

Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Helsinki

SURVIVING ‘DEVELOPMENT’

RURAL DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS, PROTECTED
AREA MANAGEMENT AND FORMAL EDUCATION WITH
THE KHWE SAN IN BWABWATA NATIONAL PARK,
NAMIBIA

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

In the last three decades, southern African governments and non-profit organizations, following the narrative of poverty alleviation and integrated rural development, have initiated a variety of development interventions targeting the hunter-gatherer San people. Despite these interventions, the southern African San groups, like many other Indigenous Peoples, remained economically, politically, and socially marginalized.

In this doctoral dissertation, I have examined how such interventions have impacted on the contemporary livelihoods of a Namibian San group, the Khwe San. Based on a 15-month-long ethnographic field study with the Khwe community living in the eastern part of Bwabwata National Park (BNP), this thesis is compiled of four peer-reviewed articles and a summarizing report. The summary introduces the background and context of the study, outlines its theoretical and methodological framework, and discusses the main findings presented in the four articles.

The study builds on decolonial and post-development research theories and looks at hunters and gatherers through the lens of the 'foraging mode of thought' concept. Based on the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework and the notion of community capitals, this study provides a critical analysis of both the practice and impacts of development interventions on local livelihoods and socio-cultural dynamics. The study focuses on three key domains of development interventions affecting contemporary foragers: rural income-generating interventions, protected area management and formal education.

The ethnographic fieldwork in BNP was carried out between 2016 and 2018 and involved data collection through participant observation in various settings, as well as semi-structured interviews with local community members and a wide range of other stakeholders. In addition, a study-area-wide socio-economic census was undertaken, and the participatory photography (PhotoVoice) method was used in the case study community.

This study shows that the contemporary livelihood strategies of the Khwe San people do not currently provide adequate benefits for maintaining a sound livelihood inside the national park. Restrictions due to strictly-imposed biodiversity conservation regulations limit the options for locally available livelihood activities, while community development projects initiated by external actors to date have been unable to alleviate extreme poverty or provide any substantial benefits. Most projects have failed due to dismissing local cultural, social and economic realities and disregarding proper community consultation and involvement in decision-making. The state's formal education system, as currently practised, suffers from the same neglect of local cultural characteristics. The standardized curriculum and teaching practices, coupled with the negative stereotyping of San children and parents

by the educators, are far from providing a safe and effective learning environment.

Despite the above challenges, the findings demonstrate that the social life is still largely governed by principles of egalitarianism, their traditional kinship system, and the practice of sharing. The Khwe San's traditional knowledge and skills, especially in relation to wild food gathering, still plays an important role in maintaining their livelihoods and contemporary cultural identity. However, Khwe adults and elders regard traditional knowledge far more important than do the youth, and this knowledge transmission is rapidly fading.

The study also analysed exemplary initiatives that have provided some positive contributions to Khwe livelihoods. The Devil's Claw harvesting collaborative project is a leading example of a culturally-responsive initiative contributing to several domains of local well-being, while the recently-established Biocultural Community Protocol is a model community-led legal instrument encompassing customary laws, institutions and crucial building blocks of local identity.

The study indicates that further diversification of livelihood options is essential, and should be community-led, culturally inclusive and sustainable. The predominantly externally-driven interventions to date have disempowered the Khwe San and ignored the addressing of fundamental human rights issues. The Khwe and other hunter-gatherer communities now find themselves at a critical time and in need of support to self-strengthen their own capabilities and agency in order to realize self-determination and accomplish long-term positive social change for themselves, their communities, and their future generations.

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Helsinki, 22 May 2020

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In Loving Memory of

Boykie Munsu (1991 - 2019)



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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

- I Paksi, A., & Pyhälä, A. (2018). Socio-economic impacts of a national park on local indigenous livelihoods: The case of the Bwabwata National Park in Namibia. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 99, 197-214.
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- III Paksi, A. (submitted manuscript). “I dream about development”: Community development projects with a Namibian former Hunter-Gatherer group. *Journal of Southern African Studies*.
- IV Paksi, A. & Rauhala, I. (forthcoming). *Reflections on power relations and reciprocity in the field while conducting research with Indigenous Peoples*. Accepted for publication in P.K. Virtanen, P. Keskitalo & T. Olsen (Eds.), *Indigenous Research Methodologies in Sámi and Nordic Contexts* (working title). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Sense

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACFID	Australian Council for International Development
BCP	Biocultural Community Protocol
BNP	Bwabwata National Park
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CD	Community Development
CDP	Community Development Project
DMC	Department of Marginalized Communities, Namibia
e.g.	exempli gratia (for example)
€	Euro (currency)
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
HD	Human Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation, Namibia
KA	Kyaramacan Peoples Association
LAC	Legal Assistance Centre, Namibia
MAWF	Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry, Namibia
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Namibia
N\$	Namibian Dollars (currency)
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-governmental organization
SADF	South African Defence Force
SCRE	San Code of Research Ethics
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SSC	Senior Secondary School
TA	Traditional Authority
TEK	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
TK	Traditional Knowledge
UN	United Nations
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

1 INTRODUCTION

*Give it time and we wonder why, do what we can laugh and we cry.
And we sleep in your dust because we've seen this all before. Culture
fades with tears and grace, leaving us stunned hollow with shame. We
have seen this all, seen this all before. Many tribes of a modern kind
doing brand new work same spirit by side, joining hearts and hands
and ancestral twine, ancestral twine...¹*

Xavier Rudd, Australian (Wurundjeri) singer & songwriter, 2012

An estimated 370 million Indigenous Peoples live across the globe, among whom only a small proportion identify themselves as hunters and gatherers (foragers). They inhabit diverse areas spread across continents, ranging from the arctic tundra to tropical rainforest. Even though their foraging way of life is considered the most successful and persistent adaptation that mankind has ever achieved (Coddington & Kramer, 2016; Gowdy, 1997), hunters and gatherers often fall through the cracks of contemporary social and political systems due to the relatively small size of their populations and distinct socio-cultural backgrounds. Today, they represent the paradox of societies with traditional knowledge that is highly valued in nature conservation, medicinal research, and climate change coping strategies, but whose rights to remain on their ancestral land, access their natural resources, and rights to continue practising their cultural activities are either violated or have been eliminated (Blench, 1999; IWGIA, 2019; Lee & Daly, 1999; Reyes-García & Pyhälä, 2017).

Contemporary state-led development interventions have contributed to forced settlement and displacement of hunting and gathering peoples over decades, aiming to assimilate them into a national economy by transforming their subsistence strategies and providing services such as schools, clinics, and access to government institutions. Moreover, as the life of many hunter-gatherers directly depends on local natural resources, abrupt environmental changes (e.g. climate change) have a direct detrimental effect on their livelihoods. The global economy, manifested locally as resource extraction, tourism, or large-scale agriculture, has been transforming the living areas of foragers. As a result, modern-day hunters and gatherers are amongst the most marginalized populations, and are severely disadvantaged according to a range of socioeconomic indicators (Dieckmann et al., 2014; IWGIA, 2019).

The objective of this dissertation is to explore the opportunities and challenges that arise when a hunter gatherer group is faced with externally-driven development interventions. The aim is to analyse the contemporary livelihoods of a hunter-gatherer group in north-eastern Namibia, the Khwe

¹ Spirit Bird; Lyrics and music: Xavier Rudd. © Sony/ATV Music Publishing Australia Pty Ltd. Published by permission of Sony/ATV Music Publishing Scandinavia/Notfabriken Music Publishing AB.

San in Bwabwata National Park (BNP), providing a unique case study to investigate how rural development projects, biodiversity conservation, and formal education impact local livelihoods.

The title of this dissertation, *Surviving 'Development'*, stems from a common narrative by many of the Khwe San participants in this study who describe their life as mere survival. When discussing their lived experiences, many Khwe with whom I conversed during my research used the word 'survive' as a synonym for living. Others voiced their worries about the survival of their traditional knowledge and cultural practices. The title also reflects on the continuity and adaptive strategies of hunters and gatherers: they constituted the origins of humanity, migrated across the entire planet, and their direct descendants, practices, and knowledge systems are still thriving in some pockets of the world, despite serious threats from large-scale environmental, sociological, and livelihood changes. The concept of 'development' (quotation marks intended) mirrors the diversity related to the myriad definitions and understandings of the term both as a theory and a practice, across all levels and scales, from individual, to community, to planetary. These conceptualizations range from one end of the spectrum where proponents of development see it as a positive process of growth, progress, capital and technology (e.g. J. D. Sachs, 2006), to the other extreme of critics who argue that development is a neo-colonial system of domination (e.g. Escobar, 1995; W. Sachs, 1992).

1.1 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The research questions of this study were co-created with Khwe youth and elders during my scoping field trip to Bwabwata National Park (BNP) in April 2015, and further specified during my fieldwork. The three main concerns of the community with regards to their well-being were i) the perceived livelihood challenges due to nature conservation regulations, ii) the rate of Khwe students dropping out from the formal education system, and iii) the perceived lack of development efforts and benefits in BNP. While sharing their concerns, they frequently reflected on their marginalized status and their San ethnic background.

Drawing on these main concerns presented by the Khwe themselves, the aim with this study is to analyse the three mentioned manifestations of development practice – protected area management, formal education, and rural livelihood development – from the perspective of a hunter-gatherer group, taking into account the local socio-cultural variables. The following research questions were drawn up accordingly:

RQ1 How do nature conservation, and current protected area management practices affect the livelihoods of local hunter-gatherers? What are the perceptions of local hunter-gatherers and government officials, vis-à-vis nature conservation in BNP East? (Article I)

RQ2 What is the role of formal education in safeguarding Khwe traditional knowledge and skills? How do the Khwe perceive the relative importance of their traditional knowledge and school-based knowledge? What are the attitudes of educational stakeholders towards the Khwe culture and knowledge? (Article II)

RQ3 How do rural development initiatives affect the livelihoods of Khwe hunter-gatherers? What are the barriers and enablers of the recent community development projects to improve local community well-being? How do Khwe cultural characteristics sit with externally-imposed development practice? (Article III)

Each of the above cohorts of questions have been answered in three separate peer-reviewed articles, respectively. In addition, while conducting the research fieldwork in Namibia, several methodological questions and considerations arose, resulting in a co-authored book chapter on power relations and reciprocity (Article IV) that I elaborate on in Chapter 4 of this synopsis. The four peer-reviewed articles are included at the end of the dissertation.

1.2 SITUATING THE STUDY

The livelihoods of the contemporary Namibian San people are in transition, due to environmental pressures, population growth, policy instruments, socio-cultural changes, and development interventions, among other factors. Historically, hunter-gatherers showcased a remarkable adaptive capability to react to changes around them (Lee & Daly, 1999; Lee & DeVore, 1968). However, in the face of the multiple simultaneous and multifaceted changes affecting them over recent decades, the San have less and less room to manoeuvre to secure their livelihoods.

Previous research with the San people has focused on the limitations of formal education, cultural revitalization or political representation. Two country-wide reports (Dieckmann et al., 2014; Suzman, 2001a), based on studies of different San communities in Namibia, highlight the multidimensional marginalization and poverty that the contemporary hunter-gatherers face. Previous studies on San livelihoods stressed the importance of hunting and gathering as a subsistence strategy for their cultural identity (M. Taylor, 2002), emphasized the role that the social ties within the group and with neighbouring ethnic groups play in livelihood support (Ninkova, 2017), and described the San people's high degree of dependency on the Namibian state (Wiessner, 2003).

This study adds site-specific data to the already-existing livelihood studies about the San, placing the contemporary Khwe community in the focus as the point of departure of this research. It also includes the narratives of a variety of stakeholders, the Khwe San's historical background, the analysis of the present-day policies and political settings, and the diversity of cultural

characteristics. Building on the local specificities (e.g. biodiverse study area, history of targeted development programmes, and homogenous population), and taking into account socio-cultural variables (such as local history, forager identity, and extreme poverty), the aim in this study is to provide a holistic livelihood analysis through merging quantitative figures on monetary benefits with ethnographical data gained from a wide range of stakeholders. The study is situated in the decolonial and post-development research paradigms, and aims to contribute to Indigenous studies, particularly hunter gatherer studies.

Following this brief introduction, the dissertation continues by defining the core concepts and presenting the theoretical background of the study, referring to previous research with hunters and gatherers and related to this discussing the notions of rural livelihood development, protected area management, and formal education as external interventions. In Chapter 3, I introduce the case study, namely the Khwe San people living in BNP, while the focus in Chapter 4 is on the research process, describing the fieldwork process, and discussing ethical and methodological considerations. This is followed by the main results of the study and the examination of the research findings in Chapter 5, also presenting the three articles that answer each of the three research questions, respectively. Finally, Chapter 6 presents the main conclusions of the study, as well as general recommendations to stakeholders and suggestions for further research.

2 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In this chapter, I elaborate on the key concepts of this study, and the conceptual and theoretical background to it. First, I introduce the notion of hunters and gatherers and examine common themes and debates from previous research with foragers related to my study. Then I move on to critical development theories, and through the work of post-development scholars, I discuss the most pressing livelihood changes and challenges that hunters and gatherers are currently facing worldwide. Thereafter, I present the analytical underpinnings of this study through the frameworks of sustainable rural livelihoods and community capitals.

2.1 SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF HUNTERS AND GATHERERS IN THE MODERN AGE

Foragers have always lived on a transitional landscape, adapting to new social and environmental conditions, interacting with and being influenced by other groups and new ideas, and making decisions about what is worth retaining from and changing about their subsistence economy and social organization. Modern foragers are part of this continuum, making economic and lifestyle decisions as they are exposed to novel situations.

(Coddling & Kramer, 2016, p. 6).

Hunters and gatherers (or hunter-gatherers, or foragers) are Indigenous People whose subsistence is based on hunting wild animals, gathering wild plant foods, and fishing. These people did not begin to engage with domesticated plants and animals until approximately 12,000 years ago (Lee & Daly, 1999). Hobbes wrote in the *Leviathan* (1651) that when humans were living solely on natural resources and exposed to the elements of nature, as are hunters and gatherers, life was ‘solitary, poor, nasty, brutish’. This primitive and false image of hunters and gatherers provided the basis for several theories suggesting a linear process of societal development, starting with foraging, evolving to agriculture, and finally advancing to commerce (Svizzero & Tisdell, 2016).

From the mid-20th century, ethnographers and anthropologists began to challenge the widely accepted image of hunter-gatherers founded on hardship, suffering, and destitution. Following the 1966 *Man the Hunter* symposium, the near-universal identification of hunter-gatherers as *primeval others* began to shift towards an image of foragers as being skilful and knowledgeable, living in small groups, and capable of sustaining themselves while enjoying social

and leisure time (Lee & DeVore, 1968). Even though a wide variety of subsistence and social practices was apparent between different hunter-gatherer societies (for example, some were continually surrounded by abundant natural resources while others endured many seasonal changes), foragers emerged in the scholarly literature as the 'original affluent society' (Sahlins, 1968).

Sahlins, in his book *Stone Age Economics* (1972), argued that hunters and gatherers spend less time working than non-hunting communities and are able to meet their needs, obtain adequate food, and have ample leisure time. His concept though, was duly challenged at the 1966 symposium, as several anthropologists reported that foragers experience periodic hunger, even starvation. Similarly, Altman (1992) noted that academics should exercise more caution on generalizations based on individual case studies, questioning fundamental methodological bases in Sahlins's argument regarding how work hours should be measured. Kaplan (2000) went on to argue that the definition of work, leisure, and affluence is problematic, and pointed out contradictions regarding material possessions and satisfying wants and needs among foragers. Nevertheless, Sahlins's work provided useful insights into how hunters and gatherers are perceived as a group, stimulating further critical analysis of socio-cultural characteristics of hunters and gatherers and highlighting the diversity among various foraging groups.

The diversity among contemporary peoples called hunter-gatherers is explained not only by environmental variables but is also illustrated by the variety of pathways by which they have arrived at their present situation. Some groups claim a more or less direct descent from ancient hunter-gatherer populations, while other groups have for generations lived in varying degrees of contact and integration with non-hunting societies. There are even groups that have returned to hunting and gathering subsistence after engaging with farming for several hundreds of years (Lee & Daly, 1999). Kelly (2013) portrayed the variety among hunter-gatherer groups on a spectrum based on subsistence strategies, mobility, technology, and social organization, among others. His aim in articulating this spectrum was to avoid forced dichotomous categories of storing/non-storing, delayed-return/immediate-return, or mobile/sedentary.

It is important to note that the vast majority of contemporary hunters and gatherers practise a mixed subsistence livelihood, including agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry and trade, in addition to their engagement with foraging (Hitchcock, 2019; Reyes-García & Pyhälä, 2017). Hence, to define and describe hunter-gatherers, the subsistence strategy is just one aspect among other distinctive cultural and social features. Similarly, Marshall (2006) argues that it is not the way of food acquisition or the primary subsistence strategy of a group itself, but rather the sense of community and social fabric which makes hunters and gatherers distinct from other ethnic groups. Still, contemporary hunters and gatherers are often labelled in academic discourses as '*former hunter-gatherers*' or '*post-foragers*', which

refers to their more diversified subsistence strategies (including or even excluding foraging). These diversified strategies emerged following increased levels of sedentarism and state assimilation. However, when describing foragers through a socio-cultural lens, the continuity of their cultures is visible beyond the foraging mode of subsistence.

Barnard (2002), similarly to Biesele (1993) and Guenther (1999), argues that the long established cultural norms, attitudes, and perceptions of foragers are rather persistent and even more resilient than the forager mode of subsistence itself. He compared the perceptions of accumulation, leadership, kinship, identity, and relation to the land between foragers and non-foragers and labelled the specific set of cultural characteristics of hunters and gatherers as the 'foraging mode of thought'.

Based on his concept, foragers perceive the immediate consumption of goods (contrary to accumulation) as a desirable social practice during which goods are widely shared among community members. Immediate-return systems are essential social pillars of many hunter-gatherer societies, maintained by three mechanisms within a given community: 1) open access to material resources, knowledge and skills; 2) large degree of individual autonomy, and; 3) an obligation to share (Woodburn, 2005). Even though personal property may be minimal, resource sharing is still expected as its function is to maintain and enforce an egalitarian setting and reinforce social relationships (Kent, 1993).

The idea of followership (as opposed to individual leadership) is preferred, meaning that individuals follow the will of the broader community and not the other way around. Woodburn (2005) argues, that members of societies with immediate-return systems tend to be egalitarian by actively promoting equality, e.g. through the practice of sharing, and avoiding practices that lead to inequality. The egalitarian social structure also ensures that no individual can dominate or exploit others in the community (Boehm, 2001). As a result, group members have relatively equal social status, practically preventing the endorsement of any formal authority figure or chief. Among the southern American hunter-gatherer tribes, where chieftainship has been practised, the chief played a technical role devoted to dispute resolution, without having any power and authority over the rest of the group (Clastres, 1989).

