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COMMUNITY-BASED RESOURCE MANAGEMENT, RURAL LIVELIHOODS, AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

PREPARED FOR IUCN–SOUTH AFRICA OFFICE AND
USAID FRAME
(PHASE THREE)



March 2007

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Cover Photos:

(On left) Marula soap bars produced by Kgetsi ya Tsie; (on right) Campsite at Kaziikini Campsite managed by Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust.

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ACRONYMS

ADF	African Development Foundation
ARB	Agricultural Resource Board
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
BOCOBONET	Botswana Community-Based Organizations Network
BWFH	Botswana Women's Finance House
CAMPFIRE	Communal Area Management Program for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	Community-based natural resource management
CBO	Community-based organization
CDO	Community development officer
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
FGD	Focus group discussion
GOB	Government of Botswana
JVA	Joint venture agreement
JVP	Joint venture partner
KYT	Kgetsi ya Tsie (KYT)
LB	Land Board
MOMS	Management-owned monitoring site
NRMP	Natural Resource Management Project
STMT	Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust
TAC	Technical advisory committee
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNCBD	United Nations Convention for Biodiversity
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAD	Women's Affairs Department
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

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The authors would like to acknowledge the time and support given by the communities of Tswapong hills and Sankuyo. In addition, interviews have been held with government officers and representatives of civil society about the state and future of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) in Botswana. The developments with the CBNRM policy were of particular interest to stakeholders in the sector. The research was carried out by the Centre for Applied Research in association with the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Station, which did the fieldwork for the Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT) case study and produced a case study report that has been used for this report.

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1 CBNRM IN BOTSWANA

According to Taylor (2002) community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) developed in Africa out of concern for the status of the wildlife resources, having realized that existing wildlife management methods were inadequate. CBNRM is a concept that emphasizes the sustainable utilization and conservation of natural resources and contributes to rural development and the improvement of rural livelihoods.

The best-known CBNRM program in southern Africa is Zimbabwe's Communal Area Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), which was established in the mid-1980s. In its early years, the program was entirely based on the management of wildlife resources; later on, other natural resources were added. Subsequently, CBNRM programs have spread throughout the region, benefiting a significant number of rural communities in Botswana, Namibia, Malawi, South Africa, and Zambia.

In Botswana, CBNRM was first introduced in 1990 through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which funded the Natural Resource Management Project (NRMP) together with the Botswanan Government. Most CBNRM projects were and still are based on wildlife resources, but a few projects deal with veld products. The first CBNRM project was the Chobe Enclave Community Trust, which was established in 1993 and derives revenues from hunting and photo safaris (Jones 2002). Kgetsi ya Tsie (KYT) is the oldest and largest community-based organization (CBO) dealing with veld products. A CBNRM Support Program started in 1999 as a joint initiative of IUCN and Netherlands Development Organization (SNV) and recently supported by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) (2004–06).

The CBNRM sector in Botswana experienced a boom in registered community-based organizations (CBOs) in the 1990s and 2000s. According to the draft 2006 Botswana CBNRM status report (IUCN 2006), a total of 94 legally registered CBOs existed, only 35 of which generate income (figure 1.1). The program covers the entire country, more than 100 villages with more than 135,000 people are involved in CBNRM. Most CBOs, certainly the ones with high revenues, are located in northern Botswana around the tourist attractions of the Okavango and Chobe/Zambezi rivers. Revenues from commercial resource use is estimated to be P19.3 million (2005) and subsistence activities generate P16.2 million in-kind income. Trophy hunting is the most important commercial activity (P11.9 million) followed by tourism (P3.1 million), sale of veld products (P0.7 million) and crafts (P0.6 million). CBNRM employment is modest with an estimated 800 jobs, roughly two-thirds of which are located with the joint venture partners (520) and one-third with the CBOs. It must be noted that the subsistence value is the single most important source of benefits. It is likely that these subsistence benefits would also accrue to the population without CBNRM; however, the current benefits under CBNRM are probably higher and more sustainable.

The CBNRM indicators show that the overall development impact of the program is limited. Around 1.2 percent of the adult population in CBNRM areas is employed through CBOs or joint venture partnerships (JVPs). The CBNRM benefits amount to a modest amount of around P240 per person per year.

In 2002 the Government of Botswana along with UNDP started a pilot project encouraging community-based rangeland resource management in three regions in Botswana (Kgalagadi South, Kweneng West, and the Boteti area). The Indigenous Vegetation Project piloted with community-based range management schemes as an alternative toward the mainstream policy direction of promoting ranches. Unfortunately, this pioneering project comes to an end in 2007 at a time when most pilot communities start implementing their plans. Without further support from government or donors, these efforts are unlikely to bear fruit.

In brief, the CBNRM program has rapidly grown in the past two decades and diversified its natural resource base (wildlife, veld products, tourism, rangelands, and rural development).

I.2 FOCUS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Phase 3 of the project (which is covered by this report) focused on field research in two CBOs to assess the impacts of the project in terms of (a) contribution to livelihoods, poverty reduction, and food security, (b) environmental management and resources, and (c) local governance. The intention behind phase 3 was to see how CBNRM in southern Africa could be used to combat desertification and contribute toward biodiversity conservation.

A checklist was developed for use in each country case study (i.e., Botswana, Namibia, Malawi, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia).

After due consultations, Kgetsi ya Tsie (KYT) (a veld products CBO) and Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (wildlife and tourism) were selected as case studies. These are older, better-established and -documented CBOs that could generate more lessons for combating desertification and for other CBOs.

The study was based on a review of existing literature and on primary data collection through in-depth interviews, analysis of CBO records and focus group discussions with Board members, members and nonmembers of community-based organizations.

Literature was obtained from the libraries of the Centre for Applied Research (CAR) and the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre (HOORC), the CBNRM website, and records from the two CBOs.

For Kgetsi ya Tsie, focus group discussions were held in the three regions of operation and with the board and employees. Moreover, in-depth interviews were held to acquire in-depth information. Records and files were checked on relevant information. Fieldwork lasted a week, and several issues emerging from the analysis were later followed up by phone.



Photo 1.1: Focus group discussion with KYT members.

For Sankuyo Tswharagano Management Trust, the following meetings and discussions were held. The first focus group had eight members of the board. It was not detailed and lasted two hours, because the main idea was to understand general issues about the trust and its operations. The second focus group discussion was more detailed and lasted for four hours; it was held with two key members of the STMT Board and the liaison officer. Informal interviews were undertaken with various officers in Maun, and five members of the Sankuyo community. The officers included those from the Department of Wildlife and Parks (DWNP), Tawana Land Board, North West District Council, and representatives of the nongovernmental organization (NGO) known as People and Nature Trust. The discussion focused on policies and roles of institutions and organizations related to the CBNRM program in Ngamiland. The five members of the Sankuyo community were those whom we found in the village at the time of the informal interviews. Informal interviews proved useful in unraveling sensitive information that could not be obtained in focus group discussions.

I.3 UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION TO COMBAT DESERTIFICATION IN BOTSWANA

The U.N. Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) was ratified by the Government of Botswana in 1996. The Ministry of Agriculture was the national focal point and a multisectoral national task force oversaw development of the first National Action Plan (NAP) in 1997. The national focal point moved to the newly created Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism in 2003, before the first NAP was formally adopted. A review started in 2005 and led to a revised NAP in 2006 (GOB 2006). Its overall goal is to combat desertification and prepare for and mitigate the effects of drought through community action. The specific goals to combat desertification and cope with drought are:

- Mobilize resources for implementing the NAP, including establishment of a national desertification fund
- Research drought and desertification processes with stakeholder participation and use of indigenous knowledge
- Build capacity of stakeholders, including building community capacities
- Encourage establishment of alternative livelihood projects, particularly in marginal and degraded areas
- Coordinate interventions and approaches regarding drought and desertification
- Improve drought preparedness and management
- Ensure effective participation of all stakeholders in implementing the NAP
- Control and prevent land degradation. One of the activities is the empowerment of local communities to manage the natural resources in their areas.

The role of communities is described as “managing land and natural resources and managing conflicts” (p. 44). The Community Conservation Fund is seen as one of the possible funding sources. The Botswana NAP reflects the convention’s emphasis on poverty reduction, development of additional livelihood sources and establishing effective local natural resource management.





Implementation of the UNCCD in Botswana has been very slow. It is hoped that the revised NAP will provide a stimulus for addressing desertification head on, as it is critical to large parts of Botswana.

I.4 REPORT STRUCTURE

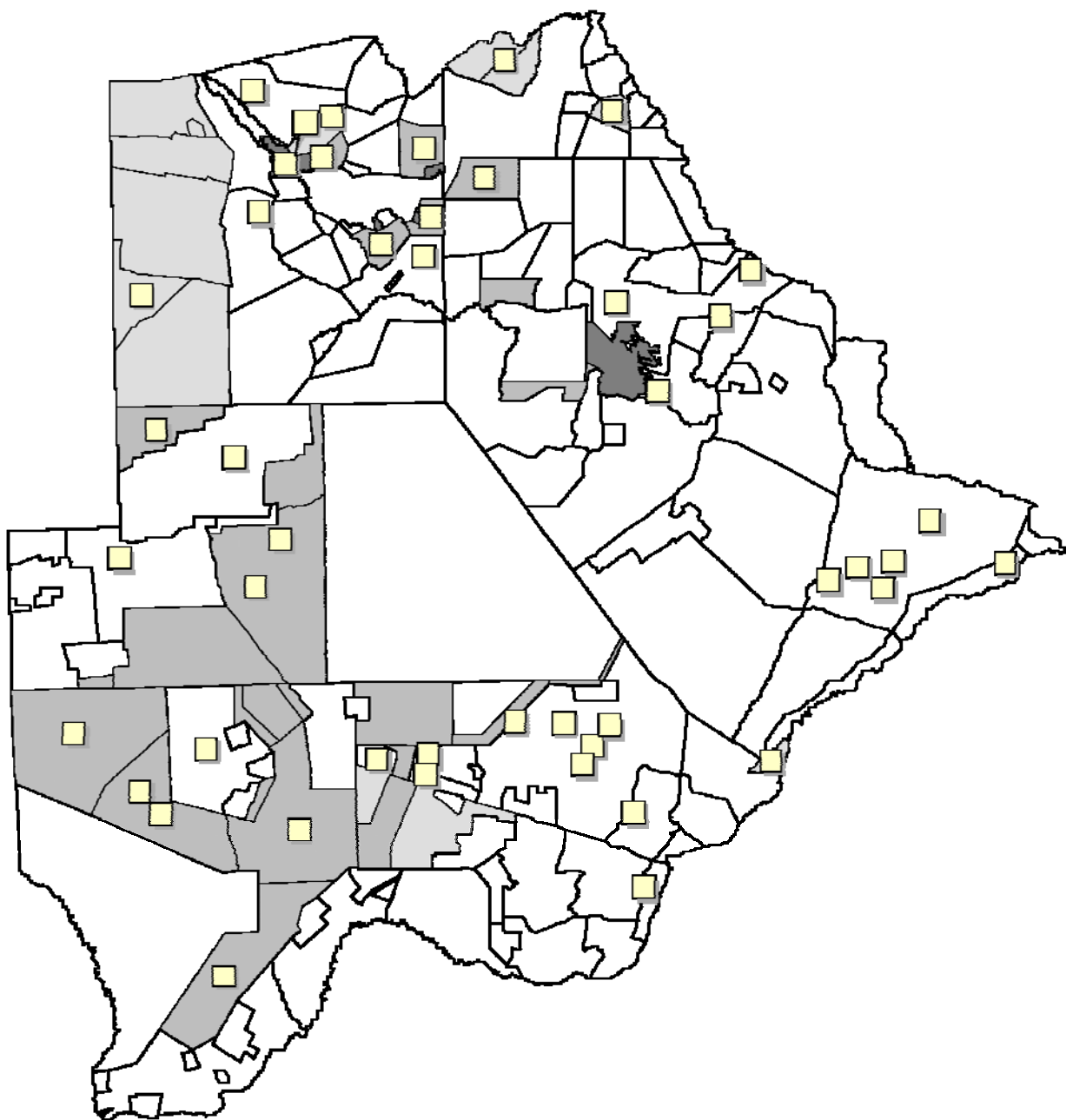

The report has the following structure: Chapter two summarizes the livelihood and poverty situation. Chapters three and four deal with the two case studies: chapter three deals with the collection, processing, and marketing of veld products by Kgetsi ya Tsie, whereas chapter four discusses the case study of Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT) in an area close to a major protected area. Chapter five brief summarizes the case studies.

Figure 1.1: CBOs in Botswana

Zonation

-  Community-managed wildlife utilization in WMA
-  Community-managed photographic tourism in WMA
-  Community-managed wildlife utilization in livestock area
-  Other CHAs

0 100 200 300 Kilometers



2. RURAL LIVELIHOODS AND POVERTY

A survey carried out for the Rural Development Policy Review (BIDPA 2001) found that 57.7 percent of the households in Botswana were unable to meet their basic needs. A few households depend entirely on formal employment, but most derive their livelihood from a number of sources to increase their livelihood security. The livelihood sources are ranked by ranked by importance table 2.1.

**Table 2.1: Livelihood Sources in Rural Botswana Ranked by Importance
(percent of households listing the activity as no. 1, 2, etc.)**

Ranking	Activity	Percent of Households
1	Arable agricultural product consumption	65.0
2	Remittances	57.3
3	Formal employment	54.8
4	Government programmatic support (transfers)	46.9
5	Livestock product consumption	44.9
6	Livestock product sales/trade	35.9
7	Government programmatic support for production	29.4
8	Small enterprise income	16.5
9	Natural resource use and sales	12.9
10	On-farm employment (small holder farms)	7.7
11	Informal employment/casual employment	3.1

Source: BIDPA 2001.

Arable produce is most important followed by remittances and formal employment. This reveals the vulnerability of rural households, because arable returns are low and erratic. Livestock returns are higher and less volatile, but fewer people benefit. The “use and sale of natural resources” is a secondary livelihood source, ranked ninth by 12.9 percent of the households. It is well documented. The use of veld products is particularly important for vulnerable groups, who do not have access to cattle or formal employment.

A series of household and income expenditure surveys clearly show that absolute poverty has significantly decreased (table 2.2). As a result of higher incomes, absolute poverty has decreased from 46.7 in 1993–94 to 30.3 percent in 2002–03 (Statistical Bulletin December 2006 at www.cso.gov.bw). The monthly income has grown significantly since 1984 to P2,425 in 2002–3, but the median household income (P1,112) is less than half of the average, because of a large group of people with low incomes. Cash income is generally more unevenly distributed than in-kind (and total) income, but the distribution of cash income has become even with time due to better access to cash employment and cash transfers. The latter reflects the growing social welfare transfers by government (e.g., pension schemes and orphan support). In-kind income reduces the income gap between poor and rich.

Although poverty has declined with time, this has been largely confined to Eastern Botswana. Poverty levels in western and northern Botswana have remained relatively high. The figures further show that income inequality has increased and that the percentage of household owning cattle has decreased. One-third of the households currently have cattle, down from half in 1984–85.

Access to amenities, such as piped water and electricity, has significantly improved, but especially for electricity, many households still need to be connected.

Table 2.2: Income and Poverty Indicators

Variable	1985–86	1993–94	2002–03
I. Income			
Nat. median monthly disposable household income (<i>Pula</i>)		531.10	1,112
Nat. mean monthly disposable household income (<i>Pula</i>)	234.09	1,016	2,425
Nat. mean monthly disposable income (<i>constant 96 Pula</i>)	802.93	1,316.44	1,623.67
Nat. mean monthly expenditures (<i>Pula</i>)		716.4	1,9019
Poverty rate (<i>percent of population</i>)		46.7	30.3
II. Income distribution			
Gini coefficient of disposable income	0.556	0.537	0.573
Gini coefficient of disposable cash income	0.703	0.638	0.626
III. Livestock ownership (<i>percent</i>)			
Households without cattle	50.2	54.6	62.5
Households without goats	46.9		63.0
Households without sheep			92.3
Households without chicken	46.1		59.1
IV. Use of amenities (<i>percent</i>)			
Households with piped water	17.8	30.2	52.8
Households with electricity for lighting		11.5	26.8
Households using paraffin for lighting		71.5	53.2

Sources: Based on CSO 1988, 1995, and 2004.

3. CASE STUDY OF KGETSI YA TSIE: COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT OF VELD PRODUCTS

3.1 BACKGROUND

3.1.1 HISTORY

Kgetsi ya Tsie (KYT) is a CBNRM project in the Tswapong Hill area, which started in 1997 with support from the Botswana Women's Finance House (BWFH). The project started through the NRMP when it undertook a veld resources demonstration project in the country (Habarad and Tsiane 1999). Tswapong was a pilot site for mophane-based CBNRM, and an assessment was carried out with female resource users in the area. The mophane worm is collected from mophane trees and shrubs twice a year and sold to middlemen and traders. The worm is a delicacy for people and is also used for cattle. They identified three production constraints:

- Inability to access capital to finance harvesting and processing of products
- Lack of market and transport
- Lack of facilities to process and store the products.

