuwo. Its content includes everything from horoscopes, celebrity profiles, and relationship advice to makeup advertisements, recipes, and world news (see Figure 11). By 2006 other media had appeared. Billboards lined the streets of Opuwo, full-color advertisements were displayed in stores, some individuals and businesses owned their own television sets, American music played on stereos in bars and along the street, and the first Internet cafe was available to the public in an electronics store. Cell phones also began to appear in Opuwo at the beginning of the century, and today many Opuwo residents own a cell phone, including many Himba living in or close to the town.

Thus, this study explores what role mass media plays, if any, in driving changes in Himba culture. It is focused specifically on exposure to television, magazines, and music, and the relationship of this exposure to generational differences in perceptions of traditional Himba dress, beliefs, and customs. No other study has yet explored such a question in this kind of traditional African cultural milieu.

Chapter IV - Method

Lindloff and Taylor (2002), in discussing qualitative research methods, said it is best to plan on making decisions about issues that have not yet been discovered, beginning with a sense of purpose and broad questions, and tentatively predicting how the study will turn out. In this study three broad research questions were formulated by identifying the main issues under investigation.

Introduction to Research Questions

To repeat, this study explores how Himba youths' exposure to mass media is influencing changes in dress and lifestyle, and it investigates whether these visible changes are accompanied by an inward change in their belief in traditional Himba cattle-centric cultural values and ancestral worship.

Understanding how individual research participants view modern dress and lifestyle, traditional Himba dress and lifestyle, and traditional Himba religious beliefs is the purpose of the first research question. Analyses of the responses also include observations of how the individual respondents were dressed.

RQ1: To what extent does generational diversity exist in culture and lifestyle among the Himba?

RQ1a: How much generational diversity exists in Himba views of modern dress and lifestyle?

RQ1b: How much generational diversity exists in Himba views of traditional dress and lifestyle?

RQ1c: How much generational diversity exists in the extent to which Himba worship their ancestors?

The second research question attempts to determine the source or sources that influenced the respondents' views about RQ1.

RQ2: What are the sources of cultural information among the Himba?

RQ2a: Where do you learn about traditional clothing and how people live a traditional lifestyle?

RQ2b: Where do you learn about modern clothing and how people live a modern lifestyle?

The aim of the third research question is to identify the mass media to which the Himba are exposed and how often they are exposed to each source. If mass media was not mentioned in the response to RQ2, it was specifically addressed in this question.

RQ3: What is the role of mass media in affecting Himba culture?

RQ3a: What types of mass media are you exposed to?

RQ3b: How often are you exposed to mass media?

RQ3c: Why do you consume this media, and what do you learn from it?

As Bodgan and Biklen (1982) propose in their view of a typical qualitative study, this research followed a cyclical, methodological approach: after scouting and planning the data collection strategy, data was collected, analyzed, and interpreted; the data collection process was refined accordingly; and more data was collected and analyzed.

While research questions were identified and a data collection strategy was planned, during the data collection these were adjusted to achieve a more insightful interpretation. These

preconceived questions and methods are similar to Glaser and Strauss's (1967) suggestion that researchers identify potentially relevant concepts in advance to test their predictions and hypotheses. Lastly, this researcher made efforts to prepare a number of diverse theories regarding the sources of potential cultural change, not knowing which would be relevant and which would not (Anderson, 1996).

In an exploratory study such as this one, it is important to understand the role of theory. Lincoln and Guba (1985) say that "researchers must first identify what they know they do not know, and what they do not know they do not know, the latter case requiring a much more open-ended approach" (p. 209). Researchers who have access to a comprehensive body of literature are better able to identify trends as well as gaps and inconsistencies in current theory. Those who have little research from which to draw, as is the case with this study, may not have any idea of what theory or influencing elements will become important to the study as the researcher is in the field. Therefore, in the case of this study, multiple theories were considered (see the discussions of cognitive dissonance, urbanization, and social learning theory), and multiple, diverse sources of change proposed.

As Lindloff and Taylor (2002) discuss, it is important for the researcher to assume an acceptable role to the participants, the setting, and the method of data collection. This study required that a rapport be established with participants in a remote Himba village. This gave them a certain amount of comfort with the researcher and with the questions being asked. Being recognized by many of the research participants because of prior visits to the area and knowing some of the native language (Otjiherero) of the Himba further established a high comfort level.

This rapport provided practically unlimited access to any homestead in the village and permitted questions that would solicit honest and open responses.

However, prior experience with Himba culture and some of the survey participants, as well as this researcher's own high comfort level in that environment did not prevent the adoption of an etic perspective or one in which this researcher viewed the field of study as a purposeful observer and not as a participant. In fact, having already conducted research among the same participants both in the remote village of Otutati and in the town of Opuwo, this researcher had already conducted the etic analysis proposed by Schatzman and Strauss (1973). During this process, this researcher determined if site was deemed suitable for the researcher purpose, whether the demographics and properties of the site are suitable given the researcher's time, mobility, skills, and other resources available for the study, and what tactics might be successfully employed during the research. Prior analysis of the research site in 2006 greatly contributed to the preparation for this research and the methods used during data collection and analysis.

Participants

The data collected for this study were gathered through in-depth interviews of Himba natives from June 5, 2009 through June 25, 2009. Since very few Himba speak or write any English, interviews were also conducted with the assistance of a hired translator. Interviews were recorded on a digital recording device with participants' permission, and written notes were also recorded during interviews. Survey participants were informed that their participation in this study was voluntary, and that they had the freedom to end their participation at any time.

Sampling for this research was a theoretical construct sampling, which is driven by criteria or key constructs. The sample was created on the basis of the study's theoretical interests or, in other words, to explore whether cultural change was happening and if there were generational differences. Given the geographical and age criteria that needed to make up the sample, theoretical construct sampling was the best choice. Rawlins (1983) used theoretical construct sampling to achieve his sample of participants that fulfilled seven criteria for his friendship study.

For this study, I had two criteria to consider: age and location (which is discussed in the next section).