In a forager community, the society is defined through kin classification, and in social networks in which everyone is classified as kin. Foragers assert high importance to preserving their distinctive cultural identity (in contrast to state assimilation) and aim to protect their communally-shared values. The surrounding environment, the knowledge, the practices, and the relationship to people around them are all part of a forager's own subjective identity, which is created and maintained collectively. Their personal autonomy is constituted through their involvement in the whole collective (Ingold, 1987; Koot, 2013).

The relationship to foragers' ancestral land and their surrounding environment is considered sacrosanct and is deeply engraved in the local knowledge system. The hunter-gatherer lifestyle itself depends on a deep

understanding of the natural world, hence foragers possess an array of survival skills and a wealth of knowledge about the surrounding flora and fauna. The related values, knowledge, skills, and practices are transmitted to the next generation mainly through observation, imitation, and active engagement (Hewlett et al., 2011; Konner, 2005). Informal knowledge exchange, storytelling, and folklore are similarly crucial building blocks that serve to strengthen social norms and the relationship to the territory (Biesele, 1993; D. Smith et al., 2017).

Common generalizations and misconceptions about the pre-agricultural hunter-gatherer economy include that it is about mere subsistence; that there is a constant search for food; and there is an absence of surplus. A homogeneous economy that relied only on one way of subsistence would be too vulnerable to shocks and changes. Hence, a diversity of lifestyles provides longitudinal resistance and stability. Contemporary hunter-gatherers mainly practise mixed foraging economies, either including trade and exchange of natural resources, adopting food production and animal husbandry, or other income-generating activities, in addition to continuing with foraging. Even with money becoming an essential resource in this mixed economy, the kinship ties and the sharing of resources plays such a significant role that it can counterbalance the features associated with the market economy, features such as secularization, technical rationality, and individualism (Coddling & Kramer, 2016; Gowdy, 1997; Peterson, 1991).

2.2 DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND PRACTICE CONCERNING HUNTERS AND GATHERERS

International institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank consider development as one of their main priorities and have been highly influential in leading the global development discourse over the past few decades. These organizations conceptualize development as a process of continuous economic growth coupled with social development and environmental protection (United Nations, 2015; World Bank, 2019).

In a critique of this, Escobar (1995), one of the leading figures of the 'post-development school' of thought, argues that development should be seen as a historically-produced discourse which started in the 1940s, and in which colonization and domination are fundamental building blocks to create the 'Third World'. The modernisation theory, the dominant sociological concept behind development for much of the 1950s and 1960s, was instrumental in creating a dualistic world that consists of developed countries as samples of modernity, and underdeveloped nations characterized as 'traditional' (Kiely, 2006). The theory is illustrated by the five stages of growth articulated by Rostow (1960), that looked to industrialized nations as the pinnacle of the development process. This transformation starts from traditional societies based on subsistence agriculture or hunting and gathering and advances all

the way to a society characterized by mass production and consumption. Based on this model, foragers have no place in a 'developed world'. Critics of this theory argue that this school of thought considers the West to be an ideal construct and dismisses power inequalities in the dualistic world order created; in essence, development practices based on this theory generate a dependency on the 'Western World'.

Since the 1970s it has become evident that the ever-expanding global economy requires ever more raw materials from forests, soils, and seas, threatening the ecological balance and the well-being of humanity. The mantra of economic growth in development practices has led to a wide-scale loss of biodiversity in exchange for short-term economic gains. The global Living Planet Index, which measures the population sizes of 16,700 vertebrates, shows a staggering 60% decline between 1970 and 2014 (WWF, 2018).

In response to such unsustainable trajectories, the 'Limits to Growth' (1972) and later the 'Brundtland report' (1987) set the stage for the theory of Sustainable Development (SD), which is defined as 'meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). While this intergenerational approach of the term has been widely adopted, over time, SD has become generally defined as a three-part concept encompassing economic, social, and environmental objectives (J. D. Sachs, 2015). Hence, biodiversity conservation has become an increasingly important global agenda.

Meanwhile, Indigenous Peoples and local communities are often the primary guardians and caretakers of biodiversity, and nearly 90% of high biodiversity areas overlap with indigenous and traditional territories (Garnett et al., 2018; Sobrevila, 2008). Hunters and gatherers were frequently displaced in the name of fortress conservation, the practice of establishing so-called 'pristine', fenced wilderness areas excluding human populations. More recently, foragers are increasingly involved in community-based conservation programmes initiated by state governments. Nevertheless, both the fortress conservation model and the more recent community-based conservation model regard biodiversity as a commodity and resource that can be tapped for increasing monetary income through tourism or by selling and consuming the natural resources (Sullivan, 2006). Several contemporary hunter-gatherer groups have encountered biodiversity conservation that promises the three pillars of SD all at once: economic benefits, social benefits, and environmental sustainability. However, the costs of conservation are rarely outweighed by the economic and social benefits.

Another influential theory of development surfaced in the 1980s. In 1986, the UN made an important decision to adopt the UN Declaration on the Right to Development, identifying development as an inalienable human right (United Nations, 1986). This decision was part of a broader discussion during that decade about the uneven impacts of development and the aim to bring individual human welfare into focus. Human rights and human well-being

became central concepts (Elliott, 2014). In his book titled 'Development as Freedom', Sen (1999) argued that development means that individuals have the freedom to make life choices. This approach made development assessable on an individual scale, focusing on capabilities and agency to achieve individual goals. In turn, poverty could be considered to be a set of interrelated restrictions that constrains people's choices and the opportunity to exercise their individual agency. This theory also led to the creation of several quantitative measures, including the Human Development Index (HDI). While the focus shifted towards individual well-being, economic growth was still deemed to be an essential component to enable longitudinal improvements in human welfare (Stewart et al., 2018).

Sen's capability approach provides an opportunity to conceptualize human well-being in a more holistic manner. Sangha et al. (2015) identified Indigenous capabilities and analysed related cultural values while working with three Aboriginal groups in Queensland, Australia. The authors argued that the concept of well-being could be better assessed when values based on Indigenous worldviews are also included, such as belonging to the land, having a sense of identity, connection with sacred places, or socialization through foraging and hunting. To illustrate their point, they showcased development initiatives enabling the incorporation of traditional knowledge related to bush food and medicine that has the potential to improve people's health and reduce social problems. Another vital aspect that Sen's approach provides in relation to hunters and gatherers is the analysis of their agency to steer their subsistence and livelihoods in a direction they prefer as a community.

Apart from the theoretical underpinnings, development policies and interventions also show a diversity of approaches. The needs-based approach focuses on community deficits and aims to address those needs with external inputs. In contrast, the asset-based development approach builds on the existing assets of a community and aims to mobilize a variety of stakeholders to realise and further develop community strengths jointly (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). The rights-based approach seeks to address inequality, power relations and discriminatory practices which are often present in development (Uvin, 2004). The aim of the sustainable livelihoods approach is to provide a holistic understanding of the livelihoods of the poor through a people-centred, participatory, and flexible approach (DFID, 1999).

While several development theories and emerging approaches in the past decades have been aimed at widening the scope of development (e.g. by focusing on environmental concerns or human capabilities), the 'post-development school' argues against the concept of modernity and taking the industrialized western world as a model. Sachs (1992) claims that the idea of development has failed, as the challenges it was designed to address, such as poverty and inequality, are still unresolved. Moreover, development creates new challenges, such as cultural homogenization and environmental damage (Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997). Post-development scholars focus on grassroots movements and local rural communities, and emphasize the need for a

different economic model based on solidarity and reciprocity, a political structure based on direct democracy, and a pluralistic knowledge system including indigenous and traditional knowledge and practices (Ziai, 2007).

Peoples' cultural beliefs and values play a crucial factor in development, hence the economic growth discourse based on individual aspirations and gains cannot be generalized and globally applied. In the Sub-Saharan setting, Ntibagirirwa (2009) argues for an 'ubuntu economy', in which development is based on the 'African value system' characterized by the spirit of caring, sharing, and community. This argument resonates well with the post-development school of thought. He makes a strong case for including cultural factors in development discourses, but he generalizes the Bantu value system to the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa. While these values are also central to the hunter-gatherer worldview, there are other elements (e.g. egalitarianism and non-accumulation of resources) with respect to foragers that prevents the overall generalization of the 'ubuntu economy'.

A post-development social change concept begins with the everyday lives and struggles of real groups of people, taking into considering their cultural characteristics and access to power (Fagan, 1999). Westoby (2014) argues that the concept of community development (CD) fits well into the people-centred tradition of post-development theory and practice, by privileging the perspectives of other cultures, philosophies, and epistemologies. CD is commonly understood as both a process and an outcome, with an underlying objective to establish an effective and sustainable instrument to improve the living conditions and the economic status of disadvantaged groups by mobilizing the communities themselves (Phillips & Pittman, 2008; Robinson Jr & Green, 2011). However, apart from critically analysing the adaptability of the various concepts and theories to the worldview of contemporary hunters and gatherers, already existing principles and guidelines of development practice that are tailored to Indigenous Peoples and foragers could provide further ways to overcome the colonial history of development practice.

Pawar (2009), who analysed CD in Asia and the Pacific, highlighted four principles, human rights, self-reliance, self-determination, and participation. He argues that these principles are essential to conducting a respectful and ethical development practice. Chigbu et al., (2017), based on research in Sub-Saharan Africa, advocate for community development approaches centred around land rights and cultural renewal. Their reason for focusing on these two aspects is that the 'land tenure systems are the lifeline' of rural communities, and shared culture is a bonding factor between the community members. One of the most comprehensive sets of principles that is also relevant to foragers, was formulated by the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID). The 13 principles aim to build on local indigenous worldviews and practices, and include ideas such as building long-term partnerships, and applying culturally appropriate, place-based approaches (Table 1). These development interventions are advised and encouraged to be adapted for local variables (e.g. environmental, cultural,

political, and socio-economic), building on community assets, and prioritizing a rights-based approach.

Table 1. *Principles to Indigenous Community Development practices (source: ACFID, 2014)*

No.	Principle	Description
1	Partnerships and productive relationships	Develop quality partnerships based on trust, respect, honesty, equality and mutuality
2	Participation	Ensure community participation throughout all stages of a project
3	Cultural Competency	Develop a proficient level of cultural competency amongst practitioners and their organisations
4	Place-based	Thoroughly understand the local context and history
5	Long-term engagement	Commit for the long-term
6	Do no harm	Ensure an intervention that does no harm and builds capacity
7	Flexibility	Support project and funding flexibility and longevity of funding
8	Strength-based	Build on community strengths and assets
9	Rights-based approach	Ensure that Indigenous development activities are consistent with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
10	Cross-cutting issues	Commit to addressing cross-cutting issues (gender, disability, child protection, and environment)
11	Governance Structures	Work with, support and respect existing governance structures
12	Advocacy and Indigenous Voice	Respect the right of Indigenous people and organisations to advocate on their own behalf
13	Intellectual property	Respect, preserve and acknowledge the intellectual and cultural property rights of Indigenous people

While development theories, policies and approaches showcase a considerable diversity, the main domains of development interventions can still be identified. These include the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) aiming to combat poverty, tackle inequality, increase school enrolment, improve health conditions, and ensure environmental sustainability (Way, 2015). The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a continuation and expansion of the MDGs, yet still focusing on the same key areas (mainly poverty eradication, quality education, and environmental sustainability) with the usual catchphrase ‘leave no one behind’. UN member states have taken action to integrate the MDGs into their national development plans and to align policies and institutions according to these goals, from 2015 onwards the same trend is evident with the SDGs and their targets (Jensen, 2019).

2.3 ANALYSING HUNTER-GATHERER LIVELIHOODS

The ‘livelihood approach’, also called the ‘sustainable livelihood approach’, was formulated in the late 1990s to address rural development, poverty reduction, and environmental management from a more holistic perspective (Krantz, 2001). Livelihood is defined as a set of capabilities, assets, and

activities, which are required for a means of living (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Scoones, 1998). This idea builds on and further develops Sen's capabilities approach. These resources are often categorised by five asset types owned or accessed by individuals or households: human, physical, financial, natural, and social capital (Carney, 1998; Scoones, 1998). The aim of the approach is to analyse how people use these types of capital in their life and the risk factors that they must consider in managing their resources. This assessment of risks includes the cultural, institutional, and policy contexts that influence local livelihoods (Ellis, 2006). These elements, alongside locally relevant livelihood strategies and the achieved livelihood outcomes were incorporated into the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) representing the main factors that affect peoples' livelihoods, and the typical relationships between the components (Figure 1).

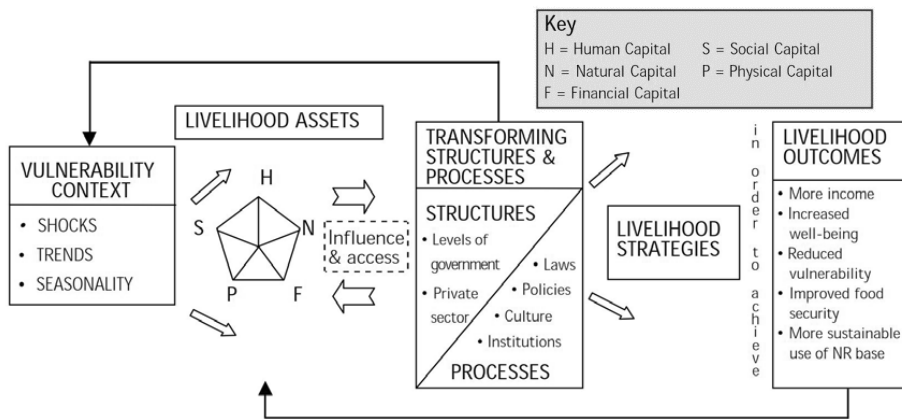


Figure 1 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (source: DFID, 1999)

This approach offers a way of conceptualising the complexity of rural livelihoods in a simplified way, and accounts for the variables that shape activities, objectives, and outcomes. The aim is to be people-centred by placing the rural and poor people as the focus of the approach. In addition, this approach is holistic and dynamic, and caters for a variety of contexts and purposes by building on strengths and focusing on long-term sustainability by concentrating on assets and activities that will not undermine the natural-resource base (Carney, 1998).

Haan (2012) pointed out that most livelihood studies focused solely on the local context of the poor and neglected global-local interactions. However, he also suggested that by thoroughly analysing how global procedures and policies emerge locally, as well as how local livelihoods shape global discourses, the issue can be addressed. In addition, several studies have pointed out the relative lack of attention to inequalities in power relationships between actors and the lack of focus on power and agency among the poor people themselves (Frediani, 2010; Serrat, 2017). The usage of capital in the

framework provides another ground for criticism. Frediani (2010) notes that the SLF takes Sen's concept of capabilities back to a utilitarian application, focusing on the accumulation of various social and material resources. For example, the concept of "natural capital" could mean the rendering of "nature" solely to a resource-base, calculating the monetary value of certain ecosystem services while dismissing a holistic view on what nature means for example to Indigenous Peoples (Büscher & Fletcher, 2019; Sullivan, 2018).

In this study, the SLF is adjusted to contemporary foragers (Figure 2). The practice of resource sharing and the related egalitarian ways of thinking are fundamental characteristics of hunters and gatherers (Hewlett et al., 2011). Therefore, livelihood assets are better conceptualized at a community level, instead of at individual or household levels. Hence, the adjusted SLF uses the community capitals framework (Flora et al., 2015) including seven types of capital (Table 2), also adding political and cultural assets to the five capitals already defined by DFID. By including political capital, more attention could be given to investigating power relations and agency of the people. While the original DFID framework highlighted the accumulation of resources as one strategy to strengthen the various types of capital, hunter-gatherers tend to put resources to use as they become available and strengthen capitals through sharing not through accumulation. Hence, to foster a more holistic approach, in this thesis, the community capitals are understood as not only visible and measurable resources, but also including the intangible aspects of cultural, natural and social spheres.

In the second stage of the framework, the various types of capitals in the livelihood platform are influenced (enabled, transformed, or restricted) by policies, various institutions, and cultural processes. These can include state development policies, NGO programmes, private sector services, or the cultural norms and activities of the various stakeholder groups. The third component is often referred to as the vulnerability context. It includes the historical (e.g. wars, conflicts, colonization, and local history), political, and socio-economic context in which the policies and regulations are formed and understood. The first three elements of the framework regulate which livelihood strategies are locally available. These can be divided into natural resource-based (e.g. hunting, gathering, and agriculture) and non-natural resource-based activities (e.g. receiving support from the state welfare system). Some activities, such as employment, tourism, and entrepreneurship can be classified under both categories. The fifth element of the framework lists the potential livelihood outcomes, which includes income and food security, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, more sustainable use of the natural resource base, and retaining human dignity. The livelihood outcomes feed back into the livelihood platform and influence the strength and availability of community capitals.

The framework accommodates the dynamic nature of livelihoods, as changes in the political or environmental context, the introduction of new policies, or altered availability of capitals can be tracked and monitored.

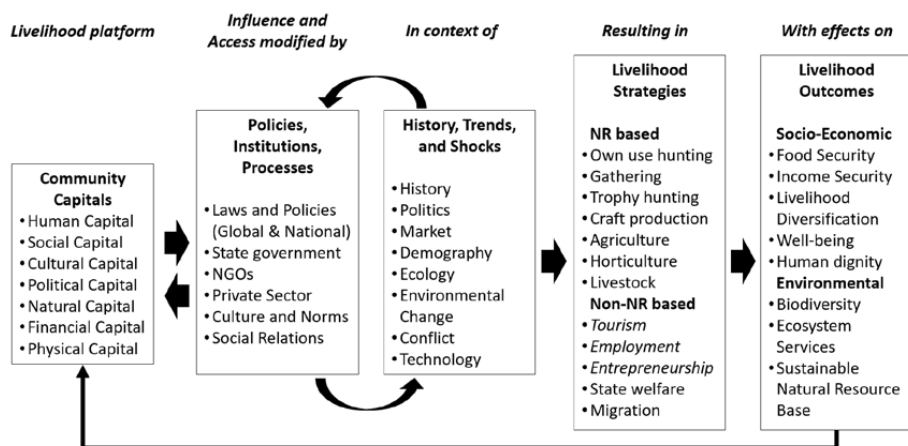


Figure 2 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework adjusted to contemporary foragers (adapted from Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998)

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework could be particularly useful in measuring the costs and benefits of nature conservation, by assessing whether local people benefit from community-based nature conservation interventions (Igoe, 2006). A few previous studies with hunters and gatherers utilized the SLF to assess the livelihood strategies related to nature conservation regulations. Taylor (2002) studied the livelihood strategies of a San group living in northern Botswana by investigating monetary-based, livestock-based, and wildlife-based livelihood activities. Ligtermoet (2016) analysed the local livelihoods of a group of Aboriginal people near the Kakadu National Park in Australia, focusing on how biodiversity conservation, pastoralism, and tourism constrain access to customary harvesting of freshwater resources.

