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CBNRM Support Programme
Occasional Paper No. 2

Community Benefits through Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana



C.J. van der Jagt, T. Gujadhur
and F. van Bussel

botswana



Netherlands development organisation

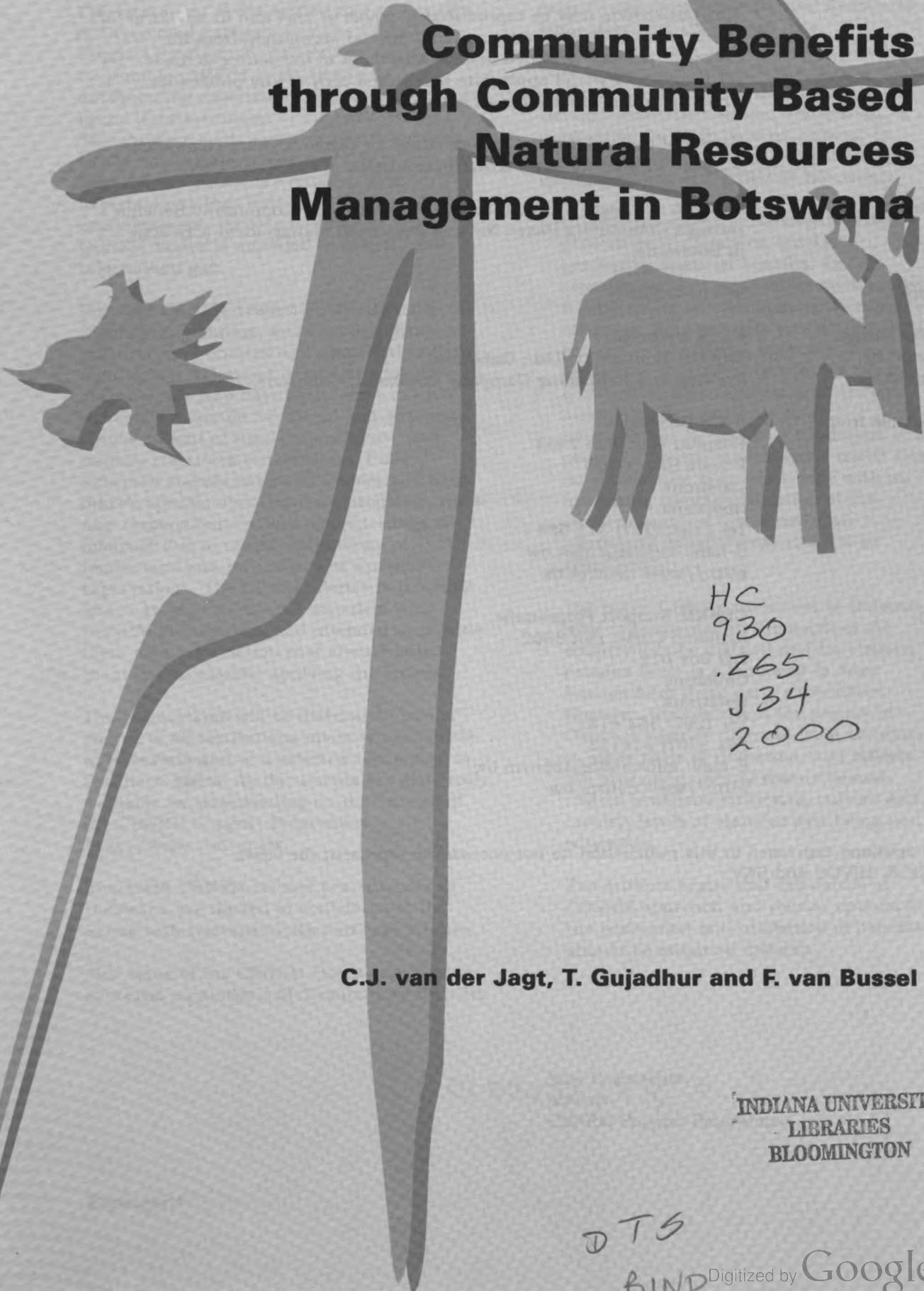


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Published by: Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) Support Programme

Funded by: HIVOS / SNV Netherlands Development Organisation Botswana

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Citation: C.J. van der Jagt, T. Gujadhur and F. van Bussel. Community Benefits through Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) in Botswana.

ISBN: 99912-0-328-1

Cover Design: Herre Methorst
Layout by: Bay Publishing (Pty) Ltd., Gaborone
Printed by: Printing and Publishing Company Botswana, Gaborone, 2000

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The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent the views of IUCN, HIVOS and SNV.

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Foreword

This document is the second in a new series of Occasional Papers under the CBNRM Support Programme. The Papers are intended to promote CBNRM in Botswana by documenting experiences and lessons learned in the implementation of the concept. Stakeholders such as Government agencies, NGOs, the private sector, and CBOs who are involved in CBNRM are often so busy implementing that little time is left to share experiences on success and failure. The CBNRM Series is intended to help fill this information gap.

Relevant CBNRM-related information on legislation, planning, management, human resource development and natural resources monitoring, will assist in bringing together all stakeholders who have an interest in what the concept stands for: social and economic empowerment of rural communities, and natural resources conservation. Fully informed stakeholders can understand each other's specific opportunities, problems, roles and responsibilities, and dispel feelings of mistrust due to misinterpretations of regulations and procedures or unrealistic expectations. The CBNRM Series is therefore aimed at all practitioners who deal with CBNRM in Botswana and intended to provide them with information that should assist them in successfully applying the concept.

The publications will be distributed free of charge to all institutions involved in CBNRM in Botswana and to a selected readership in Southern Africa. All documents are also freely available for downloading on the website of the CBNRM Support Programme:
<http://www.cbnrm.bw>.

Interested CBNRM-related practitioners in Botswana are invited to contribute to the Series with relevant topics and case studies.

This issue of the CBNRM Occasional Papers concerns an analysis of "Community Benefits

from Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana". The analysis was done by Corjan van der Jagt, Tara Gujadhur and Frank van Bussel with assistance from SNV/Netherlands Development Organisation. The reason for publishing the findings is an attempt to address two key issues at stake in the implementation of CBNRM in Botswana:

- CBNRM initiatives in Botswana to date predominantly focus on quickly generating financial benefits, for example by selling the entire community wildlife quota to a commercial hunting company. This example was more or less set by the CAMPFIRE approach in Zimbabwe. But do large sums of money acquired by a community in Botswana automatically contribute to an improvement in the living conditions of its people? How are these monies used? How do subsistence economies cope with an increasing commercialisation of the available natural resources? Can alternative benefits from CBNRM be generated?
- The initial CBNRM initiatives in Botswana were implemented in the north of the country (Chobe district) and for obvious reasons there is a tendency to draw lessons from these early experiences. However, the context of the project in Chobe is entirely different from situations in other parts of Botswana, and reflects the prevailing natural resources and related livelihood strategies, culture and history, levels of material well-being and education.

The authors argue that the choice of CBNRM approach and related options for the generation and utilisation of benefits should be situation-specific.

Nico Rozemeijer
Advisor
CBNRM Support Programme

IUCN - The World Conservation Union

Founded in 1948, IUCN - The World Conservation Union brings together States, government agencies and a diverse range of non-governmental organisations in a unique world partnership: over 900 members in all, spread across some 136 countries. As a Union, IUCN seeks to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable. A central secretariat co-ordinates the IUCN Programme and serves the Union membership, representing their views on the world stage and providing them with the strategies, services, scientific knowledge and technical support they need to achieve their goals. Through its six commissions, IUCN draws together over 6 000 expert volunteers in project teams and action groups, focusing in particular on species and biodiversity conservation and the management of habitats and natural resources. IUCN has been operating in Botswana since 1984, when IUCN was invited to assist the Government in the preparation of the Botswana National Conservation Strategy. The IUCN Botswana Office was established in 1991. Since then, the IUCN Botswana Programme has been involved in drafting environmental policies, strategies and legislation; formulating management plans; identifying the environmental interests and needs of the business sector; as well as providing support and capacity building to NGOs and CBOs in the country.

SNV Netherlands Development Organisation

SNV Netherlands Development Organisation strengthens local government and non-governmental development organisations with a view to making a joint contribution to the structural alleviation of poverty in rural areas in developing countries. It deploys skilled professionals for this purpose. Over 700 Dutch and local experts are currently involved in the transfer and exchange of knowledge, skills and technology. SNV's 26 field offices are active in 28 countries throughout Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe. SNV Botswana has been operating since 1978, building up experience in land-use planning, rural development and community mobilisation. We work in conjunction with local organisations and Government to reach our target populations of poor rural women and marginalised minority groups in western Botswana, which are mainly the Basarwa (San or Bushmen).

