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2016 Review of Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana

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Botswana Pula exchange rate

	2012	2013	2014	2015	Trend in Pula value
US\$	0.1286	0.1147	0.1051	0.0890	depreciated
SA Rand	1.0901	1.1963	1.2169	1.3830	<i>appreciated</i>
Euro	0.0975	0.0832	0.0865	0.0814	depreciated
British Pound	0.0796	0.0696	0.0675	0.0600	depreciated

Source: Bank of Botswana.

Recommended reference:

Centre for Applied Research (2016). 2016 Review of Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Botswana. Report prepared for Southern African Environmental Programme (SAREP).

Abbreviations

BIB	Birdlife Botswana
BOCOBONET	Botswana Community Based Organisations Network
BOCONGO	Botswana Council of Non-Government Organisations
BTO	Botswana Tourism Organisation
BUAN	Botswana University of Agriculture and Natural Resources
BWP	Botswana Pula
CAMPFIRE	Communal Area Management Programme For Indigenous Resources
CAR	Centre for Applied Research
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCF	Community Conservation Fund
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
CSO	Central Statistics Office
CTF	Conservation Trust Fund
CUZ	Community Use Zone
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DFRR	Department of Forestry and Range Resources
DNMM	Department of National Museum and Monuments
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
ENSA	Empowerment of Non State Actors
EU	European Union
FCB	Forest Conservation Botswana
FHCBO	Former Hunting CBO
HRCBO	High Revenue CBO
GEF	Global Environmental Fund
GoB	Government of Botswana
IBA	Important Bird Area
ICP	International Cooperating Partner
ISPAAD	Integrated Support Programme for Arable Agricultural Development
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
JVA	Joint Venture Agreement
JVP	Joint Venture Partner(ship)
KCS	Kalahari Conservation Society
LIMID	Livestock Management and Infrastructure Development
LUMP	Land Use Management Plan
MEWT	Ministry of Wildlife Environment, Wildlife and Tourism
MOMS	Management Oriented Monitoring System
NAMPAAD	National Master Plan for Arable Agriculture and Dairy Farming
NCONGO	Ngamiland Council of Non-Government Organisations
NEF	National Environmental Fund
NRMP	Natural Resource Management Project
NHCBO	Non-hunting CBO
ODRS	Okavango Delta Ramsar Site
ORI	Okavango Research Institute
PAC	Problem Animal Control
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
RALE	Registered Accountable Legal Entity
SAREP	Southern African Regional Environmental Programme
TAC	Technical Advisory Committee
UB	University of Botswana
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WMA	Wildlife Management Area

Names and abbreviations of active CBOs

1. Bathoen II Dam Nature Sanctuary Management Trust	BDNSMT
2. BORAVAST Community Resources Management Trust	BCRMT
3. Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust	CTT
4. <i>Changate Conservation Trust*</i>	<i>CCT</i>
5. Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust	CECT
6. Dikwididi Community Trust	DCT
7. Dibapalwa Nageng Trust	DNT
8. Gaing-O Community Trust	Gaing-O CT
9. Gwezotshaa Natural Resources Trust	Gwezotshaa NRT
10. Gweta Community Trust	Gweta CT
11. Itekeng Community Trust	Itekeng CT
12. <i>Ithuseng Trust*</i>	<i>Ithuseng T</i>
13. Kalakamati Mantenge Conservation Trust	KMCT
14. <i>Kalepa Conservation Trust*</i>	<i>Kalepa CT</i>
15. Kgatleng Nature Conservation Trust	Kgatlang NCT
16. Kgetsi ya Tsie Tswapong Hills Women Resources Enterprise Community Trust	KyT
17. Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust	KRST
18. Khawa Kopanelo Development Trust	KKDT
19. Khwai Development Trust	KDT
20. Koinaphu Community Trust	Koinaphu CT
21. Kuang Hoo Development Trust	Kuang Hoo DT
22. Lake Ngami Conservation Trust	LNCT
23. Mababe Zokotsama Community Trust	MZCDT
24. MAHUMO Community Trust	MAHUMO
25. <i>Manyana Community Trust*</i>	<i>Manyana CT</i>
26. Mapanda Conservation Trust	Mapanda CT
27. Matsheng Community Development Trust	Matsheng CDT
28. Matsieng Development Trust	Matsieng DT
29. Mekgatshi Conservation Trust	Mekgatshi CT
30. Mmadinare Development Trust	Mmadinare DT
31. Moremi Manonnye Conservation Trust	Moremi MCT
32. MOLEMA Trust	MOLEMA
33. Motlhware Development Trust	Motlhware DT
34. Nata Conservation Trust	Nata CT
35. Ngande Community Trust	Ngande CT
36. Ngwao Boswa Women's Co-operative	Ngwao Boswa WC
37. Nlapkhwane Community Lingilia Environmental Community Trust	NCLECT
38. Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust	NKXT
39. Okavango Community Trust	OCT
40. Okavango Jakotsha Community Trust	OJCT
41. Okavango Kopano Mokoro Community Trust	OKMCT
42. Okavango Panhandle Community Trust*	OPCT
43. Okavango Polers Trust	OPT
44. Qhaa Qhing Conservation Trust	QQCT
45. Ramokgwebana Development Trust	RDT
46. Sankoyo Tshwaragano Management Trust	STMT
47. Seboba Commissioner's Conservation Trust*	Seboba CCT
48. Tcheke Community Trust	Tcheke CT
49. <i>Teemacane Trust*</i>	<i>Teemacane T</i>
50. <i>TSAMAMA Trust*</i>	<i>TSAMAMA T</i>
51. Tsodilo Community Development Trust	Tsodilo CDT
52. Xhauxhwatubi Community Development Trust	XDT
53. <i>Xwiskurusa Natural Resources Conservation Trust*</i>	<i>XNRCT</i>

Summary figures of CBNRM Review

	2015/16	2012
Organisation		
Number of CBNRM CBOs	147	106 ⁺
Number of registered CBOs	94	80 ⁺
Number of active CBOs	53	33 ⁺
Number of responding CBOs	44	45 ⁺
Population covered by CBOs	557,447	283,123 ⁺
Number of villages covered	174	123 ⁺
CBO population as % of total population	28	10
CBO population as % of rural population	61	
% of poor in CBO villages out of total poor	37	
Average poverty rate in CBO villages	27	
Governance		
Average Board size	9.6	
Average meetings	7.1 in 37 CBOs	5.9 in 15 CBOs ⁺
Gender balance (M:F)	53 : 47	59 : 41 ⁺
% of members below age 30	11	
Infrastructural assets		
Most common man-made assets	Trust offices (49%), campsites (41%)	
Livelihood sources		
Most important livelihood sources	Agriculture and social welfare	
Least important livelihood source	CBO benefits	
Natural capital		
Most common natural assets	Veld-products, Wildlife, Landscape	
Natural resource management		
Most common activities	Bird counts, problem animal control, fire fighting	
Partnerships		
CBOs in Joint Ventures	10	
JVP revenue (BWP million)	18.6	15.9
Financial support		
Donations received in 2015 (BWP)	118,616	2,794,178
Cash-generating activities		
Popular activities	Ecotourism, events	Hunting, ecotourism
CBO Revenues		
Number of CBOs generating their own revenue	22	20
CBO revenue (BWP million):	26.8	22.1
Expenditures		
Total (BWP million)	16.3	15.2
Wages (BWP million)	6.4	6.9
Board allowance range:	min (BWP)	1,080
	max (BWP)	297,600
Benefits to households		
Cash dividends (BWP)	68,660	285,211
*denotes data from Mbaiwa, 2013		

1 Introduction

Community based natural resource management (CBNRM) in Botswana dates back more than twenty years to the early 1990s. The programme has significantly grown since then. A series of six reviews have been carried out since then in 2000 (National CBNRM Forum, 2000), 2001 (National CBNRM Forum, 2001), 2003 (CAR, 2003), 2006 (Schuster, 2007), 2009 (Johnson, 2009) and 2012 (Mbaiwa, 2013). The reviews differed in detail and data after 2012 are lacking. This has become a concern as the widely held perception is that CBNRM is struggling in Botswana. Therefore, this 2016 review has the objectives to:

- a. Collect up-dated information about active community based organisations (CBOs) in Botswana (2012-2015); and
- b. Assess CBO performance and identify CBO challenges.

The following tasks were carried out: identification of the active CBOs in Botswana out of the total number of registered CBOs; rapid assessment of the performance of the active CBOs based on available data; carry out a survey among the active CBOs; process survey data, and analyse the findings; compilation of a report of findings and recommendations.

The project was carried out by the Centre for Applied Research (CAR) and was funded by the Southern African Environmental Programme (SAREP)¹. The project was carried out over the period February to July 2016.

1.1 CBNRM in Botswana

CBNRM originated in Zimbabwe as the Communal Area Management Programme For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) and aims to provide incentives for the local population to conserve natural resources in their immediate surroundings by providing them exclusive resource user rights and associated benefits. In other words, CBNRM seeks to improve natural resource conservation, improve rural livelihoods and reduce human wildlife conflicts as well as poverty. Most early CBNRM projects focused on wildlife utilisation (hunting and tourism), but later on CBNRM extended to other natural resources. The approach also extended to other southern African countries (e.g. Botswana and Namibia).

In Botswana, CBNRM was initially also mostly wildlife-based, but CBNRM has now widened to veld products, historical sites, scenic landscapes and other natural resources. This broadening of the resource base was formalised in the 2007 CBNRM Policy. CBNRM was introduced in Botswana in 1992 through the USAID funded Natural Resource Management Project (NRMP²), and aimed promote sustainable use of local resources through delegation of resource use rights to a CBO. To be eligible, communities had to form a Registered Accountable Legal Entity (RALE) or Community Based Organisation (CBO), through which government devolved resource use and management (DWNP, 1999). CBOs also had to prepare a land use management plan (LUMP). Before communities were granted hunting quota, CBOs had to submit audited annual financial accounts.

CBNRM revenues in Botswana is mostly derived from tourism (wildlife, monuments and cultural tourism) and to a much less extent from sales of veld products. Many CBOs have been financially supported at one point in time by government and/or international cooperating partners (ICPs). In the case of wildlife-based tourism, communities are allocated land for use (e.g. wildlife management areas and/or community land use zones in protected areas), which become the source of revenues. Following the production of a LUMP by the CBO, the Land Board leases the concession area to the CBO for a period of 15 years. The RALE/CBO has the option to sublease (part of) the user rights to a joint venture partner (JVP) for a shorter period, typically five years. Often CBOs with a JVP have higher benefits, as they are located in prime tourist areas and/or are better managed.

¹ Funded by USAID and operated by Chemonix.

² Preparation started in 1989 and the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (CECT) was Botswana's first CBNRM project and CBO.

Given the human wildlife conflicts and associated costs, CBNRM can be seen as an effort to reduce such conflicts and ensure that the local benefits exceed the costs, by community management of natural resources (CAR, 2003; Mbaiwa, 2012 & 2015). The costs of living with wildlife have been illustrated by Pienaar and associates (2013) as; crop raiding, livestock depredation, increased risk of livestock diseases, time and money spent on crop protection, resettlement, psychological cost of fear of wildlife, as well as loss of human life. In brief, CBNRM seeks to increase local benefits of natural resources and to contribute to their sustainable use and management.

In Botswana, CBNRM is closely linked to the 1996 Community-Based Rural Development Strategy and the 2002 Revised Rural Development Policy, each of which encourage community-based sustainable development.

Two events have changed the CBNRM landscape in Botswana over the last decade. First, the 2007 CBNRM Policy formalised the operations of existing CBOs and provided an enabling environment for the formation of new CBOs. As earlier mentioned, the policy provided for resource rights beyond wildlife and made provision for a fund that would accrue 65% of the royalties and resource rents of individual CBOs. The idea was that other CBOs would also benefit from the fund. Thus, the fund implied a redistribution of benefits among CBOs and a reduction of the revenues of CBOs with high revenues from royalties and land rentals³. Secondly, a country-wide hunting ban was imposed in 2014, seriously affecting CBOs with valuable hunting rights.

CBOs have formed an umbrella organisation BOCOBONET, and receive considerable technical and financial support from government, NGOs and ICPs. An ICP-funded CBNRM support programme ended in the early 2000s, and was not replaced. Several government support funds such as the Community Conservation Fund (CCF) and the Conservation Trust Fund (CTF) existed that offered grants to communities; a purpose now absorbed by the National Environmental Fund (NEF). CBOs were supported by Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) and other government departments, while at district level the Technical Advisory Committees (TACs) supported CBOs. With the broadening of the type of natural resource rights and the hunting ban, the role of the DWNP reduced and other government departments and parastatals became more important (e.g. Department of Forest And Range Resources -DFRR, Department of National Museums and Monuments –DNMM- and Botswana Tourism Organisation –BTO-). BTO's plans for CBNRM have been described in Mbaiwa (2013). BTO's core areas are tourism marketing, quality control and investment promotion, including products and spatial diversification of the tourism sector. With CBNRM, BTO encourages and facilitates joint venture partnerships between CBOs and private companies. According to Mbaiwa (2013) BTO promotes that CBOs themselves are not directly involved in tourism venture but that individuals or groups in the communities operate the enterprises and that BTO and Trusts would register holding companies with the Trust as shareholder. This approach was to be implemented in seven CBNRM projects (Seboba, Tshabong Pilot Camel project, Lepokole Hills, Moremi Gorge, Nata Sanctuary, Gcwihaba Caves, and Tsodilo Hills; Mbaiwa, 2013).

³ It is unclear to what extent funds have been actually taken away from CBOs.

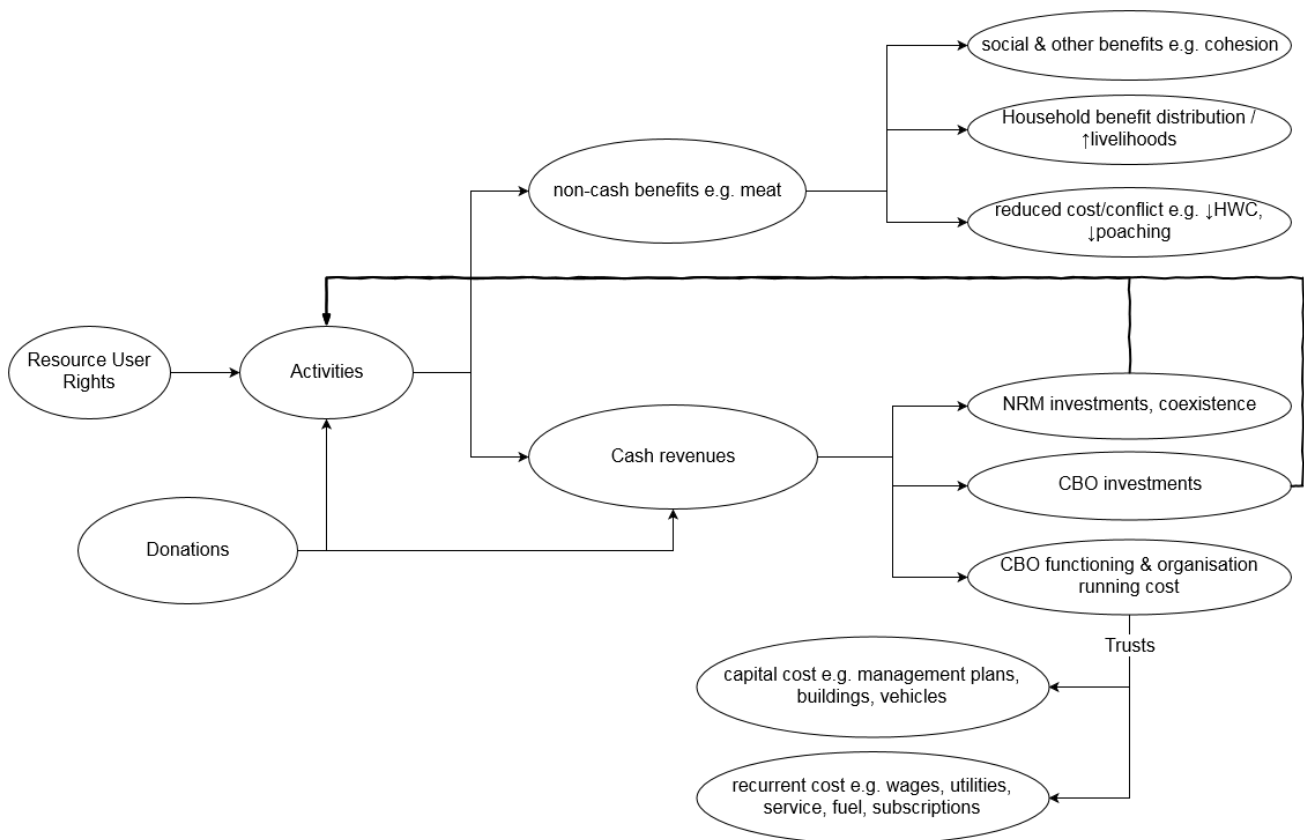
2 Methodology and approach

Based on the concept of sustainable development and the objectives of the CBNRM programme, an analytical framework was developed that focuses on:

- i. Increasing local livelihood benefits;
- ii. Increasing CBO capital⁴ and assets in terms of human capital (skills), man-made capital (e.g. offices, plant and equipment), natural capital (e.g. water points) and financial capital (e.g. savings);
- iii. Reducing human wildlife conflicts; and
- iv. Contributing to sustainable natural resource management and conservation.