Furthermore, through the application of SLF in this research, the inclusion and implementation of the various principles of Indigenous community development (Table 1) can also be traced. This framework includes the analysis of community capitals supporting a strength-based approach to development. The framework aims to address long-term sustainability and takes into consideration the local socio-cultural variables, though an investigation of participation, partnerships, and power relations among stakeholders. Moreover, the recognition, access, and exercise of the local peoples' rights are included under the global and national laws and policies, cultural norms, and the locals' political capital.

Table 2. *Description of Community Capitals (sources: DFID, 1999; Flora et al., 2015)*

Capital	Description
Human	The capabilities and potential of individuals including education, skills, health and self-esteem.
Social	The social resources upon which people bond, interact and share among each other. It includes formal or informal networks, memberships, access to institutions, and relationships built on trust, reciprocity and co-operation.
Cultural	The worldview of a group with its own epistemological and ontological framework. It includes values, knowledge and practices and could manifest in music, art, language or in different forms of kinship, leadership and childrearing practices among others.
Political	The ability to influence policies and regulation according to the community's norms and values, as well as the power to enforce them.
Natural	Encompassing natural services and resources, such as the air, water, soil, wildlife, vegetation, wild foods, land and agricultural produce.
Financial	Monetary resources in the forms of savings, income generation, loans and credit, gifts and livestock.
Physical	Basic, human made infrastructure, such as roads, buildings, electricity and water supply, telecommunication services, transportation and education facilities.

3 THE CASE STUDY - A NAMIBIAN SAN GROUP INSIDE A NATIONAL PARK

Contemporary Africa is home to approximately 557,300 hunter-gatherers across 24 countries (Hitchcock, 2019). The San, the hunter-gatherers of southern Africa, number approximately 130,000 people and reside in several countries including Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. They are considered to be the descendants of the first inhabitants of the region (Suzman, 2002). Recent research using DNA samples from the San people traced the earliest population of modern humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) – approximately 200,000 years ago – to an area that covers parts of modern-day Botswana, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. (Chan et al., 2019). Despite being the ‘first peoples’, southern African governments do not acknowledge the San as Indigenous Peoples. African states understand indigeneity in reference to European colonialism and attribute indigenous status to a large number of African ethnic groups (Suzman, 2001a). As anticipated, none of the southern African states have to date ratified the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. The convention is highly important, as it is the only international legal instrument that can secure tribal peoples’ land rights and sets a series of minimum standards regarding consultation and consent. However, despite not being recognized by their own government, the San people are considered indigenous on the wider international scene, as they fit under the ILO and UN characterization of Indigenous Peoples (UNPFII, 2006): they represent the first inhabitants of the area, are a non-dominant and culturally distinctive group, and self-identify as indigenous (Saugestad, 2001).

Since the 1950s, many ethnographers and anthropologists have documented the life of several San groups. These studies include the Marshall family, who worked with the Ju|’hoansi in the Nyae Nyae area (Marshall, 1976; Thomas, 1989); Richard B. Lee and his study of the !Kung in the Kalahari (Lee, 1979); and Oswin Köhler with the Khwe in the former Caprivi Strip (Köhler, 1989). Among the various San groups, the Ju|’hoansi of Nyae Nyae are considered to be one of the most thoroughly documented Indigenous Peoples on the planet (Biesele & Hitchcock, 2010; Wiessner, 2003). Their early engagement with the Marshall family was followed by numerous other scientists and gained widespread academic attention, which led to an array of government and NGO initiatives targeting this particular population (Suzman, 2001a, p. 39). Other San groups, such as the Hai||om or the Khwe received far less attention, both academically and with regards to development interventions. Therefore, case studies with other San groups often compare and contrast data and results with the well-documented Ju|’hoansi of Nyae Nyae (e.g. Hitchcock, 2012; Koot, 2019).

The various San groups living across the southern African countries differ in terms of local history, environmental conditions, certain cultural characteristics, and especially with respect to the political context in which they are embedded. Each national government applies its own approaches, policies, and programmes that have direct and indirect influences on the San peoples' livelihoods. That said, a number of similarities and common challenges are being faced by the different San populations throughout the region. These include: a widespread lack of *de jure* land rights and adequate access to natural resources; high levels of extreme poverty and dependency on the state welfare system; low levels of formal education; poor basic healthcare; high levels of unemployment; and weak political representation (Dieckmann et al., 2014; Suzman, 2001b).

3.1 NAMIBIA - OVERCOMING THE COLONIAL LEGACY

Namibia is a relatively new nation in southern Africa, having gained its independence from South Africa in March 1990. The country's large land area (825,000 square kilometres) accommodates a relatively small, but ethnographically diverse population (around 2.5 million) with approximately 27 languages being spoken in the country (Eberhard & Simons, 2019). The Namibian economy, similar to that in other southern African countries, depends heavily on mining and the exportation of minerals (mainly diamonds and uranium), and on cultural and wildlife tourism. Meanwhile, about half of the population relies on subsistence agriculture and the unemployment rate (34% in 2016) is among the highest in the world (CIA, 2019). In addition, quantitative studies have shown that Namibia has one of the most unequal income distributions in the world (CIA, 2018).

Namibia is one of the flagship countries of the Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) conservation approach. CBNRM is built on the principle of delegating certain rights to local communities for managing natural resources. The aim of this approach is to protect and preserve, as well as sustainably utilize natural resources in such a way that local communities can also receive monetary benefits through conservation. In the 1980s, the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) NGO pioneered the CBNRM approach in Namibia. CBNRM entered into state legislation in 1996, by following the 'conservancy model', whereby communal land dwellers form institutions (conservancies) to manage their land collectively. The ultimate ownership of wildlife, however, along with the ownership of communal land, remains with the State (Sullivan, 2002).

The above conservation model provides a framework to set up joint ventures with the private sector to utilize natural resources, while abiding by strict regulations and quotas set and modified by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET). The ministry continuously monitors the practices of the communal conservancies. In turn, the conservancies are obliged to follow pre-

set institutional processes, for instance by adhering to a game management plan, conducting annual general assemblies, and preparing financial reports. At the time of this writing, 86 conservancies are registered across Namibia, with a total land cover of 166,045 square kilometres, all of which are directly overlapping the territorial livelihoods of an estimated 227,941 rural people (NACSO, 2019). CBNRM is said to play an essential role in rural livelihood development, through revenue generation, game meat harvesting, and job creation.

Trophy hunting, the practice of shooting carefully selected wild animals with legal permits, is crucial for CBNRM as it generates large revenues, which provide the main funding for the conservancies. South Africa and Namibia are by far the largest exporters of trophies as a result of continuing to safeguard the habitat of the so-called 'big five animals of trophy hunting': lions, white rhinoceroses, elephants, leopards, and buffalos (Sheikh & Bermejo, 2019). Trophy hunting also provides formal employment in most rural areas, as well as being an occasional source of game meat for the local communities. The present-day conservancy residents across Namibia widely support the existence of the trophy hunting system as it significantly contributes to their livelihoods (Angula et al., 2018).

CBNRM forms an important facet of Namibia's development plans. The Vision 2030 document, which is the state's long-term development framework, and the more recent, 5th National Development Plan (NDP5), both estimate that between 2017 and 2022 community-based conservation will double income while reducing illegal wildlife poaching and strengthening conservation efforts. However, the main objectives of the plans continue to revolve around economic progression, which aims to increase the quality of life of all Namibians by transforming the country into an industrial nation.

The goal of our vision is to improve the quality of life of the people of Namibia to the level of their counterparts in the developed world... by the year 2030, with all of us working together, we should be an industrial nation enjoying prosperity, interpersonal harmony, peace and political stability.

Sam Nujoma, President of the Republic of Namibia (Vision 2030)

The notion of reaching the level of the developed world echoes the old, colonial construct of development. The idea of 'catching up with the west' as noted by Rahnema (1997) is one of the most widely accepted myths of development. In the past two decades the sustained economic growth of the African countries resulted an optimistic stance on African economic prospects (Zamfir, 2016). However, this rise in economic prosperity has been largely based on an intensification of natural resource extraction, which in turn has deepened dependency on external forces (e.g. global commodity prices), increased inequality within countries, and raised the question of the colonial mindset and its continuing role in development (I. Taylor, 2016).

The area that is now Namibia was under German colonial rule between 1884 and 1915. After World War I, South Africa seized control over the region and extended the apartheid regime to Namibia (called South West Africa at that time). South Africa retained power until the country's independence in 1990. While the Namibian government regards certain aspects of the country's colonial legacy positively (e.g. well-developed infrastructure, schools, clinics, and road systems), the political leaders of the country emphasized the disruption that colonialism caused to the traditional life of the Namibian people, especially through a systematic disempowerment of traditional structures of authority (OP, 2004). To overcome this colonial legacy, the Namibian government prepared a legislative environment that accommodates traditional leadership systems. The Traditional Authorities Act 25 of 2000 (Government Gazette No. 2456, 22/12/2000) outlined the legal framework for the recognition of traditional leadership and the exact structure of the Traditional Authority (TA) as an institution. In contemporary Namibia, TAs function as legal institutions that represent ethnic groups residing on their traditional territories. As TAs play an important role in land allocation and development planning, conservancies have to be endorsed by the local TAs and the conservancy must share the financial benefits with the TAs (MET, 2014).

The apartheid-based segregated educational system, another colonial legacy, was among the first sectors to democratize following independence. The newly formed government announced their "Education for all" agenda (MEC, 1992), followed by several progressive educational policies, which made the country known for having some of the most forward-thinking and inclusive educational policies in Africa. While the official language of Namibia is English, a flexible language policy was introduced that enables schools to promote the language and cultural identity of learners through the use of their mother tongue as a medium of instruction in Grades 1-3 (MBESC, 2003). However, in a country with 27 different languages, and many more dialects, implementing this policy has been only partly successful, and a large number of students still do not receive early primary instruction in their mother tongues (Chavez, 2016).

Another progressive document aiming to remove existing barriers in the formal education system is the Sector Policy on Inclusive Education (MoE, 2013). The policy advocates a supportive, student-centred learning environment, promotes cultural diversity and aims to address quality issues in formal education through curriculum development, teacher training and a wider collaboration of involved stakeholders. However, practical implementation on the ground, especially in rural areas, remains challenging (Mbukusa & Nekongo, 2017; MoEAC, 2018).

The provision of quality formal education is one of the top agenda items in the Vision 2030 document. As education is viewed as a vital step in building the workforce for the envisaged industrial nation (Amukugo et al., 2010), the Namibian government provides ample budgetary provisions to the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture. In the 2019/2020 fiscal year a total of N\$13.8

billion (23% of the country's annual budget) was allocated to this Ministry. The high allocation of funds is a continuous effort since independence that shows the government's long-term commitment to supporting the education sector. However, the education budget mainly covers operational costs and provides few resources for further development. Only a fraction of the budget is available for school, curriculum, and teacher development, as 83% of the budget is spent on teacher salaries and another 10% on direct operational costs (Hanse-Himarwa, 2017).

Another major pillar of NDP5 is the social protection system, which is considered to be one of the most comprehensive in Africa. As with the education sector, a large proportion of the state's annual budget is allocated to provide cash transfers and social assistance to a range of vulnerable groups, aiming to reduce the overall poverty and inequality in the country (Schade et al., 2019). In 2019, the non-contributory old-age pension equalled 1300 Namibian dollars (N\$) per month (\approx €82), and the vulnerable child grant N\$250 per month (\approx €16) providing an important livelihood contribution to Namibian households (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2016). Social protection also includes the provision of drought relief, food aid, and school feeding. However, in spite of the pro-poor approach of the various social grants, their impact on reducing Namibia's high level of inequality has been limited (Levine et al., 2011).

3.2 THE NAMIBIAN SAN - MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

Among the Namibian population, approximately 38,000 people identify themselves as indigenous San. While Namibia voted in favour of the non-binding United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007, it has not ratified the ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. Similar to other southern African states, the Namibian government does not use the term indigenous in reference to the San, but rather prefers the term 'marginalized communities'. After independence, the state's development programmes failed to reach the various San groups who very quickly found themselves at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. In 2001, more than 10 years after independence, Suzman (2001a) reported that the San were trapped in a 'self-reproducing cycle of marginalisation' fuelled by landlessness, a lack of education, social stigmatisation, and extreme poverty. In every demographic measure (e.g. human development and poverty indices, life expectancy, and food security) the San people were significantly below the national average. The report suggested the establishment of an integrated multi-sectoral development programme specifically targeting the San.

Partially in response to Suzman's study, the Namibian government established the San Development Programme (SDP) in 2005, later renamed as the Division of Marginalized Communities (DMC), with the main objective

'to ensure that the San people are fully integrated into the mainstream of the Namibian society and economy' (Government of Namibia, 2009). The DMC coordinated the San feeding programme, provided educational support, and initiated various development projects, including community gardening, beekeeping and coffin manufacturing. Meanwhile, several national and international NGOs also fostered various income-generation projects (e.g. local craft-making) and ran programmes supporting education and human rights.

At the same time, the San communities began to establish their own leadership and natural resource management institutions in accordance with the Namibian laws and policies. Currently, five San TAs (Hai||om, !Xun, Ju|'hoansi, Omaheke North, and Omaheke South) of the 52 that have been established nationwide, are recognised by the government, who provide formal employment, monthly allowances and vehicles. Among the 86 conservancies in Namibia, two are occupied predominantly by San. The N#a Jaqna Conservancy hosts 3900 people, mainly !Xun. In 2017 it reported a total of N\$1.1 million in income, while employing 13 community members (NACSO, 2017a). The Nyae Nyae Conservancy is of similar size, hosting 3200 people, mainly Ju|'hoansi. Its reported income for 2017 totalled N\$5.9 million and 26 community members were that year employed by the conservancy (NACSO, 2017). In both conservancies, revenues from hunting provided the main source of income (more than 80%) while veld products and tourism accounted for only a small portion of the overall income. In the process, both of the above two, previously overlooked San communities gained certain decision-making power over their land and natural resources.

However, even after establishing these institutions, the TAs and conservancies, agropastoralists often disrespect traditional boundaries of the San and expropriate land for farming or cattle herding (e.g. Hays, 2009; van der Wulp & Koot, 2019). Moreover, historical land dispossession by the state in the name of biodiversity conservation has also left some San groups in a dubious status. For instance, the Hai||om people, who once lived in and around today's Etosha National Park, are today relegated to resettlement farms having no access to their ancestral areas (Hitchcock, 2015). Similarly, the Khwe San people are technically permitted to remain in part of their ancestral area in north-east Namibia, but nature conservation legislation, in the form of a national park, restricts their access to and decision-making power over their ancestral land and natural resources.

Government agencies and development NGOs, following both international pressures (e.g. from the SDGs) and the national agenda (e.g. NDP5), have increasingly put a strong emphasis on providing marginalized groups with access to formal education. The government aims to transform these hunting and gathering communities so they can actively contribute to the envisaged industrial nation in the future:

The new generation from these [marginalized] communities should become agents of change that will transform their communities and compete equally with others in the society.

(OPM, 2011)

However, in practice, despite the supportive and progressive policies that exist on paper, San students face tremendous barriers in the Namibian formal education system. These barriers include poverty, discrimination, the remote location of villages, a cultural mismatch between school and home, lack of education in their mother-tongue, inappropriate curricula, and lack of local role models (Dieckmann et al., 2014). A number of studies have looked at San participation in public schools (e.g. Brown & Haihambo, 2015; Hays, 2011; Hays & Siegruhn, 2005; Ninkova, 2009), and have proposed alternatives such as the Village School project in Nyae Nyae, which develops educational materials based on the local culture and uses the Ju|'hoansi language in the classroom (Hays, 2016). In addition, other strategies have been suggested to overcome the formal educational barriers of the San, for example, education in the students' mother-tongue, training of San teachers, developing local teaching materials, and promoting cultural activities at school (Davids, 2011; Hays & Siegruhn, 2005; Pamo, 2011).

In 2010, a large-scale study to provide livelihood assessments of the different San groups in Namibia was initiated by the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) NGO. The study resulted in a nearly 700-page report published in 2014, titled, 'Scraping the pot: San in Namibia two decades after independence'. This study undertook an analysis of the contemporary socio-economic situation of the different San groups by region, focusing on access to land, development, education, health, and political representation, among others pertinent topics. The final report showcases the diversity of the living situations among the various San groups, some of whom live on farms, some in communal areas, or in informal settlements, and even protected areas.

The study also found that the livelihood strategies vary greatly from one San group to another. Some groups are still practising foraging, while others farm or herd livestock and participate in wage labour. However, the report also states that on most of the study sites, most San households depend on the government's social support system, with the old age pension being their most consistent source of income, and food aid as their most reliable source of food. The overall findings of the report stress the same challenges as earlier studies (see Suzman, 2001a), and highlight the need to develop a state-wide, truly participatory, long-term development strategy. One of the main recommendations of the report, which is also one of the motivations behind why I undertook this doctoral dissertation is the need to develop site-specific approaches to development that take into account the specific political/social/environmental variables of the San community. It is vitally important that there is a consistent and active engagement of the participants

in the San communities undergoing further development (Dieckmann et al., 2014).

3.3 A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE KHWE SAN PEOPLE

The Khwe San people are one of several San groups living in the southern African region. They are also referred to as Khwe, Kxoe, Khoe, or Hukwe in the existing literature. Today, the largest group of Khwe people live inside the Bwabwata National Park in North-East Namibia, which is part of their greater ancestral area. Based on oral history, the forefathers of the Khwe 'were created' in the nearby Tsodolo hills in what is now Botswana (Chumbo & Mmaba, 2002). They practised a solely hunting and gathering lifestyle until the mid-18th century when several Bantu farming tribes (Few, Yei, Mbukushu, Totela, Subiya) began to impinge on their territory (Boden, 2009). While the historical relations between the Bantu-speaking people and the Khwe are difficult to trace, Köhler (1989) recorded local narratives that included trading and client-relationship.