Due to time and resource limitations associated with conducting the research, it was important for me to achieve a sample that included individuals in the various age groups we wished to study. The age range of young-generation (YG) Himba was limited to 18- to 26-year-old individuals. Individuals over 26 years of age would have passed secondary school age by the time media such as Internet and gossip magazines entered Opuwo in the early 2000s. They also would have entered a very different phase of their lives, either working in Opuwo or returning to the villages to work. Those individuals 26 years of age or younger at the time of the interviews would have been elementary or secondary school ages at the time of the mass media influx and would have been either attending school or living traditionally in the village, undergoing a traditional Himba education. Middle-generation (MG) Himba were thus defined as those from 27 to 45 years of age. Forty-five years of age was the cutoff for MG Himba because the life expectancy of Namibians is only 52 years old (World Fact Book), and those who are considered to be the more mature, respected, elderly adults in Otutati are estimated to be around 46 years of

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age or older. This number is arbitrary, however, as most Himba adults of this age do not know their exact age in years. Their system of calculating age is not defined in years. Older-generation (OG) Himba were thus defined as those who proclaimed the age of 46 years or older.

A breakdown of the interview sample is represented in the table below.

Table 1 – Respondent Breakdown

	Otutati (Village)	Opuwo (Town)
Young-Generation Himba (YG) Ages 18-25	Males: 4 Females: 4	Males: 5 Females: 1
Middle-Generation Himba (MG) Ages 26-45	Males: 2 Females: 1	Males: 5 Females: 0
Older-Generation Himba (OG) Ages 45+	Males: 11 Females: 8	Males: 0 Females: 0

Setting

The interview sample consisted of 41 individuals in two locations: the traditional village of Otutati and the town of Opuwo. Otutati is a remote village about 20 miles away from Opuwo. Otutati was chosen because this researcher had conducted research in the village before and had an existing relationship with the chief of Otutati (Chief Wandisa), who granted the researcher access to every homestead in the village. In addition, many of the occupants of the homesteads remembered the prior visits, which motivated them to be more honest and open about their feelings and experiences than they likely would have been with a foreign researcher. All

homesteads in the village were visited (13 in total), and at least one individual at each homestead was interviewed.

Interviews were also conducted in Opuwo, which as the only urbanized town in the region, and thus is the only place to explore a comparison between traditionally-living Himba and their modern-dressing, modern-lifestyle counterparts. Several days were afforded for research in Opuwo, at which time interviews were conducted with 11 Himba individuals.

Instruments

An interview guide served as the research instrument for each interview. As discussed by Lindlof & Taylor (2002), the research guide is an informal, flexible approach that consists of groupings of topics and questions the interviewers can ask in different ways to different participants. It identifies the goals of the interview in terms of topics explored and the criteria of a relevant and adequate response, but it does not specify the means by which it should be collected. No specific order is implied, nor does the guide dictate exactly how the questions should be asked. This flexibility was essential, as questions were asked through multiple translators with varied knowledge of the English language.

These questions were, however, directive in nature. To understand whether participants felt aspects of the cultural change phenomenon were occurring, emergent idea questions were asked in which the interviewee could confirm, refute, or qualify the emergent idea the researcher proposed (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

All interviews were respondent interviews, the goals of which Paul Lazarsfeld (1944) described as clarifying meanings of common concepts, distinguishing the elements of an expressed opinion, determining the influences that contribute to opinions and behaviors,

classifying attitudinal patterns, and understanding the interpretations people have of their

motivations to act a certain way or hold certain beliefs. Lazarsfeld proposed that this style of

interview serves as a lens for viewing the interaction of an individual's social attitudes and

motives. In this current study, understanding beliefs and attitudes was the primary goal.

Interview Guide questions included the following:

Addressing RQ1:

- How important do you think it is to dress in traditional clothing, live in the village, and
  raise cattle?

- How acceptable do you believe it is for a Himba man or woman to dress in modern
  clothing, live outside of the village, and use modern goods?

- Do you worship your ancestors and currently have, or want to have, a Holy Fire in your
  homestead?

Addressing RQ2:

Where did you learn about Himba traditional clothing and how one lives a traditional

Himba lifestyle?

Where do you learn about modern clothing and goods and how people live a modern

lifestyle?

Addressing RQ3:

What types of mass media are you exposed to (e.g. television, radio/mp3/stereo music,

magazines, newspapers, Internet)?

How often are you exposed to mass media?

Procedures

Before arriving in Opuwo, it was impossible to determine what kind of exposure to media certain groups of individuals had experienced, so this researcher spent the first research day determining the available mass media and demographic makeup of the town. After selecting locations at which to interview a research sample, it was also necessary to become aware of any special preparations needed to make in order to conduct interviews. For example, the outdoor marketplace was only open during certain times of the day, and as transportation to the town was limited, the research schedule had to be strategically planned in order to include individuals in that location as part of the survey sample.

This researcher also spent time gathering and consuming various forms of mass media available in Otutati and Opuwo. For example, after concluding research and while staying with a host family in the capital city, Windhoek, this rese.0archer viewed two episodes of All About Camilla—a popular and locally available Portuguese soap opera. Popular magazines were purchased at the local grocery store, and local radio stations also became a source of contextual data.

To interview participants in Otutati, it was necessary to walk to their homestead and determine who was home and who was available to speak. This researcher would then interview the participants at the time of the initial visit or establish a time to return if the participants were busy or if a desired participant was not at home. To interview Himba residing in Opuwo, randomly selected Himba within the age categories were approached and asked to participate in the interview process.

Interviews lasted a total of 30 minutes, during which variations of the research questions were directed to the participants through a translator. The translator was a shared resource between multiple researchers, so there was only time to ask 5–10 questions per interview in Otutati. In Opuwo, numerous individuals who were familiar with the researcher and who spoke English were invited to participate. More in-depth interviews were conducted with those respondents.

At the end of each research day, the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used to analyze the data for identified and emerging themes. Responses to the interviews were revisited to assess how well the research questions were answered and if it was necessary to make adjustments to the questions being asked for subsequent interviews.

Chapter V – Findings

The data analyses were conducted in three groups: data management, data reduction, and conceptual development (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Throughout the data collection process, data was categorized by gender, age group, and demographic location. Next, data reduction—which refers to the prioritization of data based on the value of emerging themes—was employed. Information that was deemed irrelevant to the study was identified and omitted from the main concepts and themes that emerged through the conceptual development stage of the analysis. This study began with preconceived themes and concepts, which quickly emerged as legitimate or were discarded over the course of the data collection.

The interviews were transcribed and the responses divided into topical and thematic groups based on the research questions. Spiggle (1994) says, "The essence of categorization is identifying a chunk or unit of data as belonging to, representing, or being an example of some more general phenomenon" (p. 22). Potential categories related to theories were identified before the research began and then measured against responses in early interviews via constant comparative analysis; at the conclusion of the data collection, all responses were coded or matched to those categories. These categories are identified in the discussion of the results for each research question.