Figure 1 shows key aspects of and linkages in the CBNRM process. As per the CBNRM policy, the starting point is the granting of exclusive resource use rights to the RALE/CBO. The activities can generate cash and in kind revenues, which are used for the CBO operations and can be distributed to the community, households or individuals; surpluses can be invested in productive assets or saved. Investments are meant to generate more revenues in future; savings also provide resilience if annual CBO revenues suddenly decline (such as after the hunting ban). Benefits to households and individuals contribute to poverty reduction and can enhance human capital (e.g. scholarships). Such benefits may also offer compensation for costs of living with wildlife and provide incentive for a positive attitude towards wildlife conservation.

Figure 1: Analytical framework for CBNRM assessment



⁴ These sources of capital permit communities to develop activities and generate income. It must be pointed out that CBOs do not own natural resources, but have resource *use* rights.

The study used secondary and primary data. Further details are given below.

2.1 Secondary data analysis (reports and data)

The main data was from quarterly TAC reports from the 2012 – 2015 review period. Where available, annual reports from CBOs were used. Furthermore, summary reports from DWNP, DEA, DNMM, DFRR and BTO were used. Academic publications were also identified as sources of literature. Grey literature (newspaper articles and online publications) was also used to augment available information. Published aerial survey from the DWNP, as well as Population & Housing Census data from Statistics Botswana were also used.

2.2 2016 CBO survey

CBOs which were deemed active were surveyed for this review. An active CBO fulfilled at least one of the following points; at least one Board meeting during the review period, documented project, financial transaction, be it expenditure, income generation or donation, or alternatively a natural-resource management activity. A comprehensive list of CBOs was prepared to identify the active CBOs with the assistance of CBNRM fora, KCS, SAREP, MEWT CBNRM Coordinating Office, DWNP, BOCOBONET, ORI, BTO, UNDP, DFRR, DEA, and DNMM.

Data-collection templates were sent to Trust managers, with the assistance of TAC (DWNP, DFRR, and DEA), as well as BTO and SAREP. A pilot test of the questionnaire was done through face-to-face interviews with members of a Board of Trustees during March 2016 in the Kweneng district. Because a number of questions required a reference to records, the respondents were provided with the questionnaire to fill in on their own once they had retrieved the necessary information.

The data-collection template comprised of thirteen sections: 1. particulars of the organisation; 2. governance details; 3. infrastructural assets; 4. livelihood sources; 5. natural resources base; 6. CBO involvement in natural-resource management; 7. partnerships; 8. research and support; 9. CBO income generating activities; 10. CBO revenues accrued; 11. non-cash benefits; 12. CBO expenditures; and 13. community and household benefits given out by the CBO.

2.3 National CBNRM conference

The National CBNRM Forum Conference of July 2016 was used to discuss draft findings of the study and to collect important missing information as well as additional insights into CBOs issues that emerged from the analysis. The conference was attended by many CBOs, but senior management of Ministry of Wildlife Environment, Wildlife and Tourism (MEWT) was not present.

2.4 Limitations

The study and 2016 CBO survey focuses on active CBOs. Inactive CBOs are only covered through the literature review and other secondary data.

The study had severe logistical limitations with a small budget and limited time. Consequently, it was not feasible to visit all CBOs⁵ individually. Instead, the survey had to be conducted by mail and fax. One pilot visit took place to test the questionnaire.

⁵ It was decided in consultation with SAREP to shelve CBO case study visits and concentrate on increasing the response rate to the questionnaire.

At the time of reporting, it has not been possible to meet with BTO and discuss their recent role and achievements in CBNRM in detail. BTO did not make a presentation at the 2016 National CBNRM Forum Conference.

This report includes CBO data provided before or on 8th of July. Several CBOs had promised additional data but these were not received by this deadline, hence they have not been incorporated.

The data presented in the review are based on available and accessible data. Regrettably, since the hunting ban there is no regular source of information such as annual reports of CBOs. While CBOs had to submit audited annual financial accounts to obtain hunting quota, it appears that no new annual requirement was put in place after hunting was suspended. Due to different record-keeping practices, only a selected proportion of the respondents were able to fully complete the questionnaire. Therefore, the number of responding CBOs is indicated during the discussion of the results.

Caution is required with the comparison of the various CBNRM reviews as their scope and coverage of CBOs differ. Moreover, figures may sometimes refer to gross revenues as revenues generated by CBOs themselves and other times to own revenues plus donations. Therefore, the trends emerging from the comparison is more important than the absolute figures.

It is important to establish an effective monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems for CBOs. MOMS may provide such a system but the MOMS results were not available (beyond the pilot “dashboard”). While M&E requires extra efforts from CBOs, it is the only way to review the performance, assess the impacts on CBOs of specific policy interventions, and make the case for continued or extra support and to CBNRM policy modification.

3 Findings regarding the status of active CBOs

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the 2016 CBO survey together with the results of the review of existing literature, including the comparison with earlier CBNRM reviews, especially the 2006, 2009 and 2011/12 ones. Emphasis is given to the period 2012 - 2015, for which no data exist. However, where possible longer-term trends have been identified, going back to the early 1990s.

Historically, CBOs developed without a formal CBNRM policy, which was only approved in 2007. Major land marks are:

- ✓ 1989: Start of NRMP located within the DWNP;
- ✓ 1992: Chobe Enclave Community Trust started as the first CBO;
- ✓ 1990s - 2001: IUCN-SNV support programme
- ✓ 1998: Establishment of CBO umbrella organisation (BOCOBONET)
- ✓ 2000: Establishment of National CBNRM Forum
- ✓ 2002: CBNRM approach incorporated in the Revised Rural Development Policy
- ✓ 2007: CBNRM Policy approved
- ✓ 2009: Increased role of BTO
- ✓ 2014: Hunting ban

Historically, the majority of the active CBOs in Botswana have been wildlife based through ecotourism and hunting. CBNRM has broadened its resource base in time, in particular after the 2007 CBNRM Policy. The DWNP is the secretariat of the TAC, which provide oversight over all registered CBOs. The DWNP is therefore the primary point of contact for most CBOs. Non-wildlife based CBOs work with other government departments such as the DFRR and the DNMM. BTO is closely involved with seven CBOs across the country.

A total of 165 CBOs are affiliated with BOCOBONET that aims to support and lobby for rural communities and CBOs (Rapoo, 2015). Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as Birdlife Botswana (BIB) and the Kalahari Conservation Society (KCS) continue to work with CBOs. The KCS is the secretariat of the National CBNRM Forum.

3.2 CBO status

The CBO status was assessed in terms of registration and operation-status/being-active (Table 1). There are currently 147 known CBOs, of which 94 are registered⁶ and 16 not registered; the registration status of 37 is unknown. The number of CBOs and registered CBOs has increased significantly since 2012. During the period 2009-2012, there was only a marginal increase, which may have been due to suspension of registration of new trusts or limited coverage of existing trusts⁷. The number of active CBOs has also increased from 31 in 2012 to 53 in 2015 as compared to an increase of a mere five in the period 2003-2012. It is important to ascertain whether this is a real growth of the CBNRM programme or due to data differences.

Table 1: Trends in CBO registration 2003-2016

	2003	2006	2009	2012	2015/16
Active	26	26	31	33	53
Registered	67	67	79	80	94
Not registered	16	16	16	16	16
Not indicated	0	13	10	10	37
total	83	96	105	106	147

Note; registration and activity level taken from appendices in Johnson (2009) and Mbaiwa (2013) reports. The figure differ slightly from the figures in the text of the reports.

Sources: Arntzen *et al.*, 2003; National CBNRM Forum, 2004; Schuster, 2007; Johnson, 2009; Mbaiwa, 2012 and 2013; 2016 CBNRM survey.

A CBO is considered to be active in this study if it:

- ✓ Has a project or activity; and/or
- ✓ Is supported by a government or non-government institution; and/or
- ✓ Receives revenues (own income and/or grants); and/or
- ✓ Has meetings with the intent of carrying out a specific activity in the foreseeable future.

Using these criteria, 53 CBOs are considered to be active (or 36.1% of the total number of CBOs). However, it must be noted that the level of activity varies greatly: some of the active CBOs are hardly active while others are very active. Of the 53 contacted CBOs, 44 provided feedback, which gives an 83 % response rate.

During the previous review (Mbaiwa, 2013), 106 CBOs were contacted, 45 of which provided feedback (and were considered active⁸). Prior to that (Johnson, 2009), 47 CBOs had been successfully contacted, of which 33 were considered active⁹. If we use the same criterion for 'being active' as Mbaiwa (2013), currently 44 CBOs are active or only 30 % of the total number of CBOs.

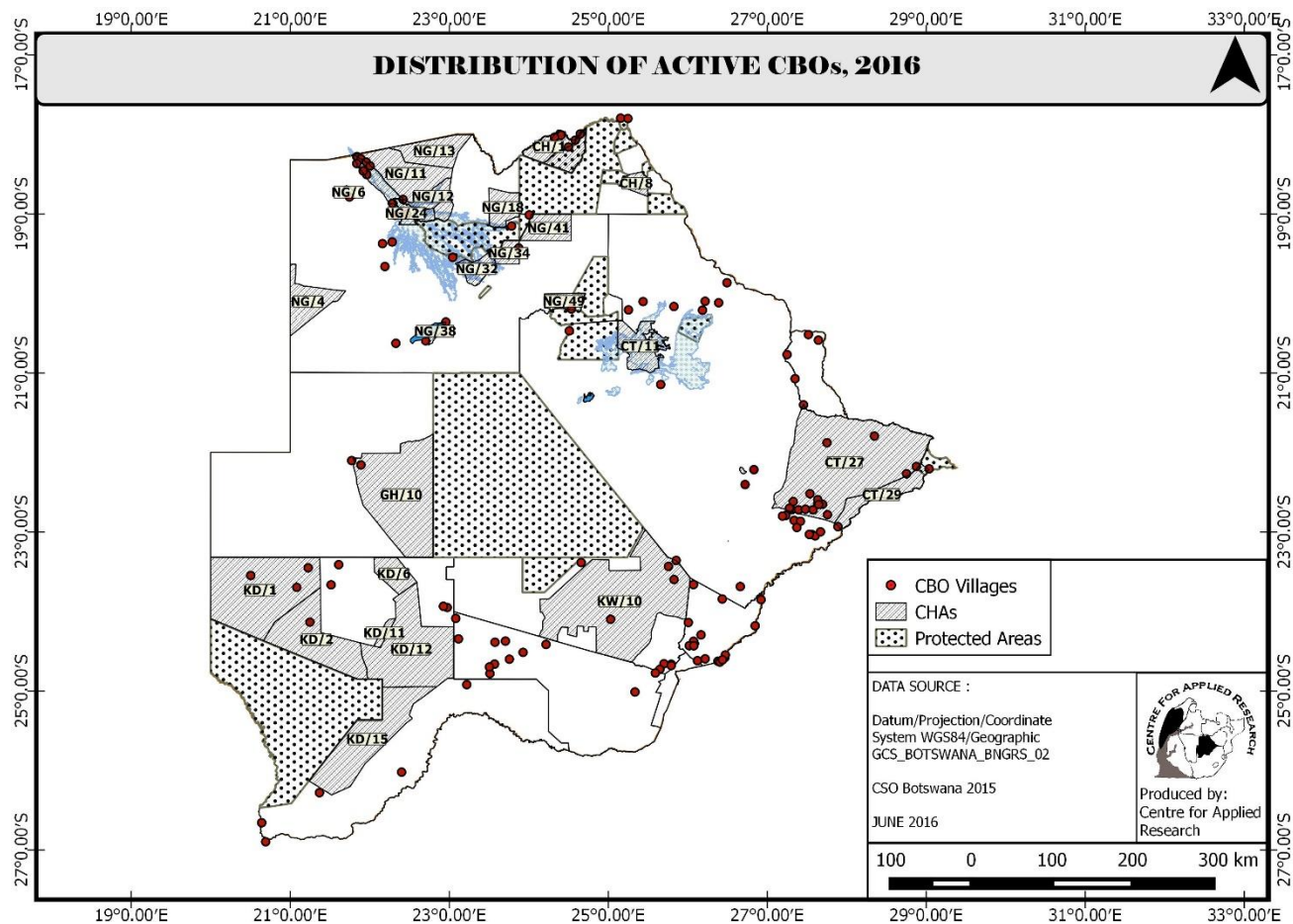
In the remainder of this chapter, key performance areas of the active CBOs are discussed. The villages involved in the active CBOs are shown in Figure 2.

⁶ This figure is lower than earlier figures (105 by Johnson, 2009 and 106 by Mbaiwa, 2013). These may indicate that some CBOs have been deregistered or inaccurate data in the absence of a CBO data base.

⁷ This shows the need for a systematic CBNRM data base.

⁸ The list in the appendix of the Mbaiwa 2013 report has 33 active CBOs.

⁹ The list in the appendix of the Johnson 2009 report has 31 active CBOs.

Figure 2: Location of active CBO villages in Botswana

3.3 CBO governance

This section focuses on the Boards of Trustees, CBO employment, the spatial spread of CBOs, as well as process monitoring within CBOs.

3.3.1 Board of Trustees

The 44 respondent CBOs had a total of 423 Board of Trustees positions, giving an average board size of 9.6 members. Boards varied in size from 5 to 12, with 10 being the most common board size. Board size has slightly decreased as compared to 2012, when the sizes ranged from 10 to 12 (Mbaiwa, 2013). Currently, thirty-six positions were vacant, averaging 0.8 Board vacancy per respondent CBO.

The number of board meetings held ranged from 2 to 18 in 2015. Most CBOs held fewer than seven meetings in 2015. The total reported meetings amount to 219 in 2015 which gives an average of 6.2 board meetings per CBO. This is a slight increase of 0.3 board meeting per CBO as compared to 2012 (Mbaiwa, 2013).

The board composition is fairly evenly balanced between males and females: males 53 % and females 47 % as compared to the national (2011) picture of males 59 % and females 41 % (Mbaiwa, 2013). There has been a marked improvement in gender balance over time. The percentage of males has gone down from 62 % in 2006 and 2009 (Johnson, 2009) to 59 % in 2012 (Mbaiwa, 2013) and 53 % in 2015.

Table 2 shows the age structure of Board member over the last decade. Board members are evenly spread from 30 years onwards. CBOs Boards increasingly fail to attract youth (below 30 years) and the percentage of older board members (over 50 years) has increased. This has been earlier observed by Johnson (2009) and

Mbaiwa (2013). Youth is generally better educated and may have more attractive income opportunities than board membership. However, the risk is that Boards may have long experience, but may become less innovative and adaptive.