During the German colonial period, the living area of the Khwe, referred to as West Caprivi, was hardly affected by the colonial administration. However, during this time, it became apparent that apart from the relationship based on exchange and reciprocity between the Khwe and several Bantu tribes, the Mbukushu incorporated the Khwe as their subjects under their authority, exercising an oppressive dominance marked by abduction and violence. Starting in the 1930s, the South African administration brought major changes to the lives of the Khwe. The West Caprivi was demarcated as a livestock free area, which resulted in the relocation of the agropastoral Bantu tribes. However, as the Khwe were considered to not be engaged with cattle herding, they were allowed to stay in the area (Boden, 2014). In the 1940s, the administration sought to gain more control over the Khwe people in the area. 'Bushman guards' were installed with the objective of encouraging the San to become sedentary and transforming their livelihood through engaging in agriculture and animal herding (J. J. Taylor, 2009). Later, the administration began to consider the Khwe as a new pool of migrant labour, resulting in many Khwe men working as contract labourers on the Witwatersrand gold mines in South Africa during the 1950s and 1960s. The returning workers used their salaries to purchase cattle, even though it was not until the mid-1960s that they were allowed to keep their cattle, and even then only in some parts of West Caprivi (Boden, 2009).

Nature conservation regulations started to be drawn up from the 1960s. The area between the Kavango and Kwando rivers was proclaimed a Nature Park in 1963, followed by the elevation of the conservation status to a Game Park in 1968. This change was based on a survey confirming the significant ecological value of the area. However, the main goal that lay behind these new

conservation policies was supposedly the South African administration's plans to prepare the ground for the militarization of the area (Boden, 2009). Starting in the late 1960s, the South African Defence Force (SADF) established a military zone in response to the escalating independence movements against the South African occupation. Khwe and !Xun people from the area and from across the border in Angola were settled in military camps. The Khwe grew completely dependent on the SADF, as the majority of Khwe men became army employees, children were taught at the military camp school, and women were also involved through domestic activities (e.g. sewing uniforms, doing laundry, working at the bakery) around the base (Battistoni & Taylor, 2009; Uys, 1993). The rapid militarization of the Khwe caused them to have an even greater dependency on the cash economy, resulting in a transformation of their livelihood practices and of their broader worldview (Suzman, 2001a, p. 56). The Khwe employed by the SADF remember to those times as when they got stable income, a steady diet, and the same social status as any other ethnic tribes (Battistoni & Taylor, 2009; Boden, 2009).

After Namibian independence, the Khwe in West Caprivi faced multiple obstacles in finding their place in the newly formed democratic country. With the withdrawal of the SADF, dramatic changes in the Khwe's socio-economic conditions unfolded: without any wage labour and support for food and clothing, their previous monetary-based livelihood collapsed. In order to survive, the majority of the Khwe reverted to wild food collection, subsistence cultivation, and small-scale crop farming (Rousset, 2003). In addition, the Khwe were labelled as traitors and enemies of the liberation struggle, exacerbating their already multifaceted social, political, and economic marginalization all the more (Battistoni & Taylor, 2009).

In response to the changes in the San people's livelihoods after the SADF withdrawal, the government of Namibia managed a resettlement and development programme between 1990 and 1995 (Hitchcock, 2012). The programme in West Caprivi was implemented by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), through which the Khwe were resettled in larger villages and provided with four-hectare plots per family for farming. The government also distributed cattle as part of the resettlement scheme. In addition, solar-powered boreholes, health posts, and training in agriculture and livestock production were provided (Brenzinger, 1997; Nangoloh & Trümper, 1996).

Another result of the SADF withdrawal was the start of conservation work in the Caprivi Game Park for the first time since the establishment of the Park in 1968. The predecessor of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET) commissioned a socio-ecological survey, recommending CBNRM as a conservation strategy for the area. IRDNC established a monitoring system based on CBNRM practices, employing Khwe community game guards and community resource monitors founded by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF). These positions provided the few formal employment opportunities for the Khwe in the 1990s. Meanwhile, due to the game park status, the Khwe were

prohibited from hunting wild animals or defending themselves, their crops, and bush food from elephants.

Six years after Namibian independence, the National Society for Human Rights initiated a study to assess the health status of the Khwe in West Caprivi. The result showed that most of the previous SADF infrastructure (especially the boreholes) were no longer functional, meaning that the Khwe lacked clean drinking water. In addition, there were widespread problems with hunger and malnutrition, and almost no Khwe had paid employment (Rosenkaimer, 1996).

At the end of the 1990s, MET created a new management plan for the area, proposing to elevate the conservation status and to separate key biodiversity areas from the already populated lands. The Namibian cabinet approved the plan in 1999, but the Bwabwata National Park (BNP) was not gazetted until 2007. The newly gazetted BNP included the entire area between the Okavango and Kwando rivers, and the previously established Mahango National Park. MET created two zone types within the bounds of the Park, each with defined levels of access and user rights. The core areas (Mahango, Buffalo and Kwando) are designated for strict nature conservation, meaning no human settlement or foraging activities are allowed therein. These areas comprise a core habitat for wildlife. The larger multiple-use area is designated for the existing human settlements, small-scale agriculture, veld-food collection, and community-based tourism. Trophy hunting activities can take place in both zones but is strictly controlled by state-managed concessions and quotas.

In 2006, after more than a decade of legal struggles, the Kyaramacan Association (KA) Trust was officially recognized by MET as the legal CBNRM institution in the Park (J. J. Taylor, 2012, p. 117). In Namibia, as national parks are considered to be state-owned land, the Khwe have not been able to form their own conservancy (as several other San groups have elsewhere in the country, outside national parks). Hence, the Khwe have had to resort to a different type of legal entity (a Trust) which has the same purpose and structure as a conservancy (NACSO, 2015). KA works closely with MET and IRDNC. According to the Namibian CBNRM supporting institutions (NACSO, 2017), since the formation of KA, local livelihoods have been diversified through employment creation, tourism development, trophy hunting concessions, crafts production, and natural resource harvesting.

Since the introduction of the Traditional Authorities Act in 2000, the Khwe have repeatedly applied to the Namibian government for official recognition of their cultural traditional leadership structure. They pursued this avenue even though their leadership is not based on the hierarchical chieftainship structure that the Act defines. Amongst the Khwe, older men have traditionally become authorities based on proper conduct and afforded rights. Elders have traditionally been widely regarded as teachers who provide good examples and guidance for the youth. Elder men are responsible for performing certain ceremonies, holding a distinctive position in the practice of sharing, and enjoy

privileges such as receiving highly valued parts of animals after hunting (Chumbo & Mmaba, 2002).

To this day, the government of Namibia does not recognize the Khwe's traditional leadership structure. However, one of the main arguments for the state rejecting it is not because of cultural mismatch, but rather due to the overriding claims of the neighbouring Mbukushu TA, who state that the Khwe and their land belong under the jurisdiction of the Mbukushu TA. As government institutions negotiate mainly with the existing TAs about political matters, development interventions, and land issues, the Khwe have been left without a voice in such negotiations and to this day lack both political representation and communication channels to decision makers.

The above summarized historical accounts demonstrate that the Khwe San's livelihoods have long been diversified, ranging from hunting and gathering, to trading, owning cattle, practising agriculture, and to some extent engaging in wage labour. Yet, government agencies and NGOs continue to portray the Khwe as a primitive hunter-gatherer group, as illustrated by the following quote:

Until 2006, the Khwe subsisted almost entirely off food collected from the forests as they are not cattle farmers.

(NACSO, 2017)

As the above accounts portray, the history of the Khwe in their ancestral territory that today is known as Bwabwata National Park is truly a turbulent one, filled with oppression, ethnic conflicts, wars, and state legislation that have all had major impacts on their livelihoods. The survival of the Khwe has long been bound to their adaptive capabilities, possibly originating from their past as foragers. To this day, the Khwe have continued to adjust to the rapid social, political, economic and environmental changes that shape their livelihoods, which for the most part, were initiated by outside forces. Yet, even in the face of ongoing external pressures, Khwe practices related to hunting and gathering still persist (Koot, 2013).

3.4 THE STUDY AREA - BWABWATA NATIONAL PARK EAST

The study area belongs to the Kongola constituency, which national surveys highlight as one of the most poverty-stricken areas in the whole of Namibia, and also the district with the highest increase in the rate of severely poor households between 2001 and 2011, despite a country-wide decreasing poverty trend (National Planning Commission, 2016).

The research area included eight villages in the Bwabwata National Park East (Figure 3) with a total population of 1486 people in 252 households in 2017 (Table 3). The population has been decreasing slightly over the past

couple of decades: Brenzinger (1997) recorded 1734 people living in 11 settlements during his 1996 fieldwork in the same study area. Since then the population has concentrated into fewer but larger settlements. Seven of the villages are along the B8 main road crossing the National Park from the East to the West, providing easy access to the settlements. The eighth village, Bwabwata, is located deep in the bush and is reachable only by a four-by-four vehicle along a poorly maintained dirt road. On the western side of the Park, the local Khwe San population is gradually being outnumbered by the Mbukushu people who have illegally settled there with their cattle. In contrast, on the eastern side of the Park, nearly all the residents (97%) are Khwe San.

In terms of basic services, the eight Khwe villages in BNP are amongst the most secluded in the Zambezi region, as they are neither connected to the electricity grid nor to the water supply. There is no radio network coverage and only limited mobile phone reception in the area. A recently-installed network tower in Omega 3 provides the only source of mobile network reception in the whole study area. The only government office that is locally available to the residents is the extension service office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Forestry (MAWF) in Omega 3. However, the post has been vacant since early 2017. Chetto hosts the sole health facility that is accessible to the locals: a clinic with two nurses and a tuberculosis (TB) testing facility. Even though the B8 road connects the villages, transportation is still a major concern for the Khwe, as their options for travelling between the villages are either hitchhiking (and paying a fee) or walking.

The two larger settlements have small shops, also referred to as *shebeens* (bars selling mainly alcoholic beverages with or without a licence). To reach the nearest post office, petrol station, or regional council office, and even just to buy credit for their mobile phones, the Khwe need to travel at least 50 kilometres to Kongola. The nearest market town with a variety of retail and hardware shops, as well as ministry offices, is Katima Mulilo, which is situated 155 kilometres from the easternmost village of BNP.

In several of the villages in BNP East, the Khwe attend weekly religious gatherings on Saturdays or Sundays in Omega 1. In recent years, the Romanian Pentecostal church has established a relationship with several local Khwe, resulting in two newly-erected church buildings. A pastor from a Namibian church regularly organizes bible study workshops for around 10–15 Khwe (usually 1 or 2 representatives from each village in BNP East), who hope to one day become pastors in their own villages. Apart from these workshops, the new church buildings are rarely utilized.

Three of the settlements feature a public school, however, the highest grade achievable is Grade 10 in Omega 3. Students wishing to continue beyond Grade 10 need to leave BNP East and enrol in a senior secondary school (SSC), which also offers hostel accommodation. While the education is free, students need to pay for the hostel. In the case of the Khwe, the DMC education support programme covers these costs, after the student successfully completes a long application process. The Mayuni SSC is the nearest institution with a hostel,

in approximately 60 kilometres from BNP, but several previous students also attended senior schools in Katima Mulilo.

Table 3. *Characteristics of the eight villages in the study area*

Village	Distance¹	Population	HHDs²	Boreholes	Services
Mashambo	-	225	46	1 hand & 1 diesel	Kindergarten, School
Poca	4	69	15	1 solar	-
Omega 3	9	401	62	1 solar	Kindergarten, MAWF office, School, Shop
#TonXei	23	62	13	1 hand	-
Kajenge	26	34	6	none	-
Pipo	36	70	13	1 hand	-
Chetto	46	577	86	2 solar & 1 diesel	Kindergarten, School, Clinic, Shops
Bwabwata	64	48	11	none	Kindergarten

¹ Villages listed from East to West. Distances between villages are given in kilometres starting from Mashambo.

² Households (HHDs)

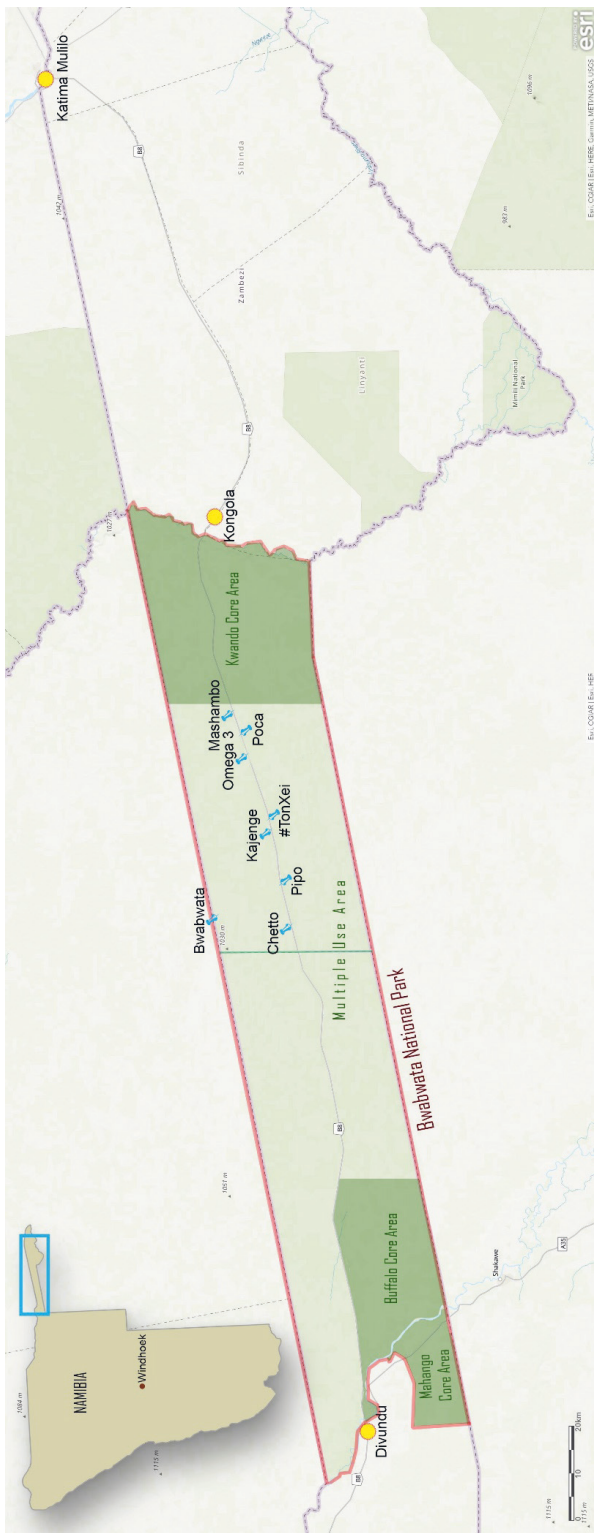


Figure 3 The surroundings of the study area in the eastern part of Bwabwata National Park (8 villages), Namibia
Map created by Attila Paksi



Photo 1 A typical village setting



Photo 2 Fetching water at a borehole



Photo 3 Trophy meat distribution



Photo 4 The B8 Trans-Capri highway



Photo 5 A well-equipped local classroom



Photo 6 Elderly lady weaving a basket

Photos captured by Attila Paksi and Anita Heim

4 THE RESEARCH PROCESS WITH THE KHWE SAN

My first visit to southern Africa took place between March and April 2015. The year before, I met three Khwe elders at two separate international conferences, who invited me to visit their villages and encouraged me to conduct research with their communities. During my first visit, I spent approximately two weeks in the Bwabwata National Park (BNP). I visited most of the settlements and the three elders introduced me to their respective communities. I conversed with several community members about their contemporary livelihoods and the socio-economic challenges that they are facing. I also had the unique opportunity to participate as an observer on a 'tracking training', initiated by a Namibian non-governmental organization (NGO), which was organized deep in the bush. This afforded me the chance to witness the Khwe tracking knowledge and skills in practice. Two highly experienced Khwe elders provided the training for game guards, rangers, and trackers coming from the neighbouring regions. During the training, I was exposed to a different epistemological realm and witnessed the meaning of '*another ways of knowing*' (Mignolo, 2002) our surroundings and other ways to relate to land, people and animals. A significant part of the experience involved listening to hunting stories and folktales at the evening fire.

After this scoping visit, I maintained active communication with the Khwe I met and enrolled in my doctoral studies at the University of Helsinki. Initially my aim was to cover the entire area of Bwabwata National Park (BNP) in my research; however, the national park is vast, and the study area had to be scaled down for practical reasons. Moreover, the park is divided between two political regions, which would make a study that encompasses the entire park area unfeasible. The western part of the park area belongs to the Kavango East region, while the eastern part belongs to the Zambezi region. After careful consideration, I choose the eastern part of the park because: 1) the area hosted a variety of settlements (variety in size, available infrastructure, and level of seclusion); 2) the B8 road provided a fast and easy access to all the villages; 3) no other ethnic tribes encroached into the eastern part of the park as it is inhabited almost exclusively by the Khwe San; and 4) the flora and fauna surrounding the villages was visibly less degraded than in the western part of the park. All these factors contributed to my ability to carry out a more nuanced research rooted in the Khwe's culture and life experience, ruling out the direct influence of certain political (e.g. multi-ethnic conflicts) and environmental (e.g. decreased wild-food availability due to land degradation) variables.

I conducted my fieldwork in conjunction with my wife, Anita Heim. She simultaneously engaged with doctoral research fieldwork that focused on food and nutrition security among the Khwe San in BNP East. We camped together

in the villages and coordinated our research activities in a way that allowed us to move in tandem between the settlements. However, on most days, we worked separately, each paired with a Khwe research assistant. The locals were accustomed to individual researchers visiting their communities, hence conducting the fieldwork as a couple, was a novel arrangement in this context. A potential result of this unusual fieldwork arrangement might be that we were granted more privacy and we were given consideration as an independent household.

I have spent a total of 15 months in Namibia, on three separate field trips. During my first field trip from May to November 2016 (six months), I familiarized myself with the local environment, carried out participant observation, visited the households of village leaders and elders, and aimed to participate in the every-day life of the village. In addition, I catalogued the stakeholders active in BNP and conducted semi-structured interviews with several of them in Windhoek, Kongola, and Katima Mulilo to gather information on their roles and mandate in the study area. Also, in coordination with Anita Heim and in cooperation with the local health officers, we conducted a socio-economic household census, which included all the households in six of the villages. During this first period, I pilot-tested several methods, including participatory photography, free listing, and ranking exercises. Towards the end of the field trip, I conducted semi-structured interviews with Khwe community members (n=43) and external stakeholders (n=9) that focused on the topic of nature conservation.