Coding and analysis were both done manually. Interviews were transcribed, and sections of interviews were manually identified as belonging in certain thematic categories. Below is an analysis of responses.

Initial Findings

Below is a table showing a synopsis of the findings, separated by age range:

Table 2 – Synopsis of Findings

	Observed Dress	**Modern vs. Traditional Dress**	**Traditional village vs. Opuwo; Ancestral Worship**	**Media Exposure**
Otutati Young Generation	All 4 males dressed in modern. 2 of 4 females dressed in modern.	All 4 males and modern-dressed females say modern clothing OK for males, but only for females attending school. The 2 traditionally-dressed females say females should wear traditional clothing at all times.	All 4 males and 3 of the females wanted to live in village; one modern-dressed female did not. All 8 worship ancestors.	Little to no exposure, except for 2 modern-dressed females who had daily exposure at school in Opuwo.
Middle Generation	Both males dressed in modern. The one female respondent dressed in traditional.	All 3 say modern OK for males, but only for females attending school.	All 3 wanted to live in village. Males worshipped ancestors, females became Christian after attending school.	Little to no exposure for all 3, though the females had daily exposure at school in Opuwo.
Older Generation	All 19 respondents dressed in traditional.	All 19 say modern OK for males. 7 of 11 males and 6 of 8 females say Himba girls should not go to school or Opuwo, and should wear traditional clothing at all times.	All 19 wanted to live in village. All worship ancestors.	Little to no exposure for all 19.
Opuwo Young Generation	All 5 males dressed in modern. The one female respondent dressed in traditional with modern jewelry.	3 of 5 males say modern clothing OK for Himba males and females at all times. The female says modern OK for females attending school.	2 of 5 males and the female want to live in village and worship ancestors.	Daily Exposure to television, radio, and/or magazines for all respondents.
Middle Generation	All 5 males dressed in modern.	All 5 males say modern OK for males, but only for females attending school.	1 of 5 males wants to return to village to live	Daily Exposure to television, radio, and/or magazines.
Older Generation	---	---		---

RQ1: Generational Diversity: Traditional vs. Modern

All four of the young-generation Otutati males (i.e., those living in the traditional Himba village) wore T-shirts; three wore pants while the fourth wore a traditional cloth-covering on his lower body. The fourth also wore several traditional jewelry items. All four believed that modern clothes were acceptable for Himba men to wear but that Himba women should wear traditional clothing; however, they agreed it was acceptable for a Himba woman to wear modern clothing if she were attending school in Opuwo. When asked if he wanted to marry a Himba girl that had gone to school, one respondent said "No," despite his declaration that the girl he married must be "very clever." These findings are exemplified by respondent YGMV1, a boy who had only attended school at a mobile school established in the village, and who had been to Opuwo only several times in his life. He said:

Excerpt 1

There are not many people in the village. This is good. I like to learn from one teacher in school and not from many people in schools. I want to marry a girl who has gone to school and is clever. The girls can wear the [modern] clothes if they are schooling, but in the village, they must always wear the traditional [clothes] and otjize.

All four of these respondents also believed that the traditional Himba lifestyle was superior to working or living in Opuwo, and that one would be happiest in the village, living a traditional Himba life of raising cattle and dwelling in traditional homesteads. YGMV2, a boy in Otutati that went to school at a younger age but now cares for his family's cattle full-time, weighed in on this topic when he said:

50

Excerpt 2

> The best way is to stay in the village. If you are born in the village, you must stay in the
>
> village . . . Some people who go to school and go to town [Opuwo] will stop believing in
>
> the Holy Fire. This is not good.

One of these young-generation males (YGMV1) specifically mentioned that his parents

did not want him to go to town because "they believe [he] will turn into a thief," so out of respect

for them, he stayed in the village almost all of the time. All four noted that they respect their

ancestors and the Holy Fire; they believe that ancestors have the power to bless or curse them,

and they honor the sacredness of their father's cattle. None had any plans to move outside of their

village at any point in their lives or to work in any capacity other than caring for their cattle in

the village. This is exemplified in one comment by YGMV2 who said:

Excerpt 3

> In the village you must watch over the cattle and gather water. My grandmother says I
>
> must stay in the village, and I honor my grandmother. I went to Windhoek for athletics
>
> and saw many things what [sic] are not my way. I did not want to be there. It is best for
>
> me to stay in the village.

The five young-generation Opuwo males (i.e., those living in the town) had quite

different views. All five wore fully-modern clothing (T-shirts, pants and shoes) and all but two

(YGMT3 and YGMT5) said that modern clothing and living outside the village was better than a

traditional life in the village. YGMT3, who wore traditional clothing along with an old t-shirt

displaying a fake Nike logo, said:

Excerpt 4

> To dress in the modern way is more happy than in the traditional way. I like to be in
>
> Opuwo better [than the village].

All of these young males living in Opuwo said that they only went back to the village to visit family and one other respondent (YGMT1) also said that the only reason the village is better is that he doesn't have to work and he gets free food from his parents. YGMT2 specifically said that because he knew English, had been educated in school, and knew how modern people live, he felt hat this made him smarter than and superior to Himba in the village:

Excerpt 5

> For me, I have been to school and I am educated. This is better than those in the village
>
> who do not go to school. I know more things in this world. That is better than those who
>
> do not go to school.

He believed that a modern way of life—using electricity and modern plumbing, earning money through employment only accessible to those with a formal education, buying modern goods and enjoying other modern conveniences—was a "better way of life" than the "old life in the village."

Interestingly, YGMT5, who was dressed in the most expensive, fashionable Western clothing of all the interviewees, was one of the individuals who said that he planned on returning to the village at some point to raise cattle but would continue to live in the city while doing so. He also said that while in town, he and his friends would often make fun of traditionally-dressed Himba men and that he never wants to dress traditionally. He was the only young-generation

male interviewed in Opuwo who had a steady job, and he worked as a tour guide taking tourists to surrounding Himba villages. Of life in the village versus town, he said:

Excerpt 6

I need to stay in town to hear from employers, but it is easy to fall into alcohol. I grew up in the village but do not want to go back to live or to dress traditionally. But in a few years I want to go back and start raising many cattle. I would rather have many cattle than many cars.

All female respondents of every age category wore traditional dress, with the exception of two young-generation girls in Otutati (YGFV2 and YGFV4) who dressed in modern clothing. Both mentioned that they were on leave from school in Opuwo and did not want to have to wash otjize from their bodies before going back to school, so they remained in modern clothing.