IUCN/SNV CBNRM Support Programme

The Community Based Natural Resource Management Support Programme is a joint initiative by SNV Botswana and IUCN Botswana. It is built on SNV's experience in CBNRM pilot projects at the grassroots level and on IUCN's expertise in information sharing, documentation of project approaches, and establishing dialogue between Non-Governmental Organisations, Government and private sector on a national, regional and international level. The three main objectives of the Programme are: 1) establish a focal point for CBNRM in Botswana through support to the Botswana Community Based Organisation (CBO) Network (BOCOBONET); 2) further inventorise and develop CBNRM project approaches and best practices and disseminate knowledge regarding implementation of CBNRM activities through the provision of information and technical advice to CBNRM actors; 3) improve dialogue and co-ordination between CBOs, NGOs, private sector and Government. For more information, visit our website on <http://www.cbnrm.bw>.

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Executive Summary

Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) has been accepted as a rural development and conservation strategy in Botswana, and it is now the time to reflect upon past practices and reassess goals and strategies. The CBNRM approach so far has been somewhat simple and formulaic: a community is organised into a Community Based Organisation (CBO), the wildlife quota and resource-use lease is obtained and sold in its entirety to a safari company, and the money is banked and perhaps channelled into a community project. Perhaps it was important to “prove” the financial success of CBNRM ventures at the outset, but this formula hardly fulfils expectations of what Community Based Natural Resources Management could be. This paper is an attempt to open discussion on what options are available to communities for the generation and utilisation of benefits.

It is essential to observe and analyse the preconditions in a settlement before forming the CBO. The distribution, density and value of the natural resources, external factors such as infrastructure and markets, the cultures within the community, socio-economic characteristics, and (traditional) management structures are critical elements that determine what activities and benefits can be pursued. Communities where different preconditions apply will have some differences in commercial avenues open to them. An area with an abundance of large wildlife trophies will be able to earn substantial amounts of cash through a simple joint venture agreement, whereas an area with less wildlife and less tourism infrastructure will not have that potential. The latter might need to identify alternative resource use and management options with different benefits generated.

The utilisation of natural resources through CBNRM can lead to several benefits, which are interrelated and help to address different needs within a community. The creation of employment is one of the most important

strategies to alleviate poverty and bring social security in the lives of the people in remote areas of Botswana. The provision of community services and financial benefits are considered important as well. Intangible benefits are crucial, but their impact is difficult to measure and therefore often not mentioned. Sustainable use and conservation of the natural resource base should ensure that these benefits will be maintained for future generations.

In general, the activities with lower financial benefits (e.g. community managed campsite) require more training and input, but can create more employment, have higher intangible benefits and are more likely to encourage active natural resource conservation. Conversely, entering into a joint venture agreement (e.g. sub-leasing a photographic safari concession) has higher monetary returns, but offers little incentive for community involvement in decision-making and natural resource conservation.

Benefits themselves can come in a variety of forms: employment, cash disbursement, self-reliance or community projects, among others. The quality of benefits (and not just the quantity) determines their ultimate impact. If the aim is to improve people's lives in a meaningful way, then an analysis is required of individuals' needs and how to address these. In terms of financial benefits, this may entail an extended role for the community organisation, in working with the community to prepare and plan for benefits distribution, and consequently offering services to supply scarce goods. There is no purpose in throwing money at people if they cannot catch it. It would be ideal if benefits were simply beneficial, no matter what they are or how people receive them. Unfortunately, unless benefits address the variety of community needs, there is no guarantee that Community Based Natural Resources Management activities will result in “sustainable development for all.”

Tshoboko ka Bokhutshwane

Tsamaiso ya Meamuso ya Tlhologo e e tsamaisiwang ke Baagi ba Dikgaolo tsa Magae Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) e amogetswe jaaka leano la tsamaiso ya ditlhabololo tsa magae le tshomarelo tikologo mo Botswana, mme nako e tsile ya gore go lebelelwe tse di dirilweng pele mme go sekasekwe maitlomo le maano. Go fitlheng jeno tsamaiso ya CBNRM e ntse e le motlhofo go dirisiwa: batho ba motse ba rulagannngwa go bopa Lekgotla le le e tsamaisediwang ke Setshaba Community Based Organisation (CBO), go tsewa palo ya diphologolo e e rebotsweng, tetelelo ya go hirisiwa ga lefelo e be e bonwa e be e rekisiwa e ntse jalo mo khamphane ya Safari, madi a bo a bewa mo bankeng, motlhamongwe a be a lebagannngwa le lenaneo lengwe la Setshaba. Go kane go le botlhokwa "go supa dipoelo tsa madi mo mananeong a CBNRM fa go simololwa", mme le fa go ntse jalo thulaganyo e ga e lekane maduo a a solofetsweng mo Makgotleng a CBNRM. Mo mokwalong o re leka go gwetha dipuisanyo mabapi le gore dikgaolo tsa magae di ka tsaya tsela efe go simolodisa le go dirisa, ka botlalo, maduo a.

Go tlokega go sekaseka le go farantlholola mabaka a a tlokegang a thulaganyo ya go bopa CBO, tiro eo e ise e simologe. Kabo, selekanyo le tlhotlha ya meamuso ya tlhologo, dintlha tse dingwe ka fa ntle jaaka ditsela le mafelo a borekisetso, ngwao ya Setshaba se se amegang, matshelo a batho mo gae le seemo sa itsholelo le tsamaiso ka tsela ya setso ke tsone dintlha tsa botlhokwa tsa go kaya ditiro tse di ka latelwang le maduo a ka tswa mo go tsone. Kwa magaeng a go tlokegang mabaka a a farologanyeng a go simolodisa mananeo, go tla nna le pharologanyo mo ditirong tsa papadi tse di ka dirwang teng. Kgaolo e e nang le mekgabisa e mentsi e e tswang mo diphologolong e tla kgona go bona madi a mantsi ka tumalano e e dirilweng motlhofo ya tshwaraganelo papadi, fa kgaolo e e senang diphologolo yone ebile e tlaela ditsela tse di lebanyeng bojanala e tla seke e nonofe go bona maduo a go nna jalo. Kgaolo ya go nna jalo e ka tlhokana le go ipatlela maano a sele a tiriso meamuso le ya ditsamaiso gore e boelwe ka tsela e sele.

Tiriso ya meamuso ya tlhologo fa e dirilwe ka CBNRM e tswa maduo a a mokawana a a nyalanang mme a itebaganya le dintlha tse di farologanyeng tsa tse di tlhokwang ke baagi kwa magaeng. Go direla batho meberekole lengwe la maano a botlhokwa a go fokotsa lehuma le go lere itshetlelo mo seemong sa matshelo a batho mo dikgaolong tsa Botswana tse di kwa teng-nyana-teng. Go neelwa ga batho ditlamelo le dikatso ka madi le go tsewa go le botlhokwa. Maduo a a sa bonweng ka matlho, a botlhokwa mme go thata go lekanyetsa gore a botlhokwa go lekae, jalo gantsi ga a umakwe. Tiriso ka pabalelo le tshomarelo ya meamuso ya tlhologo di tshwanetse tsa thomamisa gore maduo a nna teng go direla dikokomana bokamoso jo bo atlegileng.

Gantsinyana mananeo a a sa dirang dipoelo tse di kwa tlase (jaaka dikampa tsa magorogelo tse di tsamaisiwang ke setshaba, di tlhoka thutelo tiro e ntsi le tsenyo letsogo mme gape di ka oketsa meberekole, tsa nna le dipoelo tse di sa bonweng ka matlho tse di fa gadimonyana mme ebile di lebega di ka rotloetsa tshomarelo tikologo ka tlhwaafalo. Jaanong gape, go dira tumelano ya tshwaraganelo papadi, jaaka go hirisetsa lefelo, khamphane ya kapo ditshwantsho, go ka lere dipoelo tse dintsi tsa madi mme go rotloetse go fa setshaba sebaka se sentsi sa go tsenya letsogo mo go direng ditshwetso le mo tshomarelong ya meamuso ya tlhologo. Maduo one a ka tla ka ditsela di le dintsi; khiro, kamogelo - madi, boipelego kana mananeo a setshaba le tse dingwe fela jalo. Boleng jwa maduo, eseng fela bontsi jwa one ke jone bo kayang bomosola jwa one kwa pheletsong. Fa e le gore maikaelelo ke go tokafatsa matshelo a batho ka tsela e e rayang sengwe se batho ba se tlhokang, ba se senkang ba bile ba sena naso, go tshwanetse ga itebagannngwa le sone. Fa re lebile maduo a madi go ka nna ga raya gore tiro ya Lekgotla la setshaba e okediwe, fa le dirisanya le setshaba go baakanyetsa le go rulaganyetsa kanamiso ya maduo, mo e tlaareng kwa bofelong go direge gore dilo tse di ntseng di tlokega di bonale. Ga gona mosola wa go lathelela batho madi ba se kitla ba a kapa. Go ka nna go ntle thata fa maduo a ka solegela batho molemo, le fa

ekane e le afe kana batho ba ba amogelang
ba a dirisa jang. Ka go tlhoka lesego, fa ese
gore maduo a a lebantswe tse di tlhokwang
ke setshaba, ga gona bosupi jwa gore ditiro
tse di dirwang ka thulaganyo ya Tsamaiso
Meamuso ya Tlholego ya kwa Metseng ya
Magae di felela mo "tlhabololong e e
babalesegileng ya botlhe".