During my second field trip from February to June 2017 (4.5 months), I visited each of the three local schools in the study area and administered a questionnaire and a semi-structured interview with all the teachers (n=29). I carried out classroom observations, and studied the teaching aids, classroom materials, and the applied teaching methods. I also interviewed Khwe parents (n=37) to gain a better understanding of their relationship to and perception of formal schooling, and conducted a ranking activity of six knowledge and skills items with the Khwe youth (n=146). In addition, I conducted a participatory photography project in three villages with the local Khwe people (n=24).

During my third field trip, from November 2017 to March 2018 (4.5 months), I focused on the topic of development interventions. I compiled a list of community development projects through key informant interviews and conducted semi-structured interviews with Khwe project participants (n=36) and development agents (n=14), who represented various NGOs, government agencies and private enterprises working in BNP. I organized village meetings to validate my preliminary findings and finally had the opportunity to visit Bwabwata village, the most secluded settlement in the study area.

Over the duration of the fieldwork, I participated in several community meetings organized by various ministries, NGOs, or consultants, in addition to the Kyaramacan Association's annual general meetings. These events were

crucial for providing an insight into the relationships between external stakeholders and local community members.

In each of the villages prior to the start of our stay, we asked permission from the village leaders and inquired about a suitable place to camp. The duration of the stay in each village varied, depending on the size of the settlement, seasonal activities, and resource availability. We used a Toyota Hilux 4x4 car to travel and also as our food and water storage facility, as the nearest town to buy supplies was approximately 150 kilometres from the Park.

4.1 RESEARCH ETHICS

Research ethics provide guidelines for the responsible conduct of research throughout the entire research process. According to the University of Helsinki Ethical Review Board in the Humanities and Social and Behavioural Sciences, my research did not require an ethical review as it did not fall under the criteria specified by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (TENK, 2019). However, I found it of the utmost importance to reflect on the ethical aspects of my research practices and worked to uphold a high ethical standard in all aspects of my research. As Smith (1999) wrote, the word 'research' itself, is considered by many Indigenous Peoples as one of the 'dirtiest words' in history. Hence, researchers, organizations, and indigenous communities are continuing to create their own set of principles to guide ethical research practice.

The South African San Institute published the San Code of Research Ethics (SCRE), which is based on five overarching principles, to enable researchers and communities to engage in research on equal grounds (SASI, 2017). The guidelines highlight the need to show respect to individuals, communities and the local culture; to be honest in communication and follow the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC); to follow justice and fairness by meaningfully involve the San as co-researchers; to care for the local needs and work for the improvement of the lives of the San; to follow the research process that was previously agreed with the community. My research was planned prior to the publication of the SCRE. Thus, I aligned my research plan with the Code of Ethics of the International Society of Ethnobiology (ISE), which is one of the most comprehensive ethics document including 17 principles and 12 practical guidelines based on the concept of traditional resource rights (ISE, 2006). Ethnobiological research often centres on Indigenous Peoples, as the focus areas of the discipline are the biological knowledge of particular ethnic groups, their cultural knowledge about plants and animals, and the potential interrelationships therein (Anderson, 2011, p. 1). The first set of principles includes the need to respect traditional communal and individual rights to land, natural resources, and culture/self-determination. The focus of the remaining principles, like the guidelines of the SCRE, concern the active

participation of the local communities in the research process, FPIC, confidentiality, and reciprocity.

I continuously reflected on the questions of how to 'give back' to the community in a research setting and how to form reciprocal relationships with local community members. Reciprocity is not simply balancing the giving and taking between the researcher and the local community members, but rather is the formation of a longitudinal relationship built on trust and mutual interest (Kovach, 2009; Restoule, 2008; L. T. Smith, 1999). My involvement in the locals' daily lives, listening to the Khwe's needs, complaints and ideas, sharing certain resources according to social norms, and consciously choosing research methods to lessen power inequalities contributed to the development of relationships on a more equal footing and enabled locals to draw benefits from my presence (Article IV). I aimed to distribute the monetary benefits resulting from my presence evenly between the villages. In support of this aim, I worked with a paid research assistant from each of the settlements where I stayed. Local inhabitants got other tangible benefits during my stay, including car rides to the clinic and to schools, numerous water containers, school stationery, clothes, sports jerseys, and soccer balls, among other items. In addition, several community members asked me to help them write funding proposals and official letters in support of new opportunities for the villagers.

To conduct research inside the national park, and stay officially in the villages, I acquired a research permit (see Appendix 2) from the Ministry of Environment and Tourism (MET). The permit, which was issued within three months of the date of application, also explicitly stated that the researcher, 'must obtain prior consent from the community members and traditional authority in the area before conducting interviews with the community members'. I also considered this point to be highly important and necessary, and as the Khwe Traditional Authority is still not acknowledged by the Namibian government, I made an appointment with each of the headmen and the one headwoman of the villages to introduce myself, explain my research and allow the village leaders to voice any potential concerns. I asked for their FPIC to camp in the villages and to talk with the community members. I had formal and informal discussions with the village leaders several times and maintained regular communication with them about the next steps in the research process throughout the fieldwork. In addition, I also acquired another permit from the Directorate of Education, Arts and Culture at the Zambezi Regional Council, to be able to visit the three local schools and to interview the teachers.

Several ethical challenges emerged during the fieldwork, which needed to be addressed according to the local norms, as well as adhering to the ISE guidelines and principles. At the beginning of my research, several community members demanded money in return for talking to me when I approached them the first time. My local research assistant explained to me that a researcher working previously in the villages used to give monetary compensation to interview participants, especially to women, for their time

spent on the interview. However, the individual monetary compensation would have disturbed the relative egalitarian social setting and could have compromised the FPIC process. Therefore, I decided to organize a village wide community 'celebration' on the last day of my stay at the villages, with cooked food, and the presentation of my preliminary findings.

One of the most challenging events occurred during a classroom observation when I witnessed how a teacher slapped a ten-year-old Khwe boy in the face during a lesson as punishment for chatting with his classmate. Corporal punishment at schools is prohibited by the Namibian law. I asked several Khwe parents about their views on physical punishment after this observation before taking any further steps. To my surprise, around half of the parents questioned said that if their child was misbehaving at school, it is acceptable for the teacher to use corporal punishment. Afterwards, I did not pursue the issue any further.

4.2 POSITIONALITY

Positionality in a research setting means the understanding of how the researcher's past and present identities and experiences influence research relationships (Heaslip, 2014).

I was living in Australia when I first learned about Indigenous Peoples. I worked as an information technology teacher at a high school in North Queensland and had a few Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in the class. I became interested to learn more about their culture, social relations, and customary practices. It was apparent that the rigid and standardized formal education system was not able to accommodate indigenous cultural practices, such as students missing classes due to a traditional mourning ceremony that can last for days or even weeks. My critical perspective of the formal education system became even stronger when I visited the indigenous ni-Vanuatu people on the islands of Vanuatu, who were struggling to continue practising cultural traditions while also benefiting from the formal schooling system.

During my fieldwork, I reflected on my educational and cultural background and on how the research participants perceived me. First, I perceived that the Khwe community members saw me as just another white outsider, with 'abundant resources', conducting research while staying only temporarily in the villages. At the beginning of my fieldwork, this view shaped many of my relationships with the local community members and I was often requested to share my resources (see Article IV). Even though I always introduced myself, and went through the FPIC protocol, at the end of the discussion, interview participants often requested that I pass on their complaints to the Namibian government. Therefore, I had to be very specific in explaining, that I was conducting research for a European university, and not for a government agency or an NGO that aims to bring new projects or

resources to the community. Merriam et al. (2001) note that the researcher's power is not a given, but rather is negotiated during the fieldwork. Similarly, the researcher's positionality is relational and can shift based on multiple factors. Through my continuous involvement in the every-day village life, specifically through casual interactions with the community members, people became more accustomed to my presence, and the obvious differences in ethnic background and power became less significant.

During my fieldwork, I also spent a considerable amount of time at the local schools and in the company of the teachers. I shared my background and experience in teaching, which contributed to developing a natural, relaxed atmosphere when I visited classes or conducted interviews. As a former teacher, I could sympathize with the teachers' daily struggles, but as a critical researcher, I also investigated how formal education functions as a system. Nevertheless, teachers still asked me several times to supply books, teaching aids, and laptops to the school. This indicated that they perceived me as a possible donor. Even though I was not able to purchase laptops, my background in IT allowed me to help repair existing computers. I was also able to buy crucial exam preparation booklets to support their teaching practices. These small contributions and the extended time spent on sharing teaching experiences helped to develop a more reciprocal relationship with the teachers.

Occasionally though, I was reminded by outsiders of my privileged position as a white man conducting research in a previously colonised, apartheid country. Once, when I was providing a lift to several Khwe individuals, a Namibian policeman stopped me for a routine check. I had five passengers in the car – one more, than the legally allowed limit. The policeman loudly lectured me, how white people are the 'sugar daddies' of the 'Bushman'. His speech was full of discriminatory, prejudicial statements, for example, that all the San people are selfish alcoholics, going to a town to drink all their money so that they do not have to share it with their families. The policeman argued that the San could do this without thinking, as they know that eventually a white person, pointing to me, will come and take them home.

One often-cited barrier to conducting research in a community abroad is the knowledge of the local language. During my stay in BNP, I learned the basic expressions in Khwedam, but was not fluent enough to conduct interviews in the local language. I was fortunate though, to work with research assistants, who had an excellent command of English and were able to translate effortlessly between the two languages.

4.3 METHODS AND SOURCES

Several of the applied field methods emerged gradually over time. While at the beginning of the fieldwork, I mostly utilized informal methods, as I spent more time in the villages, I applied more formal methods (see Table 2 in Article IV).

I used a diverse set of research methods, including observation, questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and participatory photography. In addition, I acquired numerous written materials, e.g. Namibian policy documents, development project reports, and the local schools' educational records. These methods were employed with the aim to provide a holistic view of the research topic. In the following sub-sections, I describe the applied field methods in detail.

4.3.1 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

I lived in the BNP East communities for a total of more than one year. During this time, I participated in a range of activities in the villages, ranging from official gatherings, funerals, soccer games, school festivities, agricultural harvesting, to just simply sitting in a friend's backyard and telling stories to each other. Participant observation is about immersion into a new culture, and establishing rapport in that community by learning the local language, spending time, and sharing space with each other (Bernard, 2011). The method is not a passive process, but includes the active exchange of ideas and experiences between the researcher and community members (Nightingale, 2008). Participant observation is often perceived as a time-consuming method, but as Grandia (2015) notes, this type of 'slower ethnography' could be essential to create a decolonizing space when conducting research with Indigenous Peoples.

Several members of the community guided me, especially my research assistants. These assistants frequently shared with me news about upcoming events and activities. In some cases, they brought news on official gatherings, and in other cases they informed me about the possibility of accompanying villagers on gathering trips or to the agricultural fields. I frequently played soccer with the Khwe youth, whenever they decided to invite me, and occasionally sat next to an elderly person engaged in weaving a basket or carving a tool. These observations and informal conversations when participating in the everyday life of people were not verbatim recorded, but recalled at the end of the day, and written into my field journal as field notes.

Apart from receiving first-hand information about village life through the local research assistants, the children in the villages were also keen to involve me in their activities (e.g. games, dances and singing), especially during the school term breaks. In these 'playtime afternoons', usually around 10-15 children (both boys and girls, between the ages of four and 12) showed up near my tent. In many cases we played with a ball, did drawings, or played dancing games. On other occasions, the children self-initiated role-play games and acted out what has happened to them during the day. These were fascinating encounters, through which I could look 'behind the scenes' and observe events through the children's eyes. Once they acted out a Chinese martial arts movie that they had seen the previous night on someone's laptop. The acting included a lot of swearing – although they probably did not know the meaning – and

kicking and punching each other. They also acted out their experiences at the local school. The girl in the teacher's role was constantly yelling at the children who were acting as the students. This included shouting how 'stupid' they are and pretending to beat them. They also imitated the tombo²-drinking, intoxicated Khwe adults that they frequently encountered in the villages. The children 'brewed' their own (fake) tombo drink by mixing a local fruit with water. They then sat down in a circle around the beverage, and as they were drinking it, they became louder and louder. Eventually they started singing in a shouting voice and pushing each other to imitate a fight. I often felt, just by spending time with the children, that I could get a rather accurate portrayal of the village life.

I also conducted classroom observations at the three local schools. These were scheduled in an ad hoc manner, as my aim was to observe a diversity of lessons and get a general overview of the formal school environment, by examining the teaching and learning practices. I observed lessons ranging from pre-primary (age 6-7) to grade 10 (age 16-20) in a variety of subject areas including English, agriculture, mathematics, and social studies, among others. In total, I observed lessons held by 11 teachers (including five Khwe). During these observations I sat at the back of the classroom and made notes during the lessons.

I also participated in various meetings in the villages, either organized by the community (e.g. village development meetings), or training and consultations organized by external actors (e.g. a Ministry of Environment and Tourism consultation on Devil's Claw harvesting). In these meetings, I sat at the back and made written notes, not only related to the topic of the meeting, but also on the power dynamics, and on the communication style of the speakers. Observations made at these meetings proved to be instrumental in triangulating the individual personal interviews conducted with the external stakeholders. Before each of these meetings, I always approached the event organizer and asked for permission to sit in and observe the meeting. As I had my official research permit, in most of the cases my request was approved, with one exception. A ministry representative expressed that the meeting was organized only for community members. Thus, my presence was not welcome. When I shared my disappointment with the Khwe participants and told them I was denied access to the meeting, they went to the ministry representative and told him that I am a community member camping in the village, and eventually I was allowed to participate in the meeting.

Participant observation allowed me to experience the local reality first-hand when sitting in the sand with the elderly making tools, or at the back of a classroom among students listening to the teacher's explanation. Attending the various community meetings made me often to reflect along the lines of the ACFID principles, asking why the external actors do not aim to build

² Tombo is a fermented, lightly alcoholic homebrew, made from millet, brown sugar and water. Alcohol abuse is a commonly cited social issue in relation to San groups (see e.g. Sylvain, 2006).

partnerships with the Khwe? Why they lack cultural competency? Why they use a paternalistic language and discourage local participation?

4.3.2 SURVEY RESEARCH

Survey research is one of the most commonly used methodologies in the social sciences to gather data in a systematic way (Julien, 2008). One of the specific methods of conducting a survey is via a questionnaire. In this study, two questionnaires were administered, first a study-area wide household census, then later a specific questionnaire with the local teachers.

The socio-economic census recorded at the beginning of my fieldwork forms an important dataset of this study. During my first field trip, one of the local health workers was assigned by the village headman as my research assistant. He shared with me that he needs to conduct a census in the villages soon. We agreed to team up, and while he was collecting data for the health register, I recorded basic demographic data, such as age, gender, education level, employment, and sources of income. In addition, I collected data regarding the number of livestock, participation in agricultural activities and Devil's Claw harvesting, and knowledge of tool making and basket making. These data provided the basis for the quantitative analysis of the local livelihoods. As the health worker needed to register every individual, I also recorded every person and household in the study area. The people had already been notified about the survey by the village leader and the health worker. Therefore, most of the villagers were at home waiting for us. When we arrived at one of the households, we introduced ourselves, informed the people about the purpose of the data collection and asked permission to record the survey. We sat down in the courtyard, and the people living in that household showed their identification documents to my research assistant, so he could record the exact age of the individuals. In several cases, people had no official documents, but could tell us their approximate age. After my research assistant completed his part of the survey, I asked a set of questions related to the socio-economic status of the individuals. This survey also proved to be a great occasion to meet all the local community members and get to know the village settings. Moreover, the socio-economic census data provided the basis to approach specific sub-groups of community members to participate further in this study (e.g. pensioners, parents with school-age children, employed people).

Another survey I conducted was a questionnaire with all 29 teachers working at the three local schools. The survey addressed four main topics, including: 1) basic demographics and personal teaching competencies; 2) perception of Khwe students' skills and knowledge; 3) perception of the rate and causes of student drop-outs; and 4) cultural inclusiveness of teaching practices. Most of the questions were closed-ended, using multiple choice or Likert scale question types. However, open-ended questions also provided an option for the teachers to write general comments in their own words. This

self-administered questionnaire was conducted after I had already carried out several classroom observations, and the teachers were familiar with my presence. I approached the teachers individually during school breaks and handed over the printed questionnaire which contained a total of 20 questions. I explained the purpose of the survey, pointed out the different question types, and allowed one or two days for the teachers to fill in the questionnaire in their own times. Afterwards, I personally collected the responses and scheduled a follow-up face-to-face individual interview with each teacher.

Sample size, validity, and representativeness are common issues to consider in survey research (Lavrakas, 2008). Both questionnaires included the whole potential survey population – all the villagers in the case of the census and all the teachers for the educational questionnaire – and not only a representative sub-section. The socio-economic survey questions were based on the National Household Income & Expenditure Survey by the Namibian Statistics Agency, previous livelihood studies with San groups (e.g. Boden, 2014; Dieckmann et al., 2014) and my own participant observations. The relevance and wording of the questions were pilot tested with randomly-selected individuals. The questions addressing the various teaching and learning practices were based on the core skills and competencies listed in the Namibian National Curriculum for Basic Education (NIED, 2016, p. 10), and on the Namibian Sector Policy on Inclusive Education (MoE, 2013). The questions were carefully worded and tailored to the local setting.

4.3.3 INTERVIEWS

Interviews with the Khwe community members, government and NGO representatives, and local teachers form an integral part of the qualitative dataset in this study. I conducted semi-structured thematic interviews (Bernard, 2011, p. 157) related to each of the three main areas of this study. Over the course of my first field trip, following the recording of the socio-economic census, I interviewed Khwe villagers (n=43) about their livelihoods and perception of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and nature conservation. The villagers were divided into strata based on livelihoods and demographic variables shown in the census (e.g. employment, farming, age, gender, etc.) and interview participants were chosen randomly from each stratum. During this time, I also approached government officers and NGO representatives who are engaged in BNP and asked questions to map their present (and historical) involvement and objectives in the study area.

During the second field trip in 2017, I conducted interviews with Khwe parents about their perception of formal education and the Khwe traditional knowledge system, their involvement in their children's schooling, their relationship with the teachers and the wider school community, and their views on the content and methods of teaching. The selection of the interview participants (n=37) followed random sampling from a pool of Khwe

households with at least one student in grade 5 or above. When approaching the household, first I clarified who the caregiver of the child(ren) who attended school was. Depending on who was present, I asked for permission to sit and conduct the interview. Several younger mothers declined the interview, saying they had a low-level of education, and they were shy to speak. In some cases, they pointed towards their husbands to talk to or asked me to talk with someone else. In total 21 females and 16 males participated, among whom 15 never attended school, 14 had some years of formal schooling, and among the remaining eight parents, the highest level of education was between Grade 8 and Grade 10.