These two also believed that modern clothes are acceptable for men or women to wear to school but that Himba women should wear traditional clothing in the village (even though they saw themselves as an exception to this rule). The other two, traditionally-dressed young-generation Otutati women felt that Himba women should wear traditional clothing regardless of where they are, including school. They also believed that traditional Himba life was superior to a modern lifestyle in Opuwo. This is illustrated in comments from YGFV3, who wore a wedding ring—not at all part of Himba culture—after she married a man from South Africa whom she met while attending school in Opuwo. She continued to wear full traditional Himba garb and said the following:

53

Excerpt 7

I will always stay in the village. [Himba] women must always wear otjize and must live

in the village. In school we were taught to not have many children. Myself, I will have

four or five. Many [traditional] Himba women have more. Maybe 10.

One of the modernly dressed Otutati females (YGFV2) said that she liked life in Opuwo

better than life inside the village. She said she believed in her ancestors and the Holy Fire, but

she did not care to practice her beliefs. The other modern-dressing female (YGFV4) said that she

planned to live in the village after she finished school.

The only young-generation Opuwo woman interviewed was dressed in fully-traditional

garb but with modern gold necklaces that she said were a "new fashion" from the Hakavona, a

neighboring tribe. She (YGFT1) noted:

Excerpt 8

I still have traditional dress with otjize but I like the new fashions. I will not go to school

but many girls who do not wear Himba clothing decide to dress in the modern clothes

because they are trying to find work or want to go back to school. For me, I come to town

to go shopping and to drink beer, but many times I still stay in the village.

The two middle-generation Otutati male interviewees wore modern clothing, believed

that raising cattle in a traditional Himba lifestyle was better than working in Opuwo in a modern

lifestyle, and worshiped their ancestors. MGMV1 described the advantages of being in the

village:

Excerpt 9

> Some think the modern way is better because they are educated, and they like to be in the modern way because they are educated. Most of them want to stay in town. For me, I want to be in the village because there are goats and cattles *[sic]* in the village and I can look after them. This is the Himba way.

The five middle-generation males interviewed in Opuwo were also dressed in modern clothing but only two of them felt a modern lifestyle of working in town with modern conveniences made them much happier than living in the village. The third one said that he planned to go back to the village to his wife and children several years from that time to raise cattle. At the time of our interview he was living alone in a small shack as a tour guide and had been there for 12 years. His observations of the changes in Himba culture were as follows:

Excerpt 10

> There has been very little change in the Himba lifestyle. But you see change when Himba marries a Herero. Many Himba girls come to school and will marry someone outside the tribe. Then they will stop living in the village and dressing in traditional clothes. They stop believing in the Holy Fire. Also the young people are wearing more modern clothes.

The only middle-generation Otutati female interviewed said she was Christian, did not believe in the Holy Fire, but loved the traditional Himba dress and way of life.

No older-generation Himba were interviewed in Opuwo, as many were difficult to find during the times we were conducting interviews. There were several in the hospital in Opuwo, but this researcher felt it was disrespectful to solicit interviews on hospital grounds. Eleven

males and eight females of the older generation were interviewed in the village. All wore fully traditional clothing, and every older-generation interviewee said that traditional dress and the traditional Himba life in the village was far superior to a modern life in town. Seven of the 11 male older-generation interviewees and six of the eight female older-generation interviewees expressed their dislike for modern dress, formal schooling in Opuwo, and the modern influences that are in the town. These same seven felt that there is no excuse for a Himba woman to not wear traditional dress.

All older-generation interviewees who thought it was acceptable for Himba females to wear modern clothing for school had children who had attended or were attending school in Opuwo. All older-generation interviewees said they worshiped their ancestors, believed in the Holy Fire, and planned to stay in the village permanently.

RQ2: Source of Knowledge

All research respondents indicated that they learned about traditional Himba culture from their parents and relatives and, to some extent, through their Himba communities. All participants grew up in a traditional Himba village for at least some part of their childhood, even if they lived in Opuwo at the time of their interview.

All of the young-generation Otutati males specifically mentioned "town" and "tourists" as the sources of their knowledge about modern dress and modern lifestyle. When asked exactly what it was about town that informed him about a modern lifestyle, one (YGMT2) of the Opuwo-dwelling males who had finished school in Opuwo and was now an alcoholic and unemployed said:

Excerpt 11

> When you go to town you see people like you who come to visit us, and they bring with
> them the new clothes and the cameras and other things. They show us the modern things
> they have. In town they also have the shops where you can buy new clothes from other
> places. You can also buy American music.

The four young-generation Otutati females were very descriptive in their responses to RQ2. While one said she did not know where she learned about modern clothes and lifestyle, the other three cited magazines and television, specifically mentioning Drum magazine and All About Camilla (a popular Portuguese soap opera television show with English voice-over). A comment by YGFV3, a modernly-dressed girl who was in the village on a holiday from school, supports this finding:

Excerpt 12

> When you are in school, many times you can watch TV or you read Drum. In Drum you
> see the latest fashions from South Africa and sometimes from America. We watch All
> About Camilla and sometimes American movies. The boys listen to American music.

The two middle-generation Otutati males cited young-generation individuals from both Himba and other tribes as their source of information about modern clothes and lifestyle. They said that these young-generation individuals learn about the modern way through school and town but neither of them could elaborate more on exactly what it was about town that caused people to want to live a modern lifestyle and not a traditional one. The middle-generation Otutati female said she learned about the modern life when she went to school in Opuwo, where her friends wore modern clothing and where she consumed media such as television and magazines.

All of the older-generation Otutati interviewees said that they learned about modern things, clothing, and lifestyle from tourists that visit their village or from children who come back to the village from school in Opuwo. Two older-generation Otutati males and three older-generation Otutati females said that they did not know where the young-generation Himba learned about modern clothes and lifestyle, but the other 14 older-generation Otutati interviewees specifically mentioned that young-generation Himba were influenced by one or more of the following: school, people in town, God, tourists, white people, and television and movies. One example is a comment made by OGFV6, an elderly woman in Otutati who had several children and grandchildren attend school in Opuwo:

Excerpt 13

> The young ones don't care about their ancestors and they have stopped believing. Many of them go to town and go to school, and they stop believing in the Holy Fire and want to stay in the town. The teachers in the school tell them that it is bad to worship ancestors.
>
> Similarly, OGMV6, who also had children attend school in Opuwo, said:

Excerpt 14

> For me, I never take my [traditional Himba] necklace off. I wear it when I go to sleep. The young Himba women wear colorful beads because it is a new fashion. They learn about it in school and from the other tribes.
>
> All five young-generation Opuwo males interviewed cited television as their primary

source for learning how people live a modern lifestyle, two indicated that they specifically liked to watch All About Camilla, and another said that watching black Americans in movies showed

him modern clothing and lifestyle. One (YGMT2) also said that the South African football

(soccer) magazine Kick Off (see Figure 12) was a popular choice among males:

Excerpt 15

> You can see the footballers' hairstyles in the magazines and that's why we have these
>
> hair styles. But you have to be good at football if you can have those hairstyles. We buy
>
> the magazine at the shop [grocery store].