Subsequently, a program was drawn up to address these constraints and the BWFH decided to fund the program implementation.



3.1.2 ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

KYT is located in the middle of the eastern hardveld of Botswana with the Tswapong hills area hills in its center (figure 1.1). KYT villages are found north, east, and south of these hills. KYT covers 26 villages and 32 centers and has close to 700 members. The population size of the area covered by KYT is 54,464 people, 53.9 percent of whom are women. This means that 2–4 percent of female adults are KYT members and just more than 10 percent of the female-headed households could benefit from KYT.

The KYT area is semiarid and receives an average rainfall of 500 mm a year, mostly from October to April. The area has mostly sandy and clay loams with slight surface crusting that are moderately fertile and suitable for crop farming. Rocky and stony soils are prevalent around the hills, which makes it difficult for plant roots to penetrate. Except in the hills, the vegetation is mostly open savanna, with a more-or-less developed tree layer (Arntzen and Veenendaal 1986). The Tswapong area comprises tree savanna encompassing mixed mopane.

The entire area is communal land, administered by the Land Board and mostly used for subsistence crop and livestock production. It is not far from the Limpopo River, which forms the border between Botswana and South Africa. Agriculture, especially crop production, has low returns and is risky due to low rainfall, poor soils, and recurrent droughts. Countrywide, less than 10 percent of the arable farmers produce a surplus (Government of Botswana 2003). Livestock is more profitable, but it is more difficult to enter the livestock sector due to the required investments. Livelihood diversification is therefore a wise strategy in this environment (BIDPA 2001). In the Tswapong hills, the KYT area has tourism potential and sites of historical importance, but these sites are currently hardly exploited. These are a range of granite rocks in which seasonal rivers and springs have carved deep gorges. There are waterfalls, rock pools, and lush vegetation, in contrast to the vegetation mentioned earlier. Around the hills, there is evidence of pottery kilns and fragments, which might provide interested scientists and other parties with a clear understanding of the origins of the early inhabitants of the region. A variety of more than 300 bird species can also be found in the hills (Department of Tourism 2001 and 2004).

3.1.3 LIVELIHOOD ISSUES

This project was initiated to provide a livelihood alternative or supplement for women. Gathering and processing of veld products by KYT women would improve food security, create employment, and empower women.

Table 3.1 shows several population and socioeconomic characteristics of the local population, whereas table 3.2 shows the main sources of cash and agricultural participation. Nonagricultural activities provide most cash. Women have less access to such cash sources than men; hence, the women need to develop other livelihood sources. The vast majority of households (82.8 percent) have a field, and most of them use it. Only one of six households does not have any livestock. Ownership of goats and chickens is most common. Well more than a third of the households (42.9 percent) have cattle, and 55.9 percent have goats.

Table 3.1: Population Characteristics of the Area (2001)

		Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total
1	Total population	25,283	46	29,181	54	54,464
2	Total no. of households	4,009	40	6,047	60	10,056
3	Population by usual economic activity					
	– Economically active	5,324	50	5,368	50	10,692
	– Economically inactive	7,798	39	12,029	61	19,827
4	Total population with an occupation	3,400	56	2,697	44	6,097
5	Total working population by industry					
	– Agriculture	693	71	279	29	972
	– Mining	87	98	2	2	89
	– Manufacturing	208	42	293	58	501
	– Construction	150	83	31	17	181
	– Wholesale	763	72	298	28	1,061
	– Hotels	192	33	395	67	587
	– Transport	79	54	68	46	147
	– Financial intermediaries	92	69	42	31	134
	– Real estates	94	66	49	34	143
	– Public administration	369	70	159	30	528
	– Education	325	49	345	51	670
	– Health	224	42	310	58	534
	– Others	64	29	154	71	218
	Total	3,340	58	2,425	42	5,765

Source: Data provided by Central Statistics Office.

Table 3.2: Livelihood Characteristics of the Population

	Male	% of Male-Headed Households	Female	% of Female-Headed Households	Total	% of Total Households
Sources of cash (by household head)						
– Remittances (from inside Botswana)	880	22.0	1,676	27.7	2,556	25.4
– Remittances (from outside country)	92	2.3	270	4.5	362	3.6
– Employment/pension /rents/etc	2,673	66.7	3,310	54.7	5,983	59.5
Households owning livestock						
– Cattle					4,318	42.9
– Goats					5,625	55.9
– Sheep					1,038	10.3
– Donkeys					3,579	35.6
– Others					6,481	64.4
– None					1,581	15.7
Households that have planted the previous year						
– Planted					14,464	143.8
– None					4,217	41.9
Households with farming land					8,823	82.8

Source: Data provided by Central Statistics Office.

3.1.4 INSTITUTIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR MANAGING RESOURCES

The project is located in communal areas, which are governed by the District Land Use Plan, 1968 Tribal Land Act, 1974 Agricultural Resources Conservation Act. and 1967 Herbage Preservation Act. The Land Board (LB) and the Agricultural Resources Board (ARB) are the main resource management institutions. The LB implements the land-use plan, allocates land resources (residential, arable, and boreholes), and has some land management instruments (e.g., control of livestock numbers). The ARB has the right to control use of certain veld products through the issuing of licenses (collection, trade, and exports) and is responsible for resource conservation through issuing various orders (stock orders, conservation, and rehabilitation orders). Mophane, grapple, and hoodia are currently regulated veld products; the majority of other veld products are not controlled. The ARB also deals with veld fires, which may not be started in communal areas and are strictly controlled on private land. Nonetheless, veld fires are common and difficult to put out given the huge size of the country.

The Water Apportionment Board (WAB) may grant water abstraction rights to those who have successfully drilled for boreholes after obtaining permission from the Land Board. The WAB may also issue abstraction rights for surface water.

3.1.5 EXTERNAL FUNDING OF THE PROJECT

KYT has benefited significantly from financial assistance from local and international donors. Tracing donor funds proved difficult. Our search revealed that KYT has received at least P3.8 million of financial assistance in 1998–2004 (table 3.3). PCT and ADF were the main donors accounting for two-thirds of the financial assistance.

Table 3.3: Donor Funding in Pula

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
PCT	1,161,865	188,849	70,004					1,420,718
ADF			453,846	190,869	91,004	206,047		941,766
BHC					59,290	85,252		144,542
USE					95,542	50,268		145,810
CFDP					399,964	72,424		472,388
WAD					35,200	100,000	78,000	213,200
Labor Dept	37,200	99,500	329,122					465,822
TOTAL	1,199,065	288,349	852,972	190,869	681,000	513,991	78,000	3,804,246

Note: Funds may have been obtained from other sources.

Source: Mostly KYT files; Arntzen and others 2003.

Donations have also been received from companies, such as Kalahari Management Services, Midland Group Training Services, Women's Finance House, and The Body Shop.

Table 3.4 indicates the use of donor funds. Most funds have been used for equipment, training, and the microlending scheme and at one point for salaries.

Table 3.4: Destination of Donations to KYT

Organization	Destination of funds
1. USAID-NRMP	– The money was used to start up the project, which was implemented by the Botswana Women's Finance House (BWFH)
2. ADF	Funded the microlending fund
3. British High Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Purchase of equipment for regional offices (e.g., kitchen utensils for processing the products) – Purchase of machinery for the factory at the head office, e.g., oil presser – Purchase of packaging material – Development of a KYT logo on the vehicles for marketing purposes.
4. American Embassy	– Purchase of second oil presser
5. EU–Community Forestry Development Program (CFDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Building the head office and coordinator's house – Purchase of 1,500 marula seedlings from Veld Products and Research, which were distributed to the members
6. WAD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Training of members and staff on food production – Training on organizational building and financial management
7. Skill Share	– Salaries for the coordinator
8. The Body Shop	– Training of the African coordinator

Sources: KYT files; Arntzen and others 2003.

Since 2004 donor funds have largely dried up, causing serious financial problems. Technical support has also decreased. The Board chairperson is optimistic that the Global Environment Facility and UNDP may be able to assist them in the near future. Support could also come from the new CBNRM policy.

3.2 DETAILED PROJECT DESCRIPTION

3.2.1 MANDATE

KYT's mandate is to strengthen the local economy and livelihoods by gathering, processing, and marketing of veld products. It further seeks to assist women in the Tswapong Hills area to empower themselves, both socially and economically, through the effective organization of entrepreneurial activities centered on the sustainable management and utilization of veld products. To achieve these goals, the trust has the following long-term aims:

- Continue to develop the skills of KYT's members to run the trust themselves
- Ensure the long-term financial sustainability of the trust
- Improve the income-generating potential for KYT members
- Enhance the ability of members to play an active role in their own communities
- Manage and use the local natural resources in a sustainable manner.

The project initially grew fast in terms of villages covered, members, and products (table 3.5). Since 2004 a significant slowdown in activities has taken place due to financial problems.

Table 3.5: Major Events

Year	Major events
1995	NRMP pilots a veld product demonstration project, and Tswapong is selected for mophane.
1996	BWFH mobilizes resources to start up the project. Grant is received from IRCE Project is introduced to district-based stakeholders.
1997	KYT activities implementation starts with mophane worm.
1999	KYT legally registered as a community trust. New products are identified, such as tree meat (mosata, clay pots, marula jelly, and lerotse jam.
2001	Production of highly successful products of marula oil and soap start as well as herbal remedies. such as Gala le Tswhe and Monepenepe.
2004	Microfunding scheme is suspended. Purchase strategy is changed to purchase from members only when there is an order.
2005	CDOs retrenched and senior management at headquarters are reduced.



Photo 3.2 Products of Kgetsi ya Tsie.

3.2.2 KYT ACTIVITIES AND REVENUES

The trust carries out a range of activities, but the collection, processing, and marketing of veld products and the microlending scheme are the core activities (table 3.6). The collection of veld products is done at the level of individual members and groups. Members and groups have the options to:

- Process veld products themselves (e.g., jam)
- Sell unprocessed veld products to the trust for processing, packaging, and marketing (mostly marula)
- Market and sell veld products directly to third parties (mophane worms¹).

The groups are involved in the processing of these products. The regional offices have equipment, which members may use for making products, such as jam. This includes stoves with gas cylinders, utensils, such as pots and spoons. The veld products include marula, mophane worm, thatching grass, mosata, morogo, letsoku, traditional medicine-like gala la tshwene and monepenepe, clay for pottery, and Tswapong sands. With marula, the trust makes oil for cosmetic purposes, jam, and soap. Marula oil and soap products are produced in Lerala; whereas the lerotse jam is produced in the different centers. Clay pots, sand bottles, etc. are produced by individual members.

¹ The trust decided that direct selling of phane to traders was more beneficial to members than selling through the trust.

Table 3.6: KYT's Core and Side Activities

Core Activities	Side Activities
Collection, processing, and marketing of veld products	Technical services
Microlending scheme for members	Accommodation services
	Catering services

KYT markets more than 10 products from veld products; however, marula oil and soap are most important to the trust, as they account for 70 percent of trust revenues (figure 3.2). Although the sale of mophane worms is important to members, it is not very important to the trust, as members sell directly to traders.

Marketing of veld products is crucial to the trust and its members. KYT has successfully penetrated the national and international market. Marula oil, soap and mophane worm are exported. KYT products are found at major domestic consumer and tourist areas such as Gaborone, Francistown, and Maun. KYT products are displayed and sold at pharmacies, hotel curio shops, craft centers, regional trade fairs, and flea markets and through sales agents and KYT offices.

Figure 3.2: Trust Revenues from Veld Products (2002–03).

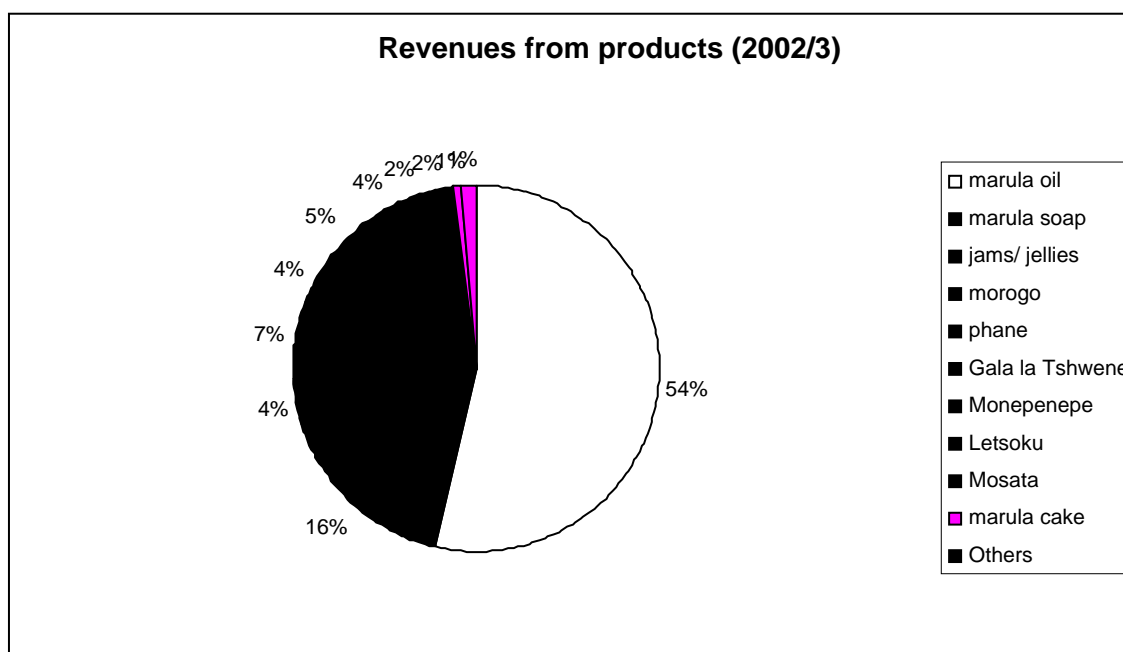




Photo 3.3 The marula oil press.

Marketing is done by the project coordinator and a marketing committee. Changes in project coordination and the heavy workload of the current project coordinator have caused problems in supplying the market with marula oil and soap.² KYT is one of the few CBOs with a website (www.kgetsiyatsie.org). The marketing committee constitutes one member from the board and two members from each regional council. A market day has been established and on this day, the committee accompanied by the coordinator, goes out to a selected area where they would market their products in major towns (every three months). Individual members also market and sell the products. They can also sell for their individual benefit, especially when they cannot sell their produce to the trust. Members use relatives in distant areas for selling. Being a member of Phytotrade (previously called the Southern Africa Natural Products Trade Association) has also assisted the trust in developing an international market.

The second core activity is the microlending scheme, which was established in the early days of the trust. According to the trust's 2002–03 annual report, this scheme was developed in order to stimulate microenterprise development among KYT members. After a group has operated for at least six months, group members are entitled to apply for a loan from this fund; the size of the loan is given in table 3.7.

² A former coordinator had established contacts with the regional and international markets.

Table 3.7: Loan Opportunities for Individual Members

	Maximum per member (Pula)	Repayment period
1st loan	500	1 month grace plus 4 months
2nd loan	750	4 months
3rd loan	1,000	4 months for loans under 1,000, 6 months for loans higher than 1,000
4th loan	1,250	
5th and subsequent loan	1,750	

Source: KYT files.

Member groups apply for loans through their centers. The center committees assess the merits of each application and ensure that they meet the requirements. Eligible applications are taken to the board, who jointly with the coordinator approves the application (or not). Interest on the loan was initially 17.5 percent, regardless of the payment period. Money must be paid back in equal installments including the interest each month of the repayment period. For late repayment, the group must pay 3 percent of the amount that should have been paid for that particular month. The money is kept in the office safe, but if it exceeds P10,000, it is then taken to the commercial bank for safety and interest purposes. Repayment has posed significant problems for the project (see 3.3.1).

Side activities include accommodation, catering, and provision of office services. The members may accommodate people from outside the area, such as students, at a fee. Lerala village has mostly benefited from this activity. The Ramokgonami office in southern Tswapong has accommodated an individual at P500 for two months; however, this activity is not commonly practiced. KYT offers catering services to the communities as well. All the regions have equipment, which they can hire out to the community for various purposes. These include cooking utensils, tables, chairs, tents, etc.; every council stipulates a price for leasing equipment.

3.2.3 KYT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The organizational structure of the trust is based on the Grameen Bank model. At the core of the model are groups and centers (figure 3.3). Five (associate) members³ in a village form a group, and several groups form a center. Centers are formed when three or more groups exist in one community. Centers have no more than eight groups or a maximum of 40 members. Each center has a committee with a chairperson, secretary, and treasurer (Habarad and Tsiane 1999). Small villages only have one center, but the bigger villages such as Lerala have two or three. The centers are organized into three regional branches forming the Southern, Northern, and Central regions.

Each center nominates a member to sit on the regional council to ensure that each center is represented. Each regional council then elects one member to sit on the Board of Trustees. This board has up to 10 members; the others include:

- A KYT member from each region (3)
- A representative of each region who is not a KYT member (3)
- Possibility to co-opt a member by the board with special expertise

There are currently only seven board members. Of the initial 10 members, one member has resigned and two are inactive.