In relation to education (both school-based knowledge- and traditional knowledge exchange), I carried out a semi-structured interview with all 29 local teachers, which included follow up questions related to the teacher survey recorded earlier. I scheduled an interview and sat down with the teachers either on the school premises or in the backyard of their temporary home in the villages. First, I verified their answers in the questionnaire and asked for reasons and examples behind their written responses. The rest of the interview questions were divided into four themes: 1) personal background and experience in teaching; 2) teaching practices, including successes and challenges; 3) perception of Khwe students and culture; and 4) school management. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours.

A ranking exercise as a structured interview with the Khwe youth (n=146) was conducted in 2017 following focus group discussions in three villages. During the focus group discussion, a list of knowledge and skills was established (including traditional and non-traditional) that were either present or desirable in the community. After pilot testing the knowledge and skills items, an interview guide and printed aids were developed. Printed and laminated cards with a small pictogram next to the English writing were used in the ranking exercise with randomly selected individuals across seven villages in the study area. The cards were introduced one at a time and placed in front of the participant, who then placed them in the order of their choice based on the 'importance of the knowledge or skill item in his/her life'. Later participants were asked for the reasons behind how they came to their ranking order (see Article II).

Further semi-structured interviews related specifically to the third thematic focus of this study (development initiatives) were carried out with Khwe community members (n=36), who participated in development projects in BNP East. Selection of the interview participants was based on the suggestions of previous key informants (village leaders and community elders) who provided an overarching history of development projects in the study area. In addition, development agents representing various NGOs, government agencies, and private enterprises (n=14) were also interviewed. The interview guide included questions concerning enablers and barriers to development in BNP East, participation and project management, and inclusion of local culture and community assets in projects.

Most of the interviews with the Khwe community members were conducted in Khwedam with a local research assistant providing English translation. Before carrying out the interviews, the translation and understanding of the interview guide were tested by two research assistants, who translated and took turns answering the questions while assessing the material for any possible misunderstandings. The teachers, government and NGO representatives, and development agents were interviewed in English.

The thematic semi-structured interviews allowed the participants to express their own views and ideas and share their personal experiences. While the overall topics of the interviews were set (national park management, formal education and development interventions), and interview-guides were prepared, the discussion provided space and encouraged participants to express and reflect on those topics that they find important.

4.3.4 PHOTOGRAPHY

To investigate the Khwe peoples' conceptualization of well-being – an essential livelihood outcome – a participatory photography method called Photovoice was used in five villages involving 41 local participants. Photovoice is a visual Participatory Action Research method, through which participants identify, capture, and reflect on specific topics within their own community through photographs (Wang & Burris, 1997). This method was chosen because conventional well-being surveys with Likert scales or open-ended questions were locally not applicable. The Khwe in BNP embraced all their contemporary and historical hardships, as Rousset (2003) described the locals' perception in her study: 'to be Khwe means to suffer'. Therefore, conversations on happiness and the pilot testing of standard well-being surveys proved to be unsuitable. However, Photovoice was deemed appropriate as the villagers showed an interest in photography, this participatory method emphasizes skill-building and is compatible with the more traditional storytelling methods.

Participatory photography provided a novel research approach among the Khwe in Bwabwata. However, the method has been already applied in Namibia in the late 1990s among a Damara-speaking community in Okombahe. Rohde (1998) aimed to challenge the predominantly Eurocentric bias in the production of ethnographic materials and distributed 24 cameras to 16 community members fostering a process of visual self-representation. The year-long project resulted in over 500 photographs, providing "an 'insider' view of daily life surrounding this dynamic, impoverished communal village" (Rohde, 1998, p. 188). The dialogic and reflexive method enabled the researcher to establish active and reciprocal relationships with the locals, organize large family gatherings featuring storytelling and exhibit the photos in the National Art Gallery of Namibia addressing issues of race, ethnicity, aesthetics, poverty, power and their representations.

More recently, a brief Photovoice project among the !Xun and Khwe communities at Platfontein in the Northern Cape of South Africa has been

carried out, to allow these communities to present their concerns and contemporary situation regarding language and education (Grant, 2019). Through the facilitated group discussions about the participants' photographs, ten major issues were identified by the community members involved, including larger societal challenges, such as alcohol abuse. Grant (2019, p. 15) concludes her paper by emphasizing the role that the Photovoice method could play in elevating the motivation and capacity of local individuals to initiate positive social change within their communities.

In the BNP, the method involved training the participants, taking photos by themselves, conducting individual interviews, and organizing a final group discussion also including making decisions on future action(s) to be taken with the project photos. In each village, one Photovoice project was held for a duration of seven to nine days. The selection of the participants followed cultural protocols, taking gender balance and the relative egalitarian practices into consideration (see Article IV, p. 15).

Apart from acquiring valuable research data, this method proved to be instrumental in building trust, forming reciprocal relationships, and giving back to the community in a meaningful and enjoyable way (Paksi, 2018). The publishing of the analysis of the photos are still on-going, but several conference presentations featured preliminary findings (e.g. Paksi & Heim, 2018a, 2018b). Eight project photos from the several hundred are included to this summary in Chapter 5, each providing a local insight to the sub-topics of this study.

5 FINDINGS

This dissertation consists of four peer-reviewed articles (three journal articles and one book chapter) and the summarising report. In this chapter, I will first briefly introduce the three journal articles that address the specific research questions, and then move on to discuss their findings.

The overarching study and the three research articles give an account of how development – manifested as protected area management, formal education, or rural community development initiatives – impact the contemporary livelihood of the Khwe hunters and gatherers. It is also the aim in this study to analyse the role of traditional knowledge and perceptions of local cultural characteristics in development practice. The first research question (RQ1) of this study examines the role that nature conservation plays in the local livelihoods and the Khwe peoples' attitudes to conservation regulations. The second research question (RQ2) investigates the perceptions of the traditional knowledge and practices by the Khwe youth, elders, and local teachers. In addition, this question exposes cultural characteristics related to both formal education and traditional knowledge transmission. The third research question (RQ3) analyses how the Khwe traditional knowledge and cultural practices are perceived and incorporated into rural development projects in BNP East.

Article I, *Socio-economic Impacts of a National Park on Local Indigenous Livelihoods: The Case of the Bwabwata National Park in Namibia (Paksi & Pyhälä, 2018)*, answers RQ1 by analysing how nature conservation can impact the livelihoods of the people living inside a national park. The discussion of this article is formed by the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework and based on the results of a comprehensive socio-economic survey recorded during the first year of this study. In addition to the quantitative data collection, 43 Khwe community members and nine government and NGO officers were interviewed to investigate the perception of and attitude towards nature conservation and livelihood strategies in the study area.

Article II, *“We live in a modern time”: Local Perceptions of Traditional Knowledge and Formal Education among a Namibian San community (Paksi, accepted)*, examines the current role that formal education and traditional knowledge-based activities play in the contemporary livelihood of the Khwe community. A variety of methods were utilized to answer RQ2, including a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews with teachers working at the three local schools, as well as classroom observations and interviews with Khwe parents. A free listing and ranking activity of knowledge and skill items provided the perceptions held by the Khwe youth regarding the knowledge and skills that are attainable in formal and informal settings.

Article III, “*I dream about development*” – *Community Development Projects with the Khwe in Bwabwata National Park East, Namibia (Paksi, manuscript)*, analyses the contribution of recent community development initiatives in the study area to local livelihoods. Participant observation, project-site visits, and semi-structured interviews with Khwe community leaders, project participants, and external development agents provided the data to answer RQ3. The 15 local projects and the recorded interviews were analysed through three overarching principles of the indigenous community development approach, that is, applying cultural sensitivity, addressing human rights, and employing a strength-based approach

In the following sections, I discuss the main research questions considering the findings of the above mentioned three articles.

5.1 LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES INSIDE THE NATIONAL PARK

The data discussed in Articles I and III showed that the contemporary livelihood strategies of the Khwe San people do not provide adequate benefits to maintain a sound livelihood inside the national park. Even though one of the main promises of CBNRM is to improve the well-being of local communities through various natural resource-based income-generating activities, the Khwe peoples in BNP East still considered CBNRM to be a top-down government intervention that overrides the needs of the locals. Therefore, Article I specifically analysed the four locally available income-generating livelihood strategies in BNP East – formal employment, seasonal employment, occasional cash income, and the social safety net – to quantify the monetary benefits that CBNRM provides to the Khwe households.

The Khwe San people reported formal employment as their preferred livelihood strategy, which provided the largest overall monetary contribution in the study area. However, similar to other San groups, the formal employment opportunities are extremely limited in BNP east, and factors such as a low level of education, lack of previous work experience, and discrimination pose further challenges to obtaining formal employment even outside of their immediate living areas (Dieckmann et al., 2014). However, the Kyaramacan Association employs community game guards and community resource monitors from every village in BNP East, and provides further employment to cleaners, drivers, and field officers. This results in a total of 108 Khwe inhabitants engaged in formal employment, which is higher than in many Namibian San communities. Nearly half (51) of these employees earned a salary in a CBNRM-related position that provided very low remuneration compared to the rest of the formal jobs available, between N\$600/month (a cleaner) and N\$2,500/month (a worker at the trophy hunter).

In addition, seasonal income from harvesting Devil's Claw provided a much-valued cash benefit for many Khwe households (Articles I and III), while the once-a-year cash handout from the KA also added to the CBNRM-related monetary benefits. As no income from crafts or tourism was reported, all the CBNRM revenue was derived from the trophy hunting concession and the Devil's Claw harvest. The share of the natural resource-based income amounted for only 21.1%. The livelihood study conducted nearly 20 years ago by Wiessner (2003) with the Ju|'hoansi in the Nyae Nyae area reported strikingly similar employment numbers (120 employees in total) and natural resource-based income share (25.5%). However, the largest proportion of natural resource-based income was derived from crafts in Nyae Nyae, with very little income from trophy hunting, while the trend 20 years later in BNP East was just the opposite. The difference can be partially explained by site-specific variables, such as the higher abundance of trophy animals and the restricted access to natural resources used for crafts in BNP East. In addition, as described earlier, the Ju|'hoansi in Nyae Nyae have a long history of working closely with researchers and supporting local organizations, hence they receive regular targeted assistance in managing crafts and in maintaining a variety of livelihood projects. The Khwe, on the other hand, have no such targeted and longstanding partnerships, that would assist them in entrepreneurial and cultural activities.

The distribution of CBNRM-related incomes – especially received from trophy hunting – proves to be challenging also in other conservancies. In a more recent study tracing the value chain of trophy elephant hunting at the Kwandu Conservancy (in the immediate vicinity of BNP), Hewitson (2018) noted, that while the conservancy receives large revenues from trophy hunting, few community members receive benefits at the household level. His study also showed that the situated knowledge and needs of local people are overlooked by the neoliberal conservation approach, and the existing economic benefits only serve to reinforce state control over natural resources. The Khwe people interviewed for this study expressed similar sentiments, labelling CBNRM as a government programme with an already decided political agenda, which does not address the needs of the local community (Article I). While the above examples point towards system-level issues, Nuulimba and Taylor (2015) highlighted the importance of differentiating between critiques related to the CBNRM principles and critiques related to their on-the-ground implementation. In their article, summarizing 25 years of CBNRM in Namibia, they noted that many of the original goals of the country-wide programme for environmental and human development have been achieved. They acknowledge the academic criticism related to e.g. authority and financial governance, but they argue that the overall benefits outweigh the drawbacks, and with improved implementation the local challenges can be addressed.



Photovoice 1 "The old woman is suffering from hunger. Even though she receives pension, it is not enough. The government food distribution is promised to come every month, but it comes every 3-4 months, so she always needs to take credit from others not to die from hunger. She has more credit now than the pension she receives." (Alfred Sam, male, 22)



Photovoice 2 "The man is a tool maker; he is preparing an axe for sale so that he can buy food. He knows, if he is sitting at home the whole day waiting, he will not eat anything. But if he makes an axe, he can buy some maize meal for the family. He usually sells the axe between N\$100 and N\$200. He is the only person who makes axes in this village." (Mapulanga Esther, female, 18).

The largest proportion of the Khwe’s income (78.9%) came from non-CBNRM formal employment and the government’s social welfare system. The non-contributory old-age pension, disability grant, and vulnerable child grant provide a predictable, regular income for many households. These social payments allowed for the establishment of small shops in BNP East, where pensioners are granted credits between two payments, a system which is similar to other rural areas in Namibia (Devereux, 2002). The dependence on the social welfare system is often associated with a lack of autonomy, dignity, and freedom of choice. The increase in individual freedom opposed to the subjugation of external forces is seen as a crucial pillar in the Human Development theory based on Sen’s (1999) work. However, Ferguson (2013) argued against contrasting dependency and individual freedom, as dependency could have a multitude of meanings and manifestations across different cultures. In the southern African context, dependence on the state welfare system could also be seen as an actively chosen, culturally-rooted strategy to secure livelihoods (Ferguson, 2015).

When assessing the income level of the surveyed Khwe households presented in Article I more than three-quarters of the population in BNP East are considered to be poor (Table 4), according to the upper bound poverty line defined by the Namibian Statistical Agency (2016). In total 6.1 percent of the Namibian population could not afford to purchase the minimum recommended (2 100 kcal) calories per day – which defines the food poverty line – in contrast with 52.3 percent of the BNP East population.

Table 4. *The percentage of the population in Namibia and BNP East living under the three poverty lines defined by the Namibian Statistical Agency (N\$/adult/month) 2016*

Type of poverty line	Value	Namibian population	BNP East population
FPL (Food poverty line)	N\$293.1	6.1%	52.3%
LBPL (Lower bound poverty line)	N\$389.3	10.7%	62.1%
UBPL (Upper bound poverty line)	N\$520.8	17.4%	76.6%

* Values are in Namibian Dollars (N\$). Exchange rate in 2016: N\$16 ≈ €1.

As noted in Articles I, II, and III, local stakeholders (development agents, teachers, and ministry personnel) aim to integrate the Khwe into the mainstream economy and expect them to lead a mostly monetary-based livelihood. However, the numbers in Table 4. show, that contrary to the Namibian government’s perception, a singular livelihood strategy based on monetary income is currently not able to provide even the basic food requirements for the Khwe in BNP East under the present conditions.

Therefore, to achieve food security, which is a crucial livelihood outcome, non-monetary livelihood strategies seem essential. However, due to the protected status of the study area, many livelihood activities that are associated with other Namibian conservancies are prohibited or hindered in BNP. Own-use hunting has been banned for several decades. Moreover, as discussed in Article I, top-down, non-participatory conservation regulations restrict the free movement of the Khwe to gather food and medicine in the

bush. Nevertheless, the annual game counts data show laudable conservation success, as wildlife numbers are either stable or increasing in BNP (NACSO, 2019). However, this also means that those few Khwe who practise small-scale crop farming must compete with the growing numbers of wildlife. These wildlife encounters often result in a total crop loss. Cattle herding, one of the dominant livelihood strategies in Namibia, is also prohibited by conservation regulations. Currently, the majority of the Khwe in BNP East rely almost exclusively on government handouts and eat meat only three or four times a year, which is invariably provided by the trophy hunter. Hence the quality and quantity of the Khwe diet is alarmingly low, mainly comprised of the government provided maize meal (Heim & Paksi, 2019).

Article III argues that most of the recent community development projects (CDPs) in BNP East have failed to contribute to the locals' livelihoods. The Khwe people have expressed their dissatisfaction with the Namibian government's development efforts. Well-being, another crucial livelihood quality measure, is hampered by the lack of health and vocational education services, poor or no radio and mobile network access, and not having larger and more affordable shops. Most importantly though, the conservation regulations severely limit access to natural resources (food, medicine, building and craft materials) impacting all domains of well-being. MET personnel advocated for a 'minimal development' approach in BNP, opposing any livelihood activity or future development project (including the provision of basic services) that could endanger the local flora and fauna, or cause additional human-wildlife conflict. While the approach of minimizing development efforts in BNP could have a favourable outcome on maintaining and even increasing the number of wildlife in the Park, the Khwe lose opportunities for personal development (e.g. though the provision of better education facilities), increasing safety and well-being (e.g. through building more health facilities) and employment creation (e.g. higher income from tourism). For example, about 10 tourist lodges operate along the Kwando river just outside of BNP East, while not a single accommodation option exists inside the Park for tourists. In the meantime, the main attraction of these lodges is providing a wildlife safari within BNP. But the Khwe people who live in the Park do not receive any benefits. The lodges pay a concession fee to the conservancies where the accommodation has been built and employ local people from the nearby area only.

Several of the community development projects were aimed at tackling food shortages by initiating food production projects such as gardening, raising poultry, or baking bread. Even though both the Khwe community members and the development agents considered these projects to be favourable, all of them failed and did not yield sustainable income or edible products mainly due to a systematic dismissal of local socio-cultural variables (e.g. the practice of sharing resources, egalitarian relationships, preference of immediate consumption). These failures are not unique to BNP, as most externally introduced food production projects also failed elsewhere with the

San people (e.g. Cadger & Kepe, 2013; Dieckmann et al., 2014, p. 138). Only one income-generating project, the Devil's Claw harvesting, managed to provide a measurable contribution to the livelihood of the Khwe. (Article III).

The cultural practice of wide-scale resource sharing has substantial effects on Khwe's livelihoods. On the one hand, the social networks provided everyone with at least the bare minimum to survive even in times of hunger, while also strengthening kinship relations and cultural identity. On the other hand, as sharing is expected, formal employment, CDP participation, and farming work create a burden of constant demands. Income and resources are often dispersed widely, thus those who are employed are not necessarily living under better circumstances than those who are unemployed (Dieckmann et al., 2014, p. 514).

5.2 DISENTANGLING THE CONTROVERSIAL FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR THE KHWE

Article II showed that each of the interviewed Khwe parents viewed the formal education system as crucially important for them, often quoting the catchphrase 'education is the key for future life' – contrary to the widely held belief among government officials and educational practitioners, that the San people do not value formal education (Hays, 2016, p. 54). San parents echoed the Namibian government's narrative, that a 'good education' is a precondition for employment and to experience development in their communities (Dieckmann et al., 2014, p. 532). Nonetheless, the majority of the interviewed non-Khwe teachers at the three local schools hold a negative attitude about the Khwe adults, as they referred to the backwardness of the parents and their indifference to formal education as one of the major obstacles to student achievement.