Table 2: Changes in age distribution 2006-2016 (as % of board members)

Age-category		2006	2009	2016
30 or younger		41	34	11
31-40		28	31	26
41-50		25	16	28
50+		6	19	35

Note: percentages for 2006 and 2009 are estimates from graphs in the sourced report.

Sources: Schuster, 2007; Johnson, 2009 and 2016 survey.

3.3.2 Employment

Twenty-one of the surveyed CBOs reported to employ a total of 92 professionals (managers, accountants and guides). Support staff amounted to 245 positions in 17 CBOs ranging from one to sixty. Of those CBOs that responded to the question, 11 CBOs indicated an employment of zero.

On average, a CBO employs 3.1 professionals and 9.4 support staff. Using these averages for all active CBOs, active CBOs employ around 162 professionals and 500 support staff. These figures are in the same range as earlier surveys (CAR, 2003 and Mbaiwa, 2013)¹⁰. CBNRM employment appears not to have increased much over the last 15 years¹¹. While the numbers are small, they are important at the village level as formal employment opportunities are very limited.

3.3.3 CBO location and population

The location of the CBOs is shown in Figure 3. Most CBOs are located in Ngamiland (16), Central District (15) and Kgalagadi District (7). Ngamiland is the only district with a District CBNRM Forum (established in 1999). The number of villages and population covered by active CBOs has grown to 174 villages with a population of 557,447 in 145,820 households. These figures are higher than the previous estimates of 283,123 people in 123 villages (Mbaiwa, 2013). CBOs cover around 28% of Botswana population and around 61% of the rural population¹². This shows the potential importance of CBOs for rural development and poverty reduction.

In 2015, 29 CBOs covered two to four villages, while 22 CBOs were single-village CBOs. Two CBOs had individual based instead of village based membership¹³ (KyT and Ngwao Boswa WC). Two CBOs in eastern Botswana had a large coverage of villages (23¹⁴ and 21 villages).

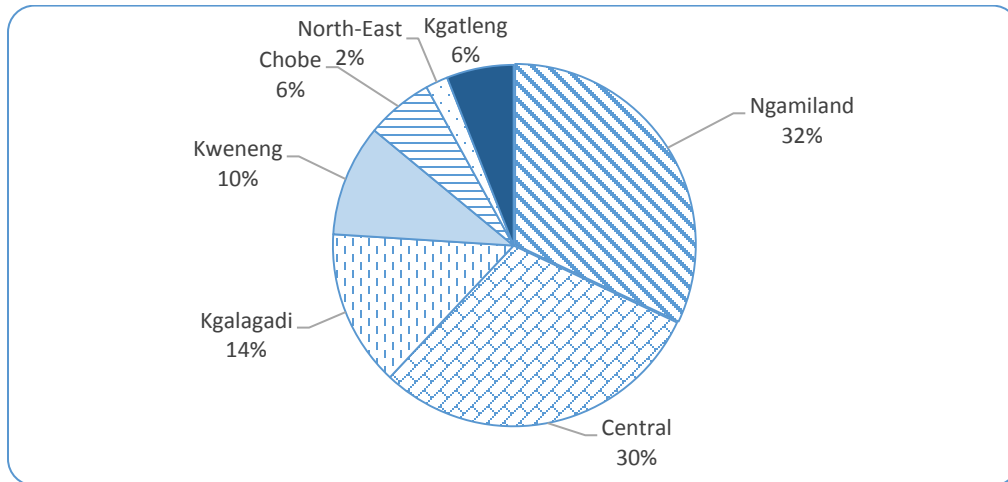
¹⁰ If employment for collection of veld products and craft production is included the figure is likely to be in the range of 6 to 8 000 (Schuster, 2007 and Johnson, 2009).

¹¹ The Ngamiland CBNRM Forum reported substantial job losses in most of its CBOs at the July 2016 National CBNRM Forum conference.

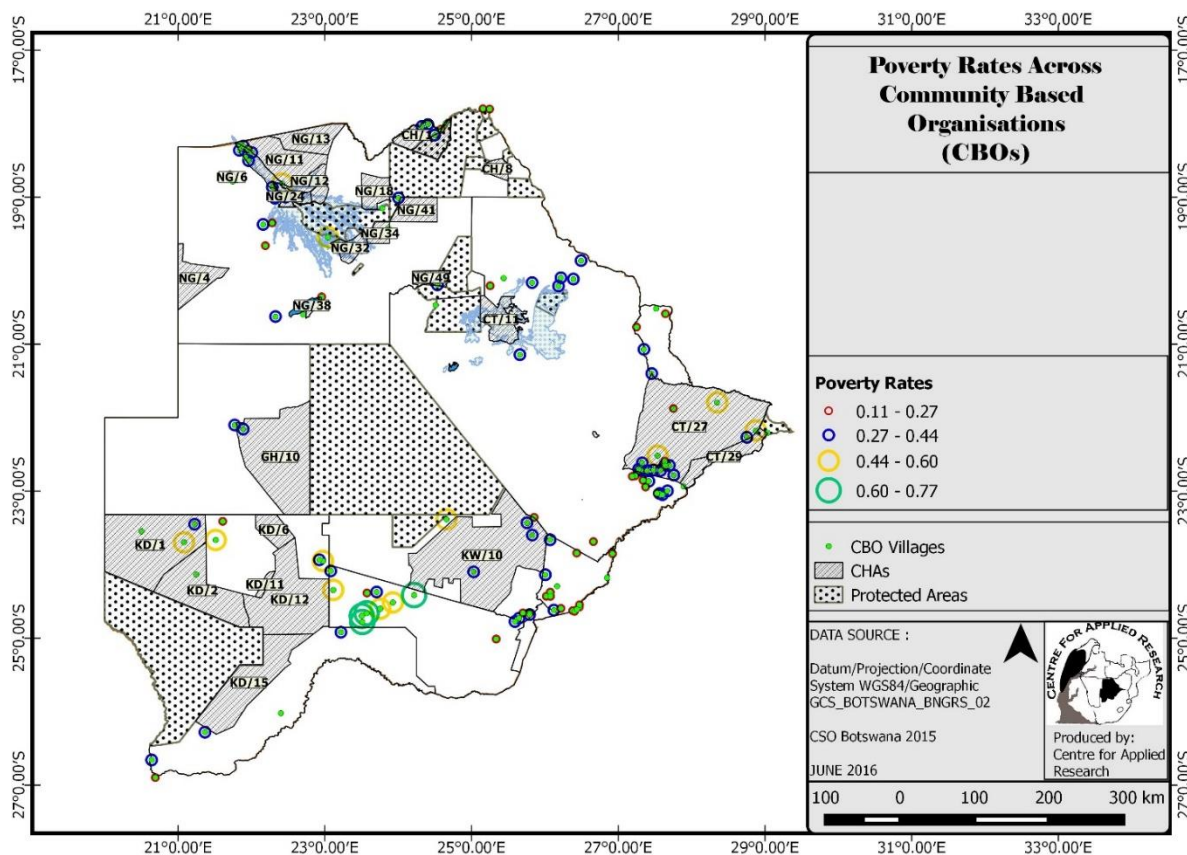
¹² Based on CSO 2011 data: 2,089,706 for national population and 909,712 for rural population

¹³ It can be debated whether these are CBNRM CBOs as per CBNRM Policy. It is unclear whether they have a RALE and a LUMP.

¹⁴ Membership is individual based rather than village based and the individual members are spread over a large number of villages.

Figure 3: Location of CBOs by District

Poverty levels in CBNRM villages are high. The total number of people living below the poverty line (PDL) is estimated to be 148,999 with an average poverty rate of 27%. This is above the average for all rural villages (24.3%) and much higher than the national average of 19.3% (Statistics Botswana/ World Bank, 2015). These figures show that poverty reduction should be an important aspect of CBNRM. The poverty levels for CBO villages is shown in Figure 4. Poverty levels appears highest in southwestern Botswana.

Figure 4: Poverty rates in CBO villages

Source: adapted from Statistics Botswana, 2015

3.3.4 Management Oriented Monitoring System (MOMS)

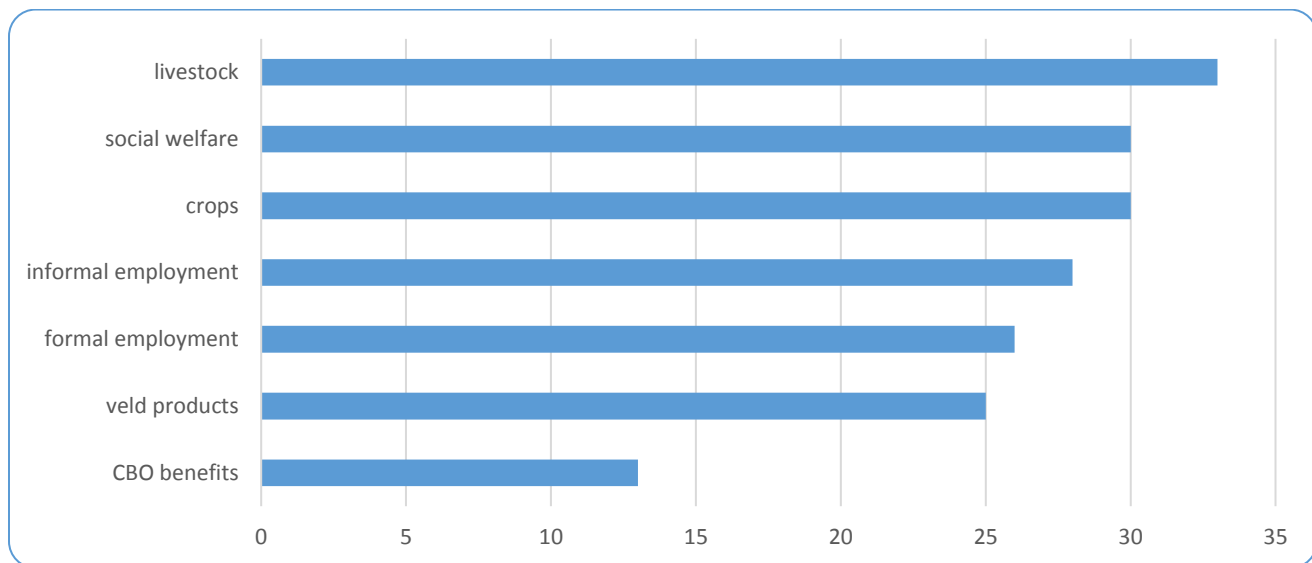
The MOMS aims, among others, to improve CBO governance and monitor governance and management aspects such as meeting and training logs, employment register and staff activity. Six¹⁵ of the 53 active CBOs are implementing the system (DWNP communication) while an additional five CBOs have been trained in MOMS, but are yet to implement it. The Universities of Florida and Botswana jointly piloted MOMS governance at CECT in 2009 as a tool to measure governance using participatory and survey techniques (Johnson, 2009). Data collected from these activities were then analysed and presented to the community in order to create democratic accountability and demand for change at community level (Muyengwa, 2015). Unfortunately, the pilot has not yet been rolled out to any other CBO in Botswana.

3.4 Livelihood sources in CBO villages

Formal employment and government support are among the main livelihood sources countrywide. Formal employment opportunities tend to be concentrated in urban areas and large villages. Opportunities in smaller rural villages such as the CBNRM villages, are limited.

Respondents were asked to identify the main livelihood sources and categorise them (Figure 5). The bars indicate the frequency of important sources of livelihood in CBNRM villages. Livestock, crops, social welfare and informal employment are most frequently perceived as the important sources of livelihood. In contrast, CBOs benefit were important in less than 15% of the CBOs; clearly CBO benefits emerge at best as a supplementary source of livelihoods. The incentive for community management and conservation of the local natural resources must therefore be limited. The same picture emerges from section 3.12, which shows that very limited CBO benefits go to the community and households in 2015.

Figure 5: Important livelihood sources by CBO villages (as % of responding CBOs).



The continued importance of agriculture for livelihoods as shown in Figure 5 is due to the fact that it can be engaged in by individual households and generates direct benefits from consumption (food and meat) and/or opportunities for selling. However, it poses challenges in wildlife management areas (WMAs), where many CBOs are based and that have poor agricultural potential (e.g. sandy soils and no beef exports). As per the 1987 Wildlife Utilisation Policy, agricultural activities should not adversely affect wildlife utilisation options in WMAs, hence agriculture need to be carefully managed and controlled to avoid conflicts with wildlife in WMAs.

¹⁵ MOMS' data for the six CBOs were not available for this study.

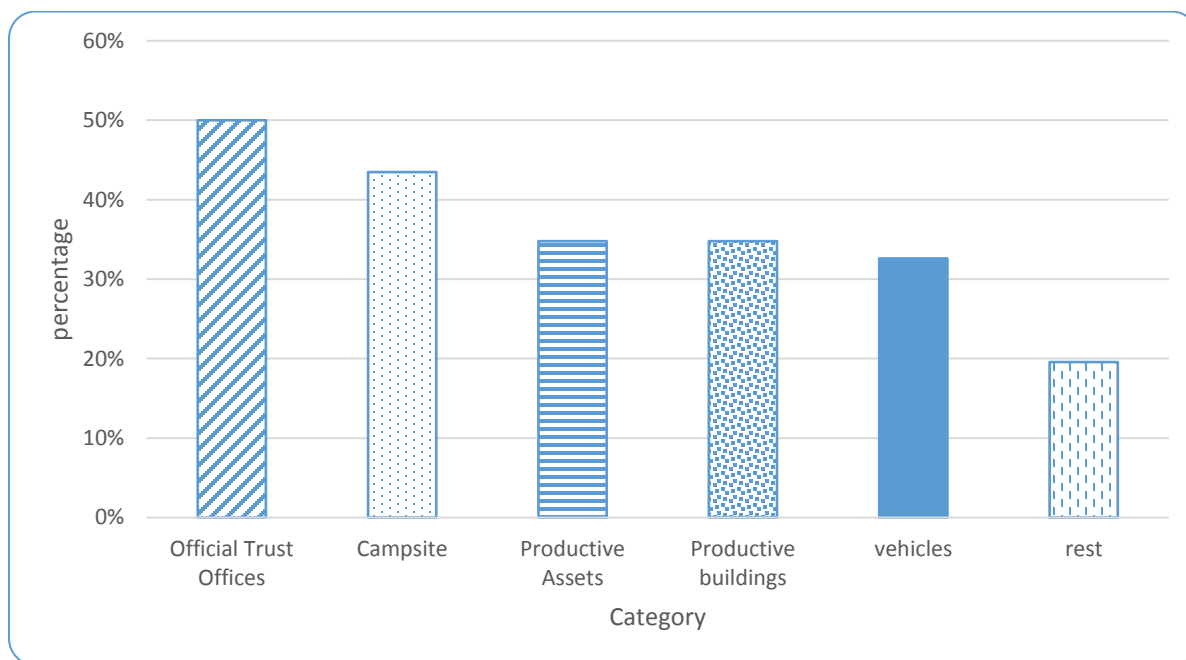
Out of the 174 CBNRM villages, 43% are remote area dweller (RAD) settlements. Livelihoods in remote areas often depend on social welfare, poverty eradication as well as public works programmes. For example, the national budget for the Ipelegeng programme was BWP580.6 million in 2014 and increased to BWP635,590 million in 2015 (with 64,191 beneficiaries in 2015). There is a range of other social welfare programmes that support rural livelihoods.

3.5 Man-made capital of CBOs

CBOs have four types of assets/capital or production factors that together generate livelihood benefits: human capital (Board and employees; see 3.1), man-made capital, natural capital (see 3.6) and financial capital. The productive combination of these benefits yields income and benefits. In this section, the man-made capital base of CBOs is discussed.