³ The deed of trust states that new individuals and groups must first become associate members, after which they can become full members after six-months probation.

Individuals and groups are involved in the harvesting of natural resources. Individuals have the choice to sell through the KYT Trust or sell directly to others. The centers provide members with:

- Training needed for them to operate effectively
- Facilitation of market access and arrangements through the trust
- Representation of the needs of the groups and their members in the trust's region
- Addressing and resolving concerns that arise for individuals and groups taking into consideration the interests of the group members at large.

Centers may keep bank accounts for the groups; however, no center has done so to date.

Headquarters facilitates the operations of the trust, support the members and groups, processes and packages products into finished goods (e.g., marula oil and soap and labeling of products) and marketing of the KYT products. The project coordinator is based at the head office and is the overall overseer of the trust activities and ensures that they are implemented.

The Board of Trustees meets every quarter. The current board complained that there was no official handover from the previous board, leaving it to battle financial and organizational problems without proper information. The board is mainly charged with formulation of policy and implementing decisions. This is done with the assistance of the project coordinator.

An annual general meeting (AGM) with the rest of the members of the trust is held once a year; however, no AGM has been held since 2005. During the field work, there was a plan to have an AGM, but this did not materialize due to lack of funds.

The deed of trust provides for establishment of a natural resource monitoring committee (NRMC) and natural resource use by-laws. Both could be instrumental in establishment of a common property regime for natural resources. To date, no by-laws have been adopted and the NRMC does not exist. Lack of progress may be attributed to the fact that the trust has no exclusive resource rights.

The organizational structure of KYT is shown in figure 3.4. At the time (2003), the trust had 14 employees. Now only five staff members are left.

Figure 3.3: KYT's Organizational Structure

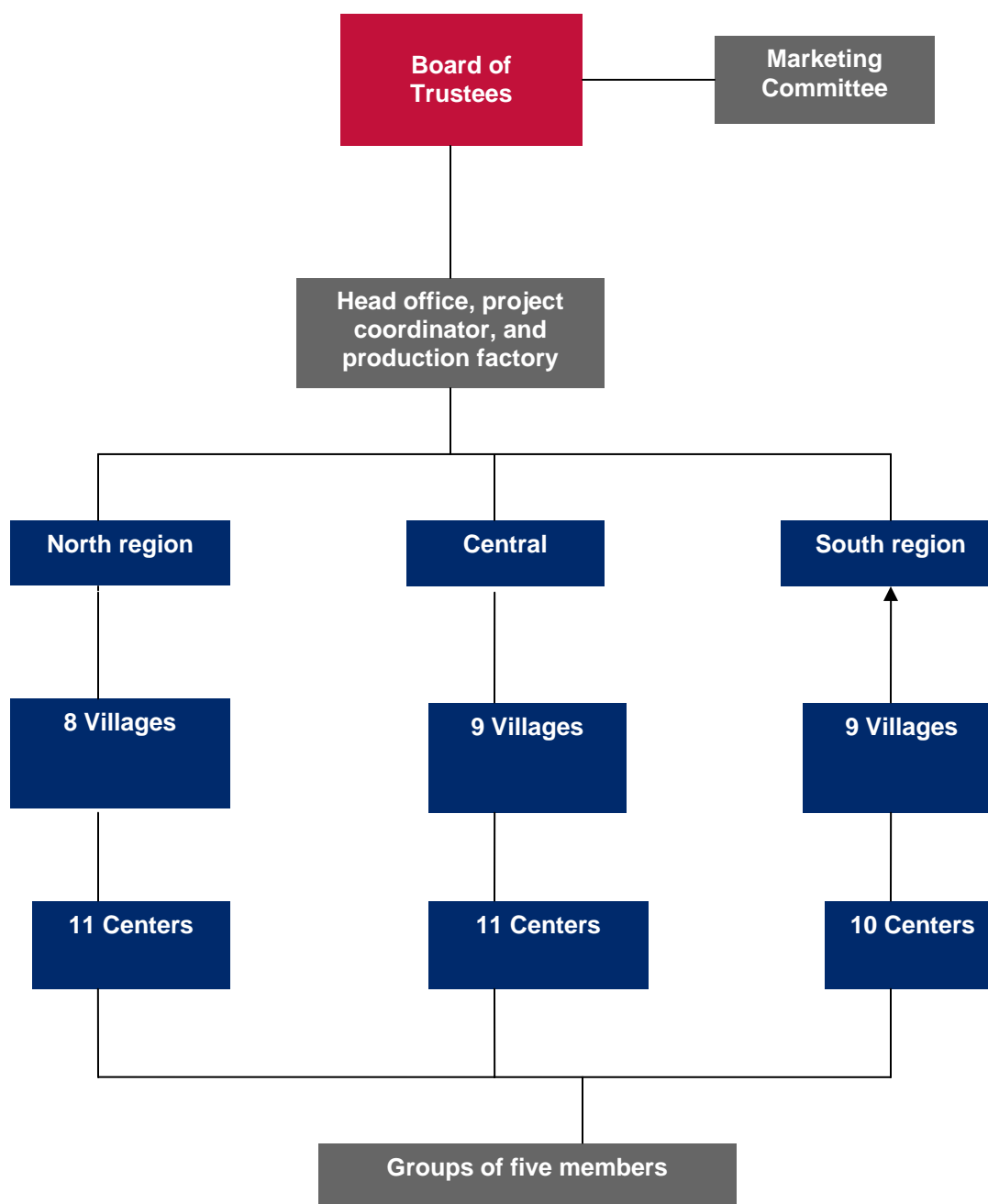
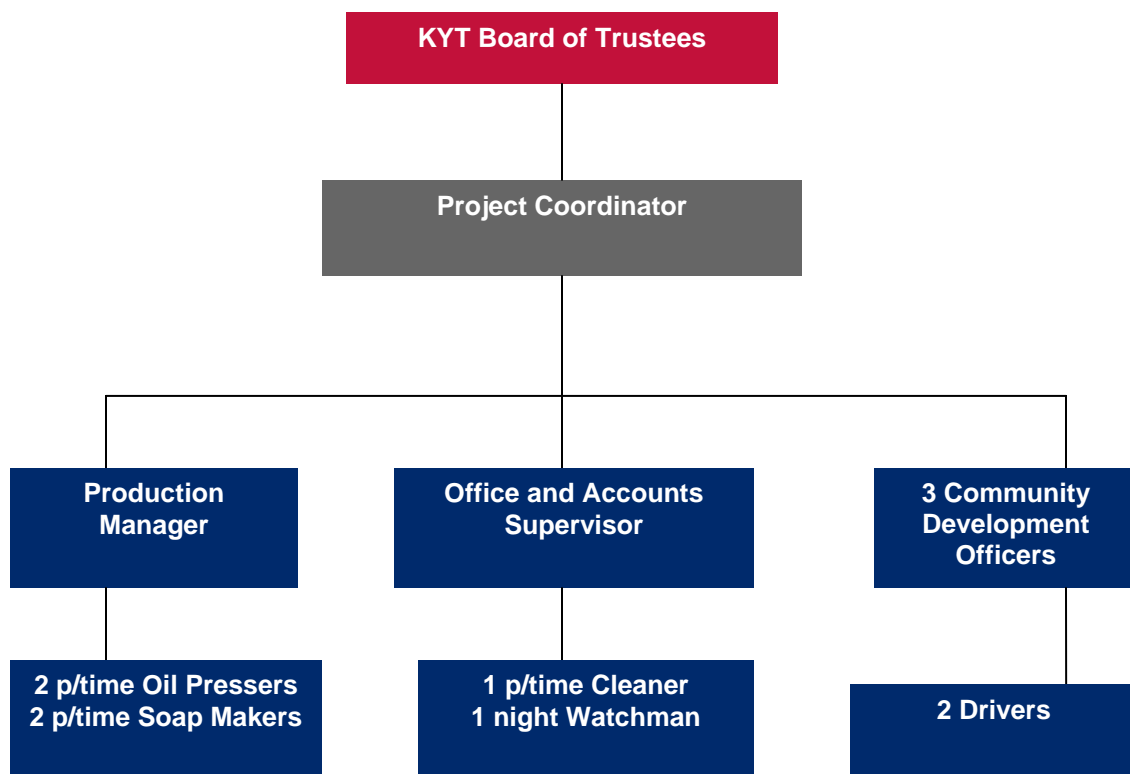


Figure 3.4: KYT Staff Structure



Source: KYT files 2003

The project coordinator is charged with overall management of the trust. First, she is responsible for the implementation of trust activities and for marketing. Second, she is responsible for quality control of products and looks after the trust and factory equipment. Third, she advises the board. The production manager is responsible for the production at the factory and supervises the production staff. He/she ensures that the products meet the required quality standards and that output targets are met. Production staff includes oil pressers and soap makers. The office and accounts supervisor takes care of the financial matters of the trust. The community development officers (CDOs), based at the regional offices, are responsible for extension and training. They assist in the formation of centers and regions and maintain proper information exchange and communication among the groups, centers, regions, and the board. They purchase products from groups and centers on behalf of the trust, and they also supervise and ensure that the procedures of the microlending scheme are adhered to. They report weekly to the coordinator of the regional activities and progress.

Due to financial difficulties, staff has been retrenched and positions have been merged. KYT has currently five employees (two full-time; three part-time). The project coordinator currently also performs the duties of the production manager and office and accounts supervisor. The CDOs were retrenched in October 2005, and their tasks were taken over by center committees. These organizational changes have adversely affected the capacity of the trust, particularly in the field of production and marketing.

Box 3.1: The Story of the Position of Project Coordinator

The expatriate coordinator, who had served the trust for five years, left in 2004 July; thereafter the trust had problems finding a suitable replacement. Initially, a Board member acted in the role of the coordinator; in September 2004 Skill Share in collaboration with the Canadian Government provided a female coordinator, who unfortunately stayed less than a year (until June 2005). Subsequently, the production manager had to perform the duties of the coordinator until she was confirmed in May 2005 as the project coordinator. She is still “holding the fort” and combines coordination with production management, marketing, and administration and accounts. Obviously, this is a “mission impossible,” particularly because her training is mostly in the area of production.

3.2.4 THE EXTERNAL SUPPORT ENVIRONMENT

Various stakeholders play a role in CBNRM projects in Botswana. These include government, private companies, traditional authorities, NGOs, and international donors. After the departure of most donors, national support for CBNRM projects has become vital in recent years.

CBNRM Umbrella Organizations

As a CBO, KYT is a member of Botswana Community-Based Organizations Network (BOCOBONET). The annual membership fee to BOCOBONET is P200. This association serves to represent the views of CBOs involved in CBNRM in Botswana. It has in the past organized workshops, at which member CBOs meet to exchange ideas and learn from each other. It ensures dissemination of key information regarding CBNRM opportunities and new developments. According to the review of CBNRM in Botswana in 2003, BOCOBONET has the following types of activities (Arntzen and others 2003):

- CBO development: facilitates CBO formation, training in the core areas, and assistance for strategic planning
- Information exchange: inter-CBO exchanges in Botswana and the Southern African Development Community (SADC)
- Annual general meetings to review progress of the association
- Representing the interests of its members in the policy and political arena.

The association has conducted training sessions for KYT members. It has trained regional council members, the Board of Trustees, and staff in core areas relevant to them.

KYT is also a member of the National CBNRM Forum and has been taking part in the forum’s annual seminars, such as the recent 2006 meeting held in Gaborone. Among other benefits, KYT gets the chance to network with other CBOs and donors and also gets to learn from the meetings.

IUCN has hosted the CBNRM support program since 1994. The program was initially funded by SNV, but WWF supported the program in 2004–06.

Government

Government plays an important role in the development of CBNRM and KYT in particular. Government has offered financial support as well as training. The Ministry of Agriculture (MOA) through the Agricultural Resources Board (ARB) has trained members in methods of sustainable harvesting and resource use. Furthermore, ARB has assisted in natural resource management through planting of marula seedlings and agro forestry to avoid resource extinction and land degradation. Some members of the trust have been trained in sustainable harvesting and grafting techniques, and these are currently being encouraged and practiced by the members. Interestingly, ARB has conducted learning sessions with members on different uses of the natural resources surrounding their area. For instance, medical experts, both traditional doctors and modern medical practitioners, were brought in through ARB to teach the members on the significance of some plants.

The Department of Women's Affairs (WAD) in the Ministry of Labor and Home Affairs has offered significant financial support to the trust. Some members have been trained at the National Food Technology Centre (NAFTEC) in Kanye on making products, such as mosata atchar, morogo, and sauce and canning of mopane worms. Due to lack of funds, production of such products is yet to start. This initiative was funded by the WAD.

The Ministry of Environment Wildlife and Tourism (MEWT) has played a major role in seeing CBNRM to its current state. The ministry is currently finalizing a CBNRM policy, which is expected to offer an enabling environment for CBNRM projects. Most relevant for KYT would be the possibility of getting exclusive user rights on veld products and the possibility of accessing money from a national fund. According to the KYT Board, during his visit to KYT, the minister informed the trust about the fund, which may soon be established.⁴

The KYT project was established as an initiative of the USAID-funded NRMP in 1997. NRMP is responsible for the initial setup of the CBNRM program in Botswana.

NGOs

A variety of NGOs have supported the trust. Phytotrade (then based in Zimbabwe) has assisted the trust with training on technical production. This includes aspects of making shampoo and lotion from marula and on acid value testing. Phytotrade has played a significant role through marketing KYT. Skill Share provided technical advice through the services of the expatriate coordinator. The African Development Foundation (ADF) helped establish the microlending fund. It is also a member of the Botswana Council of NGOs although it has not been fully involved in their activities (according to the board).

3.3 PROJECT RESULTS

3.3.1 LIVELIHOOD RESULTS

Most households in Botswana derive their livelihoods from a wide range of agricultural and nonagricultural sources (section 2). Although countrywide collection and sale of natural resources is ranked only as the ninth source of livelihood, veld products are important to vulnerable and low-income groups. Most KYT members belong to these groups.

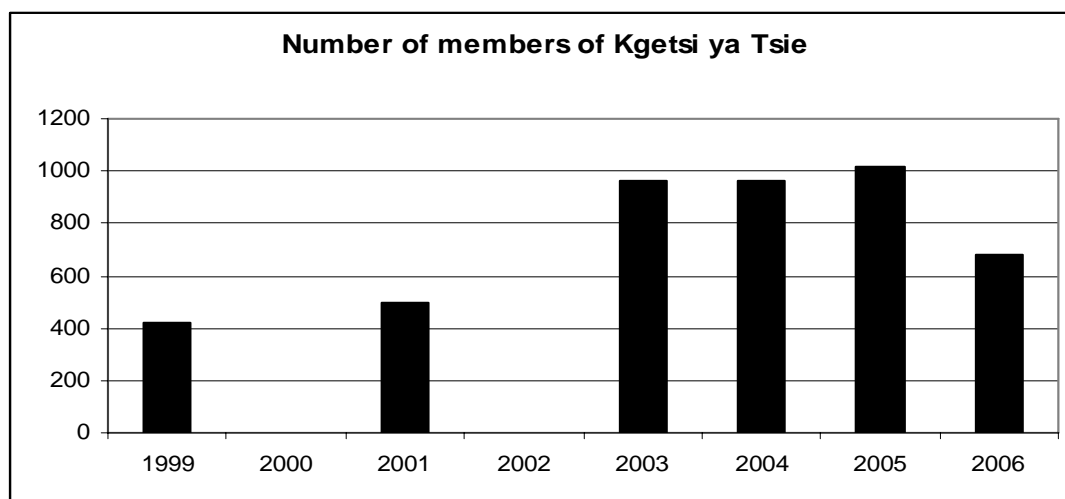
The project has enhanced livelihoods and reduced poverty in several direct and indirect ways. Given the diversity of livelihood augmentation options of members, it is impossible to assess the livelihood impacts in detail, because no impact monitoring system has been in place; therefore, the assessment here is general and somewhat speculative.

The major benefits include:

- *Material benefits:* These may include higher income, insurance coverage, increased livelihood security, and/or building family and trust assets. Higher incomes reduce income poverty, while asset formation has the potential of increasing future income generation. Greater livelihood security also assists households in coping better with droughts and other hazards (e.g., HIV/AIDS).
- *Nonmaterial benefits.* These may include various sociocultural and other benefits perceived and valued by households, but not directly leading to a decrease in income poverty.

⁴ The policy needs to be approved by parliament.

Figure 3.5: Number of Members of Kgetsi ya Tsie



Note: No figures available for 2000 and 2002.
Source: KYT records.

The livelihood impacts have decreased since 2004 due to loss of members (figure 3.5), a reduction in purchases from members by the trust since 2004, suspension of the microlending scheme in 2004 and staff retrenchments. Members may have been able to compensate for reduction in trust purchases through direct sales, especially of mophane, to third parties, but this could not be traced in quantitative terms.

