

Feasibility Study: Is the Conservation Agreements Model a Complementary Delivery Mechanism for CBNRM in Botswana?

Final Report

Lin Cassidy Consulting (Pty) Ltd

P.O. Box 233, Maun, Botswana

Phone: +267 77106058

+267 72805210

Email: lincassidyconsulting@gmail.com

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BPCT	Botswana Predator Conservation Trust
BTO	Botswana Tourism Organisation
CA	Conservation Agreement
CBFiM	Community Based Fire Management
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CCF	Community Conservation Fund
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
CI	Conservation International
DAP	Department of Animal Production
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DfID	Department for International Development [UK]
DFRR	Department of Forestry and Range Resources
DNMM	Department of National Museums and Monuments
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GDSA	Gaborone Declaration on Sustainability in Africa
HEDT	Habu Elephant Development Trust
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LUCIS	Land Use Conflict Identification System
NCONGO	Ngamiland Council of NGOs
NEF	National Environment Fund
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SLM	Sustainable Land Management
ToC	Theory of Change
VDC	Village Development Committee
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

The purpose of this feasibility study is to establish whether conservation agreements constitute a suitable complementary mechanism for re-affirming and ensuring attainment of the objectives of CBNRM including as it applies to communal livestock production and rangeland management. It focuses on three villages in different study sites in Ngamiland for potential piloting: Khwai, Bothathogo and Tubu.

Conservation agreements are partnerships that offer “direct incentives for conservation through a negotiated benefit package in return for conservation actions by communities”. Of particular interest are rangeland management agreements which would extend community conservation projects beyond the current Botswana CBNRM focus on wildlife would not only encourage a greater sense of custodianship over a broad range of ecological resource, but would open up opportunities for participation of the large majority of rural communities that do not have access to wildlife-based tourism projects.

Key Findings and Recommendations

There are several long-standing, and well-documented, challenges to both *community* aspects and *management* aspects of CBNRM in Botswana that conservation agreements can address:

Current Gap or Challenge	CA opportunity
Limited reach: focus on wildlife-based tourism excludes many resources, and the majority of communities	Focus on rangeland management in tribal grazing areas, and on natural resources other than wildlife
Limited rights to decision-making at local level, due to central government control	Focus on partnerships linked to behaviour change and livelihood outcomes rather than on resource rights.
Mismatch between blanket approaches at national and community level, and the variation in interests and impact at household level – understanding and interpreting what is meant by “eligible communities”	Establish transactional arrangements at the level of resource interest groups and individuals
Capture and control by village elite	CAs that work at sub-village levels, such as resource user groups, or wards and family groups, would ensure more equitable participation.
Limited funding and support sources	CAs would promote eligible partnerships with either the private sector or with NGOs whose focus does allow them to attract funding
High turnover of district officers	CAs should involve a Botswana-based NGO with a permanent presence in-country.
National directives on wildlife-tourism override CBNRM intentions	CAs should draw on Botswana’s international obligations for community involvement in resources management

In order for conservation agreements to best complement the existing CBNRM programme, the following recommendations are made:

- Present conservation agreements as a tool under the existing CBNRM policy, instead of as a new framework for community conservation.
- Consider a ‘soft’ piloting stage, where case-by-case interventions are tested for different issues and with different partners before launching any high-profile programme.
- Conservation agreements in Botswana should focus on rangeland management, predator co-existence and sustainable resources harvesting.
- Conservation agreements should address environmental issues directly relating to current livelihood strategies and practices, and as identified by communities as such.
- Identify which NGOs are working with which communities, and ensure open dialogue and communication among all supporting agencies to maximise synergies and successful support to communities.

- Incentives should be strongly aligned with responsibilities as they relate to specific resource user groups at sub-village level.

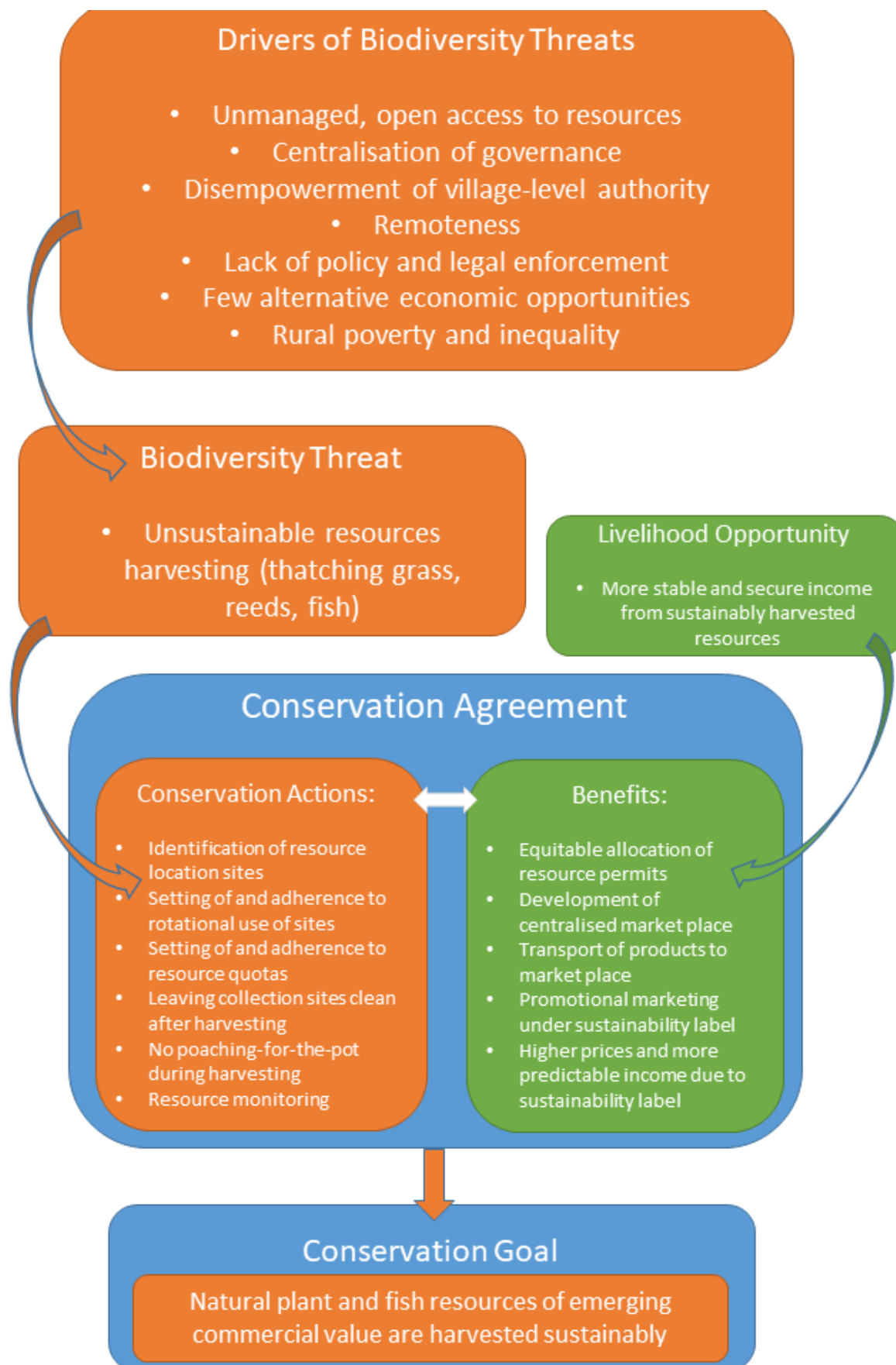
Conservation Agreements as a complement to existing CBNRM activities are strongly viable:

- The current CBNRM Policy accommodates unspecified “innovative incentives” and the participation of NGOs in helping communities sustainably manage resources.
- The policy explicitly mentions “veldt resources” which would include rangeland management.
- There is an urgent need to improve rural livelihoods due to high levels of poverty.
- Community members are aware that environmental problems, such as bush encroachment and overharvesting of natural resources are resulting from unmanaged use of resources.
- District level officials responsible for rangelands and natural resources are very supportive of the CA concept.
- There is an increasing number of permanent NGOs in northern Botswana whose focus on reducing livestock-wildlife conflict with communities can lead to more sound range management.
- The existing CBNRM approach has stagnated, and the community conservation scene is ripe for new ideas.
- CAs would strengthen rural communities by shifting from an identity of ‘victim’ to one of ‘custodian’.
- The economic environment in northern Botswana could support strengthened access to goods and services provided by local communities. Products with eco-branding or sustainability assurances, and that come from local communities, would greatly help them in this regard.

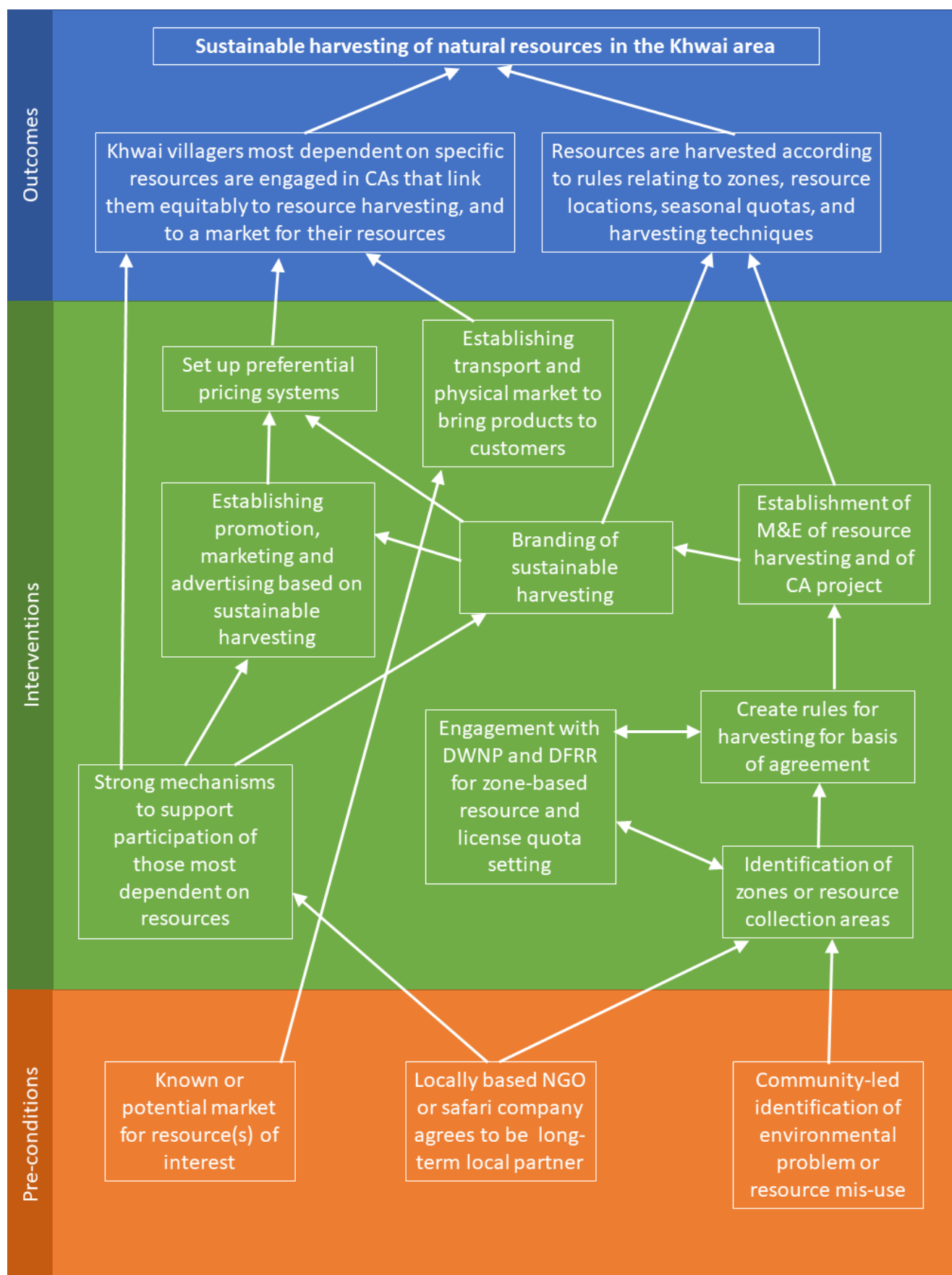
The CA model would bring a much more inclusive and transparent set of outcomes and returns compared to wildlife-focused CBNRM. By working with, and strengthening, existing rural livelihoods this conservation approach will have greater relevance to people living in rural communities.