It is expected that older CBOs and CBOs with high revenues have been able to build up man-made capital and increase their productive capacity. In the 2016 survey, respondents were requested to indicate specific assets that the Trust owned according to six categories (see Figure 6). Productive assets refer to other equipment such as computers, printers, centrifuges as well as farms, ranches, desalination plants and rehabilitated land. Productive buildings refer to buildings used to implement CBO activities. Examples include tanneries, fruit-processing factories, lodges and chalets. Figure 6 shows the frequency of CBO ownership of different man-made capital types.

Figure 6: Man-made capital of CBOs by category (as % of total respondents).



Most CBOs have a diverse man-made capital base with trust offices most common followed by camp sites¹⁶ and a range of productive assets (e.g. morula press). Nine CBOs indicated that they had no assets at all, making it difficult to operate.

¹⁶ Camp sites are linked to ecotourism. A number of CBOs reported that their campsites were still under development (these were excluded from Figure 6).

Fifty percent of the responding CBOs had Trust offices, some of which were in need of renovation. Some of the other CBOs were sharing office space or had rented offices. Several Trusts in Ngamiland have offices in Maun for marketing purposes in addition to their own offices in areas of operation.

CBOs with higher revenues have a larger man-made capital base (Figure 7). The high-revenue CBOs had trust offices and most of them had campsites and means of transport. Twelve CBOs have lodges; three indicated that the lodges were not in working condition and that they need to invest in renovation as a CBO or as part of a joint venture partnership.

Figure 7: Man-made capital by level of revenues.



Transport-means are important to support CBO activities. A third of the CBOs own means of transport (Figure 6); the others have to hire transport¹⁷ or do without, which may hamper CBO activities. For example, two CBOs have farms but no vehicles. Some CBOs have been allocated Community User Zones in protected areas, but their boards had not seen these due to transport problems. Transport means are unevenly distributed. Two-thirds of transport means belong to one-third of the CBOs. In CBOs in remote areas, transport is often used as a direct benefit to the community in all sorts of situations and emergencies.

The reported number of CBOs with own vehicles has remained fairly constant: 15 in the 2016 survey, 15 in 2006 (Schuster, 2007), 19 in 2009, (Johnson, 2009) and 16 in 2013 (Mbaiwa, 2013).

3.6 CBO natural capital

All 44 CBOs provided information about their natural resource base. Eleven categories were distinguished ranging from biological resources (e.g. wildlife, trees and plants) to abiotic resources (e.g. sand and salt), landscape and historical sites. Figure 8 shows that the natural capital base of CBOs is diverse but primarily biodiversity based. Wildlife and veld products (excluding thatching grass and firewood) are most common and found in well over half of the CBOs. Veld products include wild berries, water reeds, morula, sengaparile, palm trees and mahupu. Scenic landscapes (e.g. dunes, gorges and delta), birds and firewood are present in 30 to 50% of the CBOs. Resources, categorised as other, were those that each had a single listing of the said resource.

¹⁷ This may be cheaper than owning transport for some CBOs.

Those included were gravel, concrete and Tropic of Capricorn. Fish, gravel, thatching grass and salt are available in less than 30% of the CBOs. Over a third of the CBOs had both wildlife and veld products.

Wildlife diversity, abundance and presence of certain species (e.g. some of the big five) are important for the ecotourism potential. Diversity and presence of the big five is most significant in and around protected areas, particularly in the north. Figure 9 shows wildlife estimates by district. Clearly, CBOs in northern Botswana and to a lesser extent in western Botswana have a comparative advantage.

Figure 8: Natural-resource base of CBOs 2016 (% of CBOs with the resource)

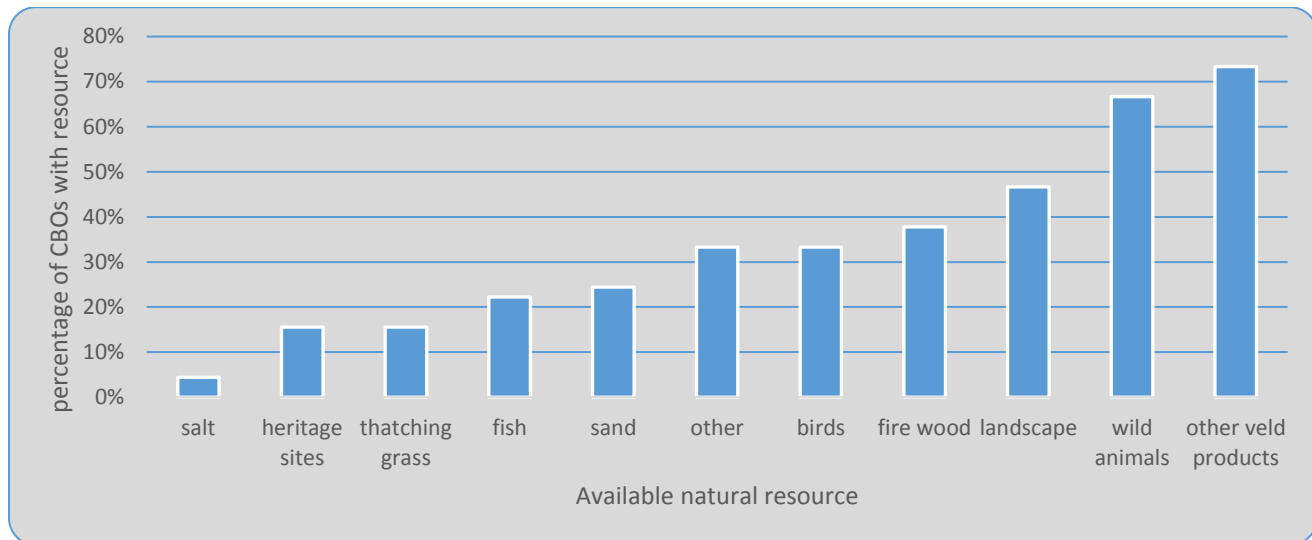
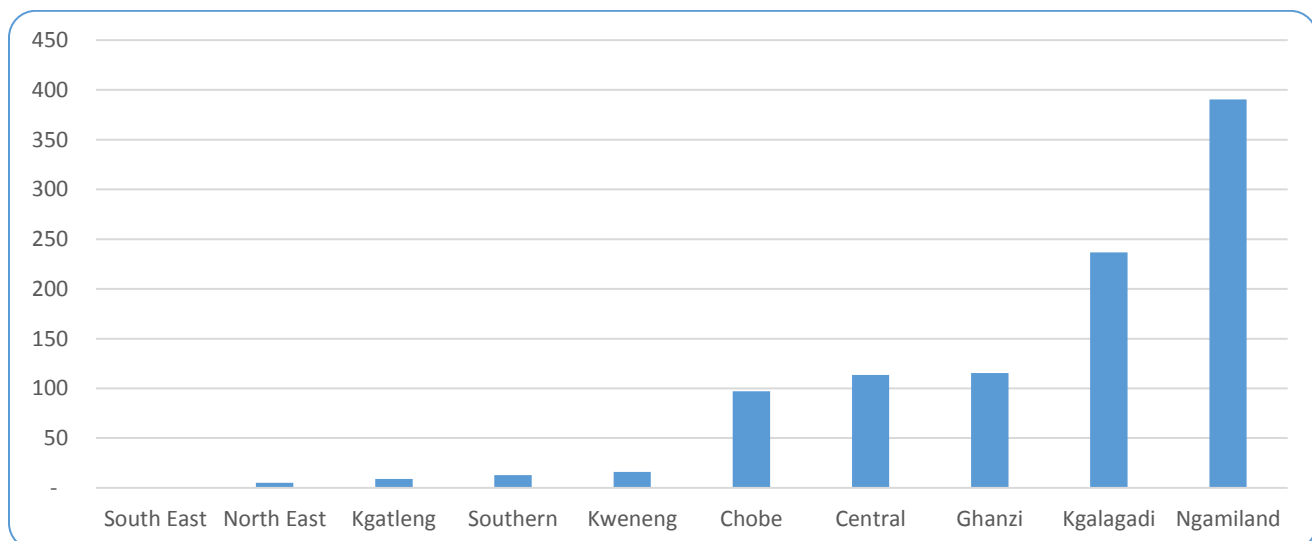


Figure 9: Wildlife capital base by district (000 large stock units).



Source: adapted from DWNP, 2012.

The northern and western districts have the highest wildlife numbers (Figure 9). Out of 996,000 estimated large stock units (LSU) in 2012 (DWNP, 2012), three quarters were found in Ngamiland, Kgalagadi and Ghanzi districts. Game that is popular for viewing include lion, elephants, buffalo, rhinoceros, and leopard. These are found in greater densities in these same areas, with the elephants, buffalo and rhinoceros being absent from the Kgalagadi and to a large extent from Ghanzi district.

3.7 CBO income-generating activities

Figure 10 shows the frequency of different income-generating activities of CBOs in 2012 and 2015. Hunting was the dominant activity in 2012 with over 45% of the respondent CBOs involved in it. After the 2014 hunting ban, CBOs diversified their activities towards agricultural and cultural activities. In addition, CBOs started events which became the second most common activity in 2015 (closely followed by cultural activities). In 2015, there was a greater variety in income generating activities than in 2012. Perhaps surprisingly, the frequency of ecotourism involvement did not increase, possibly due to the fact that CBOs with an ecotourism potential already engaged in it in 2012 (together with hunting).

Figure 10: CBO income-generating activities by type (2012 & 2015; as % of 24 CBOs)

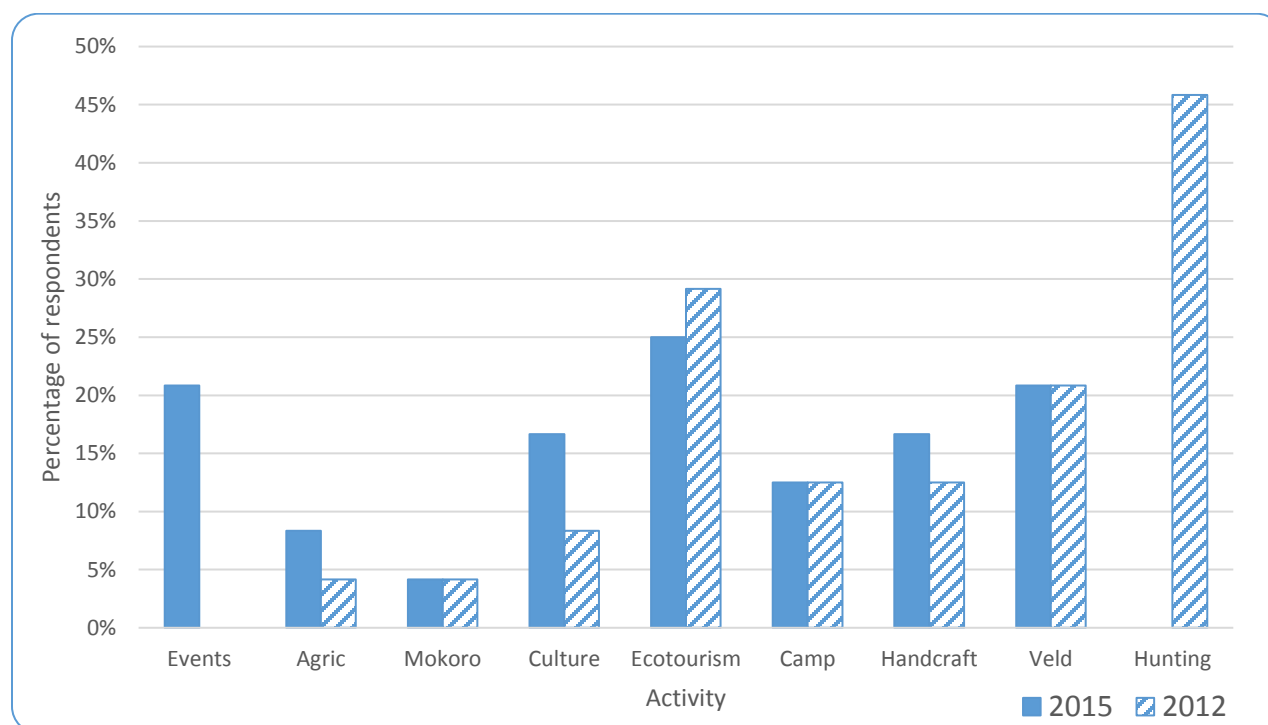
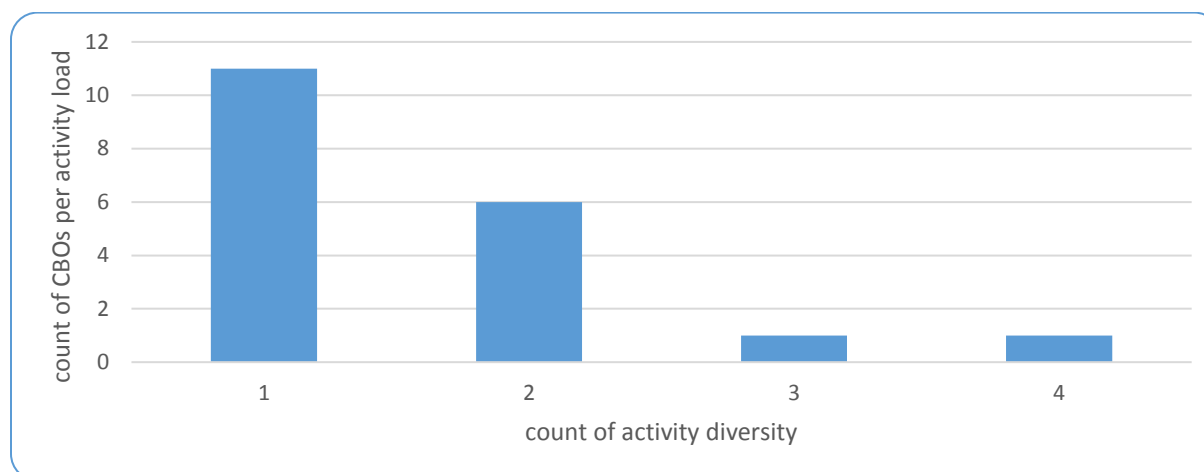


Figure 11 shows that eight CBOs have more than one activity, which increases their resilience. However, 11 CBOs were involved in only one activity, mostly ecotourism. Tourism-related activities were events, canoe trips, culture shows, ecotourism, camping, handcraft sales, and photographic drives.

For most former hunting CBOs (FHCBO¹⁸), hunting accounted for the lion's share of the revenues. One would therefore expect these to struggle after the hunting ban. Table 3 shows how FHCBOs (12 responding CBOs in 2012) adapted their activity pattern. Four CBOs did not manage to diversify away from hunting. Four of the 11 FHCBOs with financial data for both years indicated complete loss of income: KKDT, Koinaphu CT¹⁹, Mekgatshi CT and MAHUMO. The other seven diversified activities to veld products, event hosting and cultural activity.

¹⁸ 11 FHCBOs: KKDT, Koinaphu CT, MZCDT, MAHUMO, Mekgatshi CT, MOLEMA, NKXT, OKMCT, STMT, XDT and Mapanda CT. No financial data were available for 4 FHCBOs: CECT, KALEPA, XNRCT and Mmadinare (only 2012 present).

¹⁹ However, Koinaphu CT received a DEA grant.

Figure 11: CBOs by numbers of activities in 2015 (n=19)**Table 3: Adaptation in activities by former-hunting CBOs**

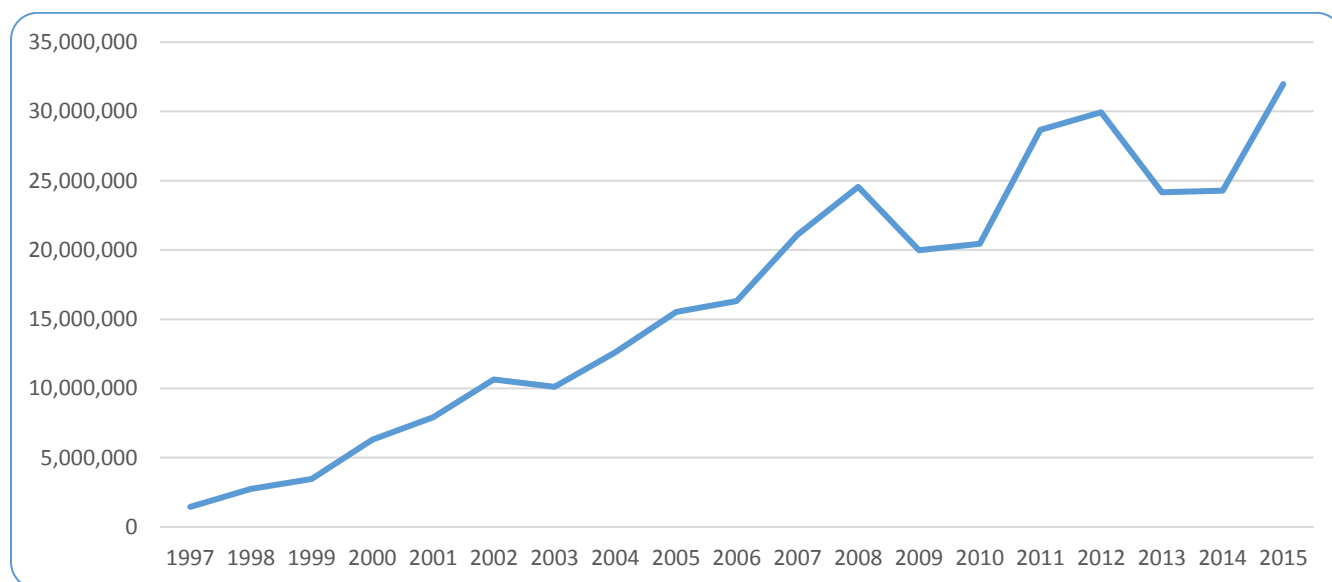
Name	Year	Camp	Culture	Ecotourism	Events	Handicraft	Hunting
KKDT	2015						
	2012						
Koinaphu CT	2015						
	2012						
MZCDT	2015						
	2012						
MAHUMO	2015						
	2012						
Mapanda CT	2015						
	2012						
Mekgatshi CT	2015						
	2012						
Mmadinare DT	2015						
	2012						
MOLEMA	2015						
	2012						
NKXT	2015						
	2012						
OKMCT	2015						
	2012						
STMT	2015						
	2012						
XDT	2015						
	2012						

3.8 CBO revenues and expenditures

Historically, grant donations have been a significant component of CBO revenues. However, as the country's per capita income increased, Botswana became an upper-middle income country and donor grants dried up to a large extent (UNDP, 2009). The country's estimated per capita income is now US\$7,240 (World Bank, 2016). Most self-generated CBNRM revenues in Botswana were derived from hunting and ecotourism (CAR, 2003; Johnson, 2009 and Mbaiwa, 2013). Drying up of international cooperating partners (ICP) funds and the hunting ban forced CBOs to diversify their revenues sources. Hunting accounted for 46% of the CBO revenues in 2009 (Johnson, 2009).

Based on figures derived the 2016 CBNRM survey and earlier reviews, it is estimated that total CBO revenues exceeded Pula 300 million in the period 1997-2015; this figure is probably an underestimate due to data gaps²⁰. The CBO revenues of previous CBNRM reviews and the 2016 survey have been combined in Figure 12. CBO revenues show an upward trend and now exceed BWP 30 million p.a., but with dips in 2009-10 and 2013-14. A note of caution is required: the surveys cover different CBOs and therefore the results may be somewhat misleading. For example, incorporation of other high earning CBOs in the 2016 survey data would lead to higher figures for 2012 and 2015.

Figure 12: Trend in reported CBOs revenues (Pula million; 1997-2015)



Sources: Schuster, 2007; Johnson, 2009; Mbaiwa, 2013 and 2016 survey.

Earlier surveys did not report on CBO expenditures and therefore the financial sustainability (e.g. revenues minus recurrent expenditures) of CBOs was not assessed. The 2016 survey included questions on recurrent and capital expenditures.

The overall revenue – expenditure picture from the 2016 survey

Thirty-three out of the 44 CBOs (or 75%) responded to questions on revenues and expenditures. Most CBOs completed the financial section partially. Ten CBOs completed the revenue and expenditure questions for 2012 and 2015; 17 provided revenue figures for 2012 and 2015 and 12 provided expenditure figures for both years. Since the hunting ban CBOs are no longer required to submit their audited annual financial records in order to get a new hunting quota²¹. Other reasons for the low response on finances may be confidentiality (quoted as a reason by CECT), low or no revenues and expenditures and/ or unavailability of proper financial records.

²⁰ E.g. recent financial data for CECT were not available. Moreover, the figure refers mostly to revenues generated by CBOs and exclude grants from government and ICPs.

²¹ DWNP provided incomplete monthly financial figures for some CBOs on 28.6.2016.

Total reported revenues have risen from 25.7 million in 2012 to 28.3 million in 2015 (with 24 and 22 respondents respectively). The average revenue per CBO has increased from BWP1.1 million to BWP1.3 million; the average recurrent expenditures increased from BWP1.4 million to BWP1.1million.

Inequality among CBOs has increased. The range in revenues (mix²²-max) is large and has significantly increased. In 2012, the lowest-earning CBO accrued BWP2,235 while the highest-earner got BWP6.6 million. In 2015, the gap has grown from as low as BWP6,700 revenues to as high as BWP9.7 million.

The response rate to recurrent expenditures²³ is lower than those for revenues (14 and 17 for 2012 and 2015 resp.). Total recurrent expenditures in 2012 were reported to be BWP19.7 million and declined to BWP18.5 million in 2015. The average expenditures declined BWP1.4 million to BWP1.1 million. The range in expenditures is also huge, ranging from as low as BWP18,200 to BWP 5.1 million in 2012 and from BWP2,480 to BWP5.2 million in 2015.

A breakdown of the expenditures shows that wages are the largest expenditures (BWP6.9 and 6.4 million in 2012 and 2015 resp.). Payments to Board members are almost constant at BWP937,965 and BWP966,100 in 2012 and 2015. Vehicle expenditures decreased to BWP1.3 million (from BWP1.8 million in 2012). Clearly, the CBOs as a group have managed to control their expenditure at a lower growth rate than revenues, but it may be due to downscaling of CBO activities (unless CBOs operate more productively). The share of wages and sitting allowances has increased from 45% in 2012 to 50% in 2015, leaving less funds for other operational costs, community and household benefits. Over 90% of the wages and sitting allowance are spent by the 6 high-revenue CBOs (HRCBO). Inequality in recurrent expenditures is high. The 6 HRCBOs account for over 90% of the total recurrent expenditures, wages and board allowances.

Gross Margin of CBOs

Data to calculate the gross margin (GM: revenues minus recurrent expenditures) for 2012 and 2015 are only available for 10 CBOs (BDNSMT, Gaing-O CT, KDT, Koinaphu CT, KRST, MZCDT, OCT, OKMCT, STMT and XDT). Except for OKMCT, all had a positive gross margin in 2012 but two of those had a negative GM in 2015 (MZCDT and OKMCT). MZCDT and XDT saw their revenues drop significantly after the hunting ban. The 10 CBOs had revenues of BWP24.4 million and 26.2 million in 2015 resp. compared with expenditures of BWP19.2 and 16.0 million in 2012 and 2015 resp., leaving a GM of BWP5.2 and BWP10.2 million in 2012 and 2015. In 2012, 6 CBOs had revenues and expenditures exceeding BWP1 million; in 2015 5 CBOs had revenues of over 1 million (MZCDT revenues declined to BWP0.5 million) while 4 CBOs had recurrent expenditures of over 1 million (MZCDT and STMT expenditure had dropped to under 1 million). Koinaphu CT has modest revenues and expenditures but with a positive, small GM (just under BWP100,000 in 2015).

Comparison of 2015 and 2012 CBO revenues

Revenue data for 2012 and 2015 are available for 17 CBOs. In addition to the 10 CBOs above, revenue data for both years were available for MOLEMA, Nata CT, Mapanda CT, Ngande CT, NKXT, Ngwao Boswa WC and QQCT. Total revenues of the 17 CBOs increased from BWP23.6 million to BWP25.7 million in 2015. The average revenue per CBO increased from BWP1.3 million to BWP1.5 million. Again, the range of revenues is big and has increased since 2012. The increased revenues for this group outweigh revenue losses of MZCDT, NKXT, QQCT, STMT and XDT.

Comparison of 2012 and 2015 CBO recurrent expenditures

Recurrent expenditure data for 2012 and 2015 are available for 12 CBOs. In addition to the 10 CBOs with reported GM, KKDT and Tsodilo CDT reported its recurrent expenditures for both years. Total expenditures of this group of CBOs increased slightly from BWP18.4 million to BWP15.4 million in 2015. The average declined from BWP1.5 million to BWP 1.3 million; the expenditure range (min-max) increased. The lowest expenditures were recorded by KKDT (BWP2,480 in 2015).

²² No response or 0 have been omitted as it was often unclear whether revenues/ expenditures were indeed 0 or there were no data.

²³ Expenditures are not covered in earlier reviews.

Of the 35 CBOs that reported meetings in 2015, eleven Boards paid sitting allowance amounting to a total of BWP986,934; the amount of allowance paid per CBO in 2015 varies from as little as BWP1,080 to as much as BWP297,600. The highest allowance payment (OKMCT) was a third of all CBOs combined. The second highest amount paid in 2015 was BWP242,500 (KDT). The highest payment in 2015 exceeded the highest allowances in 2006 (Schuster, 2007) and 2009 (Johnson, 2009), but was less than the highest in 2012 (BWP765,510). One CBO resolved to pay an annual flat rate for board members, but this takes away the incentive to attend board meetings (unless there is a penalty for non-attendance). No trend towards increased allowances is detected. In the 2015 survey, twelve CBOs provided figures for 2012 and 2015, showing a reduction in six cases, and increase in three cases, two CBOs keeping allowances constant, while one introduced payment.

Comparison of former hunting and non-hunting CBOs

Given the dominance of hunting as a source of revenue, a comparison was made between CBO that used to hunt in 2012²⁴ (or FHCBOs) and those that did not (NHCBOs). Out of the 44 survey respondents 15 are FHCBOs while 29 are NHCBOs. Four FHCBOs²⁵ did not provide any financial data. FHCBOs saw their overall revenues almost half from BWP11.3 million in 2012 to BWP5.6 million in 2015. The group's recurrent expenditures decreased from BWP9.1 million in 2012 to BWP4.8 million in 2015. Only STMT and to a lesser extent XDT are in a satisfactory condition. STMT managed to reverse the initial decline in revenues. OKMCT lost revenues and have not yet reduced recurrent expenditures sufficiently to have a positive GM. Kalepa CT, KKDT, MZCDT, MAHUMO, Mekgatshi CT, Mmadinare DT, MOLEMA, NKXT, XDT, and Mapanda CT appear to struggle financially.

In contrast with the FHCBOs, NHCBOs more than doubled their revenues from BWP14.2 million in 2012 to BWP22.7 million in 2015. Average revenues also doubled but the revenue range (min-max) also increased: KRST and OCT account for 70% of the revenues in 2015. The big revenue NHCBOs are KRST, KDT, OCT, Gaing-O CT and Nata CT. Several appear to be struggling: KyT, QQCT and Ngwao Boswa WC. The aggregate expenditures of NHCBOs increased to BWP13.5 million in 2015. KDT showed earlier that conversion from hunting to ecotourism can increase revenues. KRST also shows that NHCBOs can be successful. Figure 13 compares the trend in revenues of all CBOs against that of the CBOs that hunted in 2012. It becomes clear that the revenues of the latter group have decreased since 2011.

Very few CBOs reported to have invested in the period 2012-15. Total reported capital expenditures of CBOs grew from BWP5 million to BWP6.4 million in 2015, but only 5 (profitable) CBOs actually made capital investments (KDT, KRST, OCT, OKMCT and NKXT; Figure 14). This investment pattern suggests that most CBOs lack the financial capital to diversify their revenue base. They need external support to build a productive infrastructure. Without such support inequality among CBOs is likely to grow further in future. CBOs close to National Parks have a valuable natural resource base for diversification. KRST shows that the creation of such a resource base away from famous Parks and reserves is also possible.

Figure 13: Trend in reported CBO revenues by type (all and former hunting CBOs)

²⁴ KDT already stopped hunting in 2008 and converted the area to ecotourism. Therefore, KDT is part of the NHCBO group.

²⁵ CECT, KALEPA, Mmadinare DT and XNRST. MAHUMO provided incomplete data.

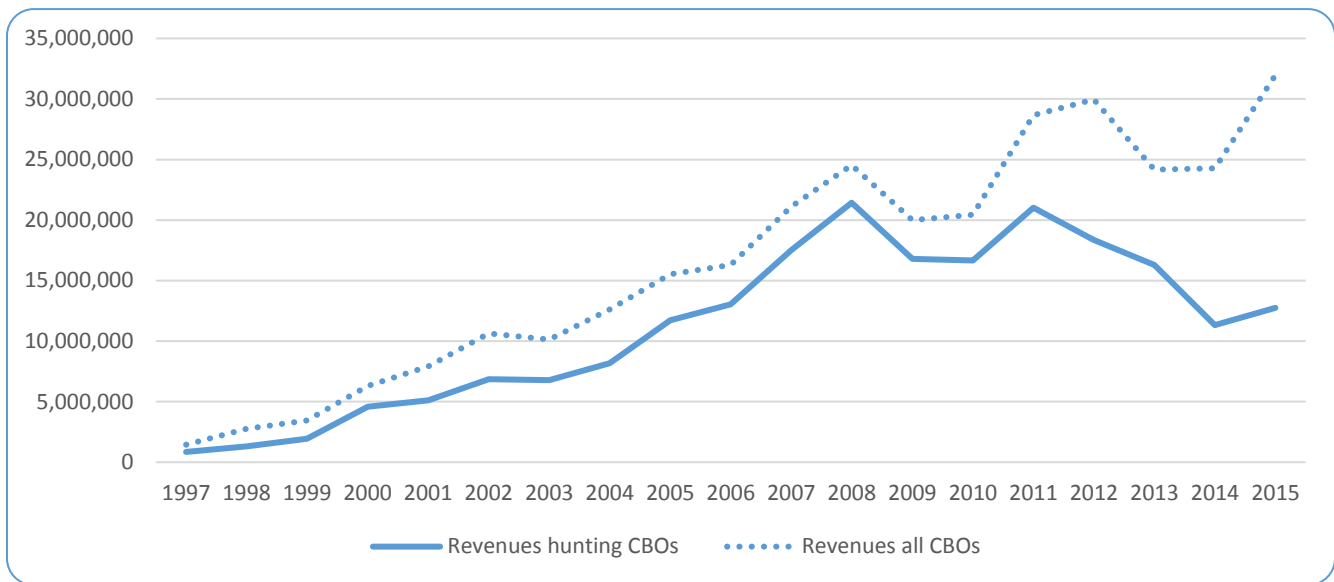
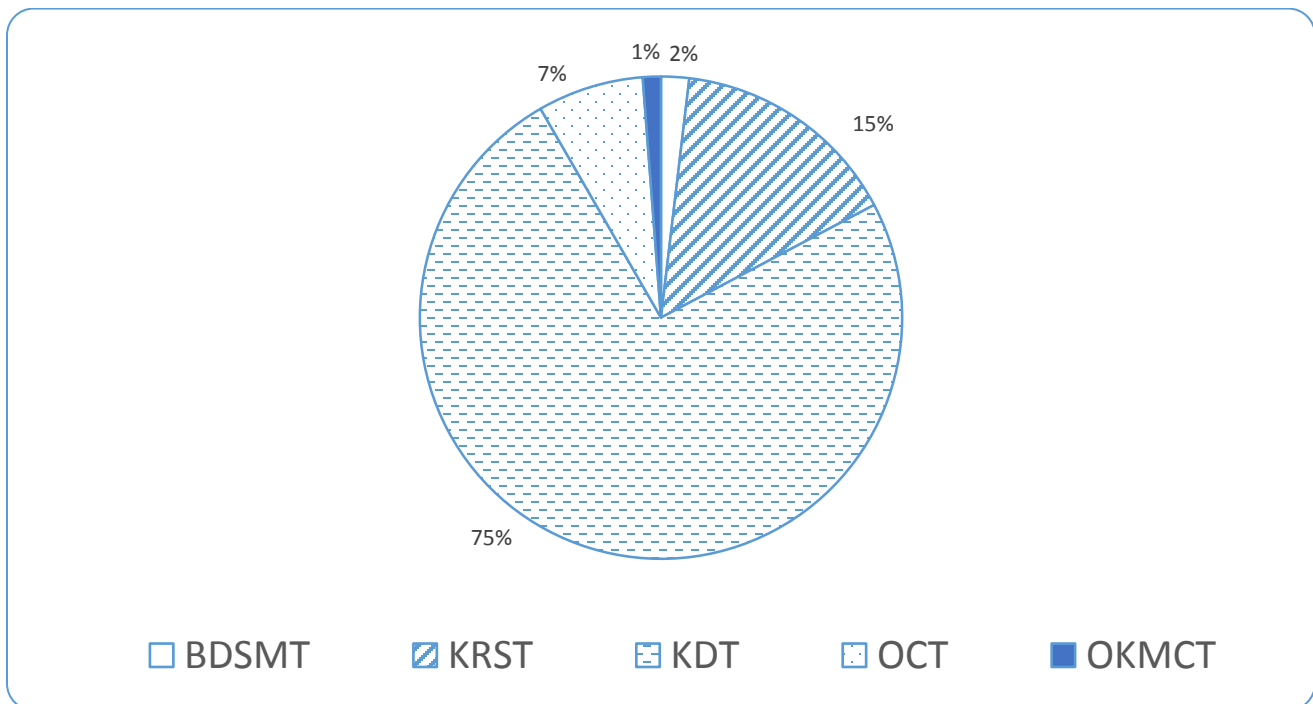