> The only young-generation Opuwo female interviewed said that she learned about

modern goods from the Hakavona, a neighboring tribe that frequently interacts with the Otutati

and other Himba villages.

> One of the middle-generation females in Otutati (MGFV1), who had attended school in

Opuwo and became exposed to Christianity there, held beliefs and values that combine

traditional Himba and Christian or modern:

Excerpt 16

> My father was very angry when I became Christian and stopped believing in Mukuru.
>
> But then he saw that when you go to a witch doctor, you have to pay. But when you pray
>
> to Mukuru, you do not have to pay. Then he apologized. He knows that that I do not
>
> believe in Mukuru but I will stay in the village for the rest of my life.

> Interestingly, when asked about school, she said, "I went to school for three years but my

husband made me stop." She explained that many men do not want their wives to go to school if

they are going to live in the village.

RQ3: Media Consumption

All five young-generation Opuwo males consumed media daily or almost daily. As mentioned above, these males identified specific television programs and magazines as their favorite media. The young-generation Opuwo female said she frequently listened to music when she was in town, which was almost daily. None of the young-generation Otutati males consumed any media besides the occasional music from the radio of Chief Wandisa's bhaki (pickup truck) or other visiting vehicles. The two modernly-dressed young-generation Otutati females, on the other hand, said they frequently watched television and specifically mentioned All About Camilla as their favorite program when they were at school. When asked why they watched the program, one said that the soap opera taught her how she should treat a boyfriend; in Himba traditional culture, relationships and marriages are often arranged, and young people do not actively court each other in a girlfriend-boyfriend relationship. It is when many of these Himba enter school in Opuwo that they begin these types of relationships.

OGFVI, a respected Himba elderly woman in Otutati, commented on these cultural changes in regards to male-female interaction, as well as what she sees as a corresponding lack of respect for parents:

Excerpt 17

The ladies are not allowed to have discussions with boys outside the household. Now it is happening. The boys walk home with the girls and talk with them . . . It is getting worse. For a long time there were no schools but since the kids are going to the schools, it is getting worse. There is no way to change this behavior because this is a new life. In the

old life the children would hear from [listen to] their parents. Children do not listen anymore."

The other modernly-dressed young-generation Otutati female said that All About Camilla showed how men should treat women and vice versa. Both said that it was a very popular program among their school friends—both male and female—and that they usually watched the programs with groups of their friends with whom they went to school.

Both of these modernly-dressed young-generation Otutati females also mentioned reading Drum, which they said helped to show them the latest clothing fashions. The other two young-generation Otutati females did not consume any media.

One of the two middle-generation Otutati males mentioned occasionally listening to music when he went to certain shops in town one or two times a month. Both of the middle-generation Otutati males said that they didn't seek out the music, but it was playing in bars and other shops when they visited. The middle-generation Otutati female said that when she was at school she would read magazines a few times a week, as they were passed among her schoolmates. She said she also learned about Christianity in books in school, as well as from her friends, and she eventually converted to Christianity. When she is in the village she said she doesn't consume any mass media.

Two of the eleven older-generation Otutati males said they sometimes heard music from the occasional radio that made its way into the village from a visiting bhaki or other visitors, and none of the eight older-generation village females said they consumed any kind of mass media.

All five young-generation Opuwo males consumed mass media. Three watched television every day, one watched television a few times a week, two said they listened to music a few

times a week, and one said he read magazines almost every day, especially Kick Off. Two of these males specifically mentioned All About Camilla as a show they watched frequently along with sporting events and American movies. These television-watching males said that they watched television with their friends at public locations and that it was a popular activity among their friends. One said that he and his friends watched American movies "to learn how black Americans act" (YGMT2). These television-watching males confirmed that they wanted to be like the black Americans portrayed in American television. One of these males (YGMT5) who had dreadlocks and was dressed in Rastafarian-style clothing, explained what he learns from media:

Excerpt 18

> I listen to Tupac songs about Rastas, so I know what they are like. My favorite music is also Akon and Ne-Yo. Guys here try to dress like the people we see on TV and the American basketball players in magazines.

Analysis and Discussion

In analyzing interview data, a standard requirement is to ensure that evidence for reliability is provided. This is usually done by having multiple raters analyze the same data, develop the same themes, and reach the same conclusions. In this research, however, interview responses were not categorized into another superordinate construct nor clustered together in themes or factors. Responses were simply reported in the original form in which they were given. The reliability of the data analyses in the traditional sense, therefore, is dependent merely on the believability of the interview reports. This situation is similar to Anderson's (1987) assertion, "If a measurement is composed of a single, non-repeated operation, there can be no measure of reliability" (p. 126)   Such is the case in this study.

On the other hand, it is true that questions were asked to respondents in different ways through interpreters depending on their own understanding of the English language. It is impossible to tell how accurately they both relayed the question to the participant or translated the response back to the researcher. Therefore, given these uncontrollable elements of the interview process, the reliability of the actual data—not the analyses—is impossible to determine.

Parenthetically, it is worth noting in this regard that the interview results and the conclusions drawn from these data were shared with David Crandall, a knowledgeable expert on the Himba culture. Both the interpretations and explanations for the results of the study were verified as accurate by him. This may be as close to evidence for reliability as is possible given the nature of the data.

Analysis of RQ1: To what extent does generational diversity exist regarding culture and lifestyle among the Himba?

Significant generational diversity exists in how the Himba practice and view traditional Himba clothing and lifestyle. Whereas every respondent felt it was acceptable for Himba males to wear modern clothing, every older-generation male still wore and took pride in their traditional dress. All other males, especially the young-generation males, not only preferred modern dress but some respondents in Opuwo even said they felt embarrassed when wearing traditional clothing. Multiple young-generation respondents said that they and their friends make fun of traditionally-dressed Himba who are in Opuwo; one young-generation male even admitted that if he saw his traditionally-dressed mother walking down the street in Opuwo, he would deny that she was his mother.