Theories of Change for Study Sites

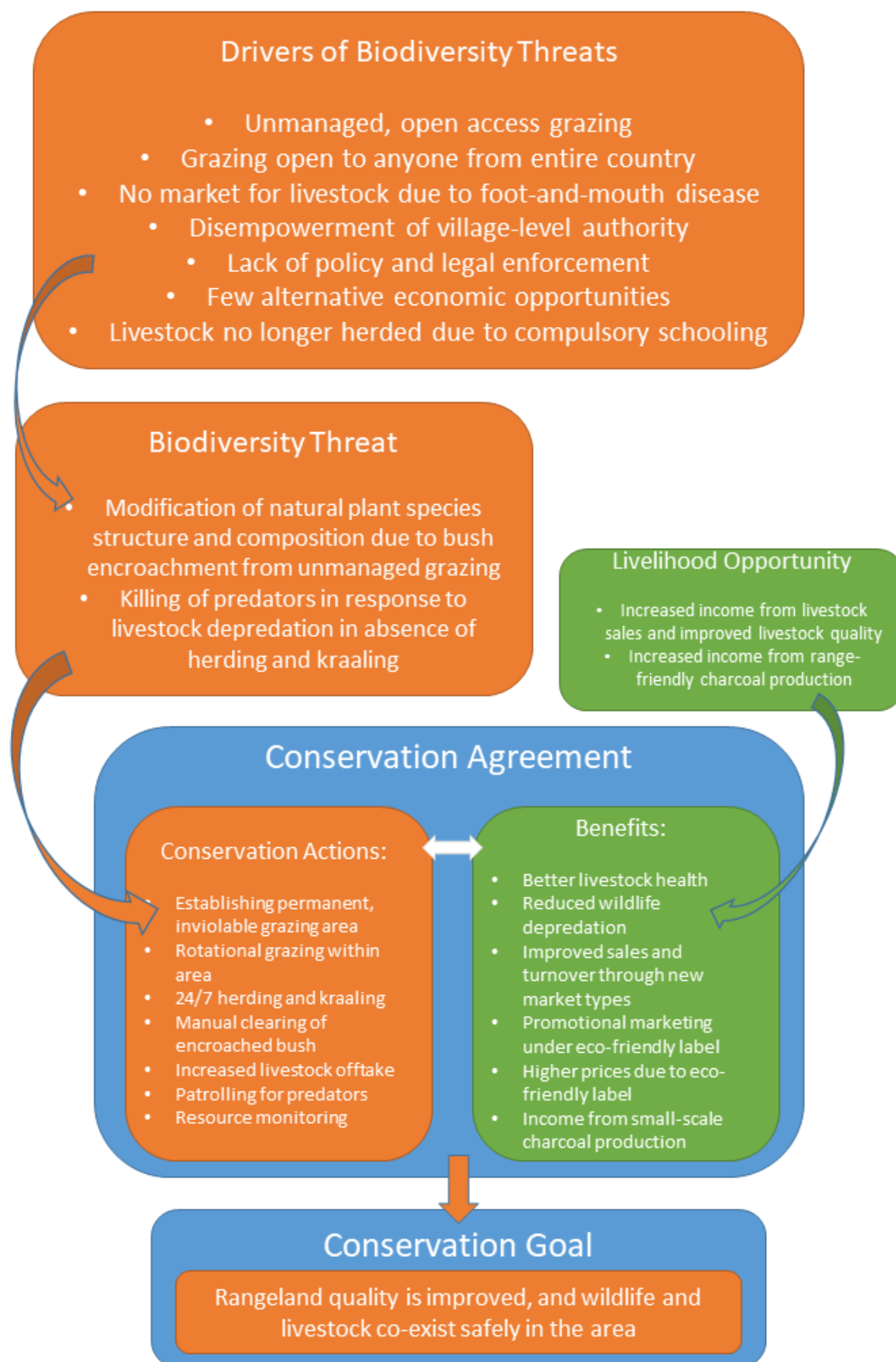
The theories of change presented below are more conceptual and give an overview for planning for a programmatic level. For each of the three areas, potential conservation agreements have been theorised, offering actions to achieve conservation goals that address the drivers behind threats to biodiversity. Khwai has potential for interventions surrounding resource harvesting, Bothathogo has potential for rangeland management interventions, while Tubu has strong potential for both. The ToCs for each area are presented across two diagrams: a summary of threats, drivers, actions and outcomes, and a flow diagram linking pre-conditions through actions to outcomes.



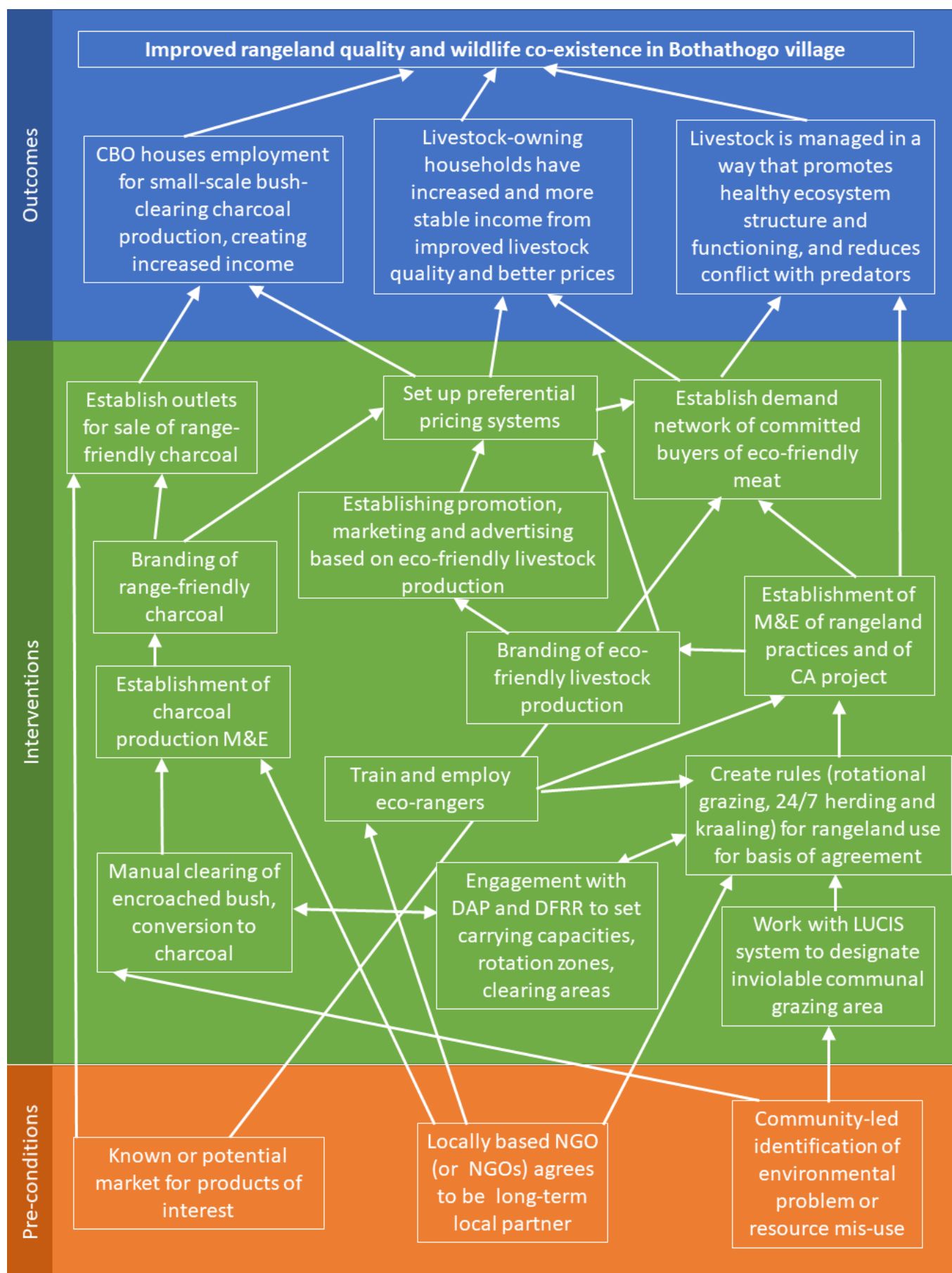
Drivers, threats, actions, and goal relating to a potential conservation agreement in Khwai Village



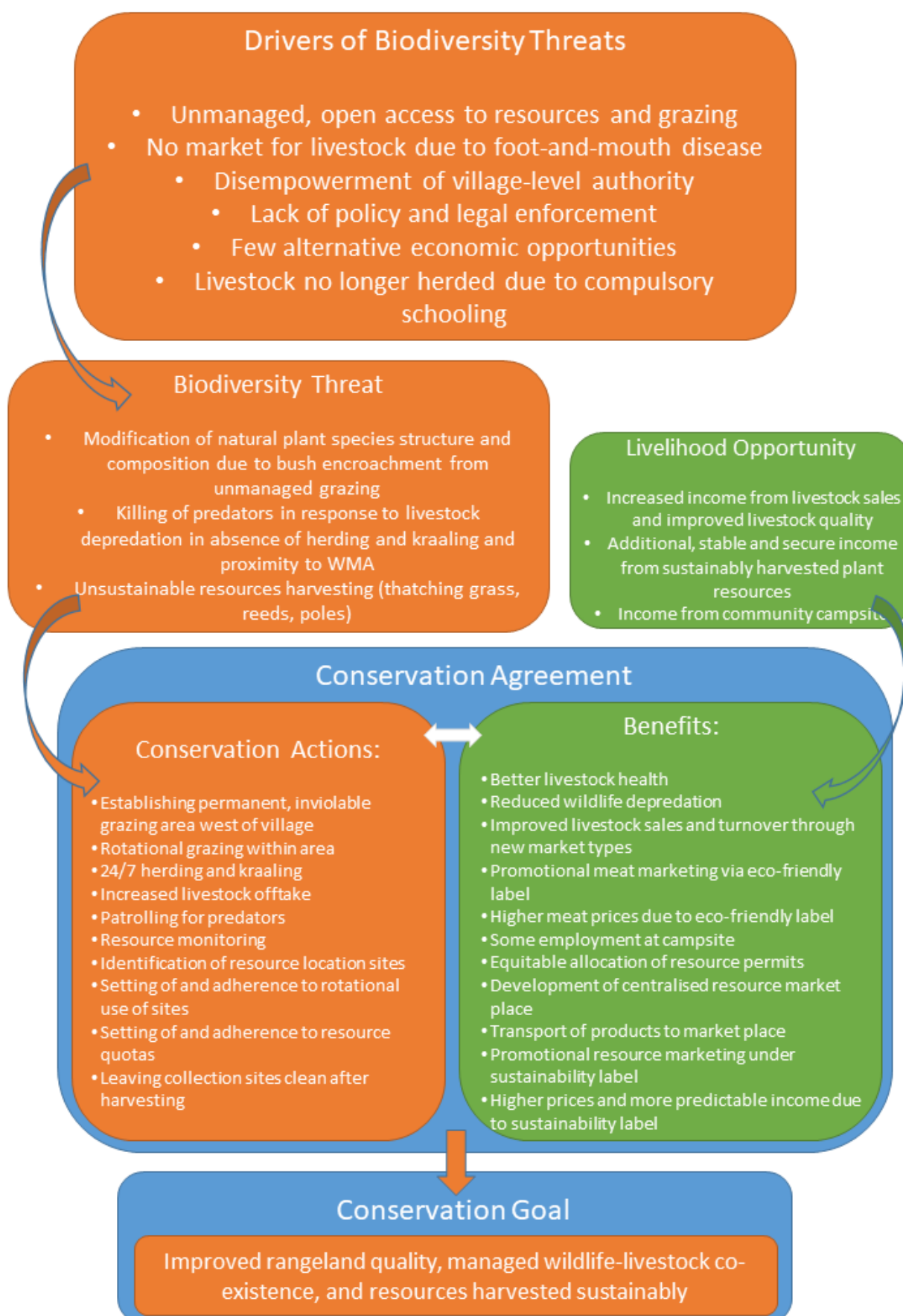
Conceptual ToC for resource harvesting in Khwai



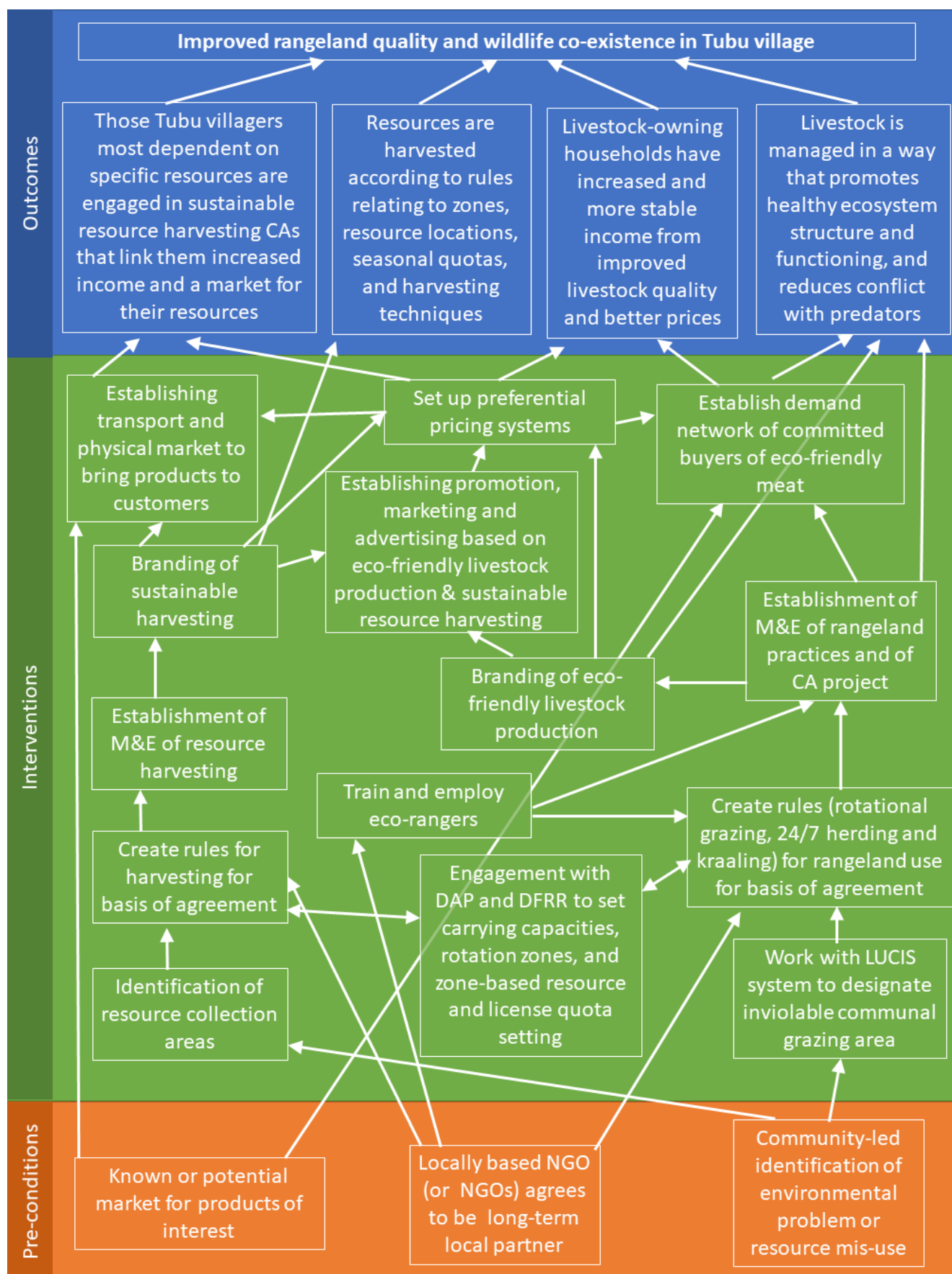
Drivers, threats, actions, and goal relating to a potential conservation agreement in Bothathogo Village