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank everyone who has contributed to the writing of this paper, specifically:

- The residents of Ukhwi, Ngwatle and Ncaang in Kgalagadi district who participated in the Expenditure and Reinvestment workshop;
- Pauline Wynter (Natural Resources Management Project); and
- Rosinah Masilo-Rakgoasi (Department of Wildlife and National Parks) for information and input.

Introduction

Background

Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) in Botswana has made steady progress since its inception in 1989. Approximately thirty emerging or established Community Based Organisations (CBOs) are currently involved in natural resources management projects throughout the country. Natural resources involved include wildlife, grapple, herbal teas, phane worms, morula fruits, morama beans, groundwater, truffles, thatching grass, ostrich eggshells, and palm leaves. A wide range of CBNRM activities are being managed by CBOs, such as commercial hunting, photographic tourism, ethno- and eco-tourism, crafts production, biltong production, woodwork, basketry, veld products processing, game skin tanning, etc. These activities are either self-operated by CBOs or done in conjunction with private sector companies through joint venture agreements and partnerships.

The establishment of Wildlife Management Areas (WMA), and their subsequent subdivision into Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) under specified management authority laid down a solid foundation for CBNRM in Botswana. Community managed CHAs are planned around existing settlements and are designed to benefit local people. The community management authority is described in lease arrangements with the district Land Board. Leases and management plans are designed to consolidate existing communal resource user rights, and are expected to promote the development of natural resources based enterprises that are of benefit to the community. The creation of formal community resource user rights is a means for decentralising the management of wildlife and other resources. The community CHAs have been formed to give rural people an opportunity to directly benefit from the resources that surround them. Decentralisation of resource management is a way to promote the conservation of the country's resources by involving rural communities in their management and sustainable use.

CBNRM links nature conservation to rural development. The ultimate aim is an improvement of the living conditions of the people residing with the natural resources, to the point that they see the value of conserving their environment for future generations.

Over the past ten years of CBNRM in Botswana, much attention has been paid to setting up CBOs, drafting management plans, making funds available for implementation of plans, and providing training on the functioning of management committees, financial management, natural resources monitoring, escorting tourists and hunters, etc. All these efforts are being undertaken to ensure that CBOs are able to start and manage their activities in order to generate benefits. However, little attention has been paid so far to how these benefits are used and what the actual impact of these benefits is on living conditions.

The trend in Botswana to date, based on experiences gained in the first CBNRM projects involving wildlife in the northern part of the country, is for CBOs to sell off their natural resources (e.g. wildlife quota) to a private sector company. The revenue amassed by the CBOs are banked until a community project has been identified. It is assumed that these community projects automatically contribute to an improvement of living conditions.

However, in order to avoid a situation whereby it becomes "normal procedure" or "accepted policy" to sell natural resources to the private sector and reinvest the revenue in community projects, it is worth investigating a number of alternative approaches to generating and utilising benefits derived from natural resources. Not all areas in Botswana have the same natural resource base, nor are communities socio-economically homogenous. What has worked in northern Botswana may be difficult in other parts of Botswana. Preferences and priorities of communities will vary from area to area, depending on lifestyle, culture, location, history, levels of education and material well-being.

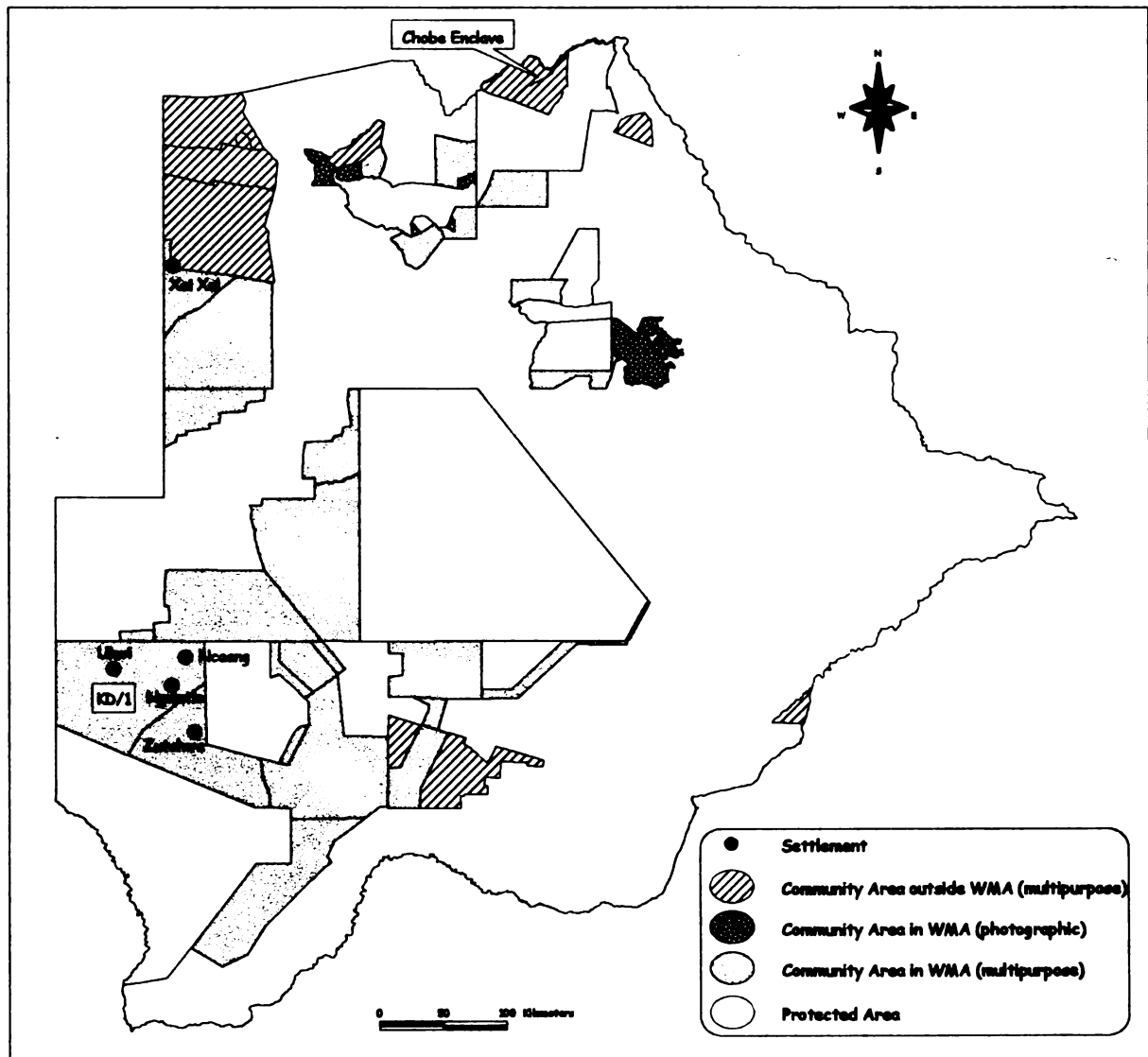
Purpose of the Paper

This paper seeks to explore the range of approaches open to communities for generating and utilising benefits derived from natural resources. The ultimate aim is three-fold:

- To analyse the preconditions for sustainable and equitable generation and utilisation of benefits derived from CBNRM activities.
- To discuss options for the generation of benefits through CBNRM activities.
- To discuss options for the utilisation of benefits derived from CBNRM activities.