There was also a distinct generational difference in the desire to live in a Himba village, although it is important to recognize that young-generation respondents in Otutati with little or no exposure to Opuwo had views very similar to the older-generation Himba interviewed. All village-dwelling respondents planned to remain in the village long-term, whereas only several of those in Opuwo said they preferred to remain living in town. The majority planned to either eventually relocate permanently to the village or at least raise cattle there while continuing to have a residence in town.

Even though two young-generation males and one middle-generation male in Opuwo said they believed in worshipping ancestors and wanted to live in the village one day, all Opuwo males said that they needed to make more money in town in order to buy cattle and establish their homestead in the village, which would take several more years. Interestingly, the other male respondents in Opuwo mentioned that they came to Opuwo to seek work with the intention of returning to the village to live. However, many of them could not find work, became alcoholics, or developed the popular distasteful views of life in Himba villages. In fact, most of the young-generation Himba this researcher interviewed and observed in Opuwo seemed to be stuck in a pattern of alcoholism, unemployment, and daily efforts to obtain enough money for food and alcohol. For one young-generation Himba male (YGMT4) and many of his friends, washing cups for a vendor selling homemade beer by the cup was their daily employment, for which they made the equivalent of less than three U.S. dollars a day.

These observations reinforce the fears of older-generation respondents in Otutati, who warn the young people of the village against going to town for fear that they will develop a dependence on alcohol and waste all of their money, resorting to stealing to get more money to feed their new habits. Every older-generation respondent was adamant that life in the village was

much better than life in Opuwo, and many expressed disdain for Opuwo. When presented with hypothetical situations in which they could choose to leave their land, family, and cattle in exchange for a certain amount of money, all older-generation Himba males interviewed said they would not abandon their lifestyle for any amount of money. One older-generation male, OGMV7, said that he could never leave the land he and his ancestors had lived on for centuries because it was sacred land. All the young-generation Otutati males had similar attitudes regarding Himba culture, as did the two young-generation Otutati females who had little exposure to Opuwo.

One of the chief factors in desire to live in a traditional Himba village is the degree to which respondents respected the traditional Himba belief system of worshiping ancestors and reverencing the Holy Fire. Except in one case, where a middle-generation female respondent converted to Christianity but chose to live the traditional Himba lifestyle in the village, every respondent who indicated their desire to live in a village as opposed to Opuwo said they planned to have a Holy Fire and worship ancestors.

This finding comes as no surprise. As ancestral reverence and worship is the foundation of the Himba value system and affects their daily actions and way of life, Himba who believe in it must live in a traditional homestead on the sacred ancestral land on which their village resides. They must have a Holy Fire, which is the only direct gateway to offer gifts to ancestors (to gain their favor) and to communicate with ancestors. The desire to live in the village and the desire to worship ancestors go hand-in-hand, as it is impossible to practice these traditional beliefs without living on a traditional Himba homestead.

Analysis of RQ2: What are the sources of cultural information among the Himba?

All respondents said they were taught Himba culture by parents and relatives in their traditional Himba village. The major sources of information regarding foreign culture included mass media, classes at school, friends at school, and tourists. Young-generation and the middle-generation knew more much more about foreign culture than did older-generation respondents, who admitted that they learned about foreign culture from young Himba. Young-generation and middle-generation Otutati respondents mentioned tourists as their major source of information about foreign culture but also mentioned television, which they are able to watch only when they visit Opuwo. Every young-generation and middle-generation respondent in Opuwo, on the other hand, ascribed nearly all of the previously-mentioned sources as ways they learn about foreign culture. Those respondents who attended school in Opuwo seemed to have the most knowledge about foreign culture, particularly knowledge about the latest and most popular clothing, iPods, cars, and other modern items.

Every respondent who lived in Opuwo cited school as the reason they first came to town. Attending school provided an environment where they interacted with individuals of other tribes who exposed them to modern clothes and Western fashions as well as cell phones, iPods and other electronics and modern conveniences. As every young-generation Himba grew up in a traditional Himba village where social norms and interaction with the opposite sex are very different than in a school setting, these Himba primarily sought out media as their source of information on how to act in this new setting among non-Himba classmates. Social pressures exaggerated this desire for knowledge from media. The natural desire for increased social status among adolescent young-generation Himba in their new setting motivated them to seek out

information about hairstyles, clothing fashions, English slang, and behavioral tips for interaction with the opposite sex.

Analysis of RQ3: What is the role of mass media in affecting Himba culture?

Exposure to mass media alone does play a role in the contrasting generational views of Himba culture and modern culture, but it is important to recognize the significant role the urban environment of Opuwo plays in these differences. Mass media such as television, radio, and magazines are only available in Opuwo, so those Himba in Otutati are not exposed to it. However, it is clear that attendance in a school in Opuwo is a factor in the drastically differing views the two modern-dressed young-generation females in Otutati have compared with the other two young-generation female respondents in Otutati. The school girls were very accepting of modern clothing and lifestyle compared to the other, non-attending respondents. They also consumed a great deal of mass media when they attended school, which they said they did with their friends. In addition, the young-generation males in Opuwo also attended school and consumed more media—many times with groups of friends—than did males in Otutati.

Television and magazines were, by far, the two types media most consumed by respondents. Almost all respondents who consumed media mentioned watching the popular soap opera All About Camilla, and many mentioned that it showed them how to treat friends, girlfriends and boyfriends, and family members. After watching a few episodes of the show, this researcher observed that the main characters were portrayed as dramatic, manipulative, and, in some cases, malicious in their behavior towards other characters. As is typical in soap operas, the characters were portrayed as dramatic and overly emotional. The young female and male interactions were often contentious; one of the female characters constantly lied to manipulate

another character into doing what she wanted, and two characters who were brother and sister ignored or behaved disrespectfully towards their parents.

Given the popularity of All About Camilla and the disrespectful nature with which the main characters treat their family members, it would be interesting to understand the show's potential influence on increased disrespectful behavior to parents and elders that older-generation Himba claim young-generation Himba are exhibiting. While examining this correlation is beyond the scope of this study, this researcher observed that it is likely a contributing factor given the lack of other sources to which young-generation Himba are exposed from which they could obtain behavioral cues regarding the treatment of family members. As all of the Himba in this study were raised in a traditional Himba village, it can safely be assumed that they were taught respect for parents, elders, and ancestors. What counteracted that training would be an interesting topic for future research, specifically focusing on television and potentially magazines.