Conceptual ToC for rangeland management in Bothathogo



Drivers, threats, actions, and goal relating to a potential conservation agreement in Tubu Village



Conceptual ToC for rangeland management and resource harvesting in Tubu

1 INTRODUCTION

Based on the terms of reference, the purpose of this feasibility study is to establish whether conservation agreements constitute a suitable complementary mechanism for re-affirming and ensuring attainment of the objectives of CBNRM including as it applies to communal livestock production and rangeland management. Specifically, the study had two main objectives:

1. To determine whether conservation agreements can provide solutions to those challenges and achieve both socio-economic and conservation results including biodiversity conservation and climate change resilience building; and
2. To undertake a detailed feasibility analysis and provide a Theory of Change for each of these regions for conservation agreements, in Ngamiland District (Figure 1) in northern Botswana:
 - North-eastern WMAs (Khwai, Mababe and Sankuyo)
 - Lake Ngami (Toteng, Sehitwa, Bodibeng, Bothatogo, Kareng and Legothwana)
 - Western Okavango (Habu, Nokaneng and Tubu).

The feasibility study is guided by an overarching research question: Is Conservation Agreements Model a Complementary Delivery Mechanism for CBNRM in Botswana? Under this, thirteen specific research questions were posed in order to ensure a comprehensive situational analysis:

1. What are the national policies and laws promoting biodiversity conservation and climate change adaptation?
2. To what extent are these policies and laws in harmony and how well are they implemented?
3. What national policies and laws promote community based natural resource management in Botswana?
4. What Non-Governmental Organisations or Community Based Organisations with a focus on natural resources management and development operate in the above cited target areas and what is the extent of their organizational capacity?
5. Furthermore, how have the above local institutions interacted (governance) for good or detriment of CBNRM in the past?
6. What is or has been the role of the traditional authority in CBNRM in these localities?
7. What are the current challenges to CBNRM in Botswana?
8. Of the above (#6) challenges, where and how can conservation agreements provide practical solutions?
9. Given that CBNRM in Botswana has traditionally concerned itself with wildlife/ecotourism, what is the willingness of custodian institutions such as Land Boards, Councils and traditional authorities as well as CBOs to broaden the scope of CBNRM to encompass livestock production and rangeland management?
10. How can conservation agreements incentive package support the development of non-consumptive tourism and sustainable livestock enterprises?
11. What funding mechanisms exist nationally and can support the cost and delivery of incentives to the community?
12. Would the three proposed pilot sites be viable demonstration sites for conservation agreements?
13. If appropriate, how could conservation agreements to facilitate CBNRM be brought to scale (e.g. within existing or new policy frameworks)?

1.1 Conservation Agreements and Rationale behind the Study

Conservation agreements are partnerships that offer “direct incentives for conservation through a negotiated benefit package in return for conservation actions by communities” (CSP website, 2017¹). These partnerships link natural-resource-dependent communities to supporting agencies (governmental, non-governmental or

¹ <https://www.conservation.org/projects/Pages/conservation-stewards-program.aspx>

private), so that those using natural resources are given incentives and the means to conserve and use their resources sustainably. CI's conservation agreements model has been developed under their Conservation Stewards Program (CI 2016). Of particular interest are the rangeland management agreements that have been initiated in neighbouring South Africa, in Namaqualand and the Eastern Cape. Working in collaboration with Peace Parks Africa and others, Conservation South Africa has also developed a Herding for Health project in north-eastern South Africa's Kruger to Canyon Biosphere Reserve (Hans Hoheisen Wildlife Research Platform 2017).

There is clearly both the potential and the need to develop rangeland management and wildlife-livestock co-existence projects throughout southern Africa. Botswana would be able to benefit from regional experiences, and link into a network of similar conservation custodianships. The extension of community conservation projects beyond the current CBNRM focus on wildlife would not only encourage a greater sense of custodianship over a broad range of ecological resource, but would open up opportunities for participation of the large majority of rural communities that do not have access to wildlife-based tourism projects.

1.2 Structure of the Report

To make the core findings of the study stand out, the main report focuses directly on key findings and recommendations relating to the feasibility of conservation agreements in Botswana –in terms of both viability and challenges to address. It then presents program-level theories of change for each of three pilot study areas. The bulk of the work relating to the 13 research questions comprising the situational analysis is presented in a series of appendices for more detailed insights.

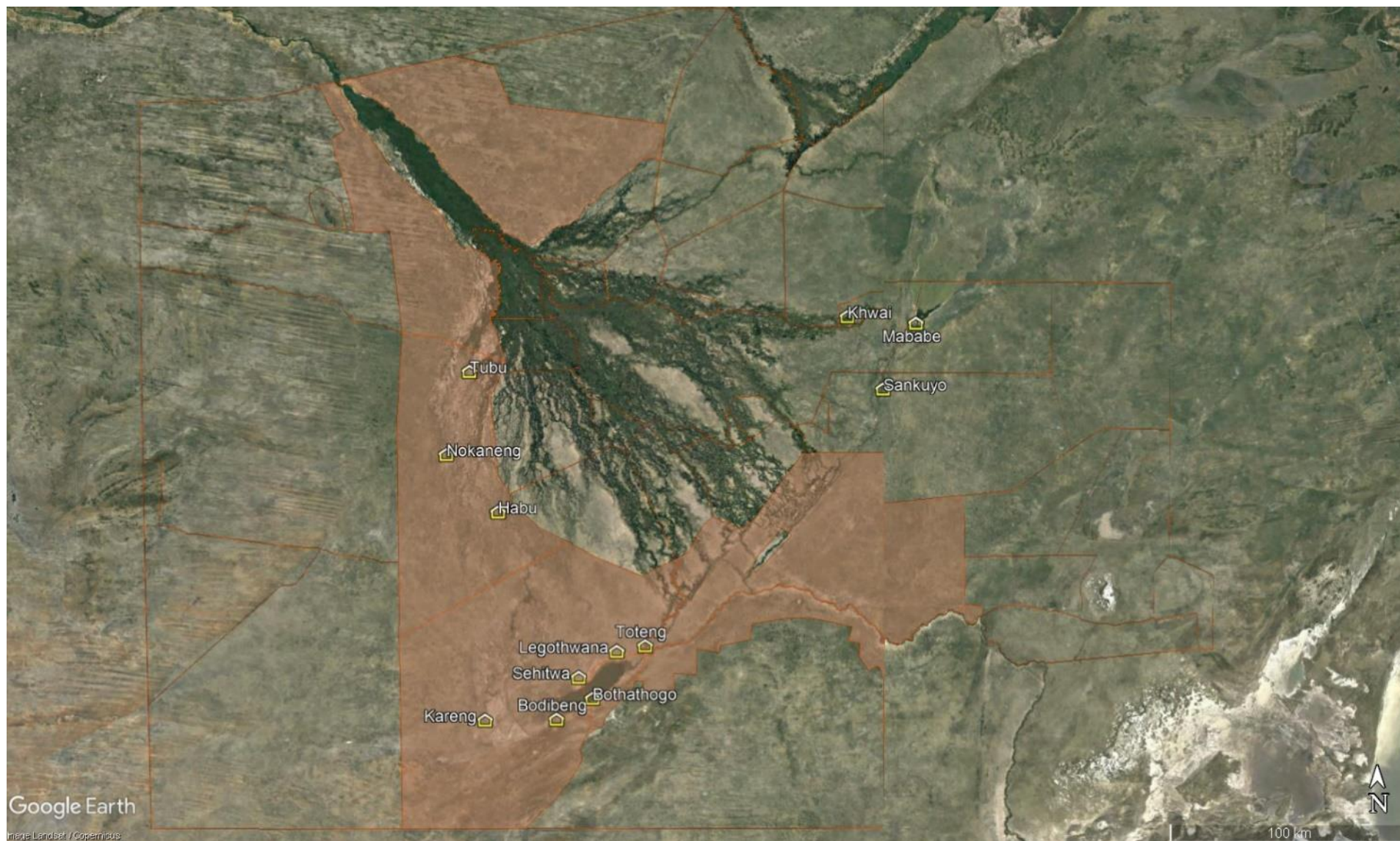


Figure 1: Location map showing study area villages. Orange lines show different management areas in Ngamiland. Shaded blocks indicate those area where traditional livestock and crop production livelihoods are dominant; unshaded areas are designated for wildlife management and comprise more than half the district.

2 KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Botswana has a long history of community conservation projects through its 30-year community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) program. The major findings and recommendations from this feasibility are summarised here in terms of 1) Generalised recommendations for the Botswana context, and 2) Viability of Conservation Agreements in Botswana.

2.1 Complementarity of Conservation Agreements to CBNRM in Botswana

There are several long-standing, and well-documented, challenges to both *community* aspects and *management* aspects of CBNRM in Botswana (see Appendix 7 for details). These range from lack of devolvement of authority to the local level, to limited resources. There is therefore a well-defined need to support CBNRM, particularly through adding different mechanisms, scales and geographic focus. The specific gaps that conservation agreements can address are summarised in tabular form here, with full details presented in Appendix 8.

Table 1: Complementarity of CAs to CBNRM through existing implementation gaps and challenges

CBNRM Policy	Current Gap or Challenge	CA opportunity
"The CBNRM concept is founded on the premise that all members of a community share an interest in improving their livelihoods through sustainable management and utilisation of natural resources in their environs. It is also based on the understanding that <u>all natural resources</u> [own emphasis] have an intrinsic value that can be realised for the benefit of society."	Limited reach: focus on wildlife-based tourism excludes many resources, and the majority of communities	Focus on rangeland management in tribal grazing areas, and on natural resources other than wildlife
"People who live closest to natural resources generally absorb the greatest costs associated with their conservation. Given proper awareness and incentives, they are most likely to successfully benefit from and conserve such natural resources within their environs. For communities to actively engage in natural resources conservation, the benefits from such resources must exceed the costs of conservation."	Limited rights to decision-making at local level, due to central government control	Focus on partnerships linked to behaviour change and livelihood outcomes rather than on resource rights.
"For communities to actively engage in natural resources conservation, the benefits from such resources must exceed the costs of conservation. CBNRM aims to achieve this by offering eligible communities opportunities to earn tangible benefits from sustainable natural resources management."	Mismatch between blanket approaches at national and community level, and the variation in interests and impact at household level – understanding and interpreting what is meant by "eligible communities"	Establish transactional arrangements at the level of resource interest groups and individuals
"[...] the dynamics of power relationships and personal interests in some communities has jeopardised the welfare of the wider community."	Capture and control by village elite	CAs that work at sub-village levels, such as resource user groups, or wards and family groups, would ensure more equitable participation.
"The Policy pursues community - private sector partnerships in which communities assume responsibility for business cooperation and adequately manage such partnerships for the benefit of all community members."	Limited funding and support sources	CAs would promote eligible partnerships with either the private sector or with NGOs whose focus does allow them to attract funding
"Government will continue to provide the necessary physical and institutional infrastructure as well as marketing and other support services [...]"	High turnover of district officers	CAs should involve a Botswana-based NGO with a permanent presence in-country.
"The Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism (MEWT) shall be the government agency responsible for coordinating and overseeing the implementation of this Policy. "	National directives on wildlife-tourism override CBNRM intentions	CAs should draw on Botswana's international obligations for community involvement in resources management

2.2 Overall Recommendations for Conservation Agreements in Botswana

Although Botswana has a stable democracy, there are currently subtle shifts in central government associated with the transition of the presidency and upcoming national elections in 2019. This creates some uncertainty as to how much government support will be made available to community-level interventions over the next 5 years. This uncertainty sets the context for most of the recommendations listed here:

- Present conservation agreements as a tool under the existing CBNRM policy, instead of as a new framework for community conservation. This will allow such interventions to proceed without delays that may arise from identifying new guidelines and institutional arrangements. It will also revitalise those government departments supporting CBNRM and who are directly responsible for natural resources (particularly DWNP and DFRR) but whose ability to support communities has been undermined by the series of directives that have placed wildlife tourism interests first.
- Consider a 'soft' piloting stage, where case-by-case interventions are tested for different issues and with different partners before launching any high-profile programme. This will reduce push-back from some quarters where there is a move to restrict community-level participation in resource decision-making.
- Conservation agreements in Botswana should focus on rangeland management, predator co-existence and sustainable resources harvesting. Although wildlife conservation has the potential to draw international funding and support for CAs, this is an area that already receives plentiful support in the Botswana context, where 40 % of land is set aside for wildlife protection (17 % within formal protected areas, and a further 23 % in WMAs), and where there are already several strong conservation programmes engaging government, NGOs and the private sector (Ecosurv 2014). This strong wildlife focus has left a huge gap regarding conservation and sustainable use of other resources. In addition, focusing on broader conservation outside of protected areas has the potential for wildlife conservation funds to be tapped where co-existence is the focus. This is a strong opportunity for CA partnerships.
- Conservation agreements should address environmental issues directly relating to current livelihood strategies and practices, and as identified by communities as such. There are many environmental issues that communities may identify but which the current political environment does not allow them any control over. For example, communities might note that there are too many elephant, or that they wish predator numbers to be reduced, but such decisions are made at national, not local, level.
- Identify which NGOs are working with which communities, and ensure open dialogue and communication among all supporting agencies to maximise synergies and successful support to communities. It is important to acknowledge what work has and is being done so that efforts are not duplicated, but are built upon in partnership.
- While success will depend on working with community institutions and leadership, it is very important that incentives be strongly aligned with responsibilities as they relate to specific resource user groups at sub-village level. That is, even though there may be pressure to engage "all community members" it is important to avoid the current Botswana CBNRM model mismatch where conservation costs are felt at household level but benefits are returned at community level.