KYT members derive most income from mophane (direct sales) and marula. The current problems have adversely affected marula purchases from the trust, but have had little impact on mophane as this product is sold directly to traders. The problems have further led to a postponement of the introduction of new products, such as various atchars. This would have diversified revenue and livelihood sources for the trust and its members.

Material Benefits

The material benefits mostly accrue to employees and members and their families. Both have decreased and, therefore, the distribution of direct material benefits has become more limited than before. Employment has declined from 14 to five persons, whereas membership has declined from a peak of 980 in 2003 to just more than 600 now. Assuming an average family size of five persons, some 3,000–4,000 people may benefit from KYT. This is around 10 percent of the female-headed households and 3–4 percent of the female adult population.

The magnitude of the income benefits is difficult to estimate. Members derive income from sales to the trust, direct sales to third parties, and income from projects supported by the microlending scheme. Trust purchases from members peaked in 2002–03 with P84,935 or on average almost P100 per member per year. As actual payment reflects the collection efforts of members, income from the trust could range from P25 to P500 per member per year.

Income from direct sales, especially from mophane worms, appears to be higher than payments from the trust. During the focus group discussion (FGD), some members claimed to make about P500 per sale and up to P1,200 during good harvests of mophane. Mophane was initially sold to the head office, but other buyers were offering better prices. The head office had to let members sell to third parties for higher prices. Members can also sell some products, such as pottery, jam, and monepenepe to individual buyers. The opportunity to sell directly to traders has increased the resilience of KYT members, and it is likely that those who have ceased to be members continue to benefit from direct sales of veld products.

KYT estimates income from projects funded through the microlending scheme to be P200/month (annual report 2002–03), but this figure cannot be verified. The income from the small businesses, which were started through the microlending scheme made a positive difference in some members' livelihoods. Some success stories were reported during fieldwork. A lady reported that she borrowed twice from the head office for her business in supplying dressed chicken. She became independent and diversified her business. She reported making about P400 profit every month. Similar positive stories were reported by others in the FGD; however, other businesses collapsed due to poor management, lack of market, etc. The businesses initiated were mainly *semausus* (small backyard shops usually run by households), brick molding, tailoring, and traditional brewing. Suspension of the microlending scheme (2004) has adversely affected members, who had paid their loans and wanted to borrow more to expand their businesses.

The above figures suggest that the range of income derived from KYT-related activities could be Pula 150–350 per month per member (if they benefit from all three income sources). This would make the trust a valuable additional source of livelihood. Assuming an average household size of five, the revenues from veld products and microcredit projects could contribute 15 to 40 percent of the poverty datum line for that area. Particularly for households without access to formal employment and government support, this income is significant and very valuable; however, the decline in trust purchases of veld products and suspension of microlending has adversely affected incomes of most members. Households have coped with this in two ways:

- Resigning from the trust and saving the annual subscription. Around 300 members did this.
- Increasing direct sales to third parties, probably in combination with a switch toward collection of veld products that can easily be directly sold.

It is a strength that KYT offers members the flexibility and choice to make livelihood adjustments in this way.

Members happily talked about their benefits and even gave examples of property they managed to acquire with the sales revenues: blankets, cooking utensils, building materials, etc. The money obtained from the sales is also used to buy food and has increased food security in the households.

Judging from payments, insurance is an important material benefit for members. KYT members have access to insurance for their immediate and extended families for P10.50 and P17.85 per month respectively. These amounts are significant, as most of the members are unemployed and depend on agriculture and sales of products.

Nonmaterial benefits

There is a widespread consensus that KYT has yielded vital nonmaterial benefits, particularly in terms of women's empowerment. According to the FGD, the project has generated a number of nonmaterial benefits to the members such as:

- *Women's empowerment.* Most of the members are old women with little or no education and are unemployed. The project has given them an opportunity to make something of themselves. Previously, they depended on their husbands to provide for the families, but now women have started small businesses through the microlending scheme from the project and are providing for their families. The current problems of the project have reduced the members' opportunity to make a living out of the products they make.
- KYT membership is prestigious in the area, and some members have been elected into other positions such as village development committees. Some nonmembers in the communities when interviewed had different opinions about KYT. Some felt it was a waste of time and that it should be closed, because it has not been doing well for some time now. This may explain why few youth are participating.

- Cooperation and unity among women in the area has improved. Members learn skills in making other products from those who know. Some members have been trained in grafting techniques, production, etc., and these skills will be used even without KYT. Positions of responsibility in groups, centers, and regions provide these women with opportunities for acquiring leadership skills.

Coping with HIV/AIDS and Droughts

KYT does not have a strategy to combat and cope with HIV/AIDS; nor has it a strategy to cope with droughts. Government and NGOs have a wide range of HIV/AIDS support programs, making it less important for KYT to initiate its own activities. As many members are involved in other local institutions (e.g., village development committees) they are likely to contribute through these channels.

Rainfall has a strong influence on the abundance of veld products. Veld products are less abundant during droughts, and harvests tend to be lower; therefore, the “veld products arm” of KYT has a limited potential to alleviate drought impacts. Greater collection efforts could, however, lead to higher yields during drought years, making up for agricultural income losses. Successful businesses from microlending schemes offer the best opportunities of becoming more drought resilient, as businesses are less drought prone.

Summary Livelihood Analysis

KYT has reduced poverty among rural women of Tswapong area, but its impact has been limited and has recently decreased due to scaling down and reduced purchases by the trust from members; however, members may have increased income from direct sales to third parties and from businesses funded from the microlending scheme. Whether this has indeed happened could not be established in detail. Staff and those who managed to establish successful businesses with microlending appear to be the main beneficiaries. Others have found an additional source of livelihoods.

3.3.2 NATURAL RESOURCE RESULTS

The Tswapong hills and the surrounding areas have a wide range of veld products. KYT members indicated that the resources are in abundance and there is no sign of degradation. KYT members have developed greater appreciation for and knowledge about the veld products. When asked during the discussions what would be the impact if some veld products get depleted, one old lady said; “*ga se ka monepenepe mo nageng mo, ga o kake wa o fetsa. E le gore wena o tla bo o bapala mo go ntseng jang.*” (“There is plenty of monepenepe in the wild and nobody can finish it”). The veld products availability depends on rainfall. In recent years, the availability of veld products has been satisfactory. Some resources have become scarce such as thatching grass and mophane. The suspected causes of the decline include the increase in settlements, people, and animals, overharvesting, and low rains.

Veld products are not evenly distributed across the area. For example, mosata is mainly found in the northern and central regions. Members indicated that the distance to collect some veld products has increased, but were adamant that this did not mean they are scarce. Even though there is no resource monitoring tool in place, the members argued that they are aware of the resource conditions as they see them as they walk in the bush and hills when harvesting.

Remarkably, KYT has no exclusive resource use rights and, therefore, others are free to use the same resources. It is a de facto open access situation, in which the resources can be used by anybody without restrictions. Members are aware of the pitfalls and risks of this situation. Concern exists that some people use unsustainable ways of harvesting these resources. Moreover, competitors may start to collect, possibly leading to overharvesting of the resources. The CBNRM Review (Arntzen and others 2003) noted that another trust was being formed in the area with overlapping activities, which may adversely affect KYT. Members may decide to sell marula to private companies, if the trust is unable to buy or offers low prices, and subsequently resign from the trust. The absence of clearly defined and allocated resource use rights discourages resource management by the trust and does not

encourage investments in further resource management and processing. The threat of competition requires the trust to be efficient and pay high prices to the members.

The forthcoming CBNRM policy is expected to offer exclusive community user rights for veld products. In return, KYT would have to establish a land use and natural resource use management plan. With such user rights, KYT would safeguard its interest in veld products and have additional development options, such as subleasing part of the area and establishing a partnership with a private company (e.g., joint processing and marketing). The latter would require an understanding of how a joint venture works by the KYT board and general membership.

KYT does not have a natural resource management and conservation strategy, and their resources are not regularly monitored (even though members argue that they have good insights into the status of veld products). There is no NRM committee, even though the deed of trust provides for this as well as the by-laws. Moreover, the trust does not have a budget for resource management. The planted seedlings were a government donation. According to the discussions with members, it is difficult to manage resources properly without user rights. KYT does not have any power to stop abuse and overuse of resources by other users due to the open access situation. Nonetheless, KYT has engaged in some management activities, such as replanting, improving harvesting techniques and training in grafting.

Members planted about 1,500 indigenous trees (marula, monepenepe) in their compounds and fields. They watered and took care of the seedlings. During fieldwork, the coordinator reported having to check on the seedlings, and she estimated a 60 percent success rate. The marula trees have grown big and are expected to bear fruit in about two years from now, whereas monepenepe is being harvested. Unfortunately, some seedlings were planted too close to homes, which may cause huts and houses to crack when the trees grow out; some trees may have to be cut down.

Members have been educated on sustainable harvesting methods; for example, members are trained in sustainable harvesting techniques, such as digging up only a few roots and covering the remaining roots afterward to avoid damage to the trees; collecting mopane that is on trees and ground, but not digging the ones that have gone underground; taking fruits and not cutting a branch, etc. KYT members advise the community on sustainable harvesting methods, if they see them doing the opposite. In some cases, the matter is reported to the village chief, who will act accordingly.

Some members have been trained in grafting techniques. These skills would be valuable to increase the numbers of trees in the area. The trained members have, however, not started due to lack of funds and the abundance of trees they have trained on, such as marula.

Summary Environmental Analysis

Although veld product conditions appear to be generally satisfactory, they remain exposed to open access. The new CBNRM policy will help the trust through granting exclusive resource use rights (and responsibilities) and offering funding opportunities. The required land use and resource management plan will help KYT to develop a holistic approach toward resource use and conservation.

The resource conditions and absence of secure and exclusive resource rights make it understandable and rational not to invest in resource management. The risks of open access, however, require more proactive and comprehensive resource management. The other risk is that members will start to sell marula directly to third parties.

3.3.3 INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNANCE PERFORMANCE

The Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of KYT is unique for CBOs in Botswana, most of which have a simple structure with a board and small headquarters and automatic membership of all adult villagers in the

CBO. In contrast, KYT is a membership organization that focuses on women's empowerment (quota for women of at least 80 percent of members). In addition to the headquarters, board, and AGM, KYT has groups of members, centers, and regions. The roles and responsibilities of each institution are clear and transparent. The organizational structure is cumbersome and costly, but has several strengths. First, the decentralized structure encourages genuine participation and production by members and groups. Unproductive members or groups reap little benefit from the trust. Moreover, the most productive group is awarded a productivity incentive of 5 percent on top of their revenues. This constitutes an incentive for production.

Second, members are better represented in the decision-making processes of the trust. Groups are assumed to meet on a regular basis to discuss activities, progress, and issues and give feedback to their representatives in the center or regional council (this has lately not been the case). Centers normally meet at least every fortnight where reports are given to center members and relevant issues discussed. Center representatives then carry forward their center's decisions and issues to the regional council. The council meets every two months, which then takes the regions' views to the board through the various regional elected members. This structure is democratic and transparent and facilitates a good two-way flow of information from bottom-to-top and vice versa and allows for a high degree of feedback, accountability, and transparency. The flow of information has not been easy lately due to the retrenchment of CDOs, who provided an essential link between the regional and head office.

KYT members are often inclined to follow the rules and regulations that are inscribed in the deed of trust. Some centers also have their own rules and regulations, which have to be followed by the center members.

Third, the organizational structure leaves sufficient freedom for decision making of members and groups. This has increased the resilience of both the members and the trust (even though the trust has had to scale down). For example, members and groups decide on their activities and how they want to process and/or market veld products. Mophane is typically sold directly to traders (outside the trust), whereas marula is sold to the trust for processing and marketing. Jams may be processed and marketed at the level of groups, centers, or regions. This "freedom" and choice empowers members and groups.

Fourth, the focus on women has empowered rural women. Most employees are women, as are most members of KYT institutions; therefore, KYT offers a unique opportunity for women to address their own concerns, gain experience, and improve their own livelihoods. The trust is mostly composed of elderly women from low segments of the society or who are not well privileged. There are instances of retired women and those who are working in the local institutions. Youth participation is low. In their view, the project's returns are not sufficiently attractive to deter them from migrating to urban areas in search of better-paying jobs.

Fifth, the board composition ensures a fair spatial representation with equal numbers from each of the three regions. Interestingly, three nonmembers are represented on the board. This offers the opportunity to bring in the concerns and interest of nonmembers and to stay up-to-date with the lives and livelihoods of nonmembers.

Sixth, the structure offered a good support framework for members and groups. Unfortunately, the decline in the headquarters' capacity has adversely affected the support that members receive, leading to less cohesion within the organization.

Governance is generally adequate, but the recent staff reductions and budget cuts have reduced the organization's production and marketing (supply) capacity as well as the capacity of headquarters to support members and groups. For example, the trust is not able to meet export orders for marula oil, as it cannot afford to purchase marula from members. The work overload of the project coordinator and the phasing out of the CDOs have created governance problems (e.g., no AGM in 2005 and 2006; microlending) and concerns about transparency and operations (e.g., problems with insurance payments; lack of understanding about the inability of the trust to purchase veld products from

members). It has also put on hold plans for further diversification of products (e.g., canned mopane and atchars).

There is still need for rebuilding capacity of the board and headquarters. There is also need for instilling the members with some business and marketing skills to sustain the project.

The Support Environment

The support environment of KYT has changed dramatically since 1996. Financial and technical support has decreased significantly, and KYT has been unable to adjust to the new realities. This may be attributed to inadequate anticipation and planning on the part of KYT. A transition plan could have assisted in mitigating the shocks of drying up of funds and technical assistance. The experience further shows that CBOs require long-term support and that such support should be the right type of intervention. Moreover, the community should make provisions for the inevitable situation in which they have to be largely independent and self-sustaining. This is easier for wildlife-based CBOs with considerable earnings than for CBOs that depend on less valuable resources. Whatever the reason, KYT has not sufficiently matured in 10 years to cope with significant adverse events.

The Government of Botswana has played an increasing role through the WAD. This department focuses on the needs and achievements of women in Botswana and strives to empower them. Through WAD, KYT women have taken part in regional competitions with other African women. They have had the chance to showcase their products and have managed to do very well at these competitions. This has empowered the women of KYT as they have adopted a sense of giving their best in whatever they strive to do. This has also gained them some international recognition.

ARB has given support in terms of capacity building. They have trained members on the sustainable harvesting of natural resources. The MEWT provides an opportunity with other CBOs through workshops. The minister is highly involved in the CBOs, in that he is always in touch with them trying to assess the level of progress, especially recently with the drying up of donor funding.

KYT is a member of BOCOBONET and, hence, benefits from the activities of the association. In the past, some members of the trust, including the board and employees, have undergone some training to instill them with knowledge and skills needed in performing their roles. This was all courtesy of BOCOBONET.

Summary Governance Analysis

KYT has a unique organizational structure in Botswana's CBO world. The structure of KYT is elaborate and perhaps cumbersome and costly, but it allows for participation of all members in the activities and decisions of the trust. It gives the members a sense of ownership and ensures free flow of information, advice, and communication. Moreover, the structure allows for a high level of representation, accountability, and transparency in decision making. Although community development officers are not in operation at the moment, their contribution made a huge difference in the structure of the trust. They provided a crucial link among the different components of the organizational structure, as they worked from each region and reported back to the project coordinator and the board (Arntzen and others 2003). The phasing out of CDOs has resulted in a weak link between members and head office. Members are not aware of what happens at the head office, and it takes some time for them to communicate with the head office.

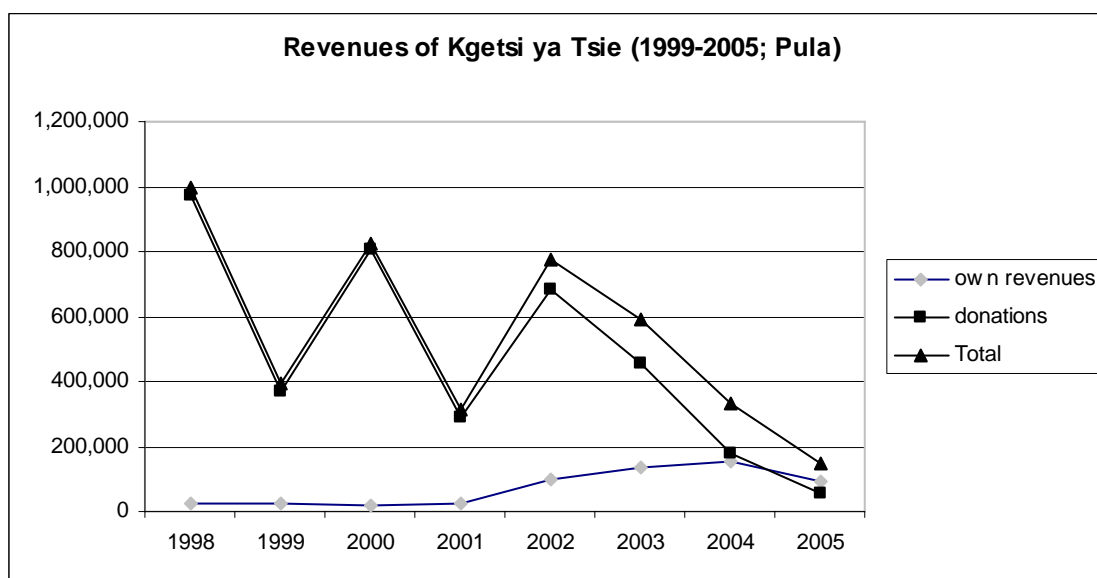
The trust has lost substantial capacity since 2004. Retrenchments have had at least two negative impacts: weaker links and information flows among groups, centers, regions, and headquarters and a decreased production and marketing capacity. The factory operates with only two part-time soap makers and oil pressers, and there is no production manager. Together with lack of liquidity to purchase veld products from members, this causes failure of the trust to export large orders for marula oil and soap; therefore, it is vital that the financial and capacity constraints are solved as soon as possible. The trust could acquire bridging funds to restore its production capacity and ability to purchase from members. Another solution could be to bring in a joint venture partner with capital and marketing skills, for example, for joint processing and marketing.