The individual interviews with the Khwe parents and the local teachers highlighted the different conceptualization of formal education and of the ideas about the role parents should take in formal education. The Khwe parents perceived schools as government-owned institutions, in which the task of the qualified teachers is to educate their children to pass grade 10 in order to pursue employment opportunities after finishing school. The parents expressed the view that they are not capable of, and it is not their duty, to provide support in homework, behaviour management, or attendance to their children. This opinion can partly be explained by their inexperience in formal education, as well as with parents mostly having low self-esteem in a school setting. In contrast, the teachers expect the Khwe community to feel ownership over the school, to educate their children at home, to volunteer at school or get otherwise involved in their children's educational endeavours. Previous studies highlighted that the respect of individual autonomy of both children and adults is a core cultural value among hunters and gatherers (Hewlett et al., 2011). Among the San, from a very early age, students have the

liberty to decide on their own learning process (Hays, 2016; Heckler, 2013). The situation is similar among the Khwe, as one interviewed parent noted: “the student is the owner of the knowledge, he makes the decisions”. Hence parenting practices do not involve extrinsic motivation, contrary to the teachers’ expectation. Instead of aiming to increase parental involvement at school, the implementation of a truly learner-centred, culturally responsive schooling might prove to be more influential to improve students’ educational achievements.

The lack of access to schools is an often cited barrier to San participation in formal education (Brown & Haihambo, 2015; Dieckmann et al., 2014). However, Khwe children have relatively easy access to formal education in BNP East. The three local schools cater for nearly 650 students, who have the opportunity to attend formal education until grade 10. However, in terms of facilities, only the Ngoro Combined School in Omega 3 has reliable solar electricity and mobile phone network coverage, while none of the schools is fenced, or offer an adequate hostel (Figure 4). Yet, several other previously mentioned barriers to formal education (e.g. discrimination, cultural mismatch, poverty) do not seem to apply to the Khwe living in the study area. The three schools host almost exclusively local Khwe students, hence discrimination is expected to be a lesser problem in the classrooms. There are at least two Khwe teachers in each of the schools, who could assist students in overcoming language and cultural barriers. Furthermore, the Namibian government attempts to ease the financial burden of the parents by providing the vulnerable children grant, which is supposed to cover the costs of school uniforms, shoes, toiletries, and stationery. However, a more in-depth analysis of these topics revealed that the above barriers still exist on the ground. The discrimination and negative stereotyping of Khwe students and parents by teachers are an ongoing issue. Khwe teachers apply the same teaching methods and communication style as non-Khwe teachers. The vulnerable children grant is mainly used to buy food or is mismanaged to purchase alcohol. Hence, the findings of this study (in more detail below) show, that the same barriers in education apply to the Khwe as to other San groups, irrespective of the specificities of the local educational setting.

One important finding of this study relates to the Khwe teachers’ educational practices and their attitudes to formal schooling. Several previous studies highlighted the need to train members of the local communities to become qualified teachers as a primary way to improve the formal educational setting for the San (e.g. Davids, 2011; Hays & Siegruhn, 2005). Local teachers are believed to be in a position of applying culturally appropriate practices and can address barriers such as discrimination, cultural mismatch, and the lack of role models. However, my classroom observations and interview data indicated that the qualified Khwe teachers follow the same standardized Namibian curriculum and apply the same teaching practices as other, non-San educators (Article II). Yet, some of the Khwe teachers were strong advocates of including mother-tongue education into the first three years of schooling,

in line with the Namibian educational policy recommendations and findings of previous studies (Bühmann & Trudell, 2007; Pamo, 2011). However, the interviewed teachers were waiting for government approval and educational materials to be provided in order to use the Khwedam language in the classroom. On the other hand, some Khwe teachers argued, that the introduction of Khwedam language into the curriculum would not help the students' comprehension. They would rather see an earlier introduction of the English language, at Kindergarten level. In the same way as their non-San colleagues, Khwe teachers perceived that their mandate is to teach according to the Namibian national syllabus, based on government-approved textbooks, and without the intention to adjust the content or the delivery method to the local socio-cultural settings.

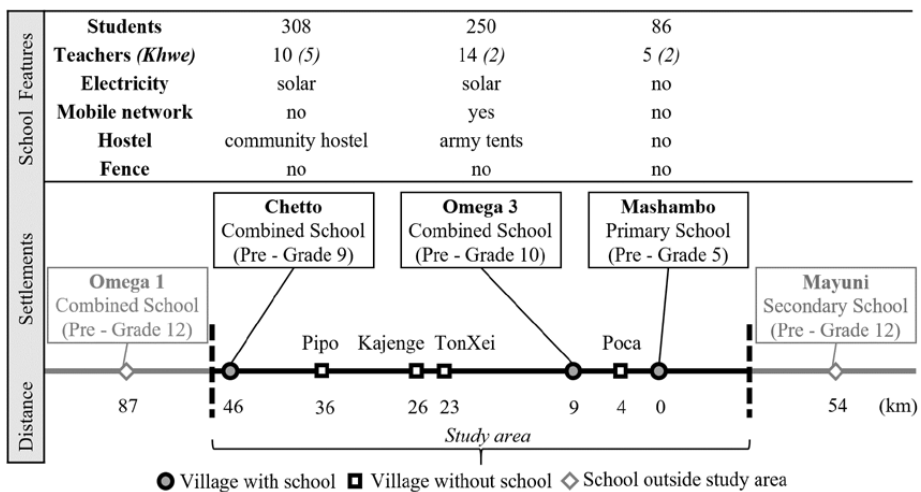


Figure 4 Formal education in Bwabwata National Park East

The teachers working with the San in remote areas often face myriad challenges. In Article II, I discussed how teachers in BNP East lack the overall motivation to work due to not receiving support from Khwe parents and the national educational authorities. In addition, teachers in BNP East mentioned that by working in such a remote area, they are separated from their families, have no proper accommodation on site, and live without electricity, network coverage, and in some cases no reliable, safe drinking water. Several of the younger teachers were trained to use digital media, electronic smartboards, and online applications in their classrooms. However, they were not trained in culturally responsive pedagogical practices, which could be highly beneficial in this setting. Furthermore, teachers are unfamiliar with the San culture and history, and have difficulties relating to the local socio-cultural settings. Teachers have limited access (if any) to further professional development that could boost their motivation or improve cultural competencies. Teachers work in a school environment that lacks textbooks, teaching aids, exercise books,

and basic stationery items. The challenges of the teachers highlight larger, structural issues in the Namibian formal education, e.g. the current per capita funding model is perpetuating already existing inequalities, putting schools in remote areas, such as BNP East, in a further disadvantaged position (UNICEF, 2018).

However, the negative and patronizing attitudes of the interviewed teachers about the Khwe students and their parents are still evident, as also observed among other San groups (Dieckmann et al., 2014; Hays, 2016). Several of the local teachers explained how the Khwe cultural characteristics, as they perceived them, were directly hindering their work (Article II). Interestingly, some educators talked admiringly about the Khwe's knowledge of wild foods, cultural dances, and traditional craft-making skills. However, as it turned out from the interviews, the underlying reason was not a general appreciation of the hunter-gatherer culture, but their feeling of disappointment of losing knowledge and skills related to their own agropastoral traditions. In general, teachers had no apparent intention of introducing additional elements from the Khwe culture to the school setting or curricula.

In Article I, I analysed socio-economic census data to provide an overview of the monetary income of the Khwe, and to examine the financial contribution of CBNRM. By adding the age and educational level to the employment statistics, it becomes evident that the lower-paying jobs are done by older people with less educational experience, while the younger and more qualified (from a formal education point of view) earn higher salaries (Table 5). A closer look into these numbers also reveals that more than half of the young Khwe with grade 10, 11, or 12 qualifications were unemployed and remained in their villages. The Khwe people, like other San groups, consider formal employment as the key route out of poverty, and formal education as its necessary precondition. However, the numbers show that even higher level of education is not a guarantee for employment among the Khwe San.

Table 5. *The education level and age distribution of employed Khwe, and their average salaries per age category and education level in BNP East*

Age	Employed (Total ppl.)	No edu	Gr 1-7	Gr 8-9	Gr 10	Gr 11-12	Tertiary	Avg. Salary
20-29	32 (271)	-	2	14	13	1	2	N\$3053
30-39	30 (204)	1	4	8	13	0	4	N\$4134
40-49	16 (71)	6	4	2	2	1	1	N\$2426
50-59	18 (69)	15	3	-	-	-	-	N\$2148
60-69	12 (57)	11	1	-	-	-	-	N\$941
Employed (Total ppl.)	108 (672)	33 (183)	14 (237)	24 (167)	28 (65)	2 (13)	7 (7)	
Avg. Salary		N\$1495	N\$1728	N\$2058	N\$3743	N\$4000	N\$12000	

* Salaries are in Namibian Dollars (N\$). Exchange rate in 2017: N\$15 ≈ €1.



Photovoice 3 “The man is playing the *Kaororo* [mouth bow] instrument. The elders don’t teach us how to use it, because we are independent, we can learn whatever we want. I didn’t learn it yet, because our generations are behind time. Our guys [young Khwe] are going to the school too late and we are failing. Other tribes learn at school earlier, our guys need to go to school also at a younger age”. (Jakkals Eben, male, 24)



Photovoice 4 “This is our school building, where our children are learning to get a better life. One day, they will be working even in other countries. And wherever my children want to go, I can go and visit them”. (Mushavanga Doris, female, 34)

5.3 'HUNTING' FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO PRACTISE KHWE TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Article I pointed out that contemporary protected area management practices are providing a challenging environment for the Khwe to practice and transmit traditional ecological knowledge. CBNRM practices and conservation regulations are contributing to the rapid erosion of knowledge on edible and medicinal plants, animal movements and behaviour, and on the variability and diversity of the surrounding environment. Skills and practices related to hunting are rarely practised today, for example, animal tracking, sign reading, snare making, or using certain tools for hunting such as the gondo (a five-metre long wooden stick with a hook to catch springhare in their burrows). The large majority of the Community Game Guards and Community Resource Monitors, and the trackers at the hunting companies are elderly community members. Most of the employed Khwe in their 20s and 30s are in positions not requiring expert knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Data in Article II showed that the rigidity of the formal education system, which is based on the transmission of a mainly Eurocentric knowledge and value system, further contributes to the erosion of the foragers' knowledge and skills. School attendance limits the time available for Khwe students to practice skills related to hunting and gathering. In addition, the teachers' narrative of backwardness and their stereotypical attitude about the local culture devalue forager's beliefs and practices. One result is that Khwe students favour school-based knowledge and perceive Traditional Knowledge (TK) as time-consuming, difficult to learn and physically demanding activities. The cultural significance of TK was mentioned only by those Khwe youth who had already finished their education and regarded knowledge and skills as useful and practical in the village setting. Elderly community members felt TK was an integral part of their ancestral history, in addition to being essential to contemporary village life.

It is important to reflect on knowledge erosion in relation to its epistemological realm, and its practical usage. While practising certain domains of TK is restricted (e.g. traditional hunting, medicinal plant gathering), it does not mean that other domains cannot be carried on. As Barnard (2002) noted, the foraging mode of thought is more resilient than the forager mode of subsistence itself. Likewise, domains of TK and the attached values, norms and perceptions can be continually present in songs, stories, and in forming the identities of the community members.

In BNP east, 76 Khwe women reported in the socio-economic census knowing how to make traditional collecting baskets. However, only 37 of them stated that they had produced any baskets in the previous 12-month period, due to lack of transparency in payment and restricted access to areas with the palm leaves (Article I). There were even fewer active toolmakers, 31 men with an average age of 59 years old (range 39-89 years old) reported making any tools (hand hoe, axe, spear, snare, or mortar and pestle). However, over my

fieldwork period (2016-2018), I witnessed less than a handful of women actively making crafts (baskets and reed mats) and five men carving tools.

Khwe elders perceived that the younger generations are not showing interest in TK, neither showing respect to the elders. Boden (2008) argues, that the intergenerational relationships among the Khwe have undergone substantial transformations in recent generations, in response to changes in socio-economic opportunities. During the time of foraging subsistence, the younger men supplied the meat for their kin by applying the traditional knowledge and skills that they acquired from their respected elders. Later, during the SADF era, foraging became less prominent, as households lived on the monetary income of the army personnel. Today, neither of these subsistence strategies are able to make a major contribution to the Khwe's livelihoods, as hunting and gathering is restricted and employment opportunities are scarce. While the elderly were role models and authorities on proper conduct in the past, in the present, they cannot provide the knowledge, skills and resources for the unemployed youth to prosper in the contemporary, market-based world. In addition, the alcohol abuse of many adults and elderly leaves the younger generation essentially deprived of their future, contributing to an overall feeling of disrespect towards the elders. In the meantime, the majority of the younger Khwe remain in the villages disillusioned, without prospects, not being able to contribute substantially to the households. This disturbed balance of 'intergenerational reciprocity' also plays an important role in the erosion of TK, as it breaks the connection and communication between generations.

As a response to the perceived TK erosion among the youth, the Khwe parents argued that the formal education has a role to play to revitalize knowledge and skills. Several parents noted that certain domains of TK could be integrated into the school curriculum (Article II). However, the current pedagogical practices, the standardized national curriculum, and the lack of mother-tongue education among other factors, would render the incorporation of TK impossible. Some parents suggested establishing a 'Khwe cultural classroom' at the school, as an ideal future solution to combine traditional knowledge transmission and some aspects of formal education. A similar idea exists on the Malekula island of Vanuatu, where local children are learning traditional knowledge at the 'kastom schools' established in their own communities. These 'alternative educational facilities' not only provide time and space to reinvigorate pathways for cultural transmission, but also promote local agency and power over education of the community (McCarter & Gavin, 2011, 2014).



Photovoice 5 "My little brother is holding a bow and arrow. It is representing the past. I did not eat animals killed with it, but in the past people survived on it. I'm happy to see again how the elders survived." (Jamaya Moses, male, 28)



Photovoice 6 "Kyara [*Ochna pulcra*]. We used to get cooking oil from it. I don't know why, but nowadays it bears only limited amounts. But this year, it's already having some fruit, and we will have cooking oil made, rather than bought. It has a nice smell. The oil has many prohibition though on who and when can prepare and consume it..." (Sangorora Magaret, female, 20)

Article III showed that most of the community development projects were not built on local assets, furthermore they overlooked Khwe TK and ignored local socio-cultural aspects. The approach of the development agents were not aligned to the principles of Indigenous CD practice as defined by ACFID (see Table 1). They routinely introduced projects without building partnerships, holding proper consultations, providing monitoring, or adjusting their practices to local cultural norms. In several cases, their practices even violated one of the most fundamental principles, 'do no harm', when their inappropriate participant selection and resource distribution caused verbal and physical abuse among community members. The only CDP that locals deemed highly successful and wanted to continue even when strict conservation regulations prevented it, was the Devil's Claw harvesting. The project not only provided monetary income, but also access to edible and medicinal wild plants. More importantly, Khwe parents stressed, the harvesting period provided the only opportunity for the in-situ transmission of traditional environmental knowledge and skills to their children.

Development agents, teachers, and external stakeholders regarded the traditional knowledge of the Khwe as a potential resource to gain monetary benefits (e.g. through tourism, crafts, or medicinal plants) or achieve favourable environmental outcomes (e.g. sustainable natural resource use). In their activities, they approached TK as a static object, and not as a knowledge-practice-belief complex existing in an ever-changing social, political, and environmental setting, crucial to the identity of the local people (Berkes, 2012). One of the reasons behind Khwe students' perception that learning TK was a pointless activity was the limited opportunities to practice and benefit from this knowledge when the 'bush is closed' due to nature conservation regulations. Parents also noted that even if certain domains of TK were to be integrated into the school curriculum, teachers could not accompany the students to the bush to collect resources and practice skills (Article III). Development agents, even those who have a supportive attitude to TK, have an Eurocentric conceptualization of knowledge transmission, and divide knowledge from practice, unaware of the fact that practising the traditional knowledge and skills is an essential part of the local culture itself.

5.4 RECOGNISING AND EXERCISING HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

Through studying how rural income-generating activities, national park management, and formal education impact the livelihoods of the Khwe, one of the core challenges that San people, and Indigenous Peoples face worldwide came to the foreground. Namely, accessing, obtaining, and exercising their individual and collective rights. This study did not specifically aim to investigate rights issues of the Khwe people living in BNP, nevertheless it seemed essential to address rights issues in relation to livelihood in the local

context. Findings in Article I showed that the Khwe lack access rights to natural resources belonging to their ancestral land due to nature conservation regulations. Furthermore, Articles I, II, and III provided examples that the Khwe's cultural rights, including practising their own cultural activities, customs, and teaching their own languages are restricted. Article III also elaborated on the prolonged, unsuccessful government recognition of the Khwe Traditional Authority which prevents the exercise of land rights and the right to culturally appropriate development practices for the Khwe.

The numerous reports and academic articles published since the Namibian independence have highlighted that the San communities are subject to economic marginalization and are deprived in respect of their civil, cultural, economic, environmental, political, and social rights (Dieckmann et al., 2014; Hays, 2011; Hitchcock, 2006; Legal Assistance Centre, 2006; Nangoloh & Trümper, 1996; Suzman, 2001a). The rights issues of the San have been in the spotlight for several decades, but the development agents and government officers interviewed in this study did not consider addressing those shortfalls.

The rights issues most frequently mentioned by the Khwe participants of this study directly related to their everyday livelihoods (e.g. accessing natural resources to gather food). It was regularly mentioned that the Namibian government owns the land, its natural resources, and a variety of institutions (e.g. schools). Therefore, the San are not able to initiate their own community projects. Previous research has noted that a secure land right is a precondition to conduct successful and sustainable development in BNP East (LAC, 2006; Orth, 2003). In addition, a secure land right is also a prerequisite to getting the official government approval of establishing the Khwe TA. As the Namibian government considers the institution of TA as the main communication channel of development efforts and future policies, the Khwe are hindered in accessing and exercising various sets of rights (e.g. rights to development, cultural rights, subsistence rights).

Community development is a proven approach for initiating community action and stakeholder engagement in rights-related challenges (Garkovich, 2011). However, among the CDPs initiated in BNP East only one, the Biocultural Community Protocol (BCP), addressed rights issues directly (Article III). The BCP is a community-led legal instrument, created through the active participation of all involved stakeholders. The community included their customary laws, institutions, local values, needs, and aspirations in the document, as well as specifying how the community would like to engage with external stakeholders (Sajeve, 2018). The Khwe BCP mirrors Barnard's (2002) concept related to the forager's worldview by declaring the Khwe people's relationship to their ancestral land, stating the importance of retaining cultural identity, and passing traditional knowledge to the next generation through storytelling and folklore (Khwe Custodian Committee, 2018). The community hopes that the BCP will soon provide a tool in the process of negotiating rights and access with the Namibian government.