2.3 Viability of Conservation Agreements as Complement to CBNRM

Conservation Agreements as a complement to existing CBNRM activities are strongly viable. The following list summarises key points supporting this assessment:

- The current CBNRM Policy accommodates unspecified "innovative incentives" and the participation of NGOs in helping communities sustainably manage resources.
- The policy explicitly mentions "veldt resources" which would include rangeland management.
- There is an urgent need to improve rural livelihoods, particularly in Ngamiland and Ghanzi where there are high levels of poverty.
- Environmental problems, such as bush encroachment and overharvesting of natural resources, are increasing around rural communities, and many community members are aware that such problems are resulting from unmanaged use of resources.

- District level officials responsible for rangelands and natural resources (Departments of Forestry and Range Resources, Animal Production, and Wildlife and National Parks) are very supportive of the CA concept, and examples already exist of government partnering with local communities around resource permitting and licensing.
- There is an increasing number of permanent NGOs in northern Botswana. While many of them lack staff with a background in community development and focus more on charismatic species conservation, reduction in human-wildlife conflict is a common interest, and many of the strategies to reduce predator killings, such as maintaining a permanent herder presence, and kraaling livestock at night, can lead to more sound range management.
- The existing CBNRM approach has stagnated, and the community conservation scene is ripe for new ideas. Introducing CAs would build on the principle of 'those bearing the costs must receive compensatory benefits' by adding more directly *quid pro quo* incentives. CAs would strengthen rural communities by shifting from an identity of 'victim' to one of 'custodian'.
- The economic environment in northern Botswana could support strengthened access to goods and services provided by local communities. The demand for products such as those that could be provided by rural communities is very high, particularly in the large luxury tourism sector. Safari corporations are under pressure to showcase their ecological sustainability and social responsibilities. Products with eco-branding or sustainability assurances, and that come from local communities, would greatly help them in this regard.
- The CA model would bring a much more inclusive and transparent set of outcomes and returns compared to wildlife-focused CBNRM. By working with, and strengthening, existing rural livelihoods this conservation approach will have greater relevance to people living in rural communities. The focus on actual resource users has the potential to directly increase economic stability and social wellbeing, which in turn would bring greater and more direct buy-in to conservation activities.

2.4 National Financing Options Available for Conservation Agreements

Within Botswana there are three governmental funding sources, and one parastatal, that can be directly accessed by communities to support conservation activities. Key aspects are summarised here in Table 2, while a narrative description can be found in Appendix 11.

Table 2: National grants available to CBOs and NGOs for conservation activities

Name	Community Conservation Fund	National Environment Fund	Constituency Development Fund	Forest Conservation Botswana Grants
Administrator	Department of Wildlife and National Parks	Department of Environmental Affairs	Department of Local Government with VDCs	FCB Board
Purpose	To help CBOs defray some of the costs of acquiring the skills and technical requirements needed for running their organisation	To provide long term financing for sustainable environment and natural resource management.	To provide communities with grants to implement major development projects.	To address sustainable forest resource utilisation
Procedures for application	Submit technical and financial proposals	In response to annual or bi-annual calls	Application by VDC through district council	Submit technical and financial proposals
Typical amount given to CBOs in past	Up to BWP 500,000 annually	BWP250,000 – BWP 2,700,000	BWP 1,000,000 – BWP 7,000,000	BWP 100 – BWP 650,000
Typical activities funded	Mobilisation; organisational development; training; marketing; legal fees; area management plans; conservation projects	Research; CBNRM activities; Restoration projects; eco-tourism and cultural tourism; sustainable use of natural resources	Development of cultural villages, building of community infrastructure	CBNRM projects, agro-forestry, fire management, controlled harvesting of plant products, and development of management plans

3 THEORIES OF CHANGE

In this section, a higher order of theories of change (ToCs) is used to establish how interventions might unfold in each pilot area in order to establish functional conservation agreements that could serve as demonstration sites for roll-out to other communities in the area as well as elsewhere in Botswana. The theories of change presented below are more conceptual and give an overview for planning for a programmatic level. The situational analysis to inform these ToCs are captured in Appendices 1 through 13. For each of the three areas, potential conservation agreements have been theorised, based on key informant interviews and known issues from each area. These conservation agreements offer actions to achieve conservation goals that address the drivers behind threats to biodiversity. Khwai has potential for interventions surrounding resource harvesting (Section 3.1), Bothathogo has potential for rangeland management interventions (Section 3.2), while Tubu has strong potential for both (Section 3.3). A comparison of the drivers, threats, actions and outcomes for the three proposed pilot sites is given in Table 3.

For each area, two schematic diagrams are presented. The first highlights how different drivers create biodiversity threats; how actions under a conservation agreement could address those threats; and what the conservation goal related to these threats would be. The second diagram charts how each ToC would build on necessary preconditions; follow a range of interventions and actions; to achieve a set of outcomes supporting an overarching conservation goal.

Where any actual partnerships are established with the target communities, a project level theory of change that is constructed with substantial inputs from the community itself will need to be developed for each community. In this way, conservation priorities and the core problems to be addressed will be identified more clearly, and will consequently be more closely owned, by community members.

Table 3: Comparison of threats, drivers, actions and outcomes in the three study sites

Village	Khwai	Bothathogo	Tubu
Biodiversity Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unsustainable harvesting of natural resources that have emerging commercial value – such as fish, thatching grass and reeds. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modification of natural plant species structure and composition due to bush encroachment from unmanaged grazing • Killing of predators in response to livestock depredation in absence of herding and kraaling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modification of natural plant species structure and composition due to bush encroachment from unmanaged grazing • Killing of predators in response to livestock depredation in absence of herding and kraaling and proximity to WMA • Unsustainable resources harvesting (thatching grass, reeds, poles)
Drivers of Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social inequality and rural poverty • Unmanaged, open access to resources • Centralisation of governance • Disempowerment of village-level authority • Remoteness • Lack of policy and legal enforcement • Few alternative economic opportunities • Rural poverty and inequality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unmanaged, open access grazing open to anyone in entire country • No market for livestock due to foot-and-mouth disease • Disempowerment of village-level authority • Lack of policy and legal enforcement • Few alternative economic opportunities • Livestock no longer herded due to compulsory schooling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unmanaged, open access to resources and grazing • No market for livestock due to foot-and-mouth disease • Disempowerment of village-level authority • Lack of policy and legal enforcement • Few alternative economic opportunities • Livestock no longer herded due to compulsory schooling
Actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification and mapping of resource collection areas. In the past, a safari company would take each family to their site each season, before transporting them and their grass back to the village. This 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use ongoing village level zoning as springboard for zoning an area for grazing in where no alternative land allocations will be made. Fixing this grazing land is a critical first step. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build on ongoing LUCIS zoning to identify both resource collection areas and inviolable grazing areas. (NB, Tubu conducted an internal zoning exercise a few years ago.)

Village	Khwai	Bothathogo	Tubu
	<p>partnership gave the safari company some control over who was moving around in their concession, and reduced poaching.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing resource and license quotas, and harvest seasons, with participation of government department responsible for that resource. Engaging these departments would ensure that communities develop management approaches within the framework of policies and laws. Monitoring and evaluation of: resources, activities around the resource, and CA project implementation must be put in place as soon as the resources and rules are identified. Early identification of resource users who are most dependent on the resources of interest. Mechanisms to prevent elite capture must be put in place, and should form part of the eco-branding process. Sustainability branding as basis for promoting and marketing products harvested from Khwai. A key negotiation point for setting prices for the resources at a level to keep resource harvesters engaged in following sustainable harvesting practices. Assistance in moving harvested products to Maun, where they can better be distributed to or accessed by potential buyers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engage DAP and DFRR officials, and others (such as rangeland researchers at ORI) to determine rotational zones and carrying capacities, and to help establish the rangeland management rules. Work with the community to train and employ herders under the eco-ranger approach, as well as with mobile kraaling (cf WldCRU approach) Once rules and herding arrangements are in place, set up a M&E system to measure range quality (vegetation structure and composition), management practices, and unfolding of the CA project itself. Branding of 'eco-friendly' meat products form the basis for promotion and targeted marketing of the products. A key step in this regard is identification of the demand network, whether supermarkets in neighbouring countries, luxury lodges in the Okavango, or local restaurants in Maun. The pricing system must take into consideration additional costs arising from new rangeland management practices, as well as the willingness-to-pay reported by potential buyers. Implement activities related to manual removal of bushes in encroached areas. Identification and demarcation of clearing areas, done together with DFRR. Need expert guidance on what species and individual trees should be left intact as part of the desired savanna grassland structure. The trust should be supported to employ additional people to work on charcoal production in the actual problem areas. (The Lake Ngami trust already had training on sustainable charcoal production, and employs people who make charcoal from dead trees on the lake bed.) The charcoal too, should be part of a branding process. The trust may already be pursuing this, so it would be important to dovetail efforts with their activities in this regard. With branding in place, marketing and the creation of sales outlets that support the sustainable harvesting pricing should be done. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Once zones and resource areas have been demarcated, DAP and DFRR officials should help set quotas, to establish permitting and licensing for resources, and to give inputs to establishing rules for both grazing management and resources harvesting to ensure that these comply with policies and laws. Hiring and training of eco-rangers, and possibly of resource custodian M&E systems for resource condition and resource harvesting; for range quality and range management practices; and the CA project itself should be established. Branding for both sustainable harvesting and eco-friendly meat should be pursued to form the basis for promoting and marketing the community's products, and consequently for establishing a preferential pricing system. Identify and pursue potential livestock product buyers who would have an interest in paying higher prices for the eco-friendly label, and for being able to support local enterprises. Help with transport of plant resources to Maun, and for linking such products to buyers
Intermediate Outcomes to Support Partnership in Conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Equitable participation in resource harvesting CAs Rules relating to zones, locations, seasons and techniques are in place and followed by CA harvesters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased income to some households through CBO for small-scale bush clearing and charcoal production Increased and more stable income from improved livestock quality and better prices Livestock is managed according to rules that promote ecosystem health and reduce predator conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Equitable participation in resource harvesting CAs Rules relating to zones, locations, seasons and techniques are in place and followed by CA harvesters Increased and more stable income from improved livestock quality and better prices Livestock is managed according to rules that promote ecosystem health and reduce predator conflict
Overarching Conservation Outcome	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustainable harvesting of natural resources in the Khwai area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rangeland quality is improved, and wildlife and livestock co-exist safely in the Bothathogo area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved rangeland quality and wildlife co-existence in Tubu village

3.1 Theory of Change – Khwai

3.1.1 Overview of Khwai suitability

As detailed in Appendix 12, the north-east WMA area is not currently well positioned as a demonstration site, because both internal politics and the current national policy environment have created additional obstacles for community conservation. The future of community-based tourism activities is unclear. However, given the strong need for livelihood enhancement in order to reduce unsustainable reliance on natural resources, and the opportunity to juxtapose directly the current CBNRM model with a conservation stewardship one, a simple conceptual model is presented here for Khwai village. Because the CA would be introduced along-side existing CBNRM activities, it is useful to choose a scale and resource focus that will complement those activities. The Theory of Change for Khwai is presented visually in Figure 2 and Figure 3. No fixed area can be currently determined, as the management plan for this location is being revised, with the likelihood that resources would be harvested in a safari concession area under arrangement with that safari operator.

3.1.2 Necessary preconditions for a CA in Khwai

The most important pre-condition is for the community to take identify and take on responsibility for the environmental or resource management issue that the CA would address. This would require a series of meetings and discussion groups with the whole community as well as with specific resource interest groups. For the accountability explicit in the CA to work, community members must first acknowledge responsibility for the issue.

Experience has shown that remote communities in Botswana, including Khwai, have a very slow pace of adopting innovations. This means a long-term partnership is needed, whether this is with an NGO or safari company. Community members generally lack knowledge of market forces, and do not have the formal education or the resources to navigate the broader economic arena.

While it may be clear that resources of interest have a commercial value in that they are already being harvested beyond subsistence levels, it would be important to do a market survey of current prices and of the extra amount that buyers would be willing to pay for products that are branded as sustainably harvested. An assessment of the costs of introducing sustainable practices should be done to establish the preferential costs.

3.1.3 Suitability of Khwai's conceptual ToC for other villages in the north-eastern WMAs

In principle, this proposed ToC would work equally well in Mababe and Sankuyo villages. Resources types would differ, however. In Mababe, the main resource over which the community has expressed concerns (a wild spinach) is seasonal and of marginal commercial value, and it is possible that no market-related incentive to better management practices will be found. In Sankuyo, large-scale non-commercial firewood collection by non-residents is a challenge, and efforts would need to include approaching collectors such as government institutions (BDF, schools) who are not part of the community and would have little interest in adhering to rules.