KYT has never reached the point of financial sustainability but at least has covered recurrent expenditures from self-generated revenues. From the trust's financial books, it appears that KYT's income is mainly sourced from external support. Self-raised income is far less than what the trust receives externally. For instance, in 2002, own income raised through the activities of the trust amounted to P97,108, while funding from donors was about P681,000. Figure 3.6 shows the huge decline in revenues, mostly in donor funds.

CBO performance is closely associated with individuals or "CBNRM champs." The successful former project coordinator appears to be having similar successes in Swaziland at the moment. It is, therefore, likely that KYT would be in better shape if he would still be around. "Champs" are essential, especially during the formative and adolescent periods of CBOs.

Since the departure of the former expatriate project coordinator, marketing has been poor. The current KYT management does not have sufficient skills to market the products. Although the international market has been exploited in the past, concerns exist that the trust will lose market share, due to growing competition and inability to meet existing export orders.

Figure 3.6: Revenues of Kgetsi ya Tsie (1999–2005)



Source: KYT files

Although the regions and centers are empowered to carry out a variety of tasks, it appears that they have not sufficiently matured to take over some of the tasks of the headquarters when they had to down size. For example, regions and centers have been unable to carry out the duties of CDOs and keep records of insurance and microlending schemes (box 3.2 and 3.3).

Box 3.2: Governance Issues with Insurance Payments and Coverage

The head office was responsible for taking the monthly installments to the insurance company. There was no system in place for the members to take their installments to the head office. Some centers used the CDOs to collect and deliver the money, while some sent someone from the group to do it. This brought on some problems. Fraud and misuse of the money by the CDOs and those sent were reported during the group discussions. Some members were not issued with receipts upon paying and they were surprised to learn that they owed the monthly installments. This led to most members dropping out of the insurance coverage. Those who are still under the insurance coverage now take their money straight to the insurance company. They send one of the group members to do it. There is still some chance of misuse and fraud by those entrusted to deliver the money.

According to interviews and the FGD, the following are key areas of needed support: marketing; financial management; organizational management, improved governance of microlending, and legal advice. FGDs with the board indicated that negotiations were ongoing with UNDP and WAD that will enable the trust to get some funds and material support in early 2007. Despite this, the future of KYT does not look bright without immediate external financial and technical support.

Box 3.3: Governance Issues with Microlending

Repayment has been a constant concern of KYT. In 2002–03, 12.8 percent of the loans were not repaid or repaid late. The outstanding amount was P123,631. The problem has persisted, and in 2006 the arrears were around P100,000. Some of the members were unable to pay back the loans as they did not make any profit. Others claim that they repaid, but did not get a receipt and, hence, cannot prove this. Yet others are said to have joined groups for the loan only and stopped being active after they obtained the loan.

The above shows that the governance of the microlending scheme has been inadequate, and pressure from groups and centers has been unsuccessful in encouraging repayment. Close monitoring and stronger sanctions are required to reduce the arrears. Due to staff retrenchments at headquarters, groups and centers need to become more active in ensuring repayment of loans. For example, arrears could be made public at kgotlas and in local media.

In response to the above and the financial difficulties, the KYT Board decided to suspend new lending in 2004. Efforts should instead concentrate on repayment of arrears.

A summary of the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis is given below.

Strengths:

- A detailed organizational structure allows for a high degree of participation of members and groups, good accountability, and good flow of information and communication.
- Structure and operation of the trust is highly flexible and has added to the resilience of the trust and its members by permitting direct sales to third parties (mophane worms).
- Members have a sense of ownership of the trust.
- A diverse range of products involves collection of veld products, manufacturing, and microlending.
- KYT managed to tap into high-value marula oil and soap markets.
- Strong marketing orientation and ability to export. This strength has weakened in the past few years.
- KYT has accumulated infrastructure, including a head office, processing factory, and regional offices.
- KYT has developed the human resources and skills of members.

Weaknesses:

- Staff retrenchment and overloaded project coordinator weakening production capacity, leading to loss of experience and weakening the link between the trust and the members
- Loss of members
- Apparent dependency on individuals/champions (e.g., former coordinator)
- Financially unsustainable and acute financial problems due to a virtual drying up of external funding and a limited increase in self-generated revenues
- Governance problems with microlending and insurance schemes
- No exclusive, secure, and/or tradable resource rights and responsibilities
- Inability to exploit tourism potential of the Tswapong
- Ecological sustainability of resources not secured.

Opportunities:

- Development of new products such as atchar
- The new CBNRM policy expected to offer secure resource rights and opportunities for funding and joint ventures or community-private sector partnerships
- Meeting and/or development local and export markets.

Threats:

- Competition from local private sector or other trusts
- Inability to compete in an increasingly competitive international market
- Lack of funding and technical support.

3.3.4 UNEXPECTED RESULTS

The project has had positive spin offs for members within their communities. KYT members are frequently asked to sit on village development committees and other local institutions.

Projects such as KYT have revived the interest in community-based management of rangeland resources. Although mainstream livestock planning pursues livestock ranching as the model for improved livestock productivity and range management, the Indigenous Vegetation Project emerged in 2004 to experiment with community-based rangeland management models in three parts of Botswana. These projects fit well into Botswana's UNCCD Plan of Action (Government of Botswana 2006) and paved the way for more diverse livestock development and rangeland management in future.

3.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS**3.4.1 CONCLUSIONS**

The case study of KYT is an example of a CBO that harvests, processes, and, to a lesser extent, manages veld products. In this way, it derives benefits from natural resources that are not usually commercially exploited. A critical issue is that, due to the absence of an approved CBNRM policy, KYT operates without any exclusive resource use rights; the resources are in fact prone to open access and at risk of overexploitation. The acquisition of formal resource rights is necessary to stimulate more comprehensive natural resource management by the community.

The example of KYT shows that CBNRM can work in a typical communal area setting dominated by livestock and crop production. Veld products have become an additional source of livelihood for members. KYT further shows that CBOs have the potential to process natural resources and sell them domestically and for export. Marula products have become the backbone of the project.

Communal natural resources are not well managed and are exposed to open access. These are key concerns for desertification in southern Africa; therefore, KYT is a valuable case study for desertification control for at least two reasons. First, it uses and, to some extent, manages veld products, which are usually ignored and yet have a potential to alleviate poverty, complement agricultural income, and increase livelihood security. Consistent with findings elsewhere, income from veld products does not replace agricultural income, but offers a valuable supplement. Second, the approach could be widened to other natural resources, such as grazing and arable fields and in this way become more relevant.

KYT operates in a communal area context dominated by crop and livestock production. Agriculture is the dominant rural source of livelihood; however, formal employment (often in urban areas) and government transfers have become more important. KYT targets a disadvantaged group, that is, women, and attracts mostly elderly women, who otherwise depend on crop production.

Lessons Learned

- The organizational structure is unique in Botswana and has several major advantages over the simple structure common among wildlife-based CBOs
- After almost 10 years of existence, KYT is still donor dependent and suffers the effects of donor withdrawal. This is the result of a lack of anticipation and inadequate domestic support environment (e.g., no policy, no exclusive resource rights and responsibilities, and few specialized support NGOs).
- The response of cutting recurrent expenditures has affected the production and income-generating capacity of the trust and set the trust into a downward spiral. Timely financial advice and assistance could probably have retained more capacity and income.
- Financial management is vital for members, the support environment, and the trust itself. Management requirements for the microlending and insurance schemes have been underestimated.
- Despite training efforts, there is a need for continuous training capacity and building for the board, staff, and members in the areas of organizational management, financial management, natural resource management, and marketing.
- Livelihood benefits of KYT are mostly supplementary to agriculture; however, they can be significant for those without many alternatives and willing to put efforts into it. The project has genuine potential for reducing poverty of the vulnerable groups, but it will be hard work.
- Members who used the microlending scheme to establish profitable businesses are probably the main beneficiaries of the project. They have become independent and are not directly affected by the trust's problems.
- Marula oil and soap and mophane are the major income earners. Marula products for the trust and members; mophane mostly for members.
- The loss of members indicates that fewer people perceive the net benefits of joining KYT (no microlending, fewer purchases, and problems with the insurance scheme. It is vital for any organization to ensure that membership is sufficiently attractive.

- Growing national and international competition for marula oil may cause problems for KYT in future. It is possible that a private company will establish a marula processing factory, and competition in southern Africa is increasing. In solving its current problems, KYT needs to prepare for more competition.
- Given its current problems, KYT may benefit from a joint venture partnership to enhance its funds and capacity and restore and expand production.
- KYT is still far from actively managing natural resources through common property resource management. Perhaps, this cannot be expected without exclusive resource use rights and abundant resources, but it indicates that, in the future, the organization will have to develop an environmental strategy, including resource monitoring and environmental investments. The current priority is improving livelihoods.

3.4.2 LINKS TO UNCCD

The project has shown that CBNRM can further the implementation of the UNCCD in Botswana, primarily through provision of additional livelihood sources (sale of veld products and microenterprises), community capacity building and empowerment, and steps toward community-based natural resource management. Members have gained appreciation for local natural resources and skills on replanting, harvesting, and grafting. Informal resource monitoring occurs and cases of resource abuse are reported. There is a need to establish a more formal resource monitoring system to maintain the species diversity and the project's sustainability. Opportunities exist to link the management and use of veld products with improved arable production and management. For example, groups could become a catalyst in the development of large fields suitable for mechanized dryland farming under NAMPAAADD. Such fields could include parts reserved for the cultivation of valuable trees, such as marula (e.g., as part of windbreaks). Opportunities may also exist to include more resources to address the perils of open resource access in communal areas. This requires community resource rights (absent at the moment).

4. CASE STUDY OF SANKUYO TSHWARAGANO MANAGEMENT TRUST: COMMUNITY-BASED WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT

4.1 BACKGROUND

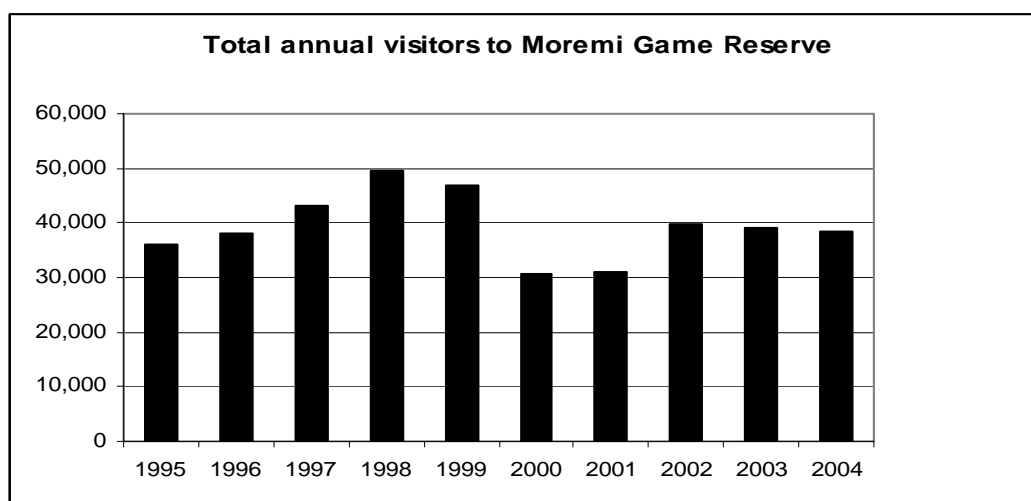
4.1.1 ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

The community trust is located in Sankuyo village, which had a population of 372 in 2001 (CSO 2002). The village is situated 85 km in the northeast of Maun, the capital of Ngamiland. The main ethnic groups are the Ba Yei and Ba Subiya, and their main livelihood activities are tourism combined with limited arable and livestock agriculture,⁵ basket making, and collection of veld products (Thakadu and others 2005). Sankuyo village is located inside a wildlife management area (WMA) and situated in the controlled hunting area (CHA) of Ngamiland 34, generally referred to as NG 34. The community of Sankuyo has been given a head lease to hold user rights for hunting and photographic tourism in CHAs NG 33 and NG 34, which are specifically reserved for controlled hunting and photographic tourism.

The area has a high tourism potential because of its location on the edge of the world-famous Okavango swamps, abundance of wildlife resources, and its proximity to Maun, which has an international airport. The area is conveniently located between the district capital Maun and the Moremi Game Reserve just south of the south gate. This reserve is one of the prime protected areas in Botswana and attracts 30–50,000 tourists a year (figure 4.1). The location inside the WMA implies that wildlife utilization is the primary form of land use and agriculture is a secondary land use (Government of Botswana 1986). Cattle cannot be kept, as it is north of the buffalo fence; therefore tourism and arable production are the major rural livelihood activities. The arable potential is very limited due to the sandy, infertile soils and low rainfall of 500–50 mm a year.

⁵ Only small stock; no cattle are allowed in the area.

Figure 4.1: Total Annual Visitors to Moremi Game Reserve



Source: DWNP data.

The vegetation is a tree savanna with mopane and acacia trees. It is intersected by fairly open areas with grass. Palms occasionally occur and the landscape is quite attractive. Although the area is dry, it is close to the edge of the wet part of the Okavango swamps. The area has rich wildlife resources, which move inside the Okavango and migrate in and out of the Okavango. Major species, such as buffaloes, elephants, and lions are common. According to Turpie and others (2006), the Okavango has a significant commercial value for tourism and a modest subsistence use value (due to the small population). Indirect use values of the delta (e.g., wildlife refuge, carbon dioxide sequestration, water recharge, and scientific value) are in the same order as the commercial tourism value, demonstrating the need for careful management of the Okavango delta.

4.1.2 LIVELIHOOD ISSUES

Before the introduction of CBNRM in Sankuyo, the main livelihood activities were cattle rearing, arable farming, hunting through single game licenses, and gathering. Focus group discussions revealed that some traditional livelihood activities are now restricted as a result of the following factors:

- *Erection of the buffalo fence and introduction of disease control regulations.* The completion of the buffalo fence in 1996 made it impossible for Sankuyo residents to rebuild their cattle herds. Livestock production became restricted to small stock, mostly goats.
- *Outbreak of cattle lung disease.* After an outbreak of cattle lung disease, all 320,000 cattle in Ngamiland were killed in 1995–96 in a successful attempt to eradicate the disease (Townsend and Sigwele 1998). As a result of this, the number of cattle has declined in Ngamiland and cattle ownership from 70 percent of the households before 1995 to 30 percent after eradication of the disease in 1999 (Ndozi and others 1999).
- *Introduction of CBNRM.* Zoning and disease control regulations do not allow rearing of cattle in the northern part of the buffalo fence, erected in 1996 in Ngamiland to separate cattle from disease-carrying buffaloes.

It is evident that livelihood options were very poor before the project. Local employment opportunities did not exist before the project and people moved to Maun and/or into the delta's tourism camps for employment.

The project has widened and augmented local livelihood options through development of local tourism. Given the small population size, these changes have been significant, as most households have benefited from employment and tourism. This will be discussed in greater detail later.

4.1.3 RESOURCES USED AND MANAGED

Wildlife resources are the core of STMT's existence and activities; however, STMT could move into utilization and management of other veld products, but has not done so as yet.

The community has a 15-year head lease from the Land Board to utilize wildlife resources and develop tourism activities in the area. In addition, it receives from Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) annual wildlife hunting quotas that determine the value of their commercial hunting potential.

4.1.4 INSTITUTIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The area is held under communal tenure, in which the Land Board is responsible for land allocation and management. Land allocation must comply with the district land use plan, which is prepared by the District Council, Land Board, and District Commissioner's office. Some veld products are managed through the Agricultural Resources Board (ARB), but most are exposed to open access and at risk of overexploitation. The ARB also has the right to issue stock and conservation orders if land degradation so requires.