Photovoice 7 “The headman explains, he wants politicians to come and see how the people live in the village. But he says, they only make promises and never come. If villagers go to the bush [to gather] because of hunger, the army or the nature conservation people arrest them. He also wants offices in the villages issuing ID documents and birth certificates”. (Manjenga Amos, male, 34)



Photovoice 8 “This building is the craft shop. As a basket maker, I’m happy, as it’s easy to sell there, we don’t need to bring the baskets to Kongola. The building should be operating every day, but now it’s closed, because of too much quarrelling. We had a sign so that tourists could stop, but even the sign has disappeared. The NGOs that built us the craft shop need to come back and help us to open it again”. (Mushavanga Doris, female, 34)

The fact, that only one CDP dealt with rights issues highlights the sensitive nature of the topic and reflects the different conceptualization of community development held by the government officials and NGO workers in the study area. They understand CD not as a specific approach to development practice, but as an alternative to provide support not only to a few individuals, but to target the community at large. Hence, the externally initiated, top-down, and largely technical support-based projects continued without meaningful local participation, while development agents disregarded local assets, needs, and culture under the label of Community Development. While the CD approach makes it possible to realize Escobar's notion (1992) on initiating an endogenous discourse on development and privileging the local grassroots movements, the contemporary practices of development agents in BNP East followed the old narrative of externally driven transformative interventions.

Hitchcock (2006) argues that individual and collective rights are essential for the San to be able to maintain their identities, customs, and languages. One possible pathway to address rights issues, according to the ACFID principles, is the indigenous rights approach, upholding the UNDRIP. However, as Hays (2011) argues, this strategy will only be effective when these rights are recognised as an avenue towards achieving basic human rights, considering the resistance of southern African governments towards the concept of 'indigeneity'. The Namibian constitution describes the basic human rights of all citizens, including the right to culture (Article 19), the right to education (Article 20), and the right to freedom (Article 21). The pursuit of these rights remains a struggle for most San people in Namibia.

Although the rights-based and sustainable livelihood approaches seem to be distinct strategies, the application of the SLF can help to identify those rights that are crucial for the local people's livelihoods. It can help to identify and prioritize entry points of future rights programmes (DFID, 1999). Both the qualitative and quantitative data used in this study highlighted the most pressing rights challenges of the Khwe, those that could be addressed with a specific rights-based approach. The extended, participatory work of crafting the Khwe BCP provides one example where local livelihoods and various rights are dealt with in a holistic manner.

In this study, the applied SLF, extended with the Community Capitals Framework, also highlighted the Khwe's lack of political capital. Data in Article I showed that restrictive nature conservation decisions are being made by the Namibian government and MET without prior consultation, and meaningful involvement of the Khwe. Local Khwe parents and teachers are not able to influence the curriculum and teaching practices at the schools (Article II). In addition, the Khwe are provided with already planned development projects that do not consider the local needs and assets (Article III). The policies and programmes that should be facilitating and encouraging community involvement and joint decision making (e.g. CBNRM and CDPs) do not seem to raise the political capital of the Khwe in BNP East. One of its underlying causes is potentially the unsettled land rights in Namibia, as CBNRM is seen

as a new forum in which rural people contest power, authority, and dispute land rights, rather than engaging in a community-based management of natural resources (Nuulimba & Taylor, 2015; Sullivan, 2002). Through the utilization of SLF in this study, it became visible that few policies and livelihood strategies currently provide feedback to the livelihood platform of the Khwe to strengthen their community capitals (Article III).

The rights to self-determination provide a link between political capital and human rights. The Khwe struggle for political and economic self-determination has not yielded any substantial change since the 1990s. Nearly two decades ago, Orth (2003) noted that the rights of land allocation and the government recognition of the Khwe TA are the two key factors in moving towards self-determination. The 'mainstreaming' approach of the government-funded Division of Marginalized Communities to assimilate the San into the broader Namibian society, and the Namibian NDPs that focus on providing standardized formal education to establish the future workforce of an industrialised nation, is clearly not in line with the right to self-determination.

6 CONCLUSION

Soldier on, soldier on my good countrymen. Keep fighting for your culture now, keep fighting for your land. I know it's been thousands of years and I feel your hurt and I know it's wrong and you feel you've been chained and broken and burned. And those beautiful old people, those wise old souls, have been ground down for far too long by that spineless man, that greedy man, that heartless man, deceiving man, that government hand taking blood and land...

Xavier Rudd, 2012

With this study I set out to examine the contemporary livelihoods of the Khwe San people living inside a national park, particularly in relation to externally driven development interventions. I analysed my data using the sustainable livelihoods framework, focusing my discussion on livelihood outcomes, formal education, traditional knowledge, and human rights issues to answer the specific research questions.

In this concluding section I highlight the main findings of the study and reflect on their implications related to the Khwe's and other hunter-gatherer's livelihoods. Thereafter, I conclude with a final methodological reflection and with suggestions for further study.

6.1 TARGETING DIVERSITY

Currently, the Khwe in BNP East are not able to benefit from a large diversity of livelihood strategies. The contemporary practice of the BNP management and the external development interventions initiated by the state and NGOs all incorporate a reductionist approach focusing on few livelihood strategies that they deem important. Specifically, external actors also intentionally aim to replace traditional Khwe activities that relate to hunting and gathering with other, mainly market-based, forms of livelihood activities. Two decades ago Taylor (2002), and more recently Ninkova (2017), have argued that such a reductionist approach is unlikely to be successful with the San, due to the interconnectedness of the various livelihood activities and the essential nature of hunting and gathering in the cultural identity.

Similarly, the findings (based on both quantitative and qualitative data) from my research suggest that further diversifying livelihood strategies – especially with the inclusion of more natural resource based activities and CDPs utilizing Khwe TK – are critical for obtaining and maintaining food security and well-being. Further diversification of local livelihoods also seems essential for better accommodating intragroup variety. For instance, while most of the youth prefer to see infrastructural development and an increase in

formal employment, older generations wish for unrestricted access to natural resources and more opportunities to practise TK for the benefit of the community.

The concept of diversity is an integral part of the San cultural identity, supporting the flexible and adaptive nature of hunter-gatherer livelihoods, as also found elsewhere, and hence also promoted in local community development generally (Hill & Moore, 2000). The CBNRM approach emphasizes diversity in livelihoods, as do the Namibian educational policies that support cultural diversity. That said, the practice seems to be disconnected from the theory, at least in BNP East, where external stakeholders continue to separate traditional knowledge from its practice.

The findings of this study highlight two main paths that can support and enable the Khwe in diversifying their livelihoods and increasing their well-being. The first, in line with the immediate-return philosophy, involves providing short-term responses to increase monetary benefits. For example, introducing additional CBNRM income revenues (e.g. nature and cultural tourism, equitable shares from national park fees) would be far more reliable, consistent and inclusive than simply relying on an annual hunting concession revenue. Also, registering all eligible community members to receive the old-age pension and social grants would significantly increase the overall income of the households. Another option would be to establish similar projects to Devil's Claw harvesting, namely, managing and sustainably harvesting available natural resources (e.g. thatching grass) for small-scale community-managed commercialization. The second path, aligned with a delayed-return strategy, echoes the recommendations of previous studies with the Khwe (Nangoloh & Trümper, 1996; Orth, 2003; Suzman, 2001a) to mobilize the Khwe themselves to 'fight' to secure their ancestral land titles and establish community-defined institutions for fair political representation. As the findings in my research demonstrate, the Khwe, as other San groups, are far from being able to influence political decision-making on matters that concern them. The situation persists due to previous government interventions and CDPs having focused solely on the community's financial capital (e.g. income-generating project), natural capital (e.g. biodiversity conservation), human capital (e.g. basic education support), and physical capital (e.g. borehole construction) but neglected social, cultural and political capitals. The lack of targeted efforts to strengthen these latter three types of capital among the Khwe contribute to their perpetuating marginalization.

Formal education could be seen as one of the delayed-return strategies, offering to build the capacity among the Khwe to be able to identify and address their own challenges better and design their own diverse solutions. However, to support a diversity of livelihood strategies, an underlying diversity of knowledge systems seems essential. While formal education could provide the skills and knowledge required to partake in the market-based economy, the traditional knowledge and skills prove to be especially beneficial in the village settings. Agrawal (1995) argued against creating dichotomic

differentiation between knowledge systems, and offered to acknowledge the existence of multiple domains and types of knowledge, with differing logics and epistemologies. The more types of knowledge and skills are available for the Khwe in a larger variety of domains, the more diverse and stable their livelihood could become. While formal education contributes to the devaluation of TK in BNP East, it can also play a role in its revitalization by adjusting the domain of knowledge transmission - e.g. in establishing a separate 'Khwe cultural classroom', as suggested by some Khwe parents.

6.2 SURVIVE AND THRIVE

As discussed earlier in this dissertation, the ideology of foraging has undergone a plethora of changes in the past few centuries, to the point of foraging practices losing their prominent sustenance function in many hunter gatherer societies worldwide (Coddling & Kramer, 2016; Reyes-García & Pyhälä, 2017). The lifestyle of traditional foragers, satisfying their basic needs with limited energy input, or in Sahlins's term 'the original affluent society', seems to be a memory in the not-so-distant past. Similarly, very few San in southern Africa are today able to easily meet their basic needs by foraging, either in nutritional or socio-economical terms (Dieckmann et al., 2014; Suzman, 2017). Furthermore, the basic needs of contemporary foragers are rather different than they were several decades ago. As a middle-aged Khwe lady said to me while discussing the topic of well-being, 'we were happy when we did not know, what other people have' and listed me several material possessions including clothes, mobile phones and cars, among other items that she would like to have. The scarcity of available and accessible resources have an impact on the contemporary Khwe's well-being. Scarcity in the global economy is a social construct and is relational (Sahlins, 1998). When the San compare themselves to other ethnic groups, they may easily perceive that they are deprived of many material items and possessions. My study shows that the youth are particularly affected by the perceived scarcity; they are faced with the challenge of orienting an uncertain identity in a drastically changed and continuously changing setting.

During my fieldwork, a formally-employed Khwe man in his late 20s bought a car with his several years of savings. He was the first young person in the settlement to be able to buy a vehicle. From that day onwards, though, he faced constant demands for transportation. He was mainly asked to transport people to events and to bring alcohol from the town to the villages. The elderly were grateful for transport opportunities but disliked the idea of more alcohol arriving to the settlements. The younger people endlessly drove the car, zooming up and down the road. However, after a month, the car had broken down, and there was no money to repair it.

This story serves as an illustration of the practice of sharing as a levelling mechanism that continues to function among the Khwe San irrespective of the

type, value or scarcity of the actual resource. Therefore, the challenge for the Khwe youth is also one of managing a balancing act between satisfying individual needs that are often manifested in resource accumulation coupled with the fulfilment of social obligations through sharing the previously acquired resources, and maintaining a long-accumulated foraging identity that continues to be deeply embedded in the community at large.

While formal employment and material needs emerged in my research as strong priorities in the Khwe San's future imaginary, traditional knowledge and skills still play a crucial role supporting contemporary local livelihoods, especially through gathering wild foods around the villages. How long this traditional knowledge will continue to be transmitted from one generation to another (and to what extent) is a question of concern. Other San groups who live on resettlement farms have already lost a fair amount of their traditional knowledge related to their bush food and bush medicine (Dieckmann et al., 2014). The Khwe elders in my study frequently complained that the traditional story-telling circles around the evening fires are no longer compelling for the youth. That said, there were still occasions during my fieldwork when I had the opportunity to listen to Khwe folktales, similar to the ones that Kilian-Hatz (1999) recorded. Also, I witnessed how baskets, jewellery, hunting traps and various other traditional instruments are made. I observed Khwe adults buried deep into apathy 'come alive' again when they saw younger generations perform cultural dances and songs in the school ground. Not all is lost, and the local language, an important cultural marker (Davids, 2011; Pamo, 2011), is still being spoken as the primary language in the local villages.

Reflecting on the title of this dissertation, the Khwe people and their traditional knowledge *is* surviving. Their livelihoods, resources, knowledge-base and practices are in constant flux, but remain strongly anchored to the 'foraging ethos'. However, in order to thrive and reach a desired level of affluence, the various types of community capital (see Table 2) need to be self-strengthened according to the Khwe's own cultural norms and values, so as to provide sufficient capabilities and agency for community-led, long-term positive social change.

6.3 FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research, apart from adhering to the recently published San Code of Ethics and local norms, should be carefully designed and undertaken so as to have a clear and tangible positive impact on local communities. As previous research has already emphasized, the Khwe people are "tired of being researched and would like something constructive done to assist them", requesting research and projects "yielding visible benefits" (Dain-Owens et al., 2010, p. 76). One response to the Khwe's and other San groups' request is the establishment of the Research and Advocacy Group on Hunter-Gatherer Education (HG-Edu), whose members are researchers and activists interested

in formal and traditional knowledge transmission among contemporary foragers. The group aims to connect the concept of education (and any form of knowledge transmission) with realistic livelihood opportunities, land rights, and environmental issues, and addresses the question: How can a research-based understanding of the issues around education lead to better support the self-determination of hunter-gatherer communities? (HG-Edu, 2018).

Formal education is perceived by the San and state representatives as crucial to break the vicious cycle of marginalization. However, further data are needed to identify the missing components of teacher education in order to prepare future teachers for culturally-responsive pedagogical practices in an ethnically diverse country. Regarding the school curriculum, the main question arising from my findings is how the various San groups would like to present themselves, their culture, history, language, and identity, and in what ways would they prefer these to be transmitted. These topics are best investigated jointly with the respective communities, also involving local schoolteachers and students, youth and elders, with attention to equal gender representation.

Another important area of research to fill in current gaps and needs would be to examine the prerequisites of endogenous community-led initiatives among the San. Evidence suggests that most externally-driven development interventions have failed to improve the livelihoods of the San in Namibia (Dieckmann et al., 2014). Previous studies have focused on the formation of contemporary political identity among various San groups (e.g. Hitchcock, 2015; Orth, 2003; J. J. Taylor, 2009). Future studies, in turn, could focus on barriers and enablers in mobilising the San groups' political agency and local assets, thereby assisting to better understand the dynamics and politics of community development.

Research is equally about the substance (the 'what') as about the process (the 'how'). The research approach and specific methods, especially when working with marginalized groups, are as important as the research topic itself, if not more. Participatory action research methods such as PhotoVoice provide skills and tools for the local community to engage in endogenous positive social change, while also providing valuable data for the researcher. Methods and research approaches built on a deficit model, focusing solely on barriers and missing resources, could enhance a local's perception on marginalization and increase ill-being. In contrast, an asset-based approach utilizing existing resources and focusing on community strengths could promote cultural identity and contribute to an enhanced level of well-being.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Division of labour with regards to the co-authored article:

Paksi, A. & Pyhälä, A. (2018). Socio-economic impacts of a national park on local indigenous livelihoods: The case of the Bwabwata National Park in Namibia. Senri Ethnological Studies, 99, 197-214.

The study was designed by Attila Paksi, with the guidance and support from Aili Pyhälä. The theoretical framework of the article was developed as a joint exercise. Attila Paksi collected and analysed the research data and was responsible for the manuscript preparation and submission. The article was jointly written by both authors. Both authors read and approved the final manuscript.



Attila Paksi



Aili Pyhälä

Helsinki, 18.11.2019

Division of labour with regards to the co-authored article:

Paksi, A. & Rauhala, I. (submitted) Reflections on power relations and reciprocity in the field while conducting research with Indigenous Peoples. In P.K. Virtanen, P. Keskitalo & T. Olsen (Eds.), Indigenous Research Methodologies in Sámi and Nordic Contexts. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Sense

The study was designed and the theoretical ideas of the article were developed as a joint exercise. Attila Paksi was responsible for the manuscript preparation and submission. Both authors analysed their own data and their own research experiences. The article was jointly written by both authors. Both authors read and approved the final manuscript.



Attila Paksi



Ilona Rauhala



Aili Pyhälä

Helsinki, 27.11.2019

Appendix 2



MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM

RESEARCH/COLLECTING PERMIT

Permit Number 2131/2016
Valid from 11 April 2016 to 31 March 2017

Permission is hereby granted in terms of the Nature Conservation Ordinance 1975 (Ord. 4 of 1975) to:

Name: **Mr. A. Paksi**

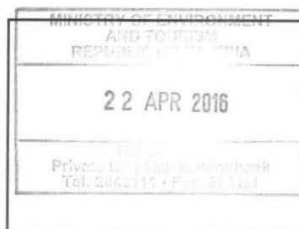
Address:

Helsinki
0017
Finland

Coworkers: **None**

To conduct a study on education and development - understanding the educational needs and resources to improve development outcomes at Bwabwata National Park, subject to attached conditions.

IMPORTANT: This permit is not valid if altered in any way.




.....
Authorising Officer

IMPORTANT

This permit is subject to the provisions of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975 (Ordinance 4 of 1975) and the regulations promulgated thereunder, and the holder is subject to all such conditions and regulations.

Enquiries: Conservation Scientist, email lita.matheus@met.gov.na
Private Bag 13306, Windhoek, Namibia



MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM

RESEARCH/COLLECTING PERMIT

Permit Number 2239/2016

Valid from 1 April 2017 to 31 March 2018

Permission is hereby granted in terms of the Nature Conservation Ordinance 1975 (Ord. 4 of 1975) to:

Name: **Mr. A. Paksi**

Address: [Redacted]

Helsinki

00170

Finland

Coworkers: **None**

Education and development - understanding the educational needs and resources to improve development outcomes at Bwabwata National Park, subject to attached conditions.

IMPORTANT: This permit is not valid if altered in any way.



.....
Authorising Officer

IMPORTANT
This permit is subject to the provisions of the Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1975 (Ordinance 4 of 1975) and the regulations promulgated thereunder, and the holder is subject to all such conditions and regulations.

Enquiries: Conservation Scientist, email lita.matheus@met.gov.na
Private Bag 13306, Windhoek, Namibia



REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA



ZAMBEZI REGIONAL COUNCIL
Directorate of Education, Arts and Culture
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Ngoma Road
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Private Bag 5006
Katima Mulilo, Namibia

Enquiries: Ms **MM Mwinkanda**
Reference No:

11. 04. 2017

Mr. Attila Paksi
Cell No: 0817644395

Dear Sir

RE: interview Request.


This serves as response to your letter dated 10 April 2017 requesting permission to conduct study interviews on teachers and principals of schools in the Zambezi Region, Bwabwata areas.

Permission is hereby granted for you to visit and conduct the study interview at the schools as per your request:

However, be advised not to interrupt the teaching and learning at those schools you intend visiting.

Counting on your understanding and cooperation in this regards.

Thank you,


MR A M SAMUPWA
REGIONAL DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE