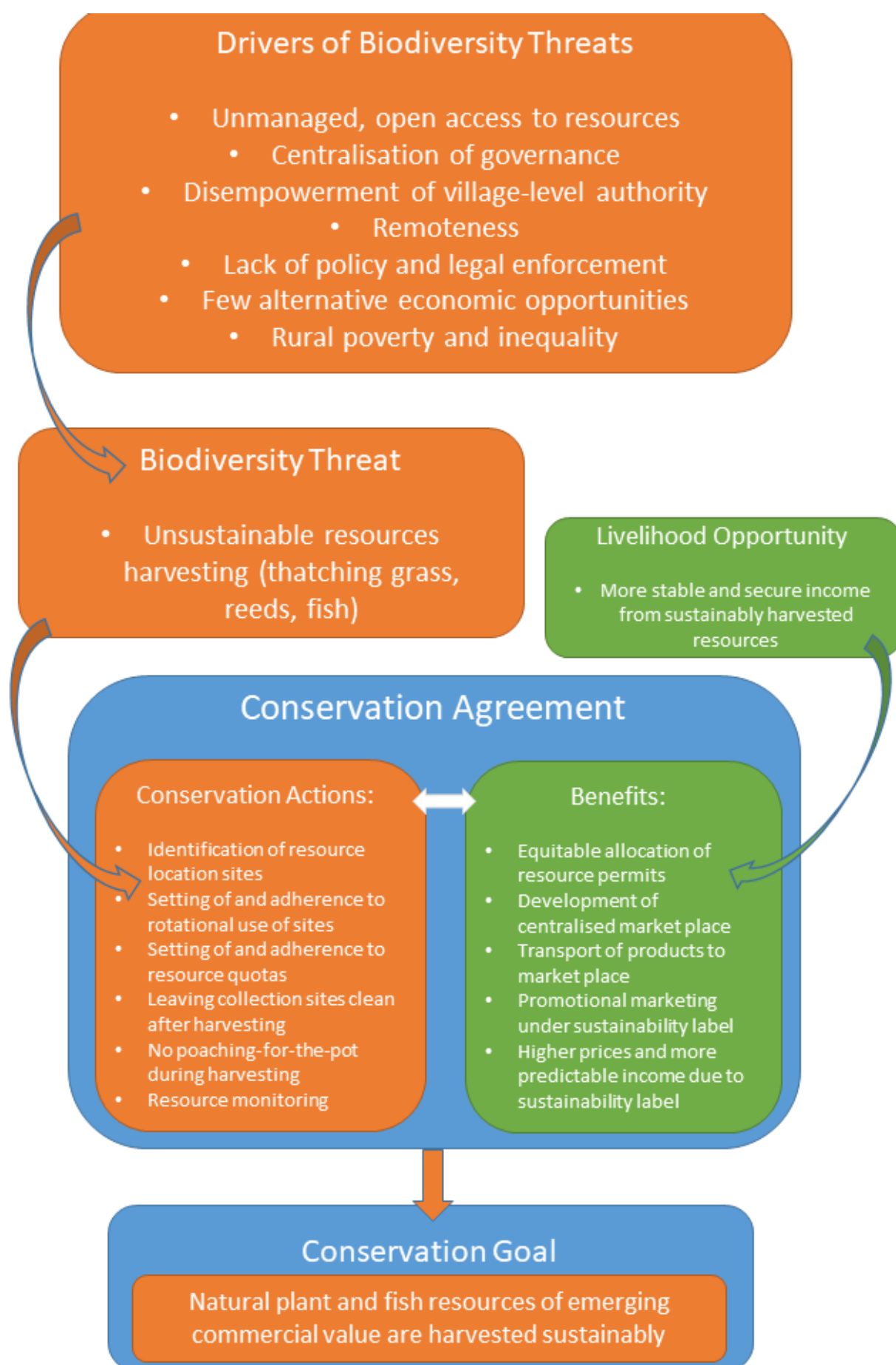


Figure 2: Drivers, threats, actions, and goal relating to a potential conservation agreement in Khwai Village

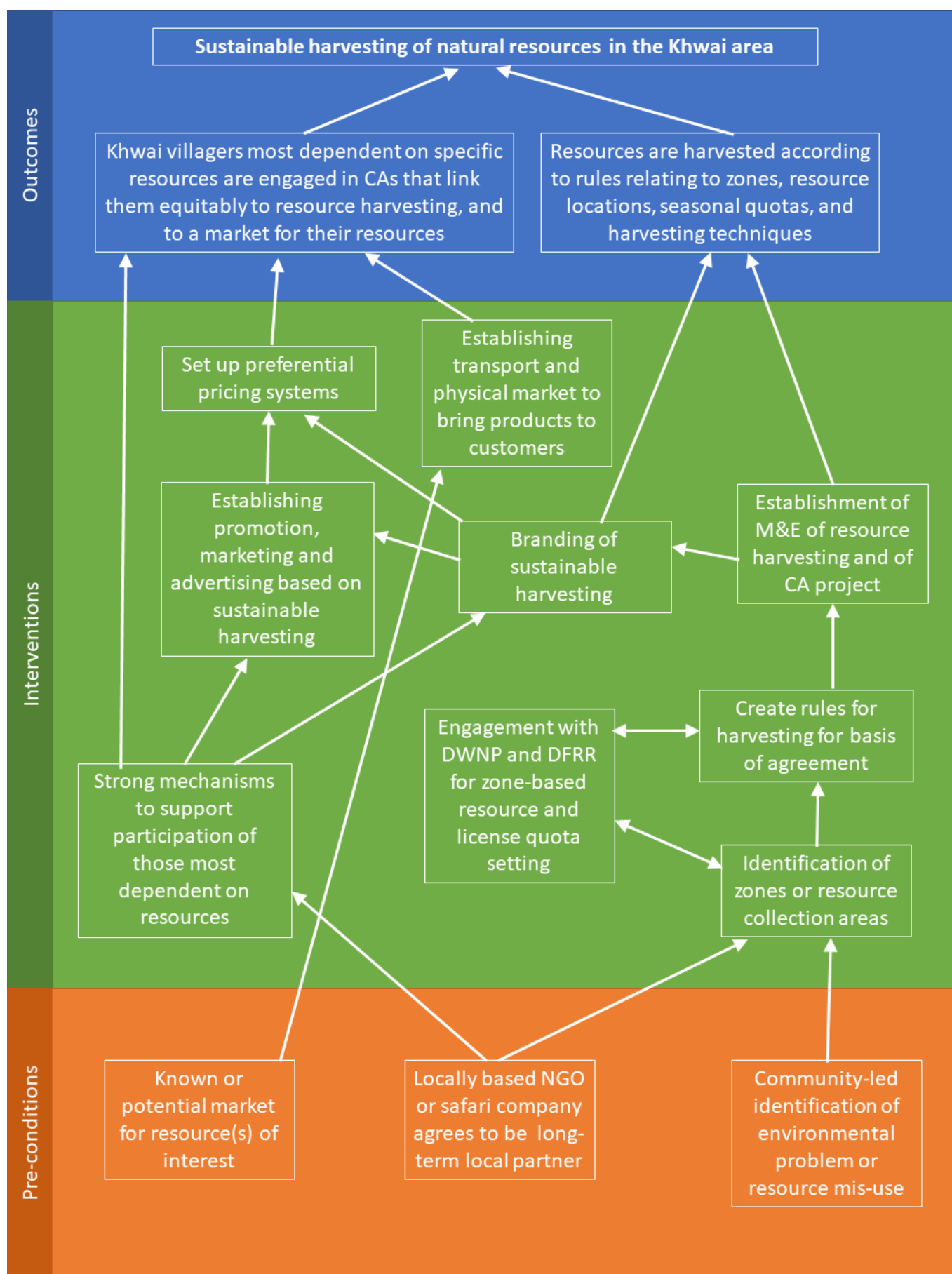


Figure 3: Conceptual ToC for resource harvesting in Khwai

3.2 Theory of Change – Bothathogo

3.2.1 Overview of Bothathogo suitability

Bothathogo is recommended as the first village to approach in this area as it has the most pressing need, as well as more identifiable grazing area boundaries (Appendix 12). As a Herero community, livelihoods are very strongly focused on cattle production. This area has already been identified as a pilot intervention site in the Lake Ngami Management Plan, and has had initial support from the UNDP-funded Sustainable Land Management Project. The potential grazing management area would be between 100 and 150 square kilometres.

3.2.2 Necessary preconditions for a CA in Bothathogo

One of the shortcomings of earlier CBNRM interventions is the top-down approach where both principles and projects have been imposed from outside a community. As with Khwai, the main preconditions are to ensure that the community leads the identification and adoption of an environmental issue to tackle; that at least one partner to the CA (other than the community) plans to be engaged for the long haul, and that the demand or market aspects are ascertained in advance of the CA.

3.2.3 Suitability of Bothathogo's conceptual ToC for other villages around Lake Ngami

The ToC would also be suitable to most of the other villages around Lake Ngami. Firstly, they are all part of the same trust, so the institutional arrangements are in place, and the lessons learned by Bothathogo would be accessible to the other villages. Bodibeng is probably the next most similar, and immediately adjacent, so it may be logical to roll out there next. Toteng is more of a mixed village, and has other pressures (greater ethnic diversity with corresponding variation in land use interests; recent down-sizing of a proposed large copper mine with employment influx followed by retrenchment). Legothwana is very small, and may have to be supported to manage range users not resident in their community. Kareng is likely to be a more complicated village; most of its residents are Bushmen, who do not own cattle, but who likely work as herders for others from surrounding villages. Engaging Kareng residents might require a focus on harvesting specific plant resources, as is suggested for the Khwai model.

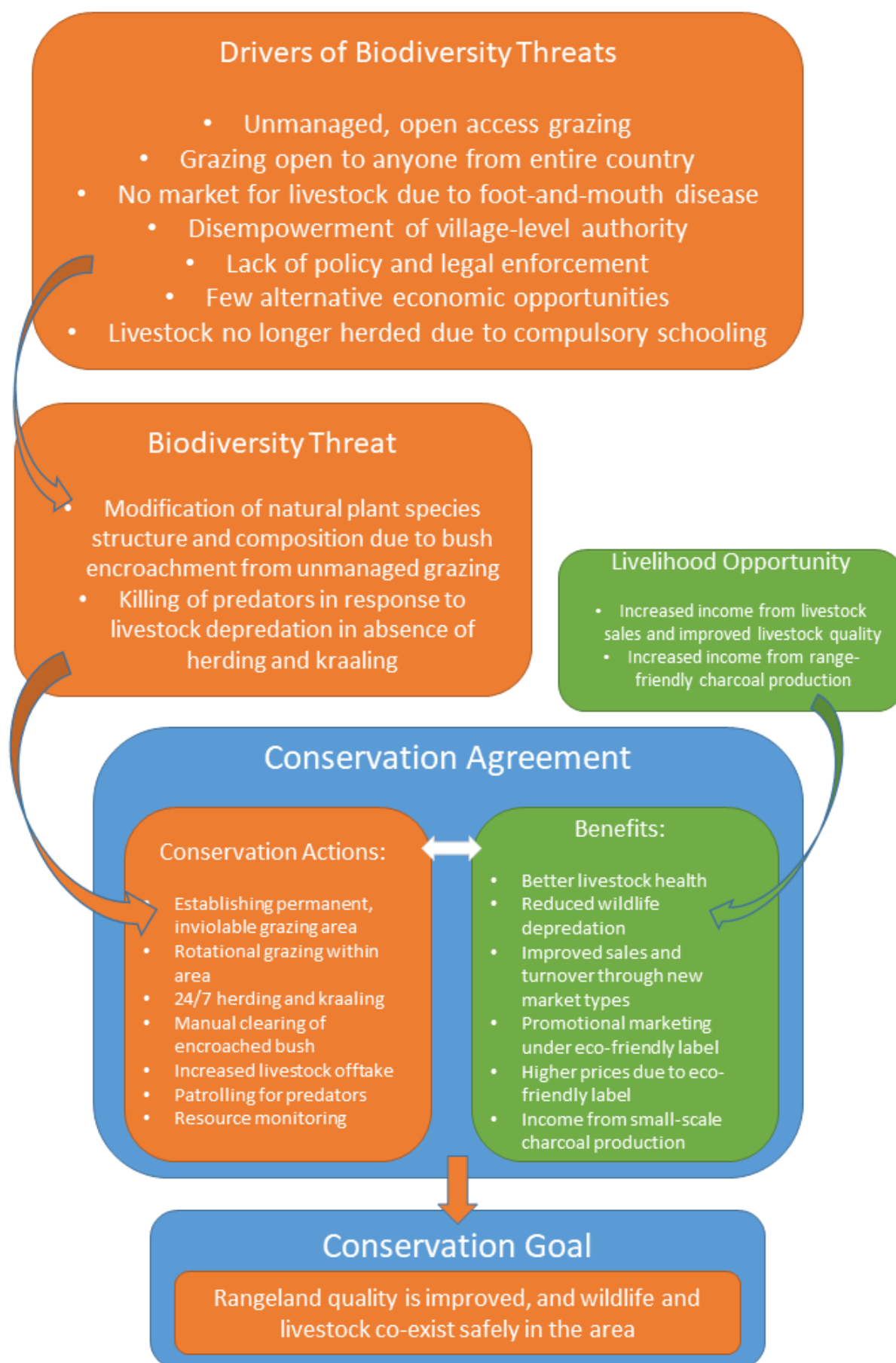


Figure 4: Drivers, threats, actions, and goal relating to a potential conservation agreement in Bothathogo Village