Outline of the Paper

The next section will give an analysis of the preconditions for CBOs to be engaged in sustainable and equitable generation and utilisation of benefits. This is followed by an overview of the possible benefits for CBOs involved in CBNRM activities. The fourth section deals with the options for generating benefits, whereas the fifth section deals with the options for utilising these benefits. Three CBOs, Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (western Kgalagadi district), Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust (western Ngamiland district), and Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (Chobe district), are used as case-studies and examples in Box 1 and Box 3. Conclusions are presented in the last Section.



Preconditions for Equitable and Sustainable Generation and Utilisation of Benefits

This section looks at preconditions that determine whether CBOs will be in a position to generate and utilise benefits in an equitable and sustainable manner.

Natural Resource Base

Not all community areas have access to a natural resource base that offers the potential to generate large amounts of money and employment opportunities as in the community areas in the northern part of Botswana. Generally speaking, areas with an abundance of wildlife which include valuable species such as elephant, buffalo and lion stand to earn the most in financial terms; areas with desert species such as gemsbok, kudu, and springbok will earn substantially less. Areas with little or no wildlife, but with veld products that can be commercially exploited, are likely to earn even less. The potential of the natural resource base has a direct impact on the choices available for CBOs with regard to the type and number of activities it can undertake. For instance, a CBO situated in the western part of the country, with a limited range of desert species on its wildlife quota, will not be able to generate enough income by simply selling its quota to convince its members that wildlife management is a worthwhile activity. The CBO will need to expand its range of activities and create benefits from various sources. Similarly, CBOs dealing solely with veld products will not be able to interest all members of a community when the returns are minimal. Again, diversification of activities is needed.

External Factors

An important factor determining the type of income generating activities and the level of benefits obtained is the presence of the tourism industry. In the northern part of the country, the Okavango Delta and Chobe National Park have encouraged tourism operators to establish their offices in Maun and Kasane. Annually, large numbers of tourists come to these areas. In addition, northern Botswana offers one of the few

remaining opportunities for foreign trophy hunters to hunt elephant and other big game. Consequently, tourism infrastructure is well developed (roads, communication, airports, hotels, lodges, shops etc). When the first community areas came up for tender in the north, there was a great demand among the operators to obtain rights to these areas. Large sums of money have since been paid to communities for exclusive hunting and photographic rights. In the other parts of the country, however, the tourism industry is underdeveloped. Tourism infrastructure is largely absent, communication is difficult, and roads are poor. Although the remoteness and inaccessibility of some of the community areas, for example in the western part of Botswana, can be economically exploited, it nevertheless means that large numbers of tourists and the associated influx of income and employment cannot be expected. In order to attract tourists to the area, special activities have to be devised (and large investments made), exploiting the unique aspects of the Kalahari (landscape, remoteness, culture).

Recognition of Social and Economic Factors at Community Level

Social and economic stratification within and between communities has a major impact on the equitable and sustainable aspect of generating and utilising benefits of natural resource use. In general, the more homogeneous a community in terms of ethnicity and class, the easier it is for the community to agree on a management structure, management plans, use of benefits, etc. The more diverse a community, the longer it takes to obtain consensus; social cohesion and leadership are weakly developed, internal conflicts rife and a community spirit lacking. Often, a small minority (the relatively wealthy) dominates decision-making within the community, discouraging others from participating in community discussions. In these cases, special care must be taken to ensure that all groups within the community have the ability

to make their own choices concerning the type of activities they want to participate in and the way in which they wish to use their share of the benefits. For instance, some groups within a community may still wish to hunt for themselves, as this gives a certain feeling of cultural identity. Others in the same community, perhaps from a different gender or ethnic group, are not part of this culture and are happy to sell the whole quota. Furthermore, once financial benefits have been acquired, some groups may wish to improve their food security or housing conditions, while others who do not have these needs may wish to use the funds to drill a borehole for their livestock. These differences should be recognised as important and taken into account when developing a management structure and constitution for the Community Based Organisation.

Community Management Structures

From the preceding paragraph it is clear that a well thought-out and adapted management structure (with a clear constitution supporting this structure) is crucial for ensuring that benefits are created and used in a way that is acceptable to all. A management structure consisting of a powerful committee or board, with the powers to make decisions concerning the use of natural resources and the benefits derived from them, may work in some homogeneous communities where social cohesion is strong and leadership is representative and accountable. In communities where this is not the case, it may not be a good idea to retain too much power in a committee or board. Participatory decision-making concerning the use of natural resources can be achieved by decentralisation to smaller units within the community, which do demonstrate cohesion and co-operation. Two relevant examples of smaller decision-making units are mentioned here.

Family groups - individuals associated through their kinship and social bonds - can function as these smaller units. It has been observed that rural residents organise themselves into family groups which correlate with ethnicity and class. Thus, basing the membership of Trust Boards on family groups ensures that the Trust does not become dominated by wealthier families or one ethnic group. See Box 1 for the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust case study in family group representation.

User groups are associations (formal or informal) of individuals who share an interest or activity, such as women who weave baskets, residents who perform traditional dancing, or a grinding mill co-operative. A management structure which follows user group designations simplifies the administrative demands. The involvement of members of user groups is based on their commitment; only those who have a stake will take responsibility for activities, and those who are not interested do not have any claim or obligation. Hence, management can determine its role more efficiently. For a management structure based on user groups, see Box 1 for the Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust case study.

Summary

It is essential to observe and analyse the preconditions in a settlement before forming the CBO. The distribution, density and value of the natural resources, external factors such as infrastructure and markets, the cultures within the community, socio-economic characteristics, and (traditional) management structures are critical elements that determine what activities and benefits can be pursued. Communities where different preconditions apply will have some differences in commercial avenues open to them, the options of which are presented in the next section.

Box 1. Community Management Structures

Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust

In the KDI Controlled Hunting Area (northern Kgalagadi District), where a CBO (Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust) represents the inhabitants of three settlements (Ukhwi, Ncaang, and Ngwatle), two different ethnic groups are present, Bushmen (70%) and Bakgalagadi (30%). These two groups have cohabited in the area for almost a hundred years but their relationship is at best described as strained. When the three settlements became permanent (late 1970s), the two groups were forced to live in very close proximity to each other. The Bakgalagadi were wealthier and dominated settlement life. Bushmen were not accustomed to living permanently in one place nor to centralised leadership, let alone Bakgalagadi leadership. Apprehension and fear has characterised the attitude of Bushmen towards Bakgalagadi, and disdain and doubt of Bakgalagadi towards Bushmen. Bushmen had one advantage over the Bakgalagadi in the recent past: access to wildlife through Special Game Licenses.

When the CBNRM project commenced in KDI, mistrust between the three settlements and within the settlements had to be addressed before activities could be developed. Over a period of seven months, a management structure was finally arrived at that consisted of an overall board for KDI, a sub-committee in each settlement, and family groups in each settlement. Each family group is represented in the settlement committee by a man and a woman, and each settlement committee sends two men and two women to sit on the Trust Board. The family groups each receive a share of the KDI quota proportionate to their population size, and decide how they want to distribute and use this share and the financial benefits derived from it. The Board basically has an administrative role, e.g. obtain lease, sign joint venture agreements, and sell game animals on behalf of the groups. The settlement committees form the link between the Board and the family groups.

Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust

The CBNRM project in Controlled Hunting Area NG4 (western Ngamiland) started in 1994, and in 1997 the Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust was registered. Meanwhile the !Kokoro Crafts group, !Kokoro Streetvendor and self-operated tourism activities were underway. Until 1998, the Trust Board was overseeing all of these activities directly. In 1998, after a self-assessment, the board realised that they were meeting almost every week to discuss and manage the community activities, yet very little was getting accomplished. There was no division of responsibilities, and due to high turnover of managers of the activities, no clear system of control and communication had been worked out. Thus, they devised an arrangement of advisors. The Board hired three community members who have been involved with the project for a long time and have a high level of knowledge about the project. One advisor oversees construction projects and the !Kokoro Streetvendor, another oversees the tourism activities, and the last oversees !Kokoro Crafts. The Board can dedicate themselves to decision-making and administration, as they have advisors who liaise and carry out their decisions. The managers of each activity are elected and hired by the user groups themselves, whereas the advisor to that particular activity is hired by the Board. With responsibility and interests thus designated, activities can be managed more efficiently and effectively.

Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust

In 1994 the five villages in the Chobe Enclave (Mabele, Kavimba, Kachikau, Satau and Parakarungu), with some 500 households, developed and registered the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust to oversee the management of natural resources in the Controlled Hunting Areas CH1 and CH2 (located in the far north of Botswana). The Trust was the first CBNRM village organisation to be registered in Botswana. Each village elects a Village Trust Committee and each Village Trust Committee sends two of its members to sit on the board of the Trust. The latter is responsible for the monitoring of wildlife (and other natural resources) in the Enclave. Monitoring is carried out by community escort guides who are paid employees of the Board. The Board is also responsible for general Trust administration, planning and development of agreements (joint venture partnerships) related to jointly owned resources (game) and the financial management of those enterprises. By the Deed of Trust, the Board is obliged to divide 85% of its annual revenue between the five villages. The five Village Trust Committees are responsible for the reinvestment of revenue distributed to them by the Board. They employ Community Action Plan co-ordinators who manage the village projects. Management staff for village projects report to the Village Trust Committees.

Overview of Possible Benefits Derived from CBNRM

Employment Creation

In Botswana unemployment is very high, especially in rural areas and among young people and women. The creation of employment or jobs is therefore one of the most important strategies to alleviate poverty and to bring social security into the lives of people who are often cash poor. Moreover, people understand the benefits of employment: you perform your job duties and are paid a wage. The money is earned in a transparent, direct, and consistent manner. CBNRM provides the opportunity to create employment in several ways: examples include by the private sector through joint ventures (e.g. camp attendants, cleaners, guides), or by the CBO directly (e.g. community campsite attendants, bookkeeper, natural resources monitoring team members, escort guides, driver, CBO activity managers). Informal employment can be created as well (e.g. craft producers, veld products collectors and processors, basket producers, traditional dancers).

Financial Benefits

There are several ways for CBOs to create financial benefits within CBNRM. The easiest way is to sub-lease land to the private sector (e.g. sub-leasing of an area to commercial hunting operator or photographic operator) and/or to sell natural resources directly to third parties (e.g. sale of wildlife quota, sale of veld products). Financial benefits can also be derived from the sale of products made from natural resources (e.g. craft production, basketry, biltong production) and from enterprises initiated by the CBO themselves (e.g. guided bushwalks, cultural village, community campsites, grinding mill, petrol station, hardware store). These enterprises are often financed with capital derived from sub-leasing land or from the direct sale of natural resources.

Intangible Benefits

Intangible benefits are numerous but difficult to measure in quantitative terms.

Nevertheless, they are very important as they form the foundation on which CBOs can start to manage their activities in a sustainable manner. The intangible benefits include:

- Development and adaption of local institutions;
- Self-confidence gained, a sense of pride created and optimism for the future raised;
- New skills learned through formal and informal training;
- Control over future development process gained;
- Control and management over activity gained;
- Cultural identity and social cohesion strengthened;
- Indigenous knowledge systems recognised;
- Equitable and participatory community decision-making encouraged;
- Food security boosted;
- Ability to deal with outsiders gained; and
- Representative and accountable leadership developed.

Provision of Services

In many of the communities, the provision of certain services is often lacking. Remoteness and inaccessibility, as well as low purchasing power within rural communities, are factors that deter entrepreneurs from investing in these areas. Consequently, community members have to travel far and incur extra costs to obtain agricultural implements, building materials, clothing, and household items. Transportation to and from the market is often problematic. Therefore, income derived directly from sub-leasing, the sale of natural resources, and CBO enterprises could be used to make some of these goods

available in the community, either as another profit-making enterprise or simply as a non-profit service to its members. The following services are possibilities:

- Petrol station supplying petrol and paraffin to community members as well as to tourists;
- Hardware store supplying roofing sheets, rafters, nails, spades, cement, door and window frames, agricultural implements, veterinary medicines;
- General dealer supplying foodstuff, clothing, shoes, pots, utensils;
- Grinding mill for farmers to increase their efficiency and the value of their product before it is brought to the market;
- Transport/vehicle for travel to major towns and transport of goods; and
- Credit-savings scheme that can provide loans to trust members.

Conservation

The conservation of the natural resource base is one of the main objectives and benefits of the CBNRM concept. When communities recognise the financial and non-financial value of wildlife and other natural resources, they will become interested in conserving them for future generations. Direct and active involvement of communities in the management of natural resources enhances their motivation for conservation.

Summary

The utilisation of natural resources through CBNRM can lead to several benefits, which are interrelated and help to address different needs within a community. The creation of employment is one of the most important strategies to alleviate poverty and to bring social security in the lives of the people in remote areas of Botswana. The provision of community services and financial benefits are considered important as well. Intangible benefits are crucial but their impact is difficult to measure, and therefore often not mentioned. Sustainable use and conservation of the natural resource base should ensure that these benefits will be sustained for future generations.

Options for Generating Benefits through CBNRM

This section looks at the range of options available to CBOs for generating benefits. The benefits and disadvantages involved for each option will be discussed. The options can be subdivided into four categories: activities initiated and managed by the CBO on its own, joint venture agreements with the private sector, joint venture partnerships with the private sector, and a mixture of the first three categories.

Activities Initiated and Managed by the CBO

Options include:

- Community campsites;
- Permanent camp/lodge;
- Safari hunting with traditional weapons;
- Processing and selling of veld products, biltong, thatching grass, etc;
- Crafts production and marketing;
- Basket production and marketing;
- Guided bush walks;
- Donkey-back safaris;
- Mokoro safaris;
- Traditional village;
- Ethno-tourism packages;
- Eco-tourism packages;
- Crafts shop;
- Cultural exhibition centre;
- General dealer;
- Hardware store; and
- Petrol station.

Benefits include:

- Employment created;
- Local institutions developed and adapted;
- Self-confidence gained, a sense of pride created and optimism for the future raised;
- Control over future development process gained;
- Control and management over activity gained;

- Cultural identity and social cohesion strengthened;
- Indigenous knowledge systems recognised;
- Equitable and participatory community decision-making encouraged;
- Food security boosted;
- Cash made available;
- Ability to deal with outsiders gained;
- Representative and accountable leadership developed;
- Active community involvement in natural resources management;
- Non-financial value of wildlife and other natural resources recognised; and
- Awareness for conservation strengthened.

Disadvantages include:

- Need for substantial external assistance;
- Limited income generation;
- Insufficient management capacity;
- Quality of tourism activities may not be up to standard as demanded by tourists;
- Marketing channels not well developed; and
- Opportunity for skills transfer from private sector absent.

Joint Venture Agreements with the Private Sector

Joint venture agreements are agreements between a CBO and a private sector company that do not involve the merging of either partner's assets.

Options include:

- Sub-leasing (part of) the area and sale of (part of) the wildlife quota to safari company;
- Sub-leasing whole or part of the area to photographic operator; and
- Sub-leasing site for lodge to private sector.

Benefits include:

- Income generated;
- Local institutions developed and adapted;
- New skills learned through formal and informal training;
- Ability to deal with outsiders gained;
- Financial value of wildlife and other natural resources recognised; and
- Increased opportunity to purchase or have access to a vehicle and transport.

Disadvantages include:

- Little involvement of CBO in the management of activities does not instil a strong sense of ownership and responsibility for natural resource management;
- Dependence on private sector and mistrust towards the private sector does not lead to greater self-confidence, pride, and a sense of being in control of own development process;
- Positive impact on strengthening cultural values and practices will be minimal and the value of natural resources will mainly be measured in monetary terms; and
- CBOs may exhibit unprofessional behaviour (e.g. breaking terms of contract) due to lack of experience or mistrust, alienating the private sector.

Joint Venture Partnership with the Private Sector

Joint venture partnerships between a CBO and a private sector company include merging of assets (financial, labour, natural resources, capital), the sharing of profits, and combined management.

Options include:

- Jointly owned and run lodge;
- Jointly owned and run hunting operation;
- Jointly owned and run photographic operation;
- CBO owned tourism operation with marketing and management provided by private sector; and
- Jointly owned and run operation which processes and markets veld products.

Benefits include:

- Income generated;
- Employment created;
- Local institutions developed and adapted;
- Self-confidence gained, a sense of pride created and optimism for the future raised;
- New skills learned through formal and informal training;
- Activity management is partly community controlled;
- Control over future development process gained;
- Food security boosted;
- Cash made available;
- Ability to deal with outsiders gained;
- Non-financial value of the area and its natural resources recognised;
- Financial value of the area and its natural resources recognised;
- Awareness for conservation strengthened; and
- Increased opportunity to purchase or have access to a vehicle and transport.

Disadvantages include:

- The private sector may be discouraged from entering or continuing a partnership if the CBOs require a large amount of training and input or are unable to meet their responsibilities;
- Private sector may dominate activities and responsibilities and limit learning opportunity of local people; and
- Dependence on the private sector and mistrust towards the private sector may still undermine the development of a sense of ownership and responsibility among community members for their natural resources.