Wildlife resources are owned by the State and managed by the DWNP through (a) a system of protected areas (including Moremi Game Reserve), (b) development of wildlife management areas, and (c) strictly controlled wildlife use outside PAs. In reality, loopholes existed and enforcement of wildlife management outside PAs proved difficult. Wildlife utilization is prioritized in the area due to its designation as a WMA. DWNP determines the annual wildlife hunting quota, and for the project, has granted the community conditional exclusive wildlife use rights. The Land Board has allocated the community exclusive rights for tourism and hunting in the area through a 15-year head lease. The conditions for awarding wildlife use rights include:

- The formation of a representative, accountable, and legal entity at the community level. This is the STMT.
- Preparation and approval of a land use and resource management plan for the area
- Annual submission of audited trust accounts.

The project can be seen as an attempt to encourage effective community-led resource management in communal areas and to protect wildlife resource outside PAs more effectively.

4.2 DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT AND ACTIVITIES

4.2.1 GOAL

The mission of the trust is to “deal with intelligent and sustainable utilization of natural resources to support the development process in Sankuyo. This is done through engagement in tourism activities in areas NG 33 and 34 to generate income for community development and community education; thus, building the capacity of Sankuyo people to drive their own processes for long-term improvement of livelihoods” (STMT 2006).

4.2.2 PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED

The local population is living with significant and dangerous, yet valuable wildlife resources. The project seeks to compensate the community for the costs of living with wildlife and to improve people's livelihoods and appreciation of wildlife resources. In this way, the area could become a buffer zone between PAs and agricultural areas and maintain and expand its tourism potential.

4.2.3 DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES

The STMT is involved in several activities:

- Commercial hunting through subleasing to a joint venture partner
- Commercial tourism through its JVP and through trust activities. The trust currently operates a campsite (Kaziikini) and its Santawani lodge.

Hunting is the major commercial activity, and commercial photo safaris have remained underdeveloped through joint venture partners. The current JVP has sub-subleased the photo safari camps that fall under its sublease.

The community used to operate a cultural village called Shandareka. According to informal interviews, Shandareka Cultural Village was closed in 2001 because of low financial returns resulting from poor marketing strategies and conflicts between the People and Nature Trust and the STMT Board. Lack of proper financial management was also noted as a reason (Arntzen and others 2003).



Photo 4.1: A hut at Kaziikini campsite

Since its establishment, the STMT has entered into four joint venture partnerships with the private companies of Game Safaris (1996–97), Crocodile Camp Safaris (1998–2000), HCH Safaris (2001–04), and currently Johan Cowlitz Hunting Safaris. JVPs were initially three years, but the lease has now been extended to five years. These partnerships have particularly involved the subleasing of hunting rights. The current agreement states that “the Company shall enjoy sole and exclusive rights to conduct hunting safaris and to hunt those animals on the wildlife quota awarded to the trust by the Government of the Republic of Botswana and transferred to the Company by the trust for each year that this agreement is in place” (STMT 2005).

The STMT also manages its own ecotourism enterprises of Santawani Lodge (in concession area NG 33) and Kaziikini Campsite (in NG 34). The aim is to have an alternative model of CBNRM to the joint venture partnership, which is associated with many problems (AWF 2005). Santawani lodge is located in a prime wildlife area situated at the border with Moremi Game Reserve. It was allocated to STMT by the Land Board in 2001 under a 15-year lease after its lease with a commercial company expired. The STMT had to enter into a partnership with the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) in 2003 to renovate the lodge. Each party contributed P250,000 toward renovation and maintenance. Kaziikini Campsite was constructed by the STMT, and it is owned and operated by this community trust. According to the African Development Foundation (ADF 2005), the operation of these enterprises by the community is an unusual achievement, as such activities are usually undertaken by established entrepreneurs. The ADF provided a grant of P533,000 to build capacity and prepare management and business plans. There is a possibility that the ADF may provide another grant to the tune of P1.5 million for phase two of the development of Santawani lodge. Phase two will involve the construction of a swimming pool, new restaurant, and a bar and six additional chalets (Muskwe 2007, pers. comm.).



Photo 4.2: Dining area of Santawani Lodge.

4.2.4 ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION

STMT manages natural resources, mainly wildlife, under a system of leasing of two controlled hunting areas (CHAs 33 and 34) and later subleasing these to tour operators for an agreed payment. The trust, as a legal entity that manages natural resources in the leased areas, is a community-based organization run by a three-tier system made up of:

- General membership or the community
- Board of Trustees
- Trust, enterprise management, and environmental structures.

The members of the trust comprise all adult citizens who have lived in Sankuyo for more than five consecutive years. The general membership of the community is the key decision and policy-making

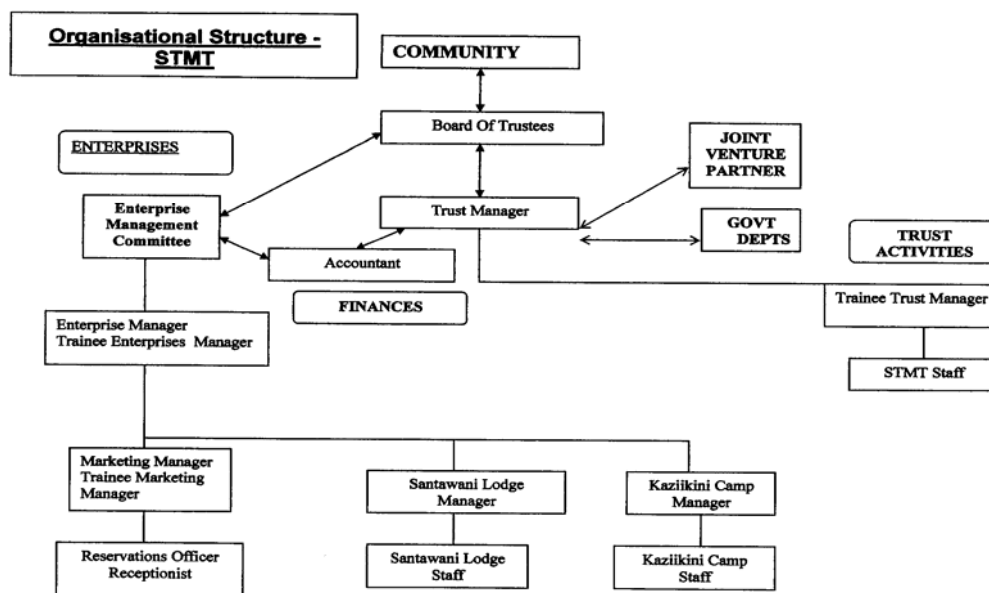
body of the trust. It is collectively made up of individual households headed customarily and administratively by the headman based at the main kola.⁶ Essentially, the headman and the community form the key embodiment of leadership at the top of the CBO hierarchy.

As revealed in the FGD, the headman is officially not a member of the trust, but holds membership by virtue of being a member of Sankuyo community. The STMT deed of trust entitles the headman to attend trust, Board, or any other trust meetings, where he plays an advisory and consultative role. The headman, therefore, plays important roles as a community leader, wielding headship status, and as an advisor as per the deed of trust. Others playing consultative and advisory roles are the Tawana Land Board chairperson or secretary, the paramount chief, the local councilor, and representatives from DWNP, district commissioner's office, agricultural resources board and the Department of Forestry (STMT 2001). For example, board elections in the kola are attended by a government representative.

At the next level is the Board of Trustees, which is made up of 10 members, elected at the *kola* by the community. The Board of Trustees is the legal representative of the community and makes decisions on behalf and in consultation with the community. It is responsible for general administration and implementation of decisions made by the community and is accountable to the general membership. Under the deed of trust provision for the board to appoint, employ, or delegate responsibilities the board of trustees has, in consultation with the community, set up the trust and enterprise management structures to manage trust activities and undertake the day-to-day management of enterprises.

The trust has a trust manager who is responsible for the trust operations. In addition, the enterprise management committee (EMAC) is responsible for the operation of community enterprises. The EMAC was established in response to the recommendations of the National CBNRM Forum meeting of 2003. The forum recommended that CBOs should not be directly involved in business enterprises, but should create an enabling environment for entrepreneurs to undertake business in the subleased areas. Subsequently, DWNP resolved to award quotas only to CBOs that have engaged a qualified trust manager and an accountant. The structures responsible for the day-to-day running of trust activities, and community enterprises respectively are shown in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Organizational Structure of STMT



Source: Sainsbury 2006.

⁶ The kgotla is the traditional meeting place of the population, where meetings are chaired by the traditional authority (i.e., chief and headmen). The kgotla meeting is widely used to date for consultation of local communities.

4.2.5 EXTERNAL SUPPORT ENVIRONMENT

A number of agencies and local institutions work in close cooperation with or provide technical and financial support to community trusts. These include NGOs, traditional leaders, donor agencies, the District Council, and DWNP.

Central and Local Government

As a wildlife and tourism project, the DWNP and the District Technical Advisory Committee have offered most support. Tourism support has been provided by the District Council and central government.

The DWNP has spearheaded CBNRM projects in Botswana, as it has the responsibility for wildlife utilization and conservation (Thakadu 1997, Mvimi 2000, Gujadhur 2001). This department hosted the NRMP project that initiated CBNRM in Botswana, and now has a department to support CBOs. DWNP assists CBOs in the following ways:

- Provides technical support to CBOs
- Facilitates the formation of CBOs by providing assistance in drafting of constitutions, application for user rights, and project rationalization, monitoring, and seeking of funding
- Offers training opportunities for community members (e.g., community escort guides and guide scouts).

The DWNP has led to the development of the CBNRM policy together with the ARB and other relevant government departments.

The District Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) has representatives of the relevant government departments and coordinates and supports CBNRM at the district level (Rozemeijer 2000). The TAC is thus a district advisory committee, coordinated and facilitated by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (National CBNRM Forum 2001; DWNP 2007). Its functions include:

- Advising in the review of joint venture proposals
- Monitoring the implementation of joint venture guidelines
- Assisting in the monitoring and implementation of the CBNRM program
- Providing technical advice to the CBOs on trust operations, sublease agreements, government policies on CBNRM, and the tendering process

NGOs and Donor Agencies

An NGO known as the People and Nature Trust has been associated with STMT, responsible for the strategic planning process. As a result of this process, four economic enterprises were established. These included two ecotourism enterprises of Shandereka and Kaziikini and other enterprises of vegetable gardens and harvesting of reeds and grass. The STMT made a 50 percent contribution to the establishment of these enterprises, whereas the remaining amount was sourced from a grant. The Kaziikini camp was built by the people of Sankuyo in 2000. Funding for the renovation of Santawani lodge was provided by the STMT and AWF on 50/50 basis, as already stated.

The STMT is also a member of BOCOBONET, which provides services to community trusts in the form of “lobbying, information gathering, networking, training, and facilitation of technical assistance and funding” (CBNRM Forum 2001, p. 27). It provides a link between community trusts and NGOs or other agencies able to provide the support requested by the community trusts (Rozemeijer and Van der Jagt 2000). Community trusts become members of the Botswana Community-Based Organization Network (BOCOBONET) by paying a joining fee of P750 and annual subscriptions of P200 (Gujadhur 2000). It was revealed in the focus group discussions that the previous STMT board received management training services from BOCOBONET.

Traditional Leaders

Traditional leaders serve as advisors to the STMT. They attend all meetings of the STMT as ex officio members. Other ex officio members are the councilor, the local school head and health officers. The trust also holds its meetings at the Kola, which serves as a forum and a place for holding community meetings. Traditional leaders assist in the mobilization of the community to attend the meetings in large numbers. There was no indication that the trust involved other local institutions, such as VDCs and health committees in the running of the trust. A discussion paper of the National CBNRM Forum stresses the need to involve community structures in the running of the trusts in order to ensure that the welfare of the communities is promoted (National CBNRM Forum 2005).

4.3 PROJECT RESULTS

4.3.1 LIVELIHOOD RESULTS

CBNRM has emerged as an important source of livelihoods in Ngamiland. It has resulted in direct benefits at community and household levels in Sankuyo and other parts of Ngamiland. It is crucial to make a distinction between household- and community-level benefits. It cannot be assumed that trust revenues will automatically lead to household livelihood diversification as the two types of benefit have a differential impact and the operational expenditures of the trust must be deducted. Net trust revenues (revenues minus operational costs) are used to finance livelihood activities and local development projects, and the various sources of these revenues are discussed below, before a discussion on household- and community-level benefits.

Trust Revenues

The STMT has generated substantial revenues from wildlife resources through the following sources: (a) subleasing of the hunting area (b) wildlife quota fees for game animals hunted (c) meat sales, (d) ecotourism enterprises, and (e) five other sources, such as camping fees and vehicle hire. In the past, the trust also received income from Shandereka Cultural village, but the village no longer operates.

Table 4.1 shows that the revenues generated by the STMT are substantial and have been increasing with time. If one recalls the commercial revenues of the entire Botswana CBNRM program, it becomes clear that STMT is one of the big earners and employers, accounting for well more than 10 percent of the total revenues and employment creation! Game quota fees increased a phenomenal 22 times from P49,090 in 2000 to P1,060,400 in 2005 and land rental fees increased three times from P166,833 to P455,000. Game quota fees are now the largest source of revenue for the STMT, accounting for 50 percent of the total revenue in 2005. The STMT has been able to finance tourism enterprises with capital derived from the various operations of the trust.⁷

⁷ The trust needs to improve the operations of Santawani lodge, as it still needs to be financially supported. Although table 5.1 reveals that Santawani lodge is making some profit, these figures do not include the expenses of the Maun office, such as marketing, booking, and office rental, all of which are paid for by income from hunting. Preliminary findings of a consultancy suggest that there should be an improvement of the product in offer, the way it is marketed and the current capacity of skills and recommend that the trust brings in a joint venture partner (Kolobe Botswana, 2007).

Table 4.1: STMT Revenues in Pula (2000–05)

Year	Land Rental	Game Quota Fee	Meat Sales	Net profit from Kaziikini	Net profit from Santawani	Other Income
2000	166,833	49,090	–	–	–	80,946
2001	57,047	55,600	510	48,204	–	65,457
2002	492,000	872,550	5,929	59,897	26,623	36,329
2003	466,509	965,772	4,473	159,746	188,536	17,597
2004	562,655	1,096,377	4,641	73,479	–13,061	11,336
2005	455,000	1,060,400	2,936	71,489	525,175	12,412

Sources: Pula and Assoc. 2003; Sharma and Assoc. 2000; van Heerden Assoc. 2004.

Table 4.2 shows that the trust received revenues (excluding grants) of P7.7 million in 2000–05 and incurred expenditures of P5.6 million, leaving a surplus of P2.1 million. This is around P5,500 per person. The trust made a loss in only one year; therefore, the trust has become financially sustainable, but it must be realized that the revenues are mostly determined by the annual hunting quota and land rentals. Changes in hunting quota could affect the financial sustainability.

Table 4.2: Trust Revenues minus Expenditures in Pula (2000–05)

Year	Revenues	Total Expenditures	Surplus/Loss
2000	296,869	251,123	45,746
2001	227,448	494,751	–267,303
2002	1,496,294	743,171	753,223
2003	1,802,633	1,012,817	789,816
2004	1,734,666	1,317,207	417,099
2005	2,127,412	1,765,887	361,525

Sources: Pula and Assoc. 2003; Sharma and Assoc. 2000; van Heerden and Assoc. 2004.

Material Benefits

Material benefits include income, employment generation, household dividends, game meat, and other benefits, such as funeral assistance, old age pensions, provision of destitute housing, and microcredit schemes. Focus group discussions confirmed the view of the AWF (2005) that household- and individual-level benefits were more preferred, compared with community-level schemes.

Household-Level Benefits

Household benefits are derived from employment, household cash dividends, and game meat.

The number of people employed by the STMT and its joint venture partners doubled from 51 in 1997 to 102 in 2006 (table 4.3). Hunting-related jobs with the JVP are mostly seasonal. The employment by the STMT increased much faster than that for the joint venture partners.⁸ This is partly due to the introduction of new trust enterprises. In 2006 the trust employed eight staff in the main trust, 13 in Santawani lodge, and 10 in Kaziikini camp. The JVP employed 18 people in the photographic camp, eight in the monitoring camp, and 30 in two hunting camps (STMT Office 2007).

⁸ The JVP employment is prescribed in the joint venture agreement. Because JVPs already feel that they have too many staff members, they are unlikely to increase the number (Arntzen and others 2003).

Table 4.3: Employment of the Trust and JVP

Year	Employment by STMT	Employment by Joint Venture	Total
1997	10	41	51
1998	11	51	62
1999	11	51	62
2000	11	51	62
2001	13	9	22
2002	35	56	91
2003	42	56	98
2004	48	56	104
2005	45	56	101
2006	46	56	102

Sources: Amtzen and others 2003, Thakadu and others 2005, STMT files.

According to the DWNP (2007), most of the people employed by the community trusts and joint venture partners in Botswana are semiskilled (cooks, cleaners, storekeepers, and guides). Most of the JVPs and community trusts do not want to invest in the training of their employees. The STMT is an exception, in that it has a training fund for its members who qualify for training in tourism, entrepreneurial skills, and business management. In addition it provides scholarships meant to uplift the education of the Sankuyo people. In 2003 a total of P56,461 was spent on such scholarships.