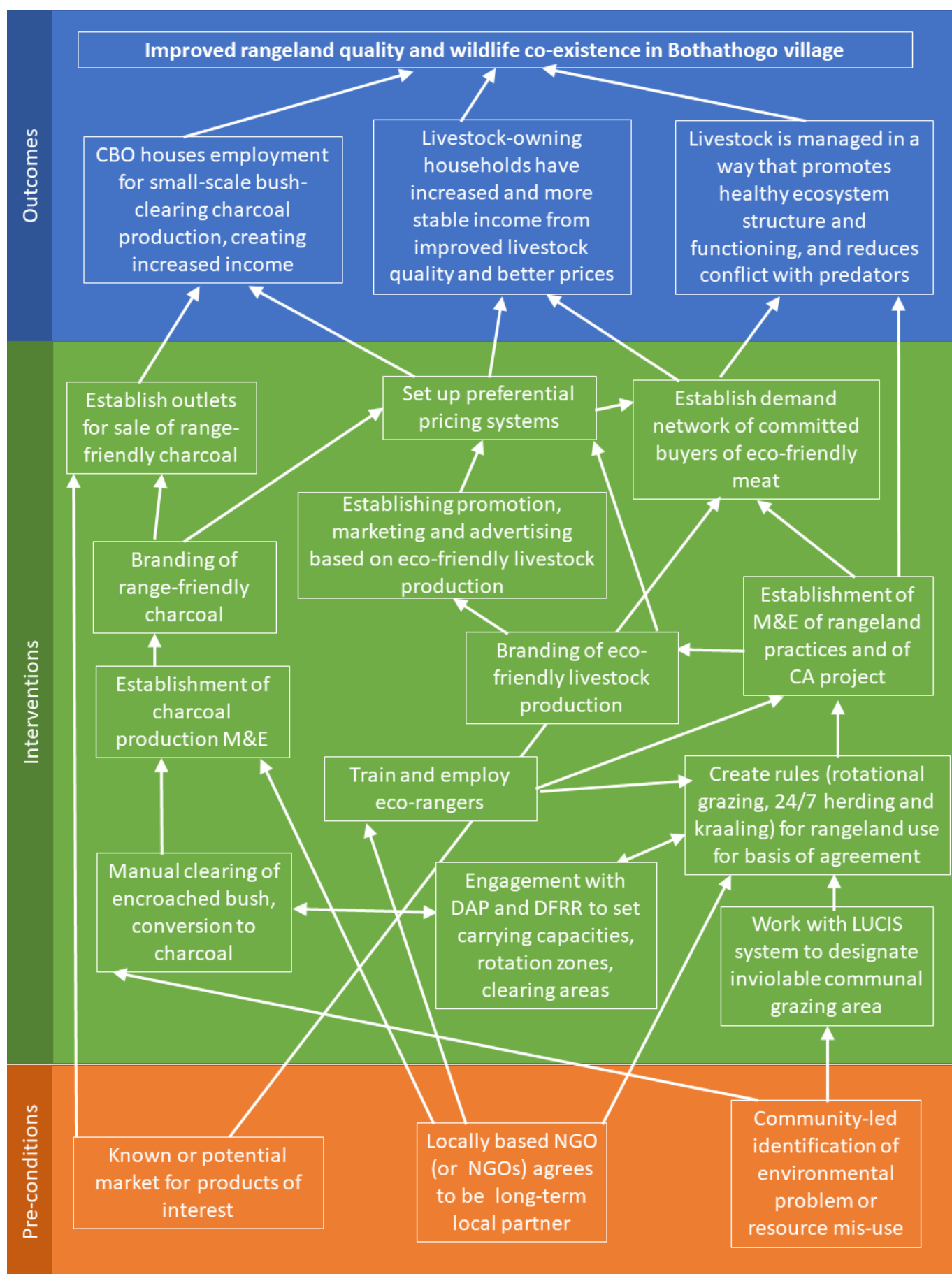


Figure 5: Conceptual ToC for rangeland management in Bothathogo

3.3 Theory of Change – Tubu

3.3.1 Overview of Tubu suitability

The Tubu community and its surroundings have been primed and ready for conservation activities for some years, but have not been able to implement their plans due to lack of technical and financial support. They have, for example, already explored some of the initial steps that a CA intervention would need. Their receptiveness strongly contributes to the success potential of supported conservation activities in their area. Tubu's location on a floodplain means that the land available for grazing fluctuates both seasonally and annually; currently it is estimated that about 250 to 300 square kilometres could be used for managed rangelands.

3.3.2 Necessary preconditions for a CA in Tubu

Because the ToCs presented in this feasibility study are at conceptual stage, identified preconditions are generalised, and expressed in the same way for each of the three study sites. In Tubu, therefore, preconditions should include existence of or strong likelihood of being able to develop markets for the products arising from the CA; ownership of the issues of environmental concern by the community – which in Tubu has already been initiated through earlier interventions; a commitment to a long-term partnership by a locally based organisation, which in the Tubu case, might also include the neighbouring safari concessionaire, David Kays, who has helped the community in the past, and for whom small partnerships might be of interest.

3.3.3 Suitability of Tubu's conceptual ToC for other villages in western Okavango

The three villages identified for assessment in the western Okavango region are not all equally placed for inclusion in a broader support programme. While both the ecological and social conditions in Habu are very similar to those in Tubu, Habu already has a strong relationship for conservation activities with another NGO, and it may be better for that area to develop its own mechanisms at its own place. Nokaneng is a much larger community, and its CBO is new and inexperienced. CAs are much needed there, but additional effort would need to be invested in strengthening the functioning and governance of the CBO, and of community support for conservation activities as part of the initial CA interventions.

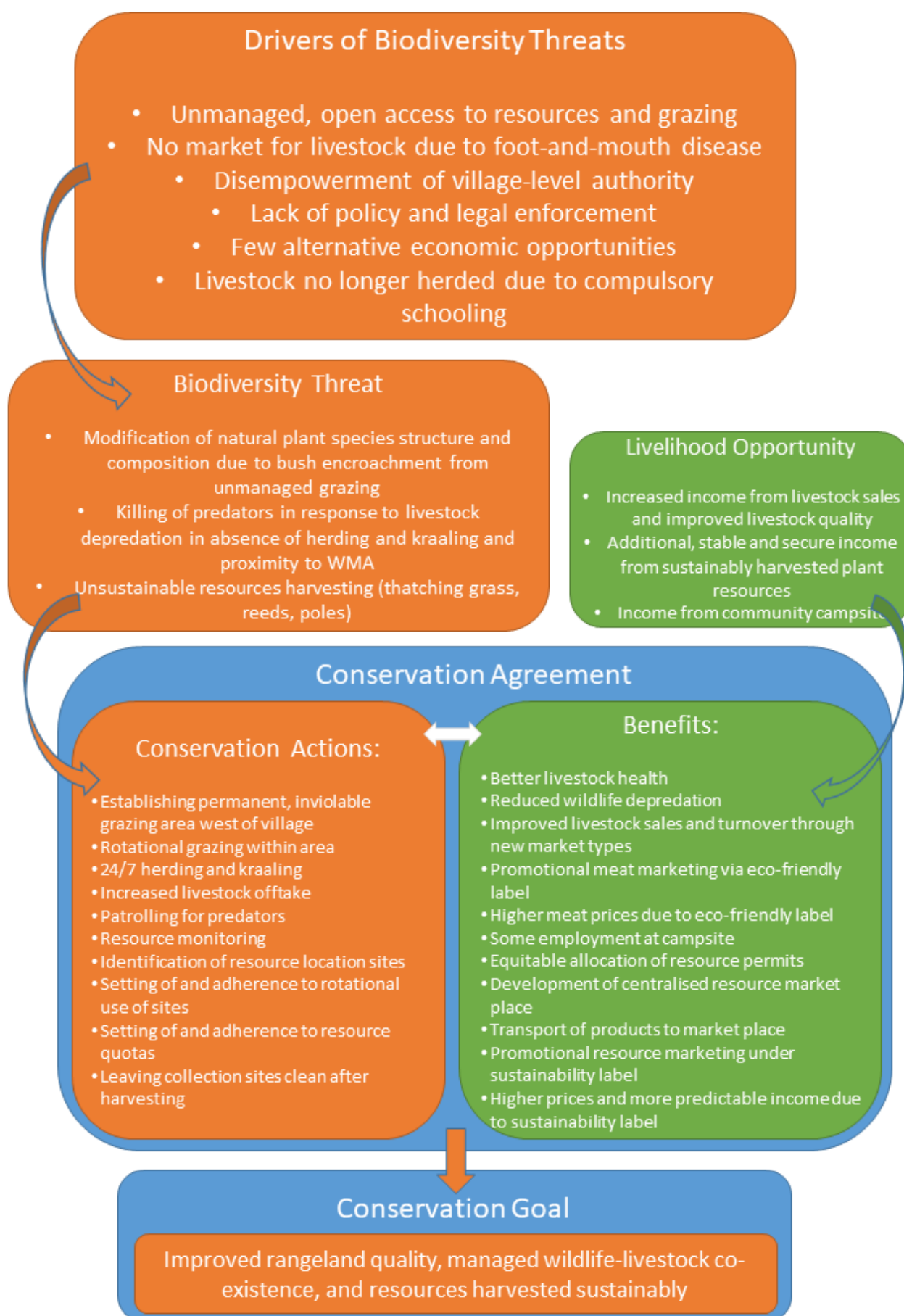


Figure 6: Drivers, threats, actions, and goal relating to a potential conservation agreement in Tubu Village

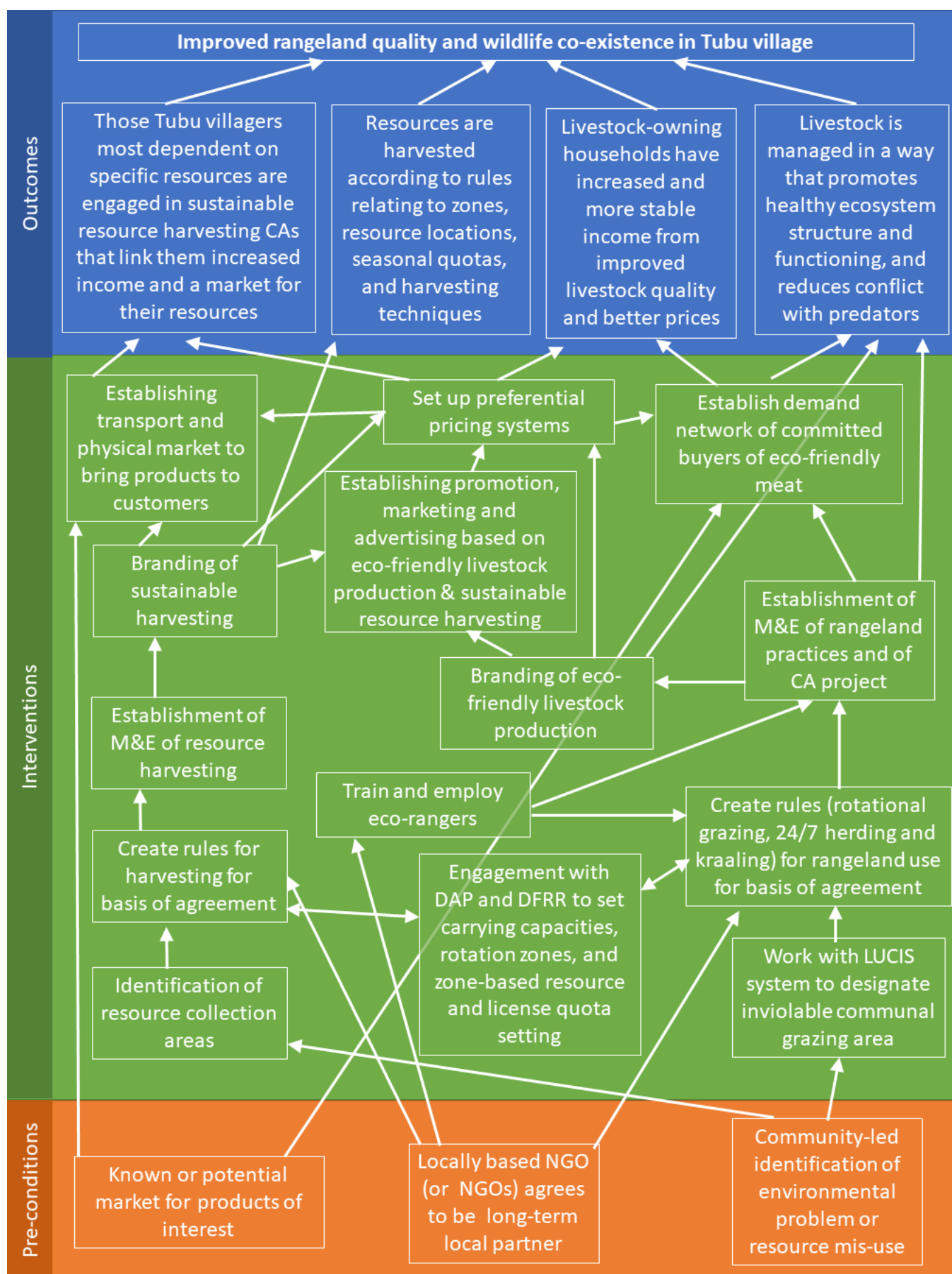


Figure 7: Conceptual ToC for rangeland management and resource harvesting in Tubu

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APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL POLICIES AND LAWS PROMOTING BIODIVERSITY CONSERVATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION

National policies, strategies and laws promoting biodiversity conservation and climate change are listed in Table 4. There is a strong link between the age of the document and the degree to which it supports climate change in particular. For ease of reference, the degree to which biodiversity conservation and climate change adaptation are promoted are shown in colour, ranging from strongly, through weakly to not addressed. These colour codes are also used in Appendix 2 to highlight levels of harmonisation.