Figure 14: Reported share in capital expenditures by CBO



The following conclusions emerge from the above:

- ✓ The group of CBOs that reported financial data has increased overall revenues significantly while the expenditures have increased modestly. The gross margin increased. CBOs report better on revenues than expenditures;
- ✓ A few CBOs are responsible for the largest share of the revenues and expenditures. These include KDT, KRST, OCT, OKMCT and STMT. Most likely, CECT also belongs in this category but no financial data were reported in time;
- ✓ The majority of CBOs have low revenues and expenditures. It is suspected that most CBOs that did not report their financials also belong to this category;
- ✓ The hunting ban has adversely affected CBOs, particularly in the Kgalagadi and Bobirwa. MZCDT is the large revenue earner among the FHCBOs that has been unable to compensate for hunting revenue

losses. STMT experienced initially a decrease in revenues but has managed to increase revenue in 2015. The loss of hunting revenues has reduced community benefits and the incentive to manage their natural resources, in particular wildlife;

- ✓ Six out of the 10 CBOs that offered complete financial data are financially sustainable at the moment as measured by revenues exceeding recurrent expenditures. These are BDNSMT, Gaing-O CT, Koinaphu CT, KDT, STMT and OCT. However, some of low net revenues;
- ✓ Capital expenditures are low and restricted to very few CBOs with significant revenues. Consequently most CBOs will be unable to diversify and expand their revenues without external financial support; and
- ✓ The control of recurrent expenditures has had negative trickle down expenditures, e.g. on wages and other benefits in communities (such as scholarships, support for funerals etc. The reported wage bill is around BWP9.1 million (down from BWP9.4million. Other expenditures that include community benefits have decreased from BWP4,5 million to BWP3.8 million. The decrease in recurrent expenditure is likely to have had negative impacts on CBOs activities too (or reflect reduced activities).

3.9 CBO natural-resource management

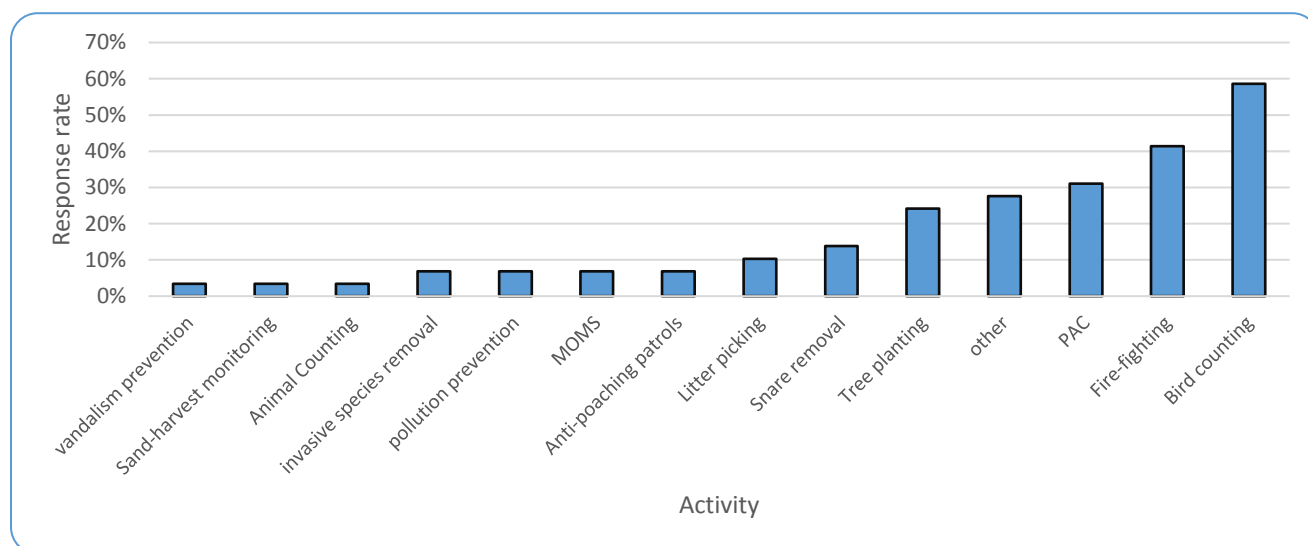
One of the CBNRM objectives is to sustainably manage and conserve natural resources outside protected areas such as National Parks and Game Reserves (Mpofu, 2012), and to promote involvement of communities in the management of protected areas (MEWT, 2007). Resource management cannot be confined to protected areas because the majority of resources is found outside protected areas and government cannot manage natural resources alone (Blanc *et al.*, 2007). Many CBOs operate in Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), which are buffers around protected areas and protect wildlife migration routes. Out of the 53 active CBOs, 27 have resource use rights in WMAs

In the 2016 survey, CBOs were asked about their natural resource management (NRM) activities. Just over half (24) of the responding CBOs reported NRM related activities. These CBOs listed 57 activities or an average of 2.4 NRM activities per CBO. Figure 15 shows the type of NRM activities of the CBOs. There are currently three dominant NRM activities: bird counting²⁶, firefighting and problem animal control. Only one CBOs reported to count wild animals, while four removed snares and planted trees²⁷. The focus of NRM activities lies with interventions. Environmental monitoring and management are less frequently engaged in, as shown below.

- a. Resource interventions (34): firefighting, problem animal control, snare removal, salvinia removal, tree planting and litter picking;
- b. Environmental monitoring (18): bird and wildlife counting, MOMS and monitoring of sand harvesting;
- c. Environmental management (5): pollution and vandalism prevention and anti-poaching patrols

²⁶ Mostly through support of Birdlife Botswana (BIB).

²⁷ Mostly through support of Forest Conservation Botswana (FCB).

Figure 15: Natural resource management activities by active CBOs (n=24)

While it is encouraging that just over half of the CBOs practise some forms of natural resource management, the road towards comprehensive natural resource management is still long. Prior to the hunting ban, CBOs (sometimes assisted by private research) kept records of wildlife sightings to use as a foundation for the allocation of hunting quota. At the 2016 National CBNRM Forum, STMT argued that escort guides that used to accompany hunts need to be retained to ensure sustainable resource use by other CBOs activities (e.g. avoid off road driving by ecotourism companies, littering, anti-poaching, etc.).

Since the flooding of Lake Ngami and Lake Xau, fishing has re-emerged as an important livelihood source in nearby communities. The 2015 fishing ban at L. Ngami and the 2016 ban at both lakes (Government of Botswana, 2016) intend to enable local communities to receive royalties from fishing in future. Currently the local CBOs are being mobilised to ensure pollution control, as well as provision of facilities for both fishermen and birdwatchers (LNCT, 2013). Bird tourism is being actively promoted alongside these intended activities and efforts being made to maintain or declare these lakes as Important Bird Areas (IBAs). BIB promotes community participation in biannual wet season bird counts.

Only two CBOs (Mapanda CT and KRST) reported to provide drinking water for wildlife to retain wildlife in the CBO area and avoid die-offs. These CBOs have also been involved in restocking and translocations to their areas (rhinos and zebras).

Invasive alien species cause problems country wide, including in CBO area. Invasive species include allelopathic prosopis²⁸(locally known as *sexanana*), which suppresses growth of other plants and is an irritant (Mosweu *et al*, 2013) and Kariba weed (salvinia). Communities (KDT and MZCT) have been involved in the physical control of salvinia (BTO, 2014).

In summary, CBOs carry out few significant NRM activities. In most cases, they are supported by NGOs for their NRM activities. CBOs with LUMPs need to assess their progress against the objectives and planned activities of the LUMPs. CBOs without a LUMP need to develop a LUMP and use it as guidance for their NRM activities. Implementation is likely to be constrained by the limited capacity of CBOs (in terms of human and financial resources). NGO and government support is needed to boost CBO NRM activities and LUMP implementation.

²⁸ The prosopis plant was introduced in the early 1980. It has since become clear that negative effects of the plant outweigh its benefits.

3.10 Joint Venture Partnerships

The formation of Joint Venture Agreements (JVAs) and Joint Venture Partnerships (JVPs) are guided by the DWNP (1999) and/or BTO model (Mbaiwa and Tshamekang, 2012). Mbaiwa (2013) argued that JVPs may yield higher revenues for CBOs, but that JVPs need evolve into genuine partnerships and become more than skill transfers from the company to CBO.

The 2016 survey shows that 11 out of the 44 responding CBOs had a JVP in 2015 (Table 4). These were in Ngamiland (6), and Central District (2), Chobe (2) and Kgalegadi (1). JVPs appear currently mostly attracted by the natural resource base in terms of wildlife, proximity to protected areas and ecotourism potential. However, there is potential to increase the scope of JVP to include processing, transport and marketing of veld products and other natural resources (e.g. river sand and concrete). Three CBOs reportedly lost their JVP: KKDT, OPT and CTT. KKDT and CTT failed to attract any partners since the contracts with their previous partner were not renewed as both trusts' contracts relied on hunting. KKDT does not possess any resources that seem to attract investors. The involvement of BTO is only during the once a year event unlike in other CBOs such as Moremi MCT, TSAMAMA, Mapanda CT or Seboba CCT where BTO is able to work with the CBO all year round. In August 2015, OPT's board terminated its agreement less than two years into its nine-year period following differences with the partner and has not had a partner since then.

Table 4: Joint Venture Agreements as of 2016

CBO name	Partner name
CECT	Ngoma Management Company
	Linyanti Tented lodge Company
KDT	Soren Lindstrom Safaris
MZCDT	African Field Sport (AFS)
Mapanda CT	Botswana Tourism Organisation
MOLEMA	Tuli Wilderness Safaris
OCT	Okavango Wilderness Safaris
	Great Plains Conservation
OJCT	Gontsi Kgosiemang
OKMCT	Abrombie & Kent,
	Johan Calitz Safaris
QQCT	Tenete wilderness (yet to be approved by MEWT)
STMT	Under one Botswana Sky ²⁹
Seboba CCT	BTO

3.11 CBO support and research

3.11.1 Support organisations and their activities

Over the years, CBOs have received significant support from NGOs, international cooperating partners (ICPs) and government. Most support from ICPs ended after Botswana attained middle-income status and no longer qualified for bilateral support. NGOs play an important support role for community mobilisation, capacity building, proposal writing, project development, project implementation, constitutional write-up and LUMP

²⁹ Operational but lease still needs to be signed. Wilderness Safaris was the previous JVP. Pers. Comm. Chris Brooks.

preparation (Stone, 2015). Government offers support through the Technical Advisory Committees (TAC) and through various grant funds.

Results of the 2016 survey indicated that 25 out of the 44 respondents have received NGO support since 2012. At least 16 organisations in Botswana were identified as providing support to CBOs. In addition, CBOs were supported by parastatals and government departments such as FCB, BTO, DWNP, DEA, DoT, DFRR, DNMM, and Gender Affairs. CBOs also received grant support from some ICPs which will be discussed in the next section.

The district TACs are responsible for coordinating CBNRM at a district level. The DWNP is the secretariat of the TACs and the TACs submit monthly reports to the Community Support & Outreach office at DWNP headquarters. The reporting template covers the following areas: achievements on planned activities; employment details and monthly revenue per CBO. However, these data are not available for all districts and are not analysed to assess the performance of CBOs and overall trends across CBOs. Moreover, the information appears sometimes questionable (e.g. same entries for several months) and outdated. The absence of a common reporting and monitoring platform has also resulted in inconsistent data being provided by various organisation and units involved with the CBOs. It has been recommended in other fora to include organisations such as LEA and CEDA in TACs to broaden the competence area of TACs. Furthermore, TACs reportedly require experts in handling legal issues relating to agreements.

An issue of note has been the ambiguity in the roles of TAC and BTO. These institutions seemingly perform similar or parallel duties. The BTO appears to have assumed roles previously carried out by TACs. For example, TAC secretariat offices in several districts indicated that they were not privy to monthly data from CBOs that were involved with BTO. TACs seemingly lack resources such as available manpower, transport and other logistical support. CBO support requires support structures with dedicated time and budgets to facilitate the growth and sustainability of CBOs.

BOCOBONET is a prominent umbrella support organisation that represents the interests of member CBOs. BOCONET has a membership of 165 trusts (Rapoo, 2015), i.e. 18 more than on our CBO list. The Ngamiland Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (NCONGO) has been instrumental in providing technical assistance to affiliated CBOs in the district. Support includes drawing up employment contracts for managers and other employees, facilitating in training regarding governance and leadership issues, proposal writing, preparing Policies and Procedures manuals, organisational development (training was provided in Finance management, Monitoring and Evaluation, Project Management), as well as providing an advisory role as required on specific occasions.

The type of support provided to CBOs by various organisations is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: CBO support organisations and their support activities

Type of institution	Organisation	Type of support provided
NGOs	Birdlife Botswana Kalahari Conservation Society TOCaDI Botswana Society	Sustainable use of resources Capacity Building
ICPs & ICP projects	IUCN British High Commission UNDP GEF Small Grants Programme US embassy Resilim SAREP The Future Okavango EU-ENSA	Land reclamation Morula processing video Conservation agriculture Fire management training
Companies	Botswana Ash Phytotrade Africa	Community projects Funding
Others	Project Concern International BOCOBONET	Training Capacity Building

Probably due to the initial focus on wildlife, most CBOs (32) are supported by the DWNP. The DFRR supports 14 CBOs, directly or indirectly through FCB. DNMM and BTO work with seven CBOs each. Some CBOs are supported by more than one government department. The breakdown of parastatals or government-departments supporting active CBOs is as follows:

✓ DWNP (wildlife and fisheries):	32
✓ DFRR (veld and forestry resources)	14
✓ DNMM (heritage sites)	7
✓ BTO (eco-tourism)	7

Both the University of Botswana (UB) and Botswana College of Agriculture (now Botswana University for Agriculture and Natural Resources or BUAN) were prominent CBNRM practitioners. The Okavango Research Institute (ORI) in Maun is actively involved in CBNRM related research as services to the Ngamiland, Chobe, Boteti and Central CBOs. ORI staff also supports CBNRM institutions, for example by chairing the Ngamiland CBNRM forum. The UB main campus as well as BUAN also support other CBOs as in DCT, BORAVAST, Ithuseng, and KyT. Academics serve in a wide range of capacities such as advisors, consultants or regular members of CBNRM institutions.