STMT has regularly paid household dividends, unlike most other CBOs in Botswana. Spending on household dividends increased from P9,250 in 1999 to P25,000 in 2005; the amount increased from P200 per household in 1997 to P500 in 2005. A total of P53,450 has been paid in household dividends since 1997; this is just P1,069/household. The amount varies from year to year depending on the revenue received by the trust and decisions made by the general membership of the trust. The decision is made at the annual general meeting through a voting process. The household dividend is rather small and is unlikely to have a significant impact on poverty alleviation; however, it is supplemented by other household benefits. The principle of benefit sharing is nonetheless a good one.

The households of Sankuyo village also benefit from the proceeds of meat from safari hunting. STMT has agreed with the JVP to be given the meat of all animals shot for trophies, except trophies usually in the form of the head and skin. The meat of the most preferred animal species such as buffalo, impala, and kudu is usually given to destitutes and some of it is auctioned; that of less preferred species (elephant, baboon, hyena, and lion) is usually given to people free of charge or thrown away.

In a household survey of 31 households (of a total of 49) undertaken in Sankuyo village in July 2004, meat was perceived by most households to be the most preferred household benefit as compared with other benefits, such as employment opportunities and household dividends preferred by 52 and 39 percent, respectively (Thakadu and others 2005). One would have expected employment to be ranked higher than game meat. Indeed, our informal interviews revealed that employment was ranked higher than game meat. This finding makes more sense to us, because income from employment can be used to purchase meat and other goods and services.

Focus group discussions revealed that the trust has other household-level material benefits, such as old age and disabled persons' allowances, provision of destitute housing, community microschemes, funeral assistance, and provision of scholarships. Since 1997 an amount of P667,421 has been spent on expenditures to individual households and individuals, of which P400,000 went to the microcredit scheme. The scheme benefits members of the Sankuyo community with viable projects. All the

community members can apply for this loan scheme; there is a committee set up to review the loan applications and make recommendations to the board.

The old age and disabled persons' allowance is paid to elders who are above the age of 60 and to people who are physically or mentally disabled. This payment is made twice a year and in 2006 a total of P110,000 was set aside for the payment of this pension to 36 people; implying that each person received P3,055.00. The amount given to household members may vary from year to year, depending on the number of the elders and the disabled. Funeral assistance of P3,000 is provided to all members of the households who experience death of a person older than the age of 16; whereas P1,000 is given to households who experience death of an adult less than the age of 16. According to the Centre for Applied Research (2006), the total expenditure on funeral assistance was P11,000 in 2002 as compared to P9,000 in 2005. In addition, the trust also assists destitutes. In 2002 assistance was provided in the form of allowances, which amounted to P1,960 (Centre for Applied Research 2006). In 2005 the trust decided to build seven houses for destitutes, instead of providing them with allowances, and a total of P70,000 was spent on this project.



Photo 4.3 Example of an STMT house under construction for a poor community member.

Table 4.4: Trust Expenditure on Household-Level Benefits

Year	Activity	Expenditure	Distribution of Benefits
1997	Household dividends	6,600	Money was paid to each household
1999	Household dividends	9,250	Money was paid to each household
2001	Funeral assistance	11,000	P3,000 given (to family of deceased) for adults < 16 years, P1,000 for child > 16 years
2002	Funeral assistance	14,000	P3,000 given (to family of deceased) for adults < 16 years, 1,000 for child > 16 years
2002	Household dividends	12,600	Money was paid to each household
2002	Destitute allowance	1,960	Monthly allowances for destitutes
2003	Granted scholarships	56,461	Community education support
2005	Funeral assistance	9,000	Social support
2005	Old age pension fund	105,000	36 old-age (over 60 years) and disabled people paid
2005	Destitute housing	70,000	7 x 1 roomed houses built for destitute people
2005	Household dividends	25,000	Disbursed P500 to each household
2005	Community microcredit scheme	400,000	Loaned to community members for various reasons

Sources: Centre for Applied Research 2006, focus groups, and STMT files.

Community and National-Level Benefits

Records suggest that STMT has spent just more than Pula 1 million on community projects or a contribution of around P2,600/person. Interestingly, STMT also support “good causes” outside the village. Table 4.5 shows the STMT has built the following assets in Sankuyo:

- Community tuck shop in 1997
- Community hall and trust offices in 1998
- Environmentally friendly toilets in 1999.

In addition, the trust has renovated Santawani lodge, purchased two vehicles, constructed Kaziikini campsite, and rented a reservations office in Maun. Other direct benefits of the STMT activities to the community include football team sponsorship, donations to Sankuyo Primary School, and national funds for alleviation of HIV/AIDS and orphan problems (Masiela Trust Fund) and payment for television subscription.

Nonmaterial benefits

The STMT has contributed nonmaterial benefits to the people of Sankuyo. These benefits include the creation of new institutions and organizations, capacity building, and empowerment. Since the formation of the organization, new institutions, such as rules for operating the trust, have been created leading to social empowerment of the community. The Sankuyo community is now in a position to decide with whom they should do business. In addition, the STMT joins other CBOs in the annual meetings of the CBNRM Forum. According to Roe and others (2000), alliances and networks among different organizations are essential for achieving natural resource management.

The people of Sankuyo were provided with training on the mobilization of the community and formulation and registration of the deed of trust as far back as 1995 by the NRMP, before the introduction of CBNRM (STMT 2006). After the formation of the STMT, a number of training opportunities were provided to the STMT. For instance, the People and Nature Trust made a substantial contribution to capacity building in Sankuyo village by training the STMT managerial staff on issues related to “policy and procedures” (STMT 2006). In addition, several programs were organized to train the STMT staff. They included (a) a four-week training session on strategic

planning, to train the trust in the management of “tasks and problems,” (b) training of the staff of Santawani lodge on operations, marketing, finances, sales, and reservations in 2002, and (c) training of the STMT staff on financial management and governance by the DWNP.

Table 4.5: Trust Expenditure on Community Level Benefits

Year	Activity	Expenditure (Pulas)	Comments
1997	Built small community shop	13,429	This small shop ceased to function in 1999
1998	Built community hall and trust offices	30,000	Community development
1998	Purchased TV, solar panels, and batteries	3,500	Community entertainment
1998	Purchased 4.2l land cruiser	124,295	Trust business and operations
1999	Grant to football team	14,700	Sports support
1999	Built Enviro Loo toilets	260,000	Community development (toilets never, ever worked)
2000	Football team sponsorship	23,000	Sports support
2000	Built Shandareka Cultural Village and Kaziikini campsite	193,791	Community development
2001	Football team sponsorship	56,740	Sports support
2002	TV subscription and DSTV installation	3,483	Community entertainment
2002	Football team sponsorship	61,965	Continued support, team now in 2nd division
2003	DSTV Subscription	2,695	Community entertainment
2004	Masiela Trust fund and HIV/AIDS donation	50,000	National disaster fund donation
2004	Santawani Lodge	145,316	Staff capacity building and training
2005	Football team sponsorship	39,246	Sports support
2005	Sankuyo Primary School	6,712	Sports and traditional attire

Sources: Centre for Applied Research 2006 and focus group discussions.

4.3.2 IMPACT ON NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Natural resources available for the Sankuyo community are wildlife, veld products, surface/ground water, and land for settlement, agriculture, and tourism. Sankuyo village is well endowed with these resources, given its small population relative to the size of the CHAs designated and devolved to the village community to manage and from which to benefit economically.

For the Sankuyo community, natural resource management revolves around wildlife, and its proper management is central to improved livelihoods in the village. STMT manages the two controlled hunting areas of NG33 and NG34 and utilizes these for photographic and hunting tourism respectively. The two areas are located just outside Moremi Game Reserve (MGR), a pristine, wildlife-abundant conservation area and an essential wildlife corridor between the reserve and the neighboring Chobe National Park (Thakadu and others 2005, AWF 2005). Because both game parks are not fenced, it appears only reasonable to establish ecotourism businesses here to achieve conservation of various species, minimize or eradicate poaching and improving rural livelihoods by creating employment opportunities and increasing chances for economic diversification (AWF 2005).

STMT carries out some environmental management practices, but environmental management is neither holistic nor comprehensive. The NRM practices include the following:

- Accompanying both hunting and photographic safaris through one of the nine community escort guides (CEG)
- Monitor and conserve the natural resources of CHAs NG33 and NG34, recently through a system called management-oriented monitoring sites (MOMS)
- Environmental research through the JVP.

The CEGs are required by law to accompany all hunting safaris to ensure that rules and regulations are followed, the right animals on quota (with the valid/appropriate licenses) are hunted, and animals are shot in the correct land-use zones. In addition, it is their job to monitor natural resources in the area, while accompanying hunters. CEGs also accompany all photographic safaris to ensure that rules and regulations are not breached and that professional guides operate in their respective zones stay on the designated game viewing tracks, etc. CEGs are also required to conduct routine patrols, antipoaching patrols, and general wildlife/resource monitoring patrols. CEGs have been taught to use the MOMS and this has been in practice since last year. Wildlife sightings have been recorded and summarized on predesigned charts and the information submitted to DWNP. Insufficient data are collected to forecast wildlife population trends, make valid scientific inferences, and most important, manage the resource from an informed point of view. Considering that STMT has been in existence for more than 10 years and has had substantial natural resource monitoring training from the days of NRMP, their efforts are poor in this regard.

NG 34, a controlled hunting area measuring approximately 8,600 ha is used for hunting (AWF 2005), the main income earner for STMT. STMT is currently subleasing this area to Johan Cowlitz Hunting Safaris, granting the joint venture partner exclusive rights to conduct hunting and photographic activities in the area in a seven-year period from 2005 to 2011 (STMT 2001). The hunting of wildlife is carried out through a quota system where the DWNP issues community hunting quotas every year. The quotas are set depending on annual wildlife counts conducted by the department. Allocation of wildlife quotas according to the number of species in the area helps conserve the animals and enhances ecological sustainability. If the quotas are set correctly, the decline in quota would reflect a decline in certain wildlife resources (e.g., kudu, lechwe, and tsessebe) and stabilization of most other species. The quotas for the high-value species have not declined, and one lion can now be hunted after the lion hunting ban was lifted.

Table 4.6: Annual Wildlife Hunting Quota for NG34

NG 34	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Baboon	10	10	10	10	10	10	7
Buffalo	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Elephant	12	12	12	12	12	12	14
Spotted hyena	10	10	3	1	1	1	1
Impala	100	100	80	74	74	74	74
Kudu	15	15	10	9	9	9	9
Lechwe	40	40	40	23	23	23	21
Lion	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Leopard	4	3	2	1	1	1	1
Ostrich	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Steenbok	15	15	15	14	14	14	11
Reedbuck	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tsessebe	40	40	40	36	34	34	27
Warthog	15	15	10	10	10	10	10
Zebra	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Sable	1	1	0	0	0		
Wildebeest	9	9	9	7	7	7	7
Total	287	284	245	211	209	210	197

Source: DWNP data.

Although it is still unclear to what extent CBNRM generally contributes to ecological sustainability through the conservation and ultimate improvement of the natural resource base (Kgathi and Ngwenya 2005), indications are that the factors that were once feared for their possible negative impacts on wildlife seem to be improving. Focus group discussions with members of the STMT Board have pointed to a decrease in poaching, increased appreciation for the value of wildlife, improved relations between one-time foes—DWNP anti-poaching units and other officials on the one hand and communities on the other—and reduced wildlife-human conflicts in both arable and small stock farming. In the focus group, incidents were mentioned in which Sankuyo community members drove a group of elephants out of arable fields, by shooting in the air, rather than bringing down the whole herd as it would have in the past.

Escort guides monitor the activities of the joint venture partner during hunting and photographic activities and record all animals killed or spotted at specific locations in the CHA. They are also responsible for reporting and, as indicated in Thakadu and others (2005), apprehending poachers. They should ideally record GPS coordinates, type of animal species, and number. Escort guides also accompany thatch grass harvesters, who are mainly women, making it possible for them to reach out to areas they may otherwise not go. This contributes to enhanced access to resource abundant areas.

Another key development is the setting up of the MOMS in Sankuyo. Sankuyo is one of three community-based organizations selected to pioneer the use of MOMS. This is a management tool for collection of valuable resource data for monitoring purposes. It uses community participation, rather than conventional scientific monitoring, which is often more expensive, because it involves use of hi-tech equipment and highly trained personnel. DWNP has trained the communities on how to apply MOMS and collect information on game sightings, rare species, problem animals, village mapping, and other aspects (box 4.1). These data will also enhance the quality of aerial surveys that provide animal counts, the key data source in animal quota setting. MOMS, therefore, provides a useful opportunity for involvement of communities in quota setting and decision making. This can bring more transparency into the exercise so that communities understand the basis for the annual quotas allocated to them.

Box 4.1: Details of MOMS in the Project

Management-oriented monitoring system (MOMS) is a WWF capacity-building initiative currently under implementation in some CBNRM sites in southern Africa. It involves the collection of data through the use of the event book and various types of cards on which to record observations on wildlife. Different cards are used to record wildlife sightings on patrol, rare and endangered species, mortalities, meat harvesting and distribution, trophy hunting, and problem animals. Information common to all these cards include date of observation, species, GPS coordinates of the place of observation, and the number of animals/birds. This tool involves physical patrols in the area observed and directly obtains on-site information or data. More than 70 MOMS sites currently exist in Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, and Zambia. In Botswana, the pilot sites are in Sankuyo, Mababe, and Khwai.

Disagreement among stakeholders appears to exist about environmental achievements. Sankuyo residents argue that environmental management has strengthened considerably. In contrast, extension workers and professional scientists interviewed contest this and argue that resource monitoring, management, and conservation are rather weak. If the latter is true, little progress has been made since the 2003 CBNRM Review, which observed that natural resource management was not holistic and comprehensive. No funds were earmarked for resource management, and resource monitoring was inadequate. General agreement does exist, however, that poaching has gone down (last internal case reported in 1999) and that people's attitude toward wildlife is now more positive, because they see the benefits of wildlife utilization and conservation, especially among the younger members of the community.

4.3.3 INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNANCE

STMT had gradually developed a more elaborate and appropriate organizational structure. Committees have been established for two key tasks, that is, enterprise development and environmental monitoring. Moreover, the trust has appointed a project manager. The expanded organization should reduce the need for the micromanagement by the Board of Trustees that prevailed in 2003 (Arntzen and others 2003). Nonetheless, board meetings are frequent (twice a month) and costly.

Informal interviews revealed that the trust is run in a democratic way and the general membership is sensitive to the performance of the board and the extent to which it is transparent. The members were able to remove members of the previous Board, who were perceived to be underperforming or involved in corrupt practices, by electing a new committee. In a past case, the board selected a JVP which was not the highest bid. Subsequently, the TAC turned down the Board's preferred JVP on the grounds that the highest bid would bring more gains to the CBO. The Board's choice is sometimes considered a reflection of poor governance of the STMT at the time, possibly linked to inappropriate practices (AWF 2005). The TAC may have been wrong in selecting the highest bid as the JVP failed to pay quota fees and lease rentals. Ultimately, the collaboration between the JVP and CBO was discontinued.

The deed of trust of STMT is the main guiding document as it spells out the formation, composition, and regulation of the activities of the trust. Natural resources, in this case, wildlife, are managed according to the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act (1992) and the CBNRM program, administered by the DWNP. In the past STMT did not have elaborate guidelines apart from the deed of trust (Sainsbury 2006). STMT has, with financial assistance from ADF, engaged a consultant in development of guidelines, among them the policy and procedures for trust activities. These lay out rules on the management of day-to-day activities of the trust, its enterprises, as well as guide relations among the trust, its members, and other actors, among them the joint venture partner (Sainsbury 2006). By adopting the policy and procedures in October 2006 the STMT community consolidated their desire for professionalism.

Traditional customs and their practice can also serve as useful rules geared toward the conservation of resources. STMT formulates by-laws governing the use of natural resources in their area. Any member of the trust can make suggestions for consideration by the trust board and final approval by the general membership (STMT 2001). As such some of the by-laws are derived from cultural rules, such as observing harvest times for thatch grass and awaiting the village headman's approval before harvesting resumes. These are key indicators of the revitalization of long-practiced norms within the community. These, together with modern practices, such as the charging of a set levy for commercial harvesting and the requirement that all harvesters be accompanied by community escort guides, serve to hybridize cultural norms with modern practices, leading to an enhanced sense of ownership in resource management.

The STMT board of trustees is voted into office for a period of two years by the community at the kola in a more transparent manner. The open vote system done by the raising of hands, rather than the ballot vote, is used at almost all levels of decision making where either the general members or the trust board is involved. The board is represented in the enterprise management committee, which oversees the activities of the enterprise manager, who in turn supervises the lodge and camp managers in the two tourism businesses. The trust manager consults with the board on all major policy issues and holds monthly meetings to update the board on progress. Informal interviews revealed that the board cannot make major decisions without consulting the general members or community. The general members make all major policy decisions, including the game meat pricing, annual budget, and establishment of other trust committees and structures. It was revealed that the board informs the general membership when recruiting staff. Selection of skilled staff members is based on merit, whereas that of unskilled staff is based on the concept of "equal opportunity" among household members; the idea is to ensure that the benefits are equally distributed. The idea is good from the viewpoint of equity, but bad in terms of labor productivity as those who are selected are not necessarily the best performers on the job.