Strong	Weak	Not addressed
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Table 4: Descriptions of Key Policies and Laws Supporting Biodiversity Conservation and Climate Change Adaptation

Name	Key objective / intention	Addresses biodiversity conservation?	Addresses climate change?	Implementing agency
Policies and Strategies				
National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (2014)	A nation in balance with nature, with fair access to biological resources, where the benefits deriving from the use of these resources are shared equitably for the benefit and livelihoods of current and future generations, and where all citizens recognise and understand the importance of maintaining Botswana's biological heritage and related knowledge and their role in the conservation and sustainable use of Botswana's biodiversity	Yes	Somewhat	DEA
National Conservation Strategy (1990)	To pursue policies and measures which: a) increase the effectiveness with which natural resources are used and managed, so that beneficial interactions are optimised and harmful environmental side-effects are minimised; b) integrate the work of the many sectoral ministries and interest groups through Botswana, thereby improving development of natural resources through conservation, and vice versa. Several development goals and conservation goals are specified.	Yes	Somewhat	DEA
National Strategy for Sustainable Development (Working Draft)	Not finalised, but based on aspiration of "prosperity for all", and related to UN Sustainable Development Goals	Somewhat	Somewhat	DEA
Wildlife Policy (2012 Draft)	To create an enabling environment for the conservation, sustainable use and management of wildlife and biodiversity resources in order to generate development benefits for current and future generations	Yes	Somewhat	DWNP
National Forest Policy (2011)	a) Ensure long term sustainable management of forest resources.b) Ensure integrity and productivity of Botswana's ecosystems. c) Manage movement of plant genetic resources.d) Provide integrated wildland fire management to enhance fire management capacity, promote biodiversity and ecosystem integrity, enhance health and safety and promote benefits.e) Increase participation of local communities, individuals and private sector in sustainable management of forest resourcesf) Forestry production, with the objective of reducing land degradation and pressure on forests through promotion of forest based enterprises.g) Research and development through developing an environment to meet forestry research needs.h) Ecotourism and socio-economic development through exploring the potential for ecotourism and CBNRM development in forest and communal areas and encouraging participation by putting in place financial mechanisms.i) Promotion of management and sustainable use of non-wood forest products by marketing non-wood products; encouraging sustainable harvesting and preparing baseline data on veld products.j) Development of human resource capacity in the forest sector through training and collaboration with educational institutionsk) Domestication of the appropriate ratified multilateral agreementsl) Preservation of indigenous knowledge on national flora through documentation of IK on flora, promoting research relating to traditional medicines and protecting intellectual property rights	Yes	Somewhat	DFRR
Wetlands Policy and Strategy (Draft of 2007)	The conservation of Botswana's wetlands, in order to sustain their ecological and socio-economic functions as well as providing benefits for the present and future well-being of the people.	Yes	Somewhat	DEA

Name	Key objective / intention	Addresses biodiversity conservation?	Addresses climate change?	Implementing agency
Threatened Species Management Action Policy, Implementation Strategy and Action Plan (2007)	To prevent the extinction of Botswana's flora and fauna, and to provide for the recovery of species that are critically endangered, endangered or vulnerable	Yes	Somewhat	DWNP
Predator Management Strategy (Draft of 2013)	Calls for the maintenance of large conservation areas as a way of ensuring all predator species are afforded protection, focusing on zoning and ecosystem approaches	Yes	Somewhat	DWNP
Community Based Natural Resources Management Policy (2007)	Conservation-based development, where the protection of ecosystems and biodiversity is balanced against poverty reduction and rural livelihood improvement	Yes	No	MEWT
Indigenous Knowledge Systems Policy (Final Draft)	a) Anchor the nation's expressed vision and mission for safeguarding IK and rights of holders for increased beneficiation. b) Harness capital embedded within traditional/local institutions by giving them space and relevance for sustained contribution to local and national development. c) Integrate and operationalise inclusive and participatory approaches to development planning and implementation embracing Therisanyo. d) Provide the basis for designing programmes and services that are administered in a manner consistent with IKS. e) Provide structure for implementation, enhancing integrity and restoring the pride of Botswana by enabling engagement in sustained IK use for national development.	Somewhat	Somewhat	Rural Development Council
Environmental Research Strategy (Draft of 2010)	1. Enhance national environmental management by seeking effective solutions to existing problems, prevent new ones arising and develop people's environmental awareness and active participation in resolving and preventing them. 2. Strengthen the environmental dimension in decision making, policies, programmes and plans at national, sectoral and local level. 3. Attend to the material, spiritual, cultural and environmental needs of the people	Somewhat	Somewhat	MEWT
Waste Management Strategy (1998)	Focused on minimising waste, maximising reuse and recycling, and promoting environmentally sound disposal, and based on principles of: prevention; polluter pays; co-operation	Somewhat	Somewhat	DWMPC
National Policy on Agricultural Development (1991 but being updated)	The conservation of agricultural and land resources for future generations	Somewhat	Somewhat	DAP and DCP
Strategy for Economic Diversification and Sustainable Growth	Accelerating economic diversification and growth, and thus reduce dependence on the mining sector, notably diamonds	No	No	Business and Economic Advisory Council
Integrated National Wildland Fire Management Strategy (Final Draft of 2012)	To provide a framework for an integrated wildland fire management approach that will enhance the fire management capacity of all stakeholders and so promote biodiversity and ecosystem integrity, enhance human health and safety, and promote social, cultural and economic benefits at all levels of society/	Somewhat	Somewhat	DFRR
Land Policy (2015)	To provide policy direction and guidelines for implementing land related laws and programmes that promote access, equity, efficiency and transparency in land allocation.	No	No	MLH
Tourism Policy (1990)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase foreign exchanges earnings and government revenues; • Generate employment mainly in rural areas; • Raise incomes in rural areas in order to reduce urban drift; • Promote rural development and the provision of services in remote areas; • Improve the quality of life by providing recreational opportunities; • Establish a favourable national image to the outside world. 	No	No	Dept of Tourism, BTO
Ecotourism Strategy (2002)	Minimising negative social, cultural and environmental impacts. Maximising the involvement in, and the equitable distribution of economic benefits to, host communities. Maximising revenues for re-investment in conservation. Educating both visitors and local people as to the importance of conserving natural and cultural resources. Delivering a quality experience for tourists	Somewhat	No	Dept of Tourism, BTO

Name	Key objective / intention	Addresses biodiversity conservation?	Addresses climate change?	Implementing agency
Draft Climate Change Response Policy (Draft of 2016)	To mainstream sustainability and climate change into development planning and in so doing, enhance Botswana's resilience and capacity to respond to existing and anticipated climate change impacts.	Somewhat	Yes	DMS
Legal Acts				
Environmental Assessment Act (2011)	Requires that environmental assessment studies be carried out for listed activities in order to protect natural resources and minimising disruptions to the people's way of life	Somewhat	No	DEA
Tribal Land Act (amended 1993)	Describes the responsibility of Tribal Land Boards relating to tribal land and explains their authority in relation to subsequent land issues.	No	No	Land Boards
State Land Act (1966)	Defines state land as unalienated land and reacquired land held by the state for the nation and national interest.	No	No	Department of Lands
Forest Act (1968)	Provides for the protection of forests and forest produce. Forest produce includes trees, brushwood, leaves, seeds, grass, reeds, fruits, roots, and bark. Focus is mainly on those areas of State Land gazetted as forest reserve	Yes	No	DFRR
Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act (1992)	Provides for the protection of game animals in Botswana.	Yes	No	DWNP
Agricultural Resources Conservation Act (1974, but under review)	Provides for the conservation and improvement of the agricultural resources of Botswana. The Act defines agriculture resources in Section 2 as soils, water, animal life and fauna (animals, birds, reptiles, fish and insects). Its focus is more on crop resources than grazing resources.	Yes	No	DFRR
Herbage Preservation Act (1978)	To prevent and control bush and other fires.	Yes	No	DFRR
BTO Act (2009)	Allows for the establishment and functioning of a Botswana Tourism Board with authority to regulate the tourism industry through grading of enterprises, and the role of promoting and marketing tourism in Botswana.	No	No	BTO

In addition to these national level documents, Botswana is also party to the following international and regional agreements related to conservation, climate change and sustainable development:

- Convention on Biological Diversity, including:
 - CBD Cartagena Protocol
 - CBD Kuala Lumpur supplementary Protocol
 - CBD Nagoya Protocol
 - CBD Global Taxonomy Initiative
- Ramsar Convention on Wetlands
- Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
- United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
- World Heritage Convention
- Gaborone Declaration on Sustainability
- Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer
- Basel Convention on Trans-boundary Movement of Hazardous Waste
- Rotterdam Convention on the International Trade in Hazardous Chemicals
- Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants
- Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals
- Agreement on the Conservation of African Eurasian Migratory Waterbirds
- International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture
- IUCN member
- Sustainable Development Goals
- African Convention on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
- Libreville Declaration on Health and Environment
- SADC Regional Biodiversity Strategy
- SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement
- SADC Protocol on Fisheries
- SADC Protocol on Forestry.

APPENDIX 2: EVALUATION OF HARMONY AMONG POLICIES AND LAWS, AND LEVEL OF IMPLEMENTATION

Working with the same list of policies, strategies and laws presented in Table 4, Table 5 shows which policies tend to be well harmonised with each other, and with the principles of sustainable development, conservation and adaptation. The qualitative assessment of degree of implementation is based on existing studies, key informant opinions, and an interpretation based on general observations. The colour codes are described in Appendix 1, and indicate a rank ranging from highly harmonised, through weakly, to not at all.

Table 5: Extent of Harmonisation and Implementation of Policies and Laws Supporting Biodiversity Conservation and Climate Change Adaptation

Name	Level of harmonisation	Known state of implementation	Gaps in implementation
Policies and Strategies			
National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (2014)	Yes, makes reference to opportunities for synergies with other policies and strategies	Used by DWNP, 2007 principles widely shared, limited success of previous iteration as captured in Section 13 of the 2014 Stocktaking report	Submitted to CBD, but unclear if approved by Parliament. Due for revision
National Conservation Strategy (1990)	Yes, most other conservation strategies emerged from this base.	Largely superseded by the policies that it called for	None known
National Strategy for Sustainable Development (Working Draft)	Focus is more on development, but need for conservation, as well as for resilience to climate change is acknowledged	Still being developed	n/a
Wildlife Policy (2012 Draft)	Insufficient recognition of impact of climate change on small, bounded protected areas used by migratory species	Not yet adopted, but used as a guideline by DWNP officers	Unclear until fully adopted
National Forest Policy (2011)	Relatively well harmonised, but focus on forest areas leaves rangelands in wooded savannas less well catered for	Unclear; DFRR is under-resourced and much of the policy's focus is outside of Ngamiland	As a new policy, several of the goals are still to be pursued (see recommendations)
Wetlands Policy and Strategy (Draft of 2007)	Not really, as seen as conflicting with development needs (hence not adopted)	That a policy remains draft after 10 years is indicative of serious lack of consensus over the contents	The absence of an adopted, fully supported wetlands policy is a serious gap for wetlands management
Threatened Species Management Action Policy, Implementation Strategy and Action Plan (2007)	Recognises importance of maintaining habitats, but does not go far in assessing risk to habitats from climate change	Well-integrated into ongoing DWNP activities	Still challenged by sector-based approaches to conservation, where an ecosystem, or landscape-level approach might be better
Predator Management Strategy (Draft of 2013)	While based on concept of ecosystem approaches, does not accommodate changes due to climate change	Still to be adopted	Buffer zones between protected and settlement areas have yet to be established
Community Based Natural Resources Management Policy (2007)	Well harmonised with conservation, but climate issues unaddressed	Several directives have been made that work directly against the intention of the policy	Provision of proper incentives/opportunities for real local-level decision-making
Indigenous Knowledge Systems Policy (Final Draft)	Yes, although the focus is not that strongly on conservation and climate change	Not yet adopted	n/a
Environmental Research Strategy (Draft of 2010)	Yes, and provides the opportunity for research to further support proper harmonisation	Not yet adopted	n/a, but note ongoing issues with foreign researchers leading to freeze on permits
Waste Management Strategy (1998)	Somewhat harmonised with general environmental conservation principles, but not to climate change	Hampered by understaffing, and low profile of dept.	Principles are in place, but mechanisms to enforce and ensure public cooperation are not.
National Policy on Agricultural Development (1991m but being updated)	Not really, primarily due to being outdated. Revised version likely to have strong climate focus	This policy is agreed by most to be out-dated, though most aspects have been implemented	None known. Programmes under this policy are actively developed and promoted
Strategy for Economic Diversification and Sustainable Growth	Not really, as its focus is primarily medium-term and on economic sector	Unclear; likely that points were adopted by line ministries for incorporation in ministerial policies	Unknown
Integrated National Wildland Fire Management Strategy (Final Draft of 2012)	Yes. In addition, both biodiversity and climate change are articulated in the policy's vision	Although not formally adopted yet, it has been referred to, and principles from it incorporated in, other policy documents	Some fire breaks have been expanded, but DFRR remains understaffed to fully implement all aspects