The magazine most young-generation Himba said they read is Drum, a gossip magazine. Female respondents highlighted knowledge about clothing and makeup and current news as the information gleaned from these magazines while male respondents mentioned popular clothing and hairstyles as well as news about American movie stars and musicians.

It should be noted that, when time permitted, this researcher also asked respondents what three things made them the most happy. Interestingly, all those who indicated they read magazines or watched television mentioned at least one non-Himba material object as one of their three things. These responses included such things as a Toyota bhaki, American clothes, an iPod, a cell phone, and money. When this same question was asked of older-generation respondents, all of their answers included three of the following: land, cattle and livestock, a wife

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or husband, children, cooking pots, blankets, otjize, and traditional jewelry. These generational differences illustrate that exposure to media likely plays a large role in young-generation desires for modern goods over traditional goods and their perception of what is valuable and indicative of high social status. While this correlation is beyond the scope of this study, it is an interesting topic for future research.

Chapter VI – Conclusions and Explanations

At the most fundamental level, culture is manifest as the implicit assumptions that define the human condition and its relationship to the environment. These assumptions are not recognized unless challenged by incompatible or contradictory assumptions.

Explicit behaviors are an important aspect of culture, and they are often the first to change when cultural shifts occur. Behaviors are the most superficial of the cultural elements, the ones which are changed most easily, and therefore the most temporary. Behavior change is an important manifestation of culture change, but it may not indicate a fundamental alteration in the implicit assumptions and core values of a group. To determine if culture change is really occurring, observable behavior change is not enough: additional information regarding culture change is needed, including indications of changes in beliefs and values. This study found clear evidence that young-generation Himba are demonstrating changes in dress and lifestyle, but these changes appear to be largely manifestations of behavior rather than of values and beliefs. When asked specifically about core values, religious beliefs, and desires for future lifestyle, most Himba responded consistent with traditional core cultural values; this evidence suggests that the core culture of the Himba—despite exposure to media and urban influences—has remained relatively stable. As has been the case throughout the Himba history when faced with multiple influences toward change—including European encroachments, geographic movements, and economic hardships—the Himba culture appears to be resilient.

The research questions that guided this study are addressed, therefore, in the following ways:

RQ1 Conclusions: Diversity does exist among generations, mainly because of urbanization and the effects of media (consistent with social learning theory). These influences

affect observable aspects of culture, namely behaviors and artifacts (dress). However, little evidence exists across the sample that a deep cultural transformation has occurred as yet. Most respondents, regardless of generational group, advocated for traditional Himba lifestyle and values. Nearly all who did not seemed bound to life in Opuwo by alcoholism or lack of money to live anywhere else.

On the other hand, especially in the case of Opuwo respondents, respondents are coping with the dissonance between their behaviors (modern dress and lifestyle) and espoused values (traditional village culture) by promising to go back home one day after they have earned sufficient money. Thus in summary, urbanization and media appear to have an impact on behavior but not on implicit assumptions and values.

RQ2 Conclusions: Cultural information at the fundamental, unobservable level is best associated with family socialization. Respondents learned their deepest values in the home. On the other hand, the urbanization influences of the educational system and access to media have had significant influence on behaviors and the observable elements of culture. One might predict that in time, if family influence is eliminated or significantly reduced, the dissonance will dissipate and an alternative lifestyle will be adopted as ideal and preferable over the long run.

RQ3 Conclusions: Mass media is addictive and, like urbanization, can certainly shape behavior. On the other hand, as in RQ2, the fundamental life-preferences and values are still espoused among most Himba, even in the face of overwhelming exposure to media. Again, a constant exposure to mass media and urbanization is likely to affect values, but for the present in the lives of the young people, it appears not to have fundamentally altered their core values. Dissonance is present, as are the influences of urbanization and social media and social learning

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theory, but they are being managed by a refusal to give up a fundamental cultural identity in most cases.

With the exception of the one female respondent, all Opuwo respondents first came to town to attend school, and as a result were exposed to a large amount of mass media. Since all respondents in Opuwo had once lived a traditional Himba lifestyle in their rural villages and had since adopted views of traditional Himba dress and (in some cases) culture as inferior to modern dress and culture, it is likely that the environment associated with school and in Opuwo produced these altered attitudes. As is the case with MGFV1, who converted to Christianity, the classroom and other influences in Opuwo may also have contributed to survey respondents' altered views of Himba traditions as well as what is socially popular and desirable.

Cognitive dissonance likely began with many of these respondents on their arrival in town, where modern clothing and material goods were considered signs of social status and wealth, unlike in the village where large numbers of cattle is the ultimate sign of social status and wealth. In addition, the life of a traditional Himba is disdained by most other Himba living in town, which would produce additional dissonance for the traditionally-living Himba who go to Opuwo. As indicated by their responses to what contributes most to happiness and their own living situations in Opuwo, most of these young-generation and middle-generation respondents chose to alter their attitudes and behavior to reflect desire for popular modern goods and disdain for traditional Himba clothing and lifestyle. In Otutati, respondents of all ages who weren't exposed to this urban environment did not have these same views towards modern goods.

These findings show that exposure to the social environment of Opuwo likely led to the most dissonance among the young-generation and middle-generation survey respondents. Since most survey respondents indicated that they consume media with groups of friends, the social

learning theory can explain how television and magazines play a significant role in altering the attitudes and behaviors of young-generation and middle-generation Himba. These young Himba experience a social environment in Opuwo where popularity is communicated through non-Himba, modern material goods. Since this study found that much of the knowledge about these goods comes from mass media, which is often consumed in groups of friends, it is likely that these young Himba learn about these foreign ideas of popularity—the cause of their cognitive dissonance—through their friends, who learn it from mass media. As indicated by MGMT1, YGMV1, and YGMV3, Himba also learn about modern culture from tourists who visit Opuwo and the villages, which further contributes to the inclusion of social learning theory in explaining these changes in young Himba attitude and behavior.

One unanticipated manifestation of dissonance occurred in older-generation Himba. As schools had been established in Opuwo only in the mid-1990s after the country's independence, the idea of sending children away from the village for schooling was foreign to the Himba until this time. Himba parents who sent children to school felt that the sacrifice of having them away from the village and not able to care for cattle, the farm or the homestead would pay off. Many believed that a formal education would broaden their children's knowledge and abilities, ultimately making them more useful to their families and the village as a whole.