3.11.2 Financial support for CBOs

A search through the UNDP small grants programme website indicates that over BWP100,000 was donated towards community development trusts: nine different CBOs received grants during the period 2012-2015 (www.sgp.undp.org). Three CBO projects have been sponsored to the tune of BWP1.6 million by the National Environmental Fund (NEF), managed by the Department of Environmental Affairs, while the Conservation Trust Fund (CTF) sponsored two CBOs for BWP259,244. Forest Conservation Botswana (FCB) offered grants of BWP1.3 million to three CBOs during 2012-2015. Other donations came from such entities as the European-Union/Empowerment of Non-State Actors (EU-ENSA) programme. As a support

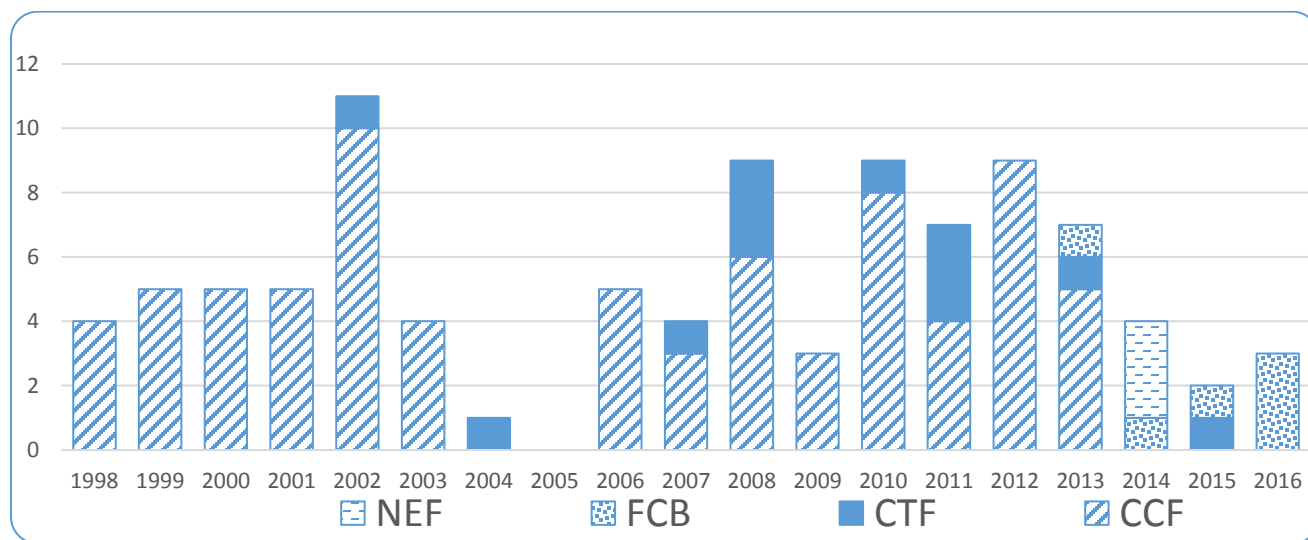
organisation, BTO invested in marketing of various popular events (e.g. Makgadikgadi Epic and the Khawa Dune Challenge) and in development of infrastructure (e.g. Seboba).

Donations are usually for capacity building exercises, exchanges, and marketing. CBO sponsors include the Standard Chartered Bank of Botswana and Barclays Bank Botswana under their corporate social responsibility arrangements. For example, Barclays Bank Botswana donated over BWP1 million towards student training and translocation of rhinoceros. Standard Chartered Bank of Botswana donates over BWP20, 000 annually towards CBO capacity building.

The Community Conservation Fund (CCF), which has now been incorporated in the NEF, provided grants for 17 CBO projects (DEA & DWNP communications). Since 2012, the UNDP GEF small grants programme funded nine projects, the FCB three projects, while CTF sponsored two projects.

Figure 16 shows the trend in financial support from government through NEF, FCB, CTF and CCF. The total support amounted to BWP23.4 million over the period 1993-2015 or around BWP 1 million per annum. Most of the grants were provided to small CBOs. Only 11% of the funds went to the high revenue CBOs. Figure 16 exclude financial support from ICPs and ICP-funded projects, including the GEF small grant fund. Figure 16 shows that the financial support varies significantly from year to year. Generally, financial support increased until 2002 (over P 10 million) and has been highly variable since then. From a recent peak of around BWP11 million in 2008 and is currently at a low of around BWP3 million. The current low level of financial support may be due to delays in the NEF operations, the termination of the CCF, difficulties of CBOs to submit proposals and/or non-compliance with grant conditions. FCB reported that some CBO projects were terminated because of non-compliance with reporting requirements (FCB, personal communication).

Figure 16: Trend in annual financial support to CBOs from government-related sources



The government related financial sources typically fund the following CBO activities: CBO registration, CBO infrastructure, LUMP preparation, constitution preparation, operations, as well as training. Amongst the four entities, funding for almost all of the registration sponsorship has been done by the CCF.

3.12 Community and household benefits

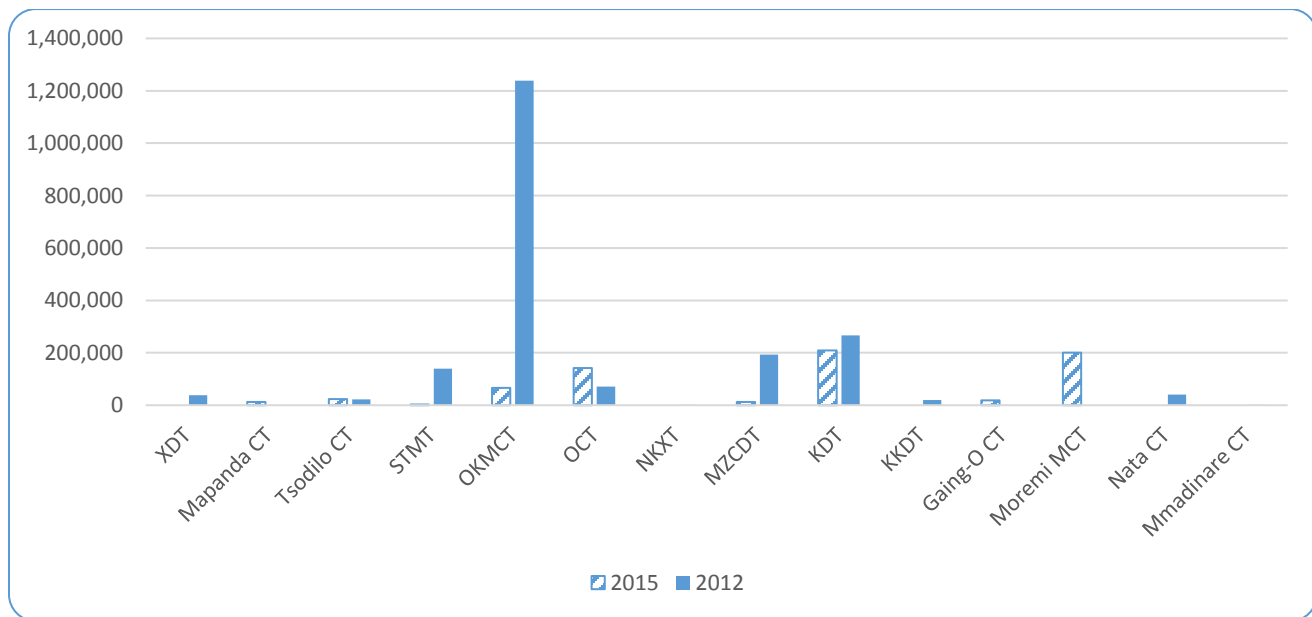
This section deals with direct CBO benefits to the community and households other than through wages and sitting allowances. Wages and board allowances amount to BWP9.1 million and BWP1.1 million respectively in 2015. The benefits of wages and sitting allowances filter down into the wider community through extended family and other social sharing mechanisms. Rotation of Board membership and CBO employment may also

spread the benefits within the wider community over time. Employment benefits and sitting allowances are unevenly distributed among CBOs. Over ninety percent of the reported wages and sitting allowances are spent by the high revenue CBOs (KRST, KDT, OCT, OKMCT, STMT and MZCDT). The trickling-down benefits of wages and sitting allowances in low income CBOs are very small. Below, we discuss direct community and household benefits.

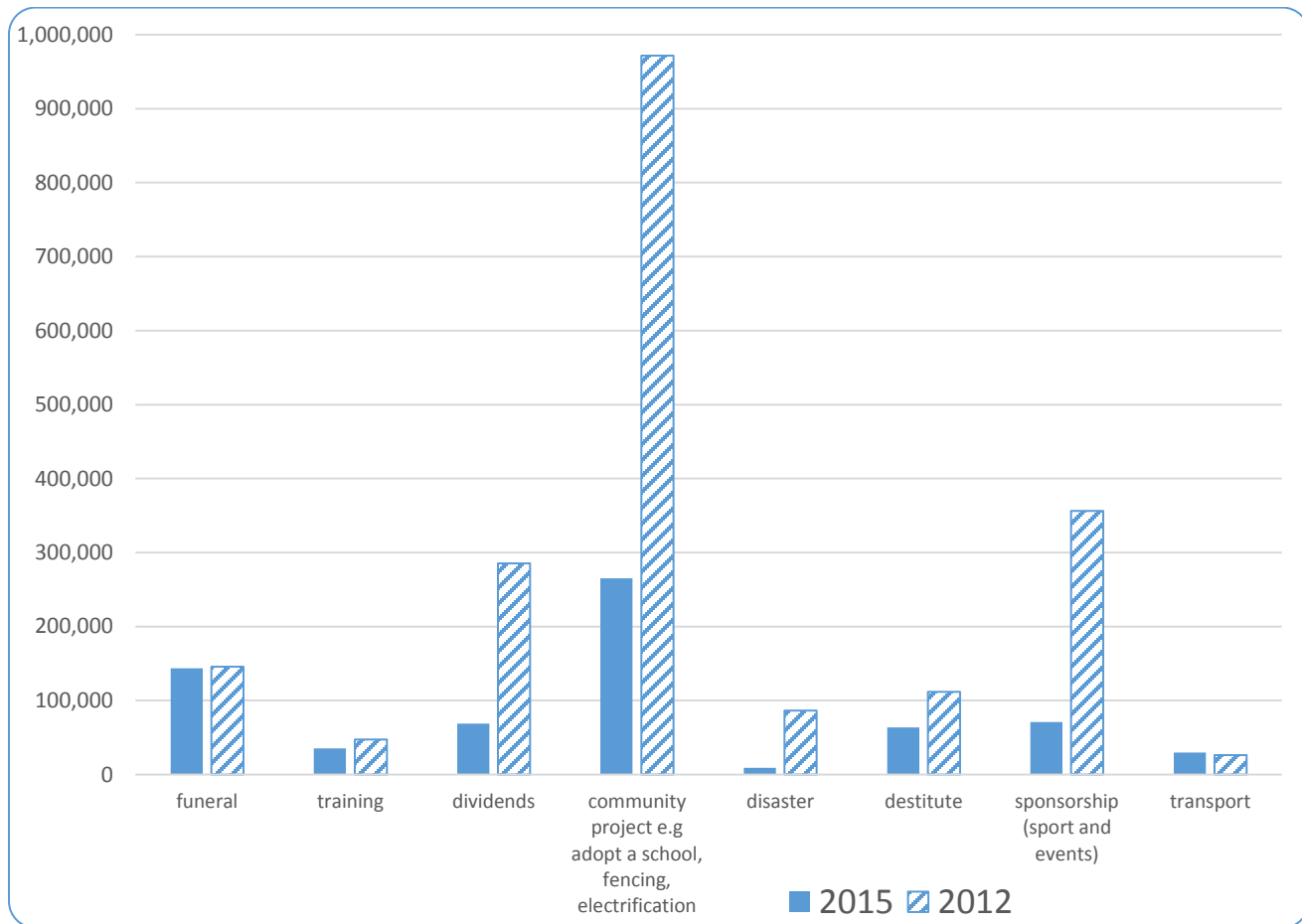
Community and household benefits are important means to improve livelihoods, demonstrate the benefits of CBNRM to the community and to stimulate a positive attitude towards community resource conservation. Direct household benefits include household dividends, improvements to household yards (e.g. sanitation facilities) and financial support for funerals, the elderly and sponsorship of students. Community benefits include transport, support for village events, village facilities (e.g. electrification of VDC houses) and soccer teams etc.

A third (14) of the CBOs reported to distribute benefits to communities and/or households. The total amount involved has decreased from BWP2.0 million in 2012 to BWP0.7 million in 2015. These benefits represent around 2% of CBO total revenues in 2015 and less than BWP2/ capita. The distributed benefits are very small and inadequate to improve livelihoods and reduce poverty on a large scale. The amounts and type of support are shown in Figure 17.

Figure 17: Community and household benefits by CBO (BWP).



Though detailed expenditure data were not available for some CBOs, these CBOs benefits went out the communities. For example, KRST built Mabeleapodi Kgotla as part of their community projects. The trust also purchased full school uniform in the village of Paje, as well as sponsoring independence celebrations. Furthermore they conducted fire management training to locals in addition to employing locals who formed ninety percent of their workforce. Only four CBOs indicated that they had distributed household dividends in the last year. Expenditures on sports, events and household dividends have significantly decreased in 2015, while funeral support has increased (Figure 18).

Figure 18: Spending on community and household benefits (BWP)

STMT, OKMCT, and KDT have reduced their dividend since 2012 while MZCDT stopped dividends completely. Nata CT gave BWP10,000 to each village in 2012, but decreased it since then and stopped village dividends in 2015. Since most household dividends are relatively small, certain CBOs have resorted to providing community developments which are anticipated to be more useful in the long term. Furthermore, in communities where transport is a key necessity, CBOs provide this to members of the community on a regular basis. The underlying trend however is that CBOs are heterogeneous and vary markedly from one CBO to another.

Game meat is an important community and household benefit that has vanished after the hunting ban.

4 Conclusions and recommendations

CBNRM started in Botswana some 25 years ago and over this period CBNRM generated over BWP 300 million of community revenues.

At the policy level, it has been integrated in the 2002 Revised Rural Development Policy and a separate 2007 CBNRM Policy has been adopted. The National CBNRM Forum was established and CBOs formed an umbrella organisation (BOCOBONET). During the course of the 25 years, support of ICPs has been greatly reduced after Botswana attained middle-income country status. This led to the termination of the ICP funded CBNRM support programme. Domestically, support funds such as the CCF have been subsumed into the NEF. The 2014 hunting ban ‘shocked’ the CBOs that depended on hunting revenues (hunting accounted for 45% of all CBO revenues in 2009, Johnson, 2009).

A series of CBNRM reviews have been conducted over time: 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2009 and 2012/13. The last one dates back to before the 2014 hunting ban, and therefore this review is timely. This report updates the 2012/13 review and focuses on the period 2012/13 – 2015/16. It also identifies some long-term trends (1992-2015; Figure 12).

The number of CBOs has grown in time, but the increase has slowed down in the last decade. A list of 147 CBOs was compiled for this review, only 53 (or 36%) of which are considered active. The activity level varies from minimal to very active. The percentage of active CBOs has stagnated over the last decade or so. At least 19 CBOs are not registered; the registration status of 34 CBO was unknown.