Multiple Activities Approach

This approach combines the above-mentioned activities. Certain activities are initiated and run by the CBO while others are run under a joint venture agreement or partnership with the private sector.

Options include (see options mentioned earlier in this Chapter):

- Community campsites;
- Permanent camp/lodge;
- Safari hunting with traditional weapons;
- Processing and selling of veld products, biltong, thatching grass, etc;
- Crafts production and marketing;
- Basket production and marketing;
- Guided bush walks;
- Donkey-back safaris;
- Mokoro safaris;
- Traditional village;
- Ethno-tourism packages;
- Eco-tourism packages;
- Crafts shop;
- Cultural exhibition centre;
- General dealer;
- Hardware store;
- Petrol station;
- Sub-leasing (part of) area and sale of (part of) wildlife quota to safari company;
- Sub-leasing whole or part of area to photographic operator;
- Sub-leasing site for lodge to private sector;
- Jointly owned and run lodge;
- Jointly owned and run hunting operation;
- Jointly owned and run photographic operation;
- CBO owned tourism operation with marketing and management provided by private sector; and
- Jointly owned and run operation which processes and markets veld products.

Benefits include:

- Income generated;
- Employment created;
- Provision of community services;
- Local institutions developed and adapted;
- Self-confidence gained, a sense of pride created and optimism for the future raised;

- New skills learned through formal and informal training;
- Control over future development process gained;
- Control and management over activity gained;
- Cultural identity and social cohesion strengthened;
- Indigenous knowledge systems recognised;
- Equitable and participatory community decision-making encouraged;
- Food security boosted;
- Cash made available;
- Ability to deal with outsiders gained;
- Representative and accountable leadership developed;
- Active community involvement in natural resources management;
- Non-financial value of wildlife and other natural resources recognised;
- Financial value of wildlife and other natural resources recognised; and
- Community awareness for conservation strengthened.

Disadvantages include:

- Need for external assistance is substantial; and
- Management becomes more complex as there are many activities.

Summary

In general, the activities with lower financial benefits require more training and input, but can create more employment, have higher intangible benefits and are more likely to encourage active natural resource conservation. Conversely, entering into a joint venture agreement or partnership has higher monetary returns (depending on the natural resource base), but does not allow for much community involvement in decision-making and natural resource conservation. Table 1 below, gives an overview of the different benefits for each type of activity.

Table 1: Benefits Generated by four Types of Activities

Benefits		CBO initiated and managed activities	Joint venture agreements	Joint venture partnership	Multiple activities approach
Financial	Income generated	Low	High	Medium	Medium
Employment	Employment created	Medium	Low	Medium	High
Services	Provision of community services	Medium	Low	Low	Medium
Intangible	Local institutions developed and adapted	High	Medium	Medium	High
	Self-confidence gained, pride created and optimism for the future raised	High	Low	Medium	High
	New skills learned through formal and informal training	High	Medium	Medium	High
	Control of the future development process gained	High	Low	Medium	High
	Control and management over activity gained	High	Low	Medium	High
	Cultural identity and social cohesion strengthened	High	Low	Low	Medium
	Indigenous knowledge systems recognised	High	Low	Medium	High
	Equitable and participatory community decision-making encouraged	Medium	Low	Medium	High
	Food security boosted	High	Low	Low	Medium
	Cash made available	High	Low	Low	Medium
	Ability to deal with outsiders gained	High	Medium	High	High
Representative and accountable leadership developed	High	Low	Medium	High	
Conservation	Active community involvement in natural resource management	High	Low	Medium	High
	Non-financial value of the area and its natural resources recognised	High	Low	Medium	High
	Financial value of the area and its natural resources recognised	Low	High	High	Medium
	Community awareness for conservation strengthened	High	Low	Medium	High

Options for Utilising Financial Benefits From CBNRM

This section deals with the options available to CBOs to use the financial benefits they derive from their natural resources for meaningful improvements to living conditions. Options are to reinvest in community projects and/or to distribute cash to the members.

Reinvestment of Financial Benefits

In neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia, CBNRM benefits have been used to develop social infrastructure such as schools, health facilities, water supplies, roads, etc. In Botswana, these social services are provided by the government. Reinvestment of CBNRM revenue, therefore, needs to focus on other community projects. To date, only a few community projects have been set up by CBOs, although a number of CBOs have been earning substantial revenue for several years now. In northern Botswana, the first community project in the Chobe Enclave has planned the building of toilets, grinding mills, a petrol station, and community campsites. To date only the campsite in Kavimba has been constructed. Community projects in Botswana will most likely address three needs:

1. The provision of services to the community;
2. The creation of further enterprises and revenues; and
3. The creation of employment.

When CBOs intend to reinvest in a community project, the question that needs to be answered is whether the project will actually lead to an improvement in living conditions of the general membership. This is important in view of the basic assumption underlying CBNRM: nature conservation by communities can only be successful when the communities involved obtain access to and control over the natural resources and the benefits derived from them. Only meaningful improvements in their living conditions will

convince community members that natural resources management is worthwhile. Several questions can be asked concerning the choice of reinvesting revenue in community projects:

- Who and how many people actually benefit from the community projects and in what way do they benefit?
- Who comes up with the ideas for these projects?
- What forum is used to obtain consensus?
- Is this forum actually representative?
- Have other options for using the funds been considered?
- Which options?
- Who considered them and in what forum?
- Why were they discarded?
- Was consensus obtained to discard certain options?

If the previous questions cannot be answered satisfactorily by communities, it may indicate that the selected community project will not be considered an improvement of living conditions by the majority of community members. It will therefore not convince them that natural resources management results in equitable benefit generation.

Distribution of Financial Benefits

The distribution of financial benefits means dividing the revenue earned by the CBO (from a joint venture etc.) over to its members, i.e. "cash hand-outs". Without a doubt, this option has triggered the imagination of many community members at the start of embarking on their CBNRM project. It emphasises the short-term financial needs that many rural community members have.

However, several questions must be asked here:

- Is the amount of money earned by the CBO sufficient to give every member a share that makes a difference in their lives?
- Will it strengthen their belief in the value of conservation?
- How will the money actually be used?
- How will it lead to improved living conditions?

In many rural communities in Botswana, cash flow is erratic and limited. Various activities are deployed to bring in food and household necessities. When cash is earned, it is often spent quickly and not saved. However, the range of goods available for purchase in rural communities is in most cases not very wide. Bigger investments such as building materials and clothing are usually found in villages and towns far away, requiring access to transport. Cash is therefore often spent on basic foodstuffs and alcohol. In this type of situation, how will additional cash assist community members in improving their living conditions? Surely, an increase in beer consumption cannot be considered an improvement in living conditions nor a solid driving force behind nature conservation. A CBO deciding to distribute financial benefits to its members will need to find out what its members wish to do with the money and how it can assist the members in ensuring that they are able to use the money for goods and services they want. A workshop to this effect was held with the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust; see Box 2.

Addressing Varying Community Preferences and Priorities

As was mentioned before, throughout Botswana community areas have access to natural resource bases that vary in their potential to create financial benefits. In addition, social and economic situations vary both between and within communities. Not all members of a community have the same needs, values, and priorities. The degree of social cohesion determines the ease with which consensus can be reached on the use of benefits. In general, it can be expected that the poorer and less socially cohesive a community, the higher the chance that the majority of the community will want financial benefits to be distributed. Similarly, the wealthier and more socially cohesive a community, the higher the chance that the majority of community members can accept financial benefits to be reinvested in community projects. In other words, the level of trust and confidence, combined with the level of material well being, will determine how financial benefits are used.

Community management structures should be prepared to address these varying preferences and priorities. It is important that the management structure and decision-making process is adapted to the internal make-up of the community. As was mentioned earlier, it may not be a good idea to give too much decision-making powers to a committee or board in a community where social cohesion is weak, differences in material well-being are wide, and cultural values and practices vary. See Box 3 for a description of how three Trusts have addressed benefit distribution.

Box 2. Expenditure and Reinvestment Workshop

Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust

On February 23, 1999, the "Expenditure and Reinvestment Workshop" was held in Ukhwi for the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust. The goals were to start to plan with the community for reinvesting revenue, *before* earnings from CBNRM began, and to inform the Trust how to assist people in fulfilling these plans. There were 14 participants, not including the facilitators and observers. Several suggestions for services the Trust could provide came up again and again, namely, a Trust General Dealership for building materials, clothes, food and hardware, and a filling station. There is demand for the Trust to provide transport of goods from Hukuntsi with a Trust vehicle, and to develop a banking/saving mechanism. Communal hunting rifles and the provision of food and household goods to Ngwatle residents are also important priorities. Once specific financial figures become available, the Trust will have to determine its capacity for providing these services (see Appendix 1 for a report on the workshop).