STMT has the confidence to make bold decisions, such as closing the cultural village after some money could not be accounted for and the decision to run the Santawani lodge by the community. Wise or not, it shows a growing capacity to manage local activities.

Joint venture partnerships have been problematic. The CBNRM Review described the process as a marriage of inconvenience, rather than a constructive partnership. It is unclear whether this situation has changed with the new JVP. Regular contact, mutual understanding and trust are necessary to make such partnerships work. Until now, partnerships have not been much more than a transfer of funds from the private company to the community.

Focus group discussions revealed that the trust is affected by shocks such as HIV/AIDS, wildlife diseases, regional civil unrest, and global events, such as international terrorism. They revealed that as a result of the HIV pandemic, a number of people in the village have lost their lives, leading to losses in manpower and funeral expenditure through the funeral benefit scheme given to members. The trust also provides emergency free transport for the sick to Maun. In 2001 there was an outbreak of a disease in lions caused by the feline immunodeficiency virus (FIV). As a result, the Government of Botswana banned the hunting of lions amidst fears of further declines in their number. The population of lions in the Okavango Delta as recorded by the Okavango Lion Research Project in 2001 was well more than 1,000 and fewer than 20,000 worldwide (Ross 2003).

The effects of regional civil unrest and global terrorism are difficult to confirm from STMT records; however, FGD indicated that both had significant negative impacts on regional as well as local tourism. It was mentioned that in 2001 the joint venture partner negotiated a reduction in land rental, raising concerns about low returns. This was attributed to the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States. This suggests that the STMT should make future plans for development of the trust, taking into consideration some of these factors.

Approval and implementation of the new CBNMR policy would provide another shock to STMT, as community revenues would decrease by 65 percent (these revenues would be channeled into a new environmental fund). This will require significant adjustments in the operations and activities of the trust.

Table 4.7 presents a summary of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats.

Table 4.7: SWOT Analysis Summary

	Hunting	Photo safaris
Strengths	<p>NG33 and NG34 has abundant wildlife resources with its proximity to Moremi Game Reserve</p> <p>Current JVP is internationally recognized and has a well-established and growing client base</p> <p>JVP has other hunting areas from which he can complete hunting packages</p> <p>Good hunting facilities and standards</p> <p>Reasonable-to-good trophy quality</p> <p>Hunting camps strategically located between Maun and Sankuyo village for logistical reasons</p> <p>Registered airstrip located at Santawani (recently overhauled and maintained by JVP).</p> <p>Good supplies of water for domestic use in the area.</p> <p>Hunting does reduce the elephant/human conflict element through disturbance of elephant populations near Sankuyo village</p>	<p>NG33 and NG34 have abundant wildlife/forest resources and are close to Moremi Game Reserve. Santawani Lodge and Kaziikini Campsite are reasonable tourism products with good future potential.</p> <p>Both sites are located en route from Maun to Moremi Game Reserve.</p> <p>Good facilities and standard of cleanliness exist at Kaziikini.</p> <p>The STMT tourism products are among a few medium- to low-cost facilities in the Okavango Delta. Centrally located sales and booking/reservations system in Maun</p> <p>Tourists are attracted to the area due to the abundant resources</p> <p>Registered airstrip is located at Santawani Lodge (maintained by JVP).</p> <p>Good supplies of potable water exist at both facilities. Both have good proximity to Moremi Game Reserve. A few employees have relevant tourism experience from working in other camps, etc.</p>
Weaknesses	<p>Relatively small hunting area</p> <p>Inadequate staff training and development, especially for community professional hunters and camp managers</p> <p>Seasonal employment and fewer jobs compared with photographic safaris</p> <p>Generally poor resource management</p> <p>Interference of community in hunting operations.</p>	<p>NG33 and NG34 are relatively dry areas that do not offer the true delta experience.</p> <p>Rates for Santawani Lodge are too high</p> <p>Santawani Lodge is still under renovation/expansion</p> <p>Maintenance is generally poor at Kaziikini.</p> <p>No business plans for tourism enterprises.</p> <p>Unqualified lodge manager at Santawani as well as peripherally qualified/experienced staff. Some positions are beyond the capabilities of staff.</p> <p>Only 12 beds (six chalets) out of the allocated 24 beds are being utilized.</p> <p>Tourism enterprises are not well marketed.</p> <p>Staff training and development are inadequate.</p> <p>No self-catering facilities exist at Santawani.</p>
Opportunities	<p>Potential of STMT community members employed through JVP to acquire hunting safari operational skills and knowledge</p> <p>Development of high-quality, world-class hunting safaris.</p> <p>Well-established hunting camp infrastructure, and road and firebreak networks</p> <p>Depreciation of the Pula increasing the revenues of the JVP, as most tourists pay in US\$</p>	<p>External support available to develop Santawani and to train employees and board members.</p> <p>Adoption of the marketing consultancy recommendations and advice should result in better marketing and higher occupancy rates.</p> <p>Adoption of proposed new organizational structure for the tourism enterprises should result in better management and streamlined operation of enterprises.</p> <p>A full-time accountant will help to improve financial management, record keeping, and reporting.</p> <p>The development of policy and procedures manuals for enterprises and operations manual for Santawani Lodge will ensure better all-round management of these facilities.</p> <p>There is potential for diversification of ecotourism-related business and other income-generating activities based on natural resources.</p> <p>The upcoming 2010 World Cup Soccer event to be held in South Africa could draw tourists to the area.</p> <p>Depreciation of the Pula increases the net revenues</p>

		of the JVP, as most tourists pay in US\$ and local payments are in Pula
Threats	<p>General quota reduction and/or the likelihood of another ban on key hunting species, such as lions</p> <p>Possibility of complete wildlife quota withdrawal by DWNP</p> <p>Termination/suspension of JVP agreement by community or government</p> <p>Negative publicity from antihunting lobbyists forcing government to suspend or terminate hunting in Botswana</p> <p>Competition from other hunting safari areas that have better game and larger areas.</p> <p>Poor resource management and monitoring resulting in the loss of habitats, species, etc.</p> <p>Possibility that only part of the current revenues will directly benefit the STMT</p> <p>Appreciation of the Pula leads to decrease in JVP revenues, as JVP revenues are in US\$ and resource payments and payments to the community are in Pula.</p>	<p>The pending decision by the government to take 65 percent of overall trust earnings will drastically diminish STMT revenues.</p> <p>Reliance on JVPs for annual income may be used to bolster failing enterprises.</p> <p>There is a tendency by the trust to subsidize enterprises that are not doing well.</p> <p>STMT depends on donor funds for the planned phase 2 development of Santawani Lodge.</p> <p>Competition exists from nearby lodges and camps. Enterprises managed by communities are often perceived to be substandard.</p> <p>Appreciation of the Pula leads to decrease in JVP revenues, as JVP revenues are in US\$ and resource payments and payments to the community are in Pula.</p>

Source: CAR 2006.

4.3.4 UNEXPECTED RESULTS

An unexpected, but valuable result has been that the project has retained some youth in the village through the trust enterprises. Youth especially predominantly run the campsite.

4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

4.4.1 CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS

The STMT project is an example of a successful wildlife-based CBNRM project in a high potential zone for tourism. The area is rich in wildlife resources and strategically located between Maun and Moremi Game Reserve. Due to its location inside the buffalo fence, no cattle rearing is permitted, taking away the most profitable rural-based livelihood option.

Furthermore, the STMT case is an example of a high-revenue CBO, earning well more than P1 million a year. This is typical for a wildlife-based CBNRM enterprise located in a high potential zone. It is not representative for all CBOs, especially not for those depending on the use and management of veld products. This becomes clear from the comparison of revenues of KYT and STMT.

In addition, STMT is relevant where the community has shown that it can get involved in enterprises with reasonable success; therefore, the common perception that communities cannot manage commercial enterprises needs to be modified. Having said this, it should be added that the enterprises could probably be run better with the inputs of a commercial partner, especially for marketing and management purposes. Although STMT has a JVP, this has been restricted to hunting, and has not been performing satisfactorily. There have been too many changes of JVPs in a short period and no fruitful working relationship has been established with the JVP. It would be better if the community enters into a separate JVP for photographic safaris for all photo safari operations in the area (those currently leased out and the STMT ones).

This study has revealed that the STMT is a financially sustainable rural development project. The trust has been able to achieve a positive surplus during 2000–05, except in 2001. The STMT is encouraged to formulate a strategy for achieving greater financial sustainability. This is crucial, particularly in view of the introduction of the new CBNRM policy, which will require community

trusts to contribute 60 percent of their income to the Government. Financial sustainability can be partly achieved by investment in long-term projects. For instance, the STMT could invest its money in property development in one of the urban areas or buy a portfolio of shares. In addition, the financial sustainability of Santawani lodge should need to be improved, as this enterprise is currently subsidized by income from game quota fees and land rentals. The quality of the product offered by this enterprise and the skills of the workers should be improved, as suggested by the consultants. The idea of the consultants that the STMT should enter into a joint venture partnership is a good one; however, it is crucial that the community should own majority shares in such a partnership, because Santawani is really their property. The idea suggested by the CBNRM forum that communities should not try to be entrepreneurs has flaws, because it assumes that entrepreneurial skills cannot be developed in communities. Through capacity building, such skills can be developed within communities, and this can lessen their dependency on outsiders.

The STMT has made substantial strides in strengthening local institutions, empowering local communities, and improving the livelihoods of the rural communities. Joint venture agreements have resulted in statutory empowerment of the local communities as the decision making has devolved to the local levels. STMT should utilize the potential that exists in other local institutions. Committees such as village development committees, farmer committees, village health committees, and locally based women and youth organizations could help in strengthening efforts by STMT to develop the Sankuyo community.

There has been a substantial contribution to poverty alleviation and reduction in income inequalities in Sankuyo village. The surplus revenue generated from the trust and its tourism enterprises has not only been reinvested in community-level projects, such as community halls and tuck shops, as is the case in other community trusts, but it has also been reinvested in household-level projects, such as household dividends, funeral assistance, allowances for destitutes, allowances for the elderly and the disabled, and in scholarships. In addition, these projects are also generating employment opportunities in the village so that almost every household in Sankuyo has a member employed in the trust or its tourism enterprises. In this regard, the priorities of revenue utilization by the STMT are in the best interest of social welfare improvement. An improvement in the financial sustainability of the revenues as suggested earlier will also lead to greater social sustainability.

There is evidence suggesting that the Sankuyo community have gained awareness about the importance of using natural resources in a sustainable way. There is a general perception in Sankuyo that CBNRM has contributed to a reduction in poaching; however, there is no concrete empirical evidence to support these perceptions. Although households receiving economic benefits is not a sufficient condition for conservation of wildlife resources, as the benefits may not be sufficient to offset the costs incurred on wildlife management by the communities, in Sankuyo it can be safely concluded that the benefits have resulted in changes in attitudes toward wildlife, judging by the discussions in the focus groups. The community of Sankuyo has been given a head lease to hold user rights for hunting and photographic tourism in CHAs NG33 and NG34, which are specifically reserved for controlled hunting and photographic tourism. It has entered into four successive joint venture partnerships with the private companies. These partnerships have particularly involved the subleasing of hunting rights to these private companies. The hunting quota license gives the communities the right to exclude others and to regulate the use of wildlife resources in their area. In this respect, wildlife resources are to some degree a common property resource.

4.4.2 THE CASE STUDY AND UNCCD

The STMT project has close links with the UNCCD Botswana National Action Plan as well as the UNCCD-NBDSAP (by maintaining landscape with greater biodiversity than livestock grazing areas).

The project currently makes the following contributions to the implementation of the NAP-UNCCD. First, the project provides alternative livelihood sources for the local population (income and employment). It provides the local population with game meat and offers social welfare on top of government welfare programs. The alternatives may be expanded by more enterprise development and more cash dividends to households. This requires further investments in development (and

natural resource management). Second, it provides the community with revenues, part of which can be used to address local desertification, drought issues, and natural resource management issues in general. This has not yet been done and requires a decision of the general membership regarding the distribution of revenues. Third, local development and NRM capacity are strengthened through establishment of the trust, committees, and community escort guides. The recently introduced resource monitoring system improves understanding of local resource conditions and trends and facilitates the use of indigenous environmental knowledge. Environmental research has not yet been initiated by the community, but the JVP research station offers opportunities to add on and coordinate research efforts. The trust can be used as a local focal point for desertification control and drought coping efforts. In this way, the project facilitates the local implementation of the NAP. Contributions to the UNCCD would increase if the trust would adopt a holistic natural resource management approach and cover more natural resources than wildlife. Earmarking of part of the revenues for NRM would also enhance its contribution to the UNCCD implementation.

The project's relevance for UNCCD exceeds the local natural environment. The STMT and other CBOs demonstrate that supplementary livelihoods sources can be developed in rural Botswana through multiple land use instead of single, agricultural land use. This has led to attempts to establish community-based rangeland management systems by government and UNDP. They further demonstrate that communities are able to contribute to local natural resource management, instead of leaving NRM entirely to government and government-related institutions. CBNRM fills the loopholes of the traditional government-led wildlife-use control system.

5. CONCLUDING CHAPTER

This chapter briefly summarizes the above case studies.

The first case study is Kgetsi ya Tsie, a 10-year old community-based organization that collects, processes, and markets veld products. Although it collects a variety of veld products, marula has generated most of the income for the CBOs and mophane and marula are the main livelihood sources for members (mophane is sold directly to traders). Kgetsi ya Tsie also ran a microlending scheme to stimulate small enterprises. The organization seeks to empower women (at least 80 percent of membership) and to manage and conserve natural resources.

KYT was on the way to recovering its recurrent expenditures, but it has been hard hit by the drying up of external funds and technical assistance since 2004. It had not reached the required maturity to cope with such shocks. Subsequent retrenchments and austerity measures have led to a decrease in membership, production and marketing capacity, as well as organizational weaknesses (e.g., overload of the coordinator and weaker links between the groups and the trust). It is important that the CBO restore essential production and marketing capacity, either through the trust itself or by seeking a joint venture partnership with a commercial enterprise.

It has been shown, however, that members who participate in collection and sale of veld products and manage to develop successful microbusinesses have had an opportunity to escape poverty. Those who have developed a profitable business through the microlending scheme are the main beneficiaries and are now largely independent from the trust (except for the marula processing part). The possibility of being insured through the CBO is highly appreciated by members. Nonmaterial benefits are highly valued too. It has further been shown that some NRM skills and practices are being used by the CBO, and that members have gained appreciation for natural resources. The absence of exclusive resource use rights has discouraged development of natural resource management systems, as provided for under the current deed of trust (e.g., NRM monitoring committee and by-laws). There is, therefore, an urgent need to acquire resource rights as soon as possible and then to develop and implement a comprehensive natural resource management system.

The project has the potential of being relevant for UNCCD through creation of supplementary income sources, linkages with crop production and agroforestry, and development of improved NRM in a currently open access situation. Furthermore it contributes to the maintenance of biodiversity, particularly trees and plants that are currently used.

The second case study is Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust, a wildlife-based CBO with tourism and hunting. The project offers additional livelihood opportunities in a communal area where cattle production was no longer possible (since 1995) and has a high potential for tourism. It is located close to a famous Protected Area (Moremi Game Reserve) in the Okavango Delta. STMT has been blessed with abundant wildlife resources and large revenues from land rentals and trophy hunting, making it one of the “rich” CBOs in Botswana. Given the small population, its resources are substantial. The CBO has successfully developed community tourism activities (e.g., campsite and lodge), even though these are still subsidized by hunting benefits. The CBO has made a significant impact on local livelihoods through cash dividends, establishment of community facilities, and a wide range of support measures for vulnerable groups in the community (social welfare expenditures of more than P1 million in 2000–05). STMT has also supported social welfare projects elsewhere in Botswana. Revenue surpluses are saved or invested. The trust expenditures appear to be high, taking more than half of the revenues and reducing the capacity to support other livelihoods.

STMT has subleased its wildlife quota for hunting to a joint venture partner, contributing a significant part of community revenues. As the JVP is specialized in hunting, the photo safari opportunities appear underutilized, even though the rights for some camps have recently been subleased. STMT runs a campsite and lodge with reasonable success. A joint venture agreement is

being considered for the lodge, which could increase the economic returns considerably and overcome the CBO constraints in terms of marketing and lodge management.

STMT has an environmental monitoring committee in place as well as community escort guides. It has started a resource monitoring system (MOMS); however, no comprehensive environmental management strategy exists and no funds are reinvested in resource enhancement. The trust still focuses its efforts on wildlife, and has not started to tap the development potential and conservation of other natural resources.

In contrast with KYT, STMT has shown steady progress and growth since 1996, and it is financially independent and should be able to cope with some future adversities. It is in the process of professionalization of its organization and commercialization of its activities. These are remarkable achievements, making it one of the most successful CBOs in Botswana.

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