Instead, many of these children returned wearing modern clothes, exhibiting disrespect and disobedience to parents, selfishness and laziness. To remedy this dissonance, some parents and grandparents are forbidding young-generation Himba from going to town for school or any other reason. Whereas some feel that most of the middle- and even some younger-generation Himba are a lost cause, they are trying to protect their traditions in the rising generation by making more of an effort to shield them from Opuwo and all of the modern influences there. If

they do not, many feel the result may be what Chief Wandisa expressed, which I again quote:
"Our whole world is being turned upside down, and I doubt my grandchildren's children will know anything about our life" (Crandall, 2000, pp. 266–268).

Lastly, it is important to mention a theory not previously known to this researcher before this study but which is highly applicable to it and its findings. The theory of broad and narrow socialization (Arnett, 1995) is thus described:

> Broad socialization is broad in the sense that a relatively broad range of individual differences in paths of development can be predicted from socialization practices that emphasize individualism and independence. Narrow socialization is narrow in the sense that a restricted range of variation can be predicted when individuals are pressed toward conformity to a certain cultural standard. (pp. 617-618)

Arnett identifies seven sources that influence socialization: family, peers, school/work, community, the media, the legal system, and the cultural belief system. Traditional Himba culture is inherently characterized by narrow socialization whereas the more modern, westernized culture exhibited in Opuwo is characterized by broad socialization.

The findings of this research indicate that no single source can be credited with causing Himba generational differences in behaviors and beliefs. Instead, it is the combination of socialization sources— family, community, media (or lack thereof), school (or lack thereof), and the Himba traditional cultural belief system —that are collectively influencing the beliefs and behaviors of both Otutati-dwelling and Opuwo-dwelling Himba.

Limitations

Barriers and limitations to this research include the following:

Traditionally-living Himba are currently found scattered in a relatively small region (approximately 200 square miles) in northwest Namibia. In order to conduct research on the Himba, it was necessary to travel to this region. The high costs associated with travel

to the area and remaining there for an extended period of time limited the amount of research time to conduct interviews. Being limited to 18 research days combined with transportation limitations, severely hampered the ability to collect data from a sample size larger than the population of Otutati and a few individuals in Opuwo.

It was necessary to hire an Otjiherero interpreter, which, in the case of this study, needed to be shared with other researchers working among the Himba. This slowed the data collection process considerably. These translators were not professionally trained, but they were the only translators available for hire in the area. There was a high level of variance in how well translators knew English and how quickly they could translate, which also limited the number of questions that could be asked in the allotted interview time with participants.

Research time in Opuwo was limited to four days during the course of the trip, limiting the number of respondents that could be interviewed in the town. Other obstacles included the inaccessibility of the research participants in Otutati. Research participants in Otutati were spread out, and it was necessary to walk up to an hour to reach some individuals, which limited the amount of time to ask questions to research participants. There were also very few potential older-generation participants or Himba females in Opuwo during the time allotted to interview. Most were visiting the hospital in Opuwo, which was not a setting in which an interview could take place. Consequently, no older-generation Himba and only one Himba female in Opuwo were interviewed.

The primary consequence of these limitations for the study was to limit the generalizability of my findings and conclusions. It is possible that a broader sample of

respondents could have produced different results, and the richness of the data set could have been significantly expanded. Nevertheless, the 41 interviews that I was able to conduct produced a data set that, heretofore, had not existed in any form, and I am satisfied that reasonable conclusions could be drawn from these interviews.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study was limited to an exploration of the degree to which cultural change was occurring. Because of time and resource constraints, it was not possible to further explore the sources of this change. As the sample size was small and limited to one rural Himba village, Otutati, and a small group of individuals who lived in Opuwo, this research could be expanded to include a much larger sample size, expanding to multiple rural Himba villages throughout Kaokoland, and spending more time in Opuwo to interview a larger sample size of Himba living in town.

As the translators used for this research were a shared resource between multiple research projects, future researchers with more time to interview may be able to obtain greater detail regarding interpretations of and feelings for Himba cultural values, personal beliefs, and behaviors regarding these topics.

Despite the limitations evident in this study, it represents, nevertheless, an important investigation of culture change among a unique group of people. The uniqueness and resilience of the Himba culture, along with the unprecedented pressures toward culture change, make this an important study with which to build a more in-depth understanding of fundamental culture transformation. The theoretical explanations for why cultures change or remain stable—cognitive dissonance theory, urbanization theory, and mass media and social learning theory—

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provide a rationale for how and why Himba culture has endured despite significant pressures for change. What remains unclear, however, is whether future generations can maintain the stability that has historically been the identifying feature of this unique people.

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Appendix A: Description of Respondents

Otutati	Location Interviewed	How dressed?	Spoke English	Attended School?
YGMV1	In their homestead	Modern	YES	NO
YGMV2	In their homestead	Modern	YES	NO
YGMV3	In their homestead	Modern	NO	NO
YGMV4	In their homestead	Traditional w/t-shirt	NO	NO
YGFV1	In their homestead	Modern	YES	YES
YGFV2	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
YGFV3	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
YGFV4	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
MGMV1	In their homestead	Modern	NO	NO
MGMV2	In their homestead	Traditional w/t-shirt	NO	NO
MGFV1	In their homestead	Modern	NO	NO
OGMV1	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV2	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV3	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV4	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV5	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV6	In their homestead	Modern	NO	NO
OGMV7	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV8	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV9	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV10	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGMV11	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGFV1	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGFV2	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGFV3	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGFV4	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGFV5	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGFV6	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGFV7	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
OGFV8	In their homestead	Full Traditional	NO	NO
Opuwo				
YGMT1	Protestant Churchyard	Modern	YES	YES
YGMT2	Protestant Churchyard	Modern	YES	YES
YGMT3	Next to soccer field	Modern	YES	YES
YGMT4	Next to soccer field	Modern	YES	YES
YGMT5	Electronics shop	Modern	YES	YES
YGFT1	Next to outdoor shops	Traditional w/jewelry	NO	NO
MGMT1	Next to local beer hall	Modern	YES	YES
MGMT2	Next to local beer hall	Modern	YES	YES
MGMT3	In their clothing shop	Modern	YES	YES
MGMT4	In their clothing shop	Modern	YES	YES
MGMT5	In his tourist shop	Modern	YES	YES