Box 3. Structure of Benefit Distribution

Nqwaa Khobee Xoya Trust

As described in Box 1, decision-making powers concerning crucial issues, such as the use of resources and the benefits derived from them, have been decentralised to the family groups. Each family group decides, for instance, what they wish to do with their share of the wildlife quota (the community has not yet started commercial activities besides crafts production). One family group may decide to hunt half for subsistence use and sell the remaining half to a safari company. Another group may decide to sell their whole share to a safari company. The Board of the Trust will put out for tender the combined animals of the family groups. The revenue obtained by the board will be given to the groups, after a percentage has been deducted for Trust overhead costs. The amount given to each family group is in direct relation to the animals each group instructed the Board to sell.

The family groups can then decide internally what they will do with their revenue. One group may, for instance, decide to distribute the money to each household in the group. Another group may decide to invest in a street vendor stall or a rifle. Yet another group may decide to purchase a donkey cart to be used by the group members. Family groups may also agree to use part of their revenue as a contribution to a community project, either at the settlement level or at the KDI area level. The "Expenditure and Reinvestment Workshop" described in Box 2 explored some of these issues (see also Appendix 1). The reasoning behind this family groups system is to ensure broad-based participation in decision-making and the equitable distribution of benefits, thereby hopefully avoiding the creation of "white elephants" - projects that do not actually contribute to improvements in living conditions and are not supported by the majority of the community members.

Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust

The Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust is an example of a community which has made progress in the CBNRM process by using the same system of family group distribution of the hunting benefits. For /Xai-/Xai residents, hunting of game meat is a crucial part of their subsistence strategy. This is a substantial benefit, and they have only sold 30% of their quota to a safari company. Their self-operating tourism activity was also a purposeful choice to offer the benefit of employment to the community, using the unique culture of the Bushmen as a tourism attraction. The /Xai-/Xai community is very cash poor, such that income from employment (in tourism or from the safari company) and craft production is preferred. These systems of benefit distribution are less communal and formal in orientation, but are transparent and serve the needs of the people. Furthermore, the !Kokoro Street vendor shop was established in 1996 to supply the community with basic household goods (maize meal, oil, sugar, cups, blankets) that are not available in the remote settlement, and to provide an alternative to beer. The !Kokoro Street vendor shop is planning to expand its business to include some building materials, hardware and clothes, among other things.

Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust

The multiple village character and population size of the Trust is a major determinant in the way that benefit distribution is structured. It is the Board that manages the sub-lease through a joint venture agreement. The use of the quota (the division of game animals between the community and the Safari operation), the selection of monitoring staff, the annual resource harvest review, as well as the arrangements necessary for equitable access to game meat by all villages, are done at the level of the Board (representing five villages). The latter is responsible for notifying the Village Trust Committees of employment vacancies with the Safari company. The Board initiates the annual financial audit, which leads to the distribution of revenue to the villages.

Village Trust Committees, elected biannually in each of the five villages, manage the funds distributed by the Board. Each Village Trust Committee has carried out a Participatory Rural Appraisal with the village population to determine the options and priorities for benefit distribution and to develop a Community Action Plan. Distribution of cash dividends to households has been considered by the villages, but it has never been selected as the top priority and therefore it has never been done. Instead, the Village Trust Committees have selected a mix of social service projects (grain mills, a general store, a vehicle) and income-generating projects (petrol station and a campsite). Since 1998 the Village Trust Committees began employing local managers (Community Action Plan Co-ordinators) to supervise the implementation of the village projects.

Summary

Benefits themselves can come in a variety of forms: employment, cash disbursement, self-reliance or community projects, among others. The quality of benefits (and not just the quantity) determines their ultimate impact. If the aim is to improve people's lives in a meaningful way, then what individuals need, want and are lacking must be assessed. In terms of financial benefits, this may entail an extended role for the Trust, in

working with the community to prepare and plan for benefits distribution, and consequently offering services to supply scarce goods. There is no purpose in throwing money at people if they cannot catch it. It would be ideal if benefits were simply beneficial, no matter what they are or how you receive them. Unfortunately, unless benefits address the variety of community needs, there is no guarantee that CBNRM results in "sustainable development for all."

Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn:

Preconditions

- The lower the potential of the natural resource base, the wider the range of activities needed to secure sufficient benefits in order to convince community members of the value of natural resources management and conservation.
- It is important to analyse internal factors (social cohesion, leadership, community spirit) before CBOs are established and benefits generated.
- In communities where social cohesion is weak, it may be wise to devolve decision-making powers to smaller units.

Generation of Benefits through CBNRM

- The type and amount of benefits created will differ per option. The selection of approaches to generate benefits will depend on the potential offered by the natural resource base and on the confidence (or lack thereof) of communities in their own management ability.
- Intangible benefits are often overlooked yet may be more important than financial benefits for long term sustainable socio-economic development and conservation of natural resources.
- Self operated activities will create more intangible benefits for CBOs than other approaches.
- Joint venture agreements may create the highest financial benefits (depending on the natural resource base) but do not create much employment, neither do they encourage provision of community services, generate intangible benefits, nor strengthen community awareness for conservation.
- External support requirements are highest for CBOs operating their own activities or

adopting the multiple-activities approach, and lowest for joint venture agreements.

- The multiple-activities approach minimises the number of disadvantages and enhances the creation of employment and income, the potential for provision of community services, the generation of intangible benefits, and the strengthening of community awareness concerning conservation.

Utilisation of Benefits through CBNRM

- Community projects need to make a meaningful contribution to the living conditions of the majority of community members to enhance the conviction that natural resources management and conservation is worthwhile.
- The selection of community projects requires the broad participation of community members in order to arrive at an accepted project.
- Before choices are made on the use of financial benefits it must be clear what the preferences and priorities of community members are.
- It must also be clear how community members define improvement of living conditions, so that plans can be made to ensure that community members will have access to the goods and services needed to improve their living conditions.
- It is likely that in poor and less socially cohesive communities, the majority will want financial benefits to be distributed in cash.
- It is likely that in wealthier and more socially cohesive communities the majority can agree on reinvesting in community projects.
- If financial benefits are limited, the distribution of cash to community members will not be sufficient to convince members of the value of natural resources conservation.

Summary

CBNRM has been accepted as a rural development and conservation strategy in Botswana, and it is now time to reflect upon past practices and reassess goals and strategies. The CBNRM approach so far has been somewhat simple and formulaic: a community is organised into a CBO, the wildlife quota and resource-use lease is obtained and sold in its entirety to a safari company, and the money is banked and perhaps channelled into a community project. Perhaps it was important to "prove" the financial success of CBNRM ventures at the outset, but this formula hardly fulfils expectations of what Community Based Natural Resources Management should be.

This paper was an attempt to open discussion on what options are available to communities for the generation and utilisation of benefits. Certain preconditions (natural resource base, external factors, socio-economic characteristics, community structures) must be analysed before commencing activities, as they have a crucial impact upon the choice of CBO representation mechanisms, enterprises and

benefits. To some extent, the method of generating benefits will be based on these preconditions, as an area with an abundance of large trophies will be able to earn substantial amounts of cash through a simple joint venture agreement, whereas an area with less wildlife and less tourism infrastructure will not have that potential.

However, joint venture agreements alone entail very little community involvement and employment, and do not encourage active natural resource management and conservation. A community that takes a strong role in its activities will most likely not have a large bank account, but will see more empowerment through decision-making, skill-learning and higher perceived value of their environment. There are many possibilities for the distribution and utilisation of benefits. Certain options take more planning and consultation (as demonstrated in the KD1 Workshop) but will result in a more meaningful improvement in the lives of rural residents. CBNRM is creative and integrative in concept, it must be creative and integrative in practice to be truly successful for people and the environment.

Appendix 1

Report on the KD1 expenditure and reinvestment workshop held in Ukhwi on February 23, 1999.

Introduction

This report looks into spending and reinvesting revenue derived from Community Based Natural Resources Management activities and the need to have the community plan for future expenditures. It is based on the proceedings and results of a workshop held in Ukhwi in KD1 Controlled Hunting Area on February 23, 1999, for the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust.

CBNRM is based on the premise that the natural environment will only be managed sustainably if local communities who bear the costs of wildlife and tourism can be involved in and actively benefit from natural resources. In Botswana, several communities have been assisted in forming representative management committees, seeking resource-use leases, and organising commercial activities based on natural resource utilisation. These activities can be joint ventures with safari companies for hunting or photographic tourism, small self-operated cultural eco-tourism, veld product marketing, or crafts co-operatives. Whatever the commercial venture, money will be flowing in, most likely in increasing amounts which rural communities have never previously had access to.