Governance

Most CBOs have Boards that regularly meet (on average every second month) with an average Board size of 9.6. The gender balance of Boards is almost even (F-M : 47 – 53) and compared to earlier reviews, female board membership has increased. The age distribution of Board member is fairly even. However, youth (below 30 years of age) are increasingly underrepresented. This trend that was observed in earlier reviews, may be due to the youth having more attractive income-generating options. For long-term sustainability CBOs need to attract more youth.

CBOs are spread out over the entire country (Figures 2 & 3), but most high-revenue CBOs are found in Ngamiland and Chobe (except for KRST near Serowe). They are located close to protected areas with good opportunities for ecotourism (and previously hunting). CBOs are important for rural development as they cover 61% of the rural population.

CBOs employ an estimated 700 professionals and support staff. CBO employment has not substantially increased over time. In fact, several Ngamiland-based CBOs reported job cuts during the 2016 CBNRM National Forum.

Livelihoods

Livestock, crops and social welfare are the most important livelihood sources in CBO villages, followed by in formal and formal employment (Figure 5). CBO benefits are at best a secondary source of livelihood. Poverty in CBO villages (27%) is well above the national average and that of rural villages (19.3% and 24.3% respectively). Therefore, livelihood enhancement and poverty reduction should be important components of CBNRM.

CBO assets/ capital

In terms of capital assets, CBOs have diverse man-made capital and natural capital bases. Almost a quarter of the responding (active) CBO do not have any man-made assets, which forms a serious constraint to their activities. Offices and campsite are the most common man-made assets. Some CBOs have productive assets for morula processing. High-revenue CBOs possess the broadest man-made capital base and are the only ones that made investments in 2015. Not all CBOs have their own transport; this may hold back their activities and income generating capacity. However, hiring transport may be a more cost effective option for some CBOs. In terms of natural capital, wildlife and veld products are most common, but a wide range of less common natural resources were also listed. With respect to wildlife, it is the diversity of wildlife and presence of key species that determines the ecotourism potential. Some natural resources are not yet utilised by CBOs, so clearly there is potential for diversification of CBO activities.

CBO income generation activities

In terms of income generating activities, some diversification has taken place since the hunting ban came into effect and events, veldproducts and cultural activities have become more common. However, four former hunting CBOs have not managed to adapt and diversify (Table 3). Ecotourism has taken over from hunting as the most common income-generating activity. In 2015/16, 25% of the CBOs engaged in ecotourism compared

to 46% of the CBOs engaged in hunting in 2012. Most CBOs have only one activity, making the vulnerable to disruptions in that particular activity (Figure 11). CBOs should pursue income diversification where possible.

Natural resource management by CBOs

In terms of NRM activities, bird counting, problem animal control, firefighting and provision of water are the most common activities (Figure 15). Environmental monitoring and management activities are limited. While it is encouraging to see that CBOs are involved in several NRM activities, the road towards comprehensive community-based natural resource management, as intended by the CBNRM policy, is still long.

CBO revenues and expenditures

Despite the loss of hunting income, total gross CBO revenues have increased to BWP 26.8 million in 2015 (BWP 22.1 million in 2012), which is a historically high level. However, around 90% of the revenues accrue to the 6³⁰ high-revenue CBOs, which also account for around 95% of recurrent expenditures and all reported capital expenditures. Only ten of the CBOs provided revenue and expenditure data for 2012 and 2015 (BDNSMT, Gaing-O CT, KDT, Koinaphu CT, KRST, MZCDT, OCT, OKMCT, STMT and XDT). All except for OKMCT had a positive gross margin or GM (i.e. revenues exceed recurrent expenditures) in 2012 but two had a negative GM in 2015 (MZCDT and OKMCT). MZCDT and XDT saw their revenues drop significantly after the hunting ban.

Growing inequality among CBOs

While there has always been large inequality among CBOs, inequality (difference between the highest and lowest revenues of CBOs) is growing as hunting has been abolished and ecotourism is left as the only high revenue activity available to CBOs. Thus high revenue generation now depends largely on the potential for ecotourism in CBO areas. While overall CBO revenues have increased significantly, recurrent expenditures only increased marginally to BWP 16.3 million, of which 96% was spent by the high revenue CBOs. Other CBOs reduced their expenditures and probably their activities.

Impacts of the hunting ban

Since this is the first CBNRM review without hunting, the impacts of the hunting ban were investigated by comparing CBOs that had hunting activities in 2012 with those that did not. The following impacts were found:

- ✓ Serious survival problems for hunting CBOs that do not have a potential for ecotourism. Incentive for economic diversification of hunting CBO to enhance sustainability and security where CBOs depended on a single source of income (hunting).
- ✓ There has been a mixed impact on revenues of former hunting CBOs:
 - Positive for KDT after conversion to ecotourism in 2008 (i.e. before the hunting ban!)
 - Initially negative for STMT but recovery of revenues in 2015.
 - Negative for MZCDT and most other former hunting CBOs (e.g. KKDT, Mekgatshi CT, XDT, NKXT);
- ✓ Loss of game meat that was given to CBOs: game meat was highly valued as a CBNRM benefit (e.g. STMT).
- ✓ Job losses reported by Ngamiland CBOs at the 2016 CBNRM Forum conference;
- ✓ Reduction of wildlife monitoring and annual reporting as CBOs no longer apply for hunting quota;
- ✓ Loss of value added and employment of most of the hunting sector;
- ✓ The ban has led to some diversification of income-generating activities of CBOs;
- ✓ The ban also offers opportunities:
 - Conversion from hunting to ecotourism has the potential to create more jobs where ecotourism is an option. The present were inadequate to verify this;
 - Increased local support activities (e.g. supplies to ecotourism and processing facilities).

³⁰ These are KRST, KDT, OCT, OKMCT, STMT and MZCDT. No revenue data were available for CECT. Inclusion of CECT would make it the Big 7.

Community and household benefits

Community and household benefits have declined between 2012 and 2015. This is not surprising given the financial situation of most CBOs. Only 13 CBOs reported to provide community and household benefits. Only 4 CBOs handed out household dividends in 2015 and the amounts decreased sharply to BWP 68,660 in 2015. One CBO stopped village dividends completely. Other CBOs offer support for funerals, education and financial assistance to elderly as well support with transport. A few contribute to community infrastructure. The total amount involved in community and household benefits has decreased from BWP0.7 million in 2012 to BWP0.5 million in 2015. This is 2% of CBO total revenues in 2015 and less than BWP2/ inhabitant of CBO villages.

Joint Venture Partnerships

A quarter of the CBOs had a JVP in 2015, mostly in Ngamiland. Three CBOs reportedly lost their JVP: KKDT, OPT and CTT. JVPs appear currently mostly attracted by the natural resource base in terms of wildlife, proximity to protected areas and ecotourism potential. However, there is potential to increase the scope of JVP to include processing, transport and marketing of veld products and other natural resources (e.g. river sand and concrete).

CBO support

CBNRM has traditionally been strongly supported by ICPs, NGOs and the government. Local domestic support amounted to BWP 1 million p.a. but the actual financial support varied from year to year. Traditionally, DWNP and the TAC offered most CBO support. Recently, the role of BTO has grown and BTO appears to have taken over responsibilities of the TAC and CBOs but its precise role, also vis-à-vis other key institutions (DWNP and TAC) as well as towards CBOs is unclear. This is causing confusion and concern among CBOs, as raised during the 2016 National CBNRM Forum conference. There is an urgent need to clarify the role of BTO towards other support institutions and communities. CBNRM is meant to be a programme to empower communities to derive benefits from local natural resources, particularly wildlife, offer compensation for the costs of living with wildlife resources and provide incentives for wildlife conservation and conservation of other natural resources. It appears that the role and responsibilities of communities have decreased and the head lease are issued to BTO.

At least two broad options appear to exist for future CBNRM development in Botswana. Firstly, continuation of CBNRM as a country-wide rural development and natural resource management programme that recognises the different opportunities and challenges for CBOs in different parts of the country. Strong commitment from government and civil society is necessary. At least three types of CBOs need to be distinguished under this option: 1. Wildlife-based CBOs, 2. Veldproducts-based CBOs, and 3. Other CBOs. This option requires stronger, more diverse and better targeted support from government, JVPs and NGOs. While all CBOs require support, special attention needs to be given to the low-revenue CBOs in order to improve their ability to improve livelihoods and conserve natural resources. JVPs and JVPs need to extend their role beyond type 1 CBOs, as is currently the case. Type 2 and 3 CBOs will need more government (from DWNP, DFRR, BTO, etc.) and NGO support that acknowledges the different potential and conditions of CBOs country-wide. Secondly, a more limited CBNRM programme that focuses on high-revenue ecotourism opportunities. This would leave a small group of possibly around ten high potential and high-revenue CBOs. They would engage in JVPs and require limited government and NGO support. BTO and DWNP would be the main organisations on the part of government. The CBNRM potential to improve rural livelihoods and conserve rural natural resources would, however, be limited.

Several recommendations emerge from the 2016 review:

- a. Clarify the role of BTO in CBNRM in terms of the CBNRM policy, its interactions with CBOs and with other support agencies (e.g. DWNP and TACs);
- b. (Re-)Establish a CBNRM support programme with government and NGOs. Support should focus in particular on building CBO capital (human, physical and environmental), diversification of CBO activities and natural resource management;

- c. The CBNRM programme should be regularly reviewed to assess progress and performance. A review template needs to be developed with the National CBNRM Forum to ensure that the reviews can be comparable;
- d. Develop a CBO/CBNRM data base to ensure that no data are lost and that better data are available for future analysis and review. This could be spearheaded by the CBNRM advisor together with the CBNRM National Forum;
- e. Special efforts (and support is needed) need to be made to enhance CBO efforts to manage natural resources. Such efforts should be informed by MOMS data from CBOs and DWNP. The MOMS data also provide data that can enhance CBO governance;
- f. Develop a CBNRM/CBO website to market CBO activities better. This could be a joint venture between BTO and CBOs;
- g. Integrate CBNRM more closely with the implementation of the Revised Rural Development Policy;
- h. Facilitate CBO access to the National Environmental Fund. This requires a review and analysis of the acceptance and rejection rate of past CBOs proposals that have been submitted for funding and lessons learned.
- i. Special support is needed to ameliorate the adverse impact of the hunting ban on CBOs, in particular the loss of revenues and the reduction in community and household benefits.

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Appendix 1: List of known CBOs (2016)

1. Au Shee Ulu Community Natural Resources Management Trust
2. Bathoen II Dam Nature Sanctuary Management Trust
3. Boikago Development Trust
4. Bokamoso Women's Co-operative
5. Bokamoso Women's Co-operative
6. Bokgoni Community Development Trust
7. BORAVAST Community Resources Management Trust
8. Bosele Forest Conservation Trust
9. Botlhale Jwa Phala Trust (Central District)
10. Botlhale Jwa Phala Trust (Ngamiland District)
11. Bukakhwe Cultural Conservation Trust
12. Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust
13. Changate Conservation Trust
14. Chanoga Development Trust
15. Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust
16. Chobokwane Community Trust
17. Dibete Community Development Trust
18. Dikgatho Cultural Village
19. Dikwididi Community Trust
20. Dilomammogo Nature Conservation Trust
21. Dibapalwa Nageng Trust
22. Diphilana Community Development Trust
23. Diphuduhudu Herbal Project
24. Ditshegwane Community Development Trust
25. D'kar/Kuru Community Trust
26. Emang Tshosa Environmental Conservation Trust
27. Gabane Community Association
28. Gaing-O Community Trust
29. Gumakutsha Conservation Trust
30. Gweta Community Trust
31. Gwezotsha Natural Resources Trust
32. Habu Elephant Development Trust
33. Huiku Community Based Natural Resources Conservation Trust
34. Ikemeleng Producers Co-operative
35. Ita Xhaan Trust
36. Itekeng Community Trust
37. Itekeng Khekheye Trust
38. Itekeng Maothate
39. Ithuseng Trust
40. Kalakamati Mantenge Conservation Trust
41. Kalamare Economic Development Trust
42. Kalepa Conservation Trust
43. Kamenakwe Group
44. Katchempanti Basket Weaver Co-operative
45. Kaudwane Quota Management Trust
46. Kawii Conservation Trust
47. Keletso Community Development Trust
48. Kgatleng Nature Conservation Trust
49. Kgetsi ya Tsie Tswapong Hills Women Resources Enterprise Community Trust
50. Kgobokanyo Trust
51. Kgoesakini Management Trust
52. Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust

53. Khawa Kopanelo Development Trust
54. Khuduboji Development Trust
55. Khuis Community Trust
56. Khumaga Community Based Trust
57. Khwai Development Trust
58. Kobokwe Ditso Community Development Trust
59. Kodibeleng (Nao le tswa batho) Conservation and Development Trust
60. Koinaphu Community Trust
61. Kuang Hoo Development Trust
62. Kudumatse Community Trust
63. Kwaeda Conservation Development Trust
64. Kweneng Development Trust
65. Lake Ngami Conservation Trust
66. Lehututu Community Conservation Trust
67. Lenao la Kwalabe Conservation Trust
68. Letlhabile Community/Development Trust
69. Letsibogo CBO
70. Luzwe Community Trust
71. Mababe Zokotsama Community Trust
72. Maboane Development Trust
73. MAHUMO Community Trust
74. Maiteko Di Tsa Tlholego
75. Maiteko Tshwaragano Development Trust
76. Malaka Photophoto
77. Makasupa Project
78. Makomoto Woodlands Conservation Trust
79. Manyana Community Trust
80. Mapanda Conservation Trust
81. MASEGO Community Conservation Trust
82. Mataleng Development Trust
83. Matheabadimo Nature Conservation Trust
84. Matlapana Community Trust
85. Matshelagabedi Community Trust
86. Matsheng Community Development Trust
87. Matsieng Development Trust
88. Mekgatshi Conservation Trust
89. Metsibotlhoko Community Development Trust
90. Mmadinare Development Trust
91. Mmamotshwane Conservation Trust
92. Mmatlakgwana Development Trust
93. Mogobane Womens Co-Operative
94. Mokopi Conservation Trust
95. Molengwane Community Trust
96. Moremi Manonnye Conservation Trust
97. Mosema Conservation Trust
98. Mosu Natural Resources Conservation Trust
99. Motlapele Development Trust
100. MOLEMA Trust
101. Motlhalantsweng Development Trust
102. Motlhwane Development Trust
103. Mowana Trust
104. Nata Conservation Trust
105. NG3 Community Trust
106. Ngande Community Trust

107. Ngarekate
108. Ngwaketse West CBNRM Project
109. Ngwao Boswa Women's Co-operative
110. Nlapkhwane Community Lingilia Environmental Community Trust
111. Nonyane ya Motsogapele
112. Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust
113. Nxamasere Development Trust
114. Nxaraga Development Trust
115. Okavango Community Trust
116. Okavango Jakotsha Community Trust
117. Okavango Kopano Mokoro Community Trust
118. Okavango Panhandle Community Trust
119. Okavango Polers Trust
120. Panhandle Development Community Trust
121. Phuduhudu Development Trust
122. Qangwa Development Trust
123. Qhaa Qhing Conservation Trust
124. Ramokgonami Community Trust (Diphalana)
125. Ramokgwebana Development Trust
126. Sankoyo Tshwaragano Management Trust
127. Seboba Commissioner's Conservation Trust
128. Sepako Quota Management Committee
129. Sepopa Community Development Trust
130. Serinane Community Development Trust
131. Serowe Woodcarvers
132. Sethamoka
133. Setlhophla sa Dinotshi
134. Shorobe Community Development Trust
135. Tcheku Community Trust
136. Teemacane Trust
137. Thari Ya Banana
138. Thobaaxhaa Trust
139. Thokwane Community Trust
140. Thotayamarula Development Trust
141. TSAMAMA Trust
142. Tsaya Kgatho Monana Trust
143. Tsodilo Community Development Trust
144. Tumasera Nature Reserve Trust, Seleka
145. Xere Community Development Trust
146. Xhauxhwatubi Community Development Trust
147. Xwiskurusa Natural Resources Conservation Trust