A sudden influx of cash, with no planning as to its use, can lead to mismanagement and ensuing difficulties. Rural settlements have only a limited amount of goods available for purchase; shoes, clothes, building materials, tools, and household supplies come in trickles from the nearest town, which may be several hours away by dirt road. There is no bank - or even post office, and no public transport to major towns to gain access to these services and a wider variety of goods. Furthermore, government may provide destitute food rations so that only a few extra items need to be bought. These conditions, combined with the fact that beer is often readily available, have led to many small settlements having severe alcohol abuse problems. If additional cash comes in

through CBNRM activities and these conditions remain unchanged, it is unlikely that the money will be spent to meaningfully improve the lives of residents.

This belief led to the inception of the "Expenditure and Reinvestment Workshop" - a method to assist CBOs, communities and facilitating organisations in determining what concrete goods and services households need and want, before earnings from CBNRM accrue. The goals are twofold: to start participants and the community planning for what they want to spend extra money on, and to inform the Trust how to assist people in fulfilling these plans. The workshop is part of a strategy in risk-avoidance through provision of scarce services and goods.

Background on the Case Study: KD1

The KD1 project started operating in mid-1996. KD1 is a Controlled Hunting Area (CHA) in Kgalagadi District, which lies in a proposed Wildlife Management Area (WMA). The CHA has been designated for community use and management. KD1 is approximately 13,000 km² and has three settlements within its boundaries: Ukhwi, Ncaang and Ngwatle. The total population of KD1 is roughly 850 people: Ukhwi is the largest settlement, with about 435 people, then Ngwatle with 191 and Ncaang with 174. There are two major ethnic groups in the area, the Bushmen and the Bakgalagadi. The Bushmen constitute about 70% of the total population, and Bakgalagadi 30%. Ngwatle is 100% Bushmen, Ncaang about 95% Bakgalagadi, and Ukhwi about 70% Bushmen, 30% Bakgalagadi. Ngwatle is by far the poorest of the three settlements.

The CBNRM project consists of the NRMA (Natural Resources Management Advisor), two Project Assistants, and the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust, which are supported by SNV, Thusano Lefatsheng, and PACT/IRCE. The NRMA has been employed full-time at the project site since its inception, and two

locally-recruited Project Assistants are also employed as facilitators and liaisons. The Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust was registered on the 10th of June 1998, and is guided by a Board and detailed constitution. The Board of the Trust consists of 12 annually elected members (four from each settlement), the VDC (Village Development Committee) chairperson from each settlement, and several ex-officio members (local chiefs, councillors, representatives from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, District Council S&CD (Social & Community Development) and RADP (Remote Area Development Programme), Land Board, and District Administration).

KD1 activities since mid 1996 include setting up the Quota Management Committee (the Trust precursor), obtaining and using the quota for subsistence hunting, and setting up communal biltong drying cages. Once the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust was legally established, a land-use and management plan was drawn up and submitted to the District Land Board in application for a resource-use lease. Wildlife Monitoring Team members have been appointed and trained by DWNP several times, and a system of rifle

sharing established. A co-operative agreement has been made with Gantsi Craft, exchange visits taken, and three crafts managers (one for each settlement) employed and trained. The community is planning to operate camel-backed safaris on their own, and tender out part of their hunting quota and a photographic sub-lease once permission from the Land Board has been granted.

Methodology

The workshop was held in Ukhwi on February 23, 1999. There were 14 participants, not including the facilitators, Project Assistants, and observers. Six representatives attended from Ukhwi, and four each from Ncaang and Ngwatle. Of those, there was an even 50% split between men and women for all settlements. Observers/facilitators included three Game Scouts from DWNP, RADP Officers from Ncaang and Ukhwi, and two men from the nearby Zutshwa community, which is also embarking on a CBNRM programme. The two Project Assistants were also present to translate and facilitate, and three TSPs

Table 1. Workshop Topic Structure

Information Sought	Question Posed	Information Specifics
1. Current Individual Spending Patterns	How do people in KD1 spend their income each month?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regular items (weighed) • Irregular items • By settlement/gender/class
2. Availability of Goods	Are there any items that people would have bought (and can afford currently) had they been available/accessible? Why are these items not available/accessible?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Items • Reason for inaccessibility • Solution • By settlement
3. Future Individual Spending Patterns	Are there any items that people would like to buy but did not have the money for? Or, if you earned more money, what would you buy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Items (ranked) • By settlement
4. Group Investment Possibilities	Would people be willing to spend (reinvest) money on either Family Group activities, Settlement activities, or KD1 activities?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Type of investment: Family Group, Settlement, KD1 (yes/no/rank) • If yes, activity suggestions • How much of your earnings would you contribute (all/half/a little) • If no, why not?

(Tirelo Sechaba (national service) Participants) requested to assist in facilitating small group work.

The workshop programme was organised into four sections according to the information sought.

Each question was posed and briefly explained to the participants as a whole; they were then divided into small groups for working up answers and suggestions. Each group had a facilitator to help them understand the topics and fill out the forms. Participants were assigned to groups by settlement or by settlement/gender/class so that it was possible to monitor whether trends differed according to geography or socio-economic status. Finally, each group presented their suggestions to the plenary session which were recorded on a flip chart and discussed.

Summary of Workshop Outcome

The group work did not reveal any clear trends in terms of settlement/gender/class-specific patterns. In general, the results indicate the following:

- KD1 residents currently spend their income on:
 1. Food
 2. Toiletries
 3. Clothes
 4. Alcohol
 5. Tobacco
- If income is increased, KD1 residents would spend their income on:
 1. Building materials
 2. Borehole/water
 3. Livestock
 4. Banking/saving
 5. Toiletries
- KD1 residents would invest a little or half of their income in either Family Group or Trust activities, especially related to the following:
 1. Transport
 2. General dealer
 3. Filling station
 4. Community rifles and ammunition
 5. Mobile (food) shop

Conclusion

The "Expenditure and Reinvestment Workshop" was the first of its kind in Botswana. The idea came from the realisation that many poor rural communities are having large amounts of money thrown at them, but do not know how to "catch it". Money is usually either safely guided into grinding mills or pre-schools by implementing organisations, locked up in a large but inaccessible bank account, or drunk up. Participatory mechanisms to encourage people to improve their living standards are rare.

The workshop was the first step of an on-going experiment in KD1, and will help the community and Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust take the next. Several suggestions for services the Trust could provide came up again and again, namely, a Trust General Dealership with building materials, clothes, food and hardware, and a filling station. There is demand for the Trust to provide transport of goods from Hukuntsi with a Trust vehicle, and to develop a banking/saving mechanism. Communal hunting rifles and provision of food and household goods to Ngwatle residents are also important priorities. Once specific financial figures become available, the Trust will have to determine its capacity for providing these services.

This workshop was a starting point. Its objective was to generate information and raise awareness, and in that sense it was successful. There were 14 participants from all three settlements, equal gender representation, and a variety of age-groups and socio-economic statuses. However, before the Trust carries out provision of specific services, it would be necessary to confirm the workshop findings with the community-at-large, perhaps through kgotla meetings or workshops in each settlement. Issues such as the people wanting to buy more livestock and boreholes with extra money arose and should be discussed with the community. The NRMA mentioned during the workshop that more cattle and boreholes would probably mean less wildlife and thus, less income. The participants were subdued. It will be interesting to see what happens when the money does come in.

Publications available under the CBNRM Support Programme

CBNRM workshop and conference proceedings:

1. L. Cassidy and M. Madzwamuse (Eds). 1999. *Community Mobilisation in Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana*. Report of Workshop Proceedings. Francistown, Botswana, December 9-11 1998.
2. L. Cassidy and M. Madzwamuse (Eds). 1999. *Enterprise Development and Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana*. Report of Workshop Proceedings. Maun, Botswana, March 9-12 1999.
3. L. Cassidy and S. Tveden (Eds). 1999. *Natural Resources Monitoring and Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana*. Report of Workshop Proceedings. Mokolodi, Botswana, June 10-11 1999.
4. L. Cassidy and R. Jansen (Eds). 1999. *National Conference on Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana*. Report of the National Conference Proceedings. Gaborone, Botswana, July 26-29 1999.

CBNRM Occasional Papers:

1. T. Gujadhur. 2000. *Organisations and their approaches in Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe*.
2. C.J. van der Jagt, T. Gujadhur and F. van Bussel. 2000. *Community Benefits through Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana*.

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ISBN 99912-0-328-1

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