Name	Level of harmonisation	Known state of implementation	Gaps in implementation
Land Policy (2015)	To some extent, biodiversity issues are addressed through concerns of sound management and appropriate zoning	Improved land registration being rolled out; Increased use of LUCIS and zoning	Unclear, approval of policy is still recent
Tourism Policy (1990)	No longer. Approaches and principles have changed. This policy does not allow for adaptive management, and current planning has moved from precautionary principle to ill-defined "limits of acceptable change".	Strong, through Tourism Master Plan, and subsidiary regulations and guidelines	None known
Ecotourism Strategy (2002)	Yes, clear intention to protect natural resources as basis for sustainable tourism activities	Ecotourism certification in place	None known
Draft Climate Change Response Policy (Draft of 2016)	Yes, addresses all key development sectors including biodiversity and ecosystems	Not yet adopted	n/a
Legal Acts			
Environmental Assessment Act (2011)	Somewhat. Institutional arrangements mean that government departments often fail to see that they themselves are subject to the act.	<p>Nearly all acts relating to environmental aspects of Botswana have extremely low levels of implementation and enforcement. This is due to constraints associated with the remoteness of most communities and wilderness areas, and with centralisation of governance.</p> <p>This lack of enforcement could represent a resource-by-resource opportunity to develop and implement by-laws for the different act, relevant to local areas.</p>	
Tribal Land Act (amended 1993)	The 1993 de-tribalisation of the act has removed local level mechanisms to control access and particularly to exclude outsiders. A challenge for land and biodiversity management.		
State Land Act (1966)	For the most part, state land does not involve local communities. However, Mababe and Phuduhudu villages are notable exceptions. These villages have no legal mandate to make decisions on resources where they live because it is on state land.		
Forest Act (1968)	Some harmonisation due to recognition of sustainable use of resources within a conservation context.		
Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act (1992)	Challenges come less from the act itself and more from directives made under the umbrella of the act - primarily related to removing access to and control of wildlife by local communities, and resulting in increased human-wildlife conflict		
Agricultural Resources Conservation Act (1974, but under review)	Out-dated, and has been shifted from one sector to another, as environmental focus has shifted. Principles are however still relevant and harmonised with sustainable development.		
Herbage Preservation Act (1978)	Out-dated, and calls for fire suppression in a country where ecosystems are fire-adapted and even fire-created. Will likely be replaced once Wildfire Strategy approved.		
BTO Act (2009)	No		

APPENDIX 3: NATIONAL POLICIES AND LAWS PROMOTING COMMUNITY BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN BOTSWANA

Currently, the concept of “community-based” faces strong challenges in Botswana. In part because of its small population, and in part because of a perceived need to ensure national cohesion, the Government has created a very centralised, top-down governance system. This includes broad-brush, blanket policies and strategies that do not accommodate either ecological or social variation at the local level. There are almost no instances of by-laws. It is within this context that the only legal document promoting CBNRM should be assessed. This is the 2007 CBNRM Policy, whose objectives are given in Table 4 (in Appendix 1). At the time of writing (March 2018) the CBNRM Strategy is being initiated, but that process is still only in its infancy. However, it is expected that the strategy will closely follow the points and issues noted in the policy.

In terms of modalities, there has been a common understanding in Botswana that, in order for a community to engage in benefit-generating natural resources management, the community needs to form and register a trust. Initially, communities were able to determine the content and structure of the trust’s constitution, but after some time, communities were forced to amend or adopt only a standardised format dictated by government. Government has also had a strong role in dictating what communities should be grouped together to form a trust, and in identifying and assigning the area in which the trust can operate. Sometimes these forced partnerships between villages have been a huge hindrance, with villages having different locations, ethnicities, resource interests and settlement status that undermine the need for a common purpose and consensus for decision-making.

Trusts have taken on two dominant formats in Botswana. Firstly, in communities inside or adjacent to WMAs, the Trust had been given a head lease for a wildlife tourism concession area, generating substantial revenue through joint-venture partnerships based on sub-leasing sites and use permissions to safari companies. This head lease was seen as the core of CBNRM in Botswana. It was the vehicle through which to offset costs to communities from the presence of wildlife in their areas. Rentals from sub-leases provided substantial financial benefits as a counter to the costs. This first type of trust has become the face of Botswana CBNRM, with high stakes, politicised agendas and conflicting interests.

The second main format for community trusts in Botswana has been to mobilise around harvesting and processing a specific plant resource. These trusts are typically outside of wildlife areas. Revenues are normally low, and although legally constituted as a trust, their operational functioning is closer to that of a cooperative. Challenges to this type of trust have been difficulty in covering operational costs, accessing markets, and sustainability of product under highly variable climatic conditions.

In recent years, and in the absence of the strategy, and any guidelines or by-laws, several directives have been issued by central government. These directives have almost always been carried out without proper community consultation, and with very little warning or discussion of their implications with more than a handful of community representatives. It is unclear whether all of the directives have sound legal status, as they should speak to the letter of the Act which provides for them, and until fully challenged in court, their validity remains unclear. Some directives include:

- The annually renewed moratorium on hunting, removing the main revenue for wildlife-based CBOs
- That all CBO revenues be paid to government, to disburse and distribute on behalf of the CBO (in response to mismanagement of funds in some trusts) until the trust proves itself capable
- That all trusts must have the same constitution wording and institutional arrangements
- Most recently, that no more head leases be given to communities; instead leases are given directly to safari companies who should give some royalties to the community, by-passing the community in all decision-making, and explicitly excluding any community rights to the safari area.

APPENDIX 4: CBOS AND NGOS WITH A FOCUS ON NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OPERATING IN THE TARGET AREAS, AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY

Overview of CBO Capacity

Many villages in Ngamiland have created trusts - primarily as a way to organise their participation in wildlife-based tourism. Older trusts have had 2 decades of experience in running their organisational activities. These older trusts have been associated with communities in or close to WMAs, who have had extremely high income (at community level) from safari operator joint ventures. This older model of joint-venture "CBNRM" has had very little to do with either being community-based, or the management of natural resources. Trust boards have entered into sub-lease agreements, and received payment, as the core of their activities. Worse, it has led to a very unrealistic expectation of the potential for individual or household level economic benefits from tourism, and a consequent desire by many other communities for tourism ventures. Evidence suggests that the community-level income has only nominal trickle-down to households, and that in any community the number of households benefiting *directly* from wildlife tourism are very few (typically less than 10 people). This contrasts with the number of households affected negatively from the presence of wildlife – between half and three-quarters in any year. Any wildlife-based tourism that restricts existing economic activities such as subsistence farming, will likely worsen the situation for many rural households.

This unrealistic expectation is fuelled by a critical aspect of CBO organisational capacity: full understanding of economic dynamics, of western business models, of balancing the need to distribute benefits immediately with the need to reinvest in a venture. Current initiatives by many CBOs are fuelled by incomplete understanding of marketing and economics, and are generally based solely on the perception of financial success by private sector initiatives. Checks and balances, especially related to financial transparency are weak, and consequently corruption and financial mismanagement is a regular issue in Ngamiland CBOs.

An over-arching and ongoing challenge to the organisational capacity of all CBOs in Botswana is the persistent rural-urban brain-drain: young people are trained, become aware of new options and possibilities, fail to find fulfilment in their home village, and leave to bigger towns in search of better opportunities. CBOs have high levels of board and staff turnover as a result.

All trusts are now required by government to hire a trust manager who answers to the Board. This has gone a long way to bridging the understanding of local communities of the broader market economy. There have been some instances of managers taking advantage of trusts to push their personal agendas, but for the most part, the role of manager has greatly strengthened the organisational capacity of CBOs.

Overview of NGO Capacity

Until recently, there have been very few NGOs in Ngamiland. Botswana's status as a middle-income country has reduced the amount of donor funding available for development NGOs. The recent increase in NGOs have been for those with a strong wildlife conservation focus, for which good funding is still available. Such NGOs also have links to universities, and provide opportunities for (mainly) foreign students to conduct graduate research – as a way of securing funding. At the same time, there is a growing awareness among such NGOs that wildlife conservation must at least tolerate and accommodate human livelihood needs in the very small area of land left outside of wildlife tourism areas in Ngamiland; and at best, that co-existence between subsistence farmers and wildlife is not only possible, but also mutually beneficial. NGO capacity is there; however, it is believed that in the majority of NGOs, few or no staff have the training and knowledge-set to

understand complex community dynamics, and work with and protect the different interest groups and varied needs within communities.

Table 6: CBOs in the Khwai-Mababe-Sankuyo area

Organisation	Constituents	Organisational Capacity	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities	Level of engagement with environmental issues
Khwai Development Trust	Community	Several decades of experience. Some community members appear to be dominating decision-making around more lucrative ventures. Fairly politicised community. Community is primarily of the San minority, with very limited livelihood options. A trust manager is hired (a requirement by government)	Plays an active role in the sustainable use of natural resources whilst ensuring that the benefits from the tourism activities that take place in the area are distributed to all households and residents.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mokoro Trips and Motor Boat Tours • Bush walks • Night drives • Cultural tours • Camping facilities 	Unclear
Mababe Zokotsama Community Development Trust	Community	Several decades of experience. The village essentially comprises 2 extended families, between whom there is often tension. Leadership of both village and trust tends to be split. Community is primarily of the San minority, with very limited livelihood options. A trust manager is hired (a requirement by government).	Sustainable consumptive utilisation of biological resources, i.e. primarily hunting	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hunting tourism (although ended in 2013) • Photographic tourism • Implements government policies on wildlife • Lodge and campsite facilities 	Low engagement; currently no conservation related activities
Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust	Community	Several decades of experience. This community differs from the other two in this area due to the hands-on, engaged role of the village chief in all trust matters. There appears to be a good relationship between the trust board, manager and broader community.	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.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basket making • Collect veld products • Commercial hunting • Photographic safaris • Boat & mokoro excursions • Guided game drives • Commercial tourism (Kaziikini Campsite and partners with safari company in Santawani Lodge) 	<p>STMT carries out some environmental management practices, but environmental management is neither holistic nor comprehensive. Reported NRM practices include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accompanying both hunting and photographic safaris through one of the nine community escort guides • Monitor and conserve the natural resources of CHAs NG33 and NG34, recently through a system called management-oriented monitoring systems (MOMS) • Environmental research • Sankuyo community members once 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 are responsible for reporting and apprehending poachers

Table 7: NGOs in the Khwai-Mababe-Sankuyo area

Organisation	No. of employees	Constituents	Location	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities
Round River	~4	Researchers, support to CBOs	Sankuyo, western Ngamiland	Inter-disciplinary research unit with and education and outreach component. Dedicated to the conservation of wild places, their inherent wildness and the ecological complexity that sustains them.	Active	In Botswana: • Wildlife monitoring and conservation planning in selected WMAs

No NGOs are known or were reported to be currently working with the Khwai and Mababe communities. Round River has a small project in Sankuyo, working with the escort guides.

Table 8: CBOs in the Lake Ngami area

Organisation	Constituents	Organisational Capacity	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities	Level of engagement with environmental issues
Hainaveld Farmers Association	Certain members of the Hainaveld ranch farmers	Farmers associations in Ngamiland are still in their infancy. There are no clear guidelines for activities, beyond marketing. Membership is voluntary. Hainaveld FA is probably the most organised, and easy to coordinate, working as it does with private individuals with individual rights to resources through ranch leases.	Giving the farming community in the Hainaveld a voice in policy influence and getting support.	Active	Members meet regularly to discuss challenges to farmers in the Hainaveld and plan/strategize how to combat these challenges.	Moderate - as they are dependent on sustainable management for sustaining their livelihoods. Involved in the SLM Integrated Assessment project.
Lake Ngami Conservation Trust	Community members from six communities	The trust has received a lot of support, and is currently well-managed. Under instruction from government, it includes 6 very different villages, whose members all have very different interests in the natural resources base. Institutionally, there is a nervousness about not doing things 'equally' for all 6 villages, but board members appear open to learning and innovation. The organisation has been gaining a lot of experience over the past 5 years from its efforts to organise and manage the fishery associated with the lake.	To ensure that all six villages work together towards the conservation and sustainable utilization of resources found in and around Lake Ngami, for the overall betterment of the communities and Botswana at large.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bird monitoring • Avitourism - tourism based on rich & varied birdlife (local bird guides) • Campsites (yet to start running them) • Fisheries processes (assess, markets), control illegal fishing • Advocacy about fisheries - developed a regulation • Land use planning around the Lake Ngami 	Strong – efforts have focused on pollution and waste management associated with fisheries. In the absence of large revenue activities, there is a high awareness of the need to improve livelihoods through better management practices.
Nhabe Farmers' Association	Mainly Sehithwa and Lake Ngami area farming community	Farmers associations in Ngamiland are still in their infancy. There are no clear guidelines for activities, beyond marketing. Membership is voluntary. Since FAs are not seen as charitable bodies as the trusts are, avenues for funding and support will need to be different. Currently most of the smaller FAs in Ngamiland are under-resourced, and lack technical expertise to mobilise and lobby for their industry needs.	Giving the farming community in North West District a voice in policy influence and getting support.	Active	Members meet regularly to discuss challenges to farmers in Northwest District and plan/strategize how to combat these challenges.	Moderate - as they are dependent on sustainable management for sustaining their livelihoods. Involved in the SLM Integrated Assessment project.

Currently there are no NGOs actively working in the Lake Ngami area. The UNDP Sustainable Land Management Programme has been providing support to the CBO for its rangeland activities; however, that programme is due to end this year. In the past, Birdlife Botswana has supported the communities with avitourism ventures, and was instrumental in mobilising communities for trust formation. However, that NGO has not been able to continue its funds due to limited resources. WildCRU has expressed an interest in becoming engaged with rangeland issues such as mobile kraaling.

Table 9: NGOs with past experience or interest in the Lake Ngami area

Organisation	No. of employees	Constituents	Location	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities
Birdlife Botswana	Approx. 10	General public	Lake Ngami (not active)	Strives to conserve birds, their habitats and global biodiversity, working with people towards sustainability in the use of natural resources.	Active but not currently in Maun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training and marketing specialist bird guides and in return, guides regularly contribute information to the Bird Life Botswana database. • Community education, campaigns, speak about specific topics of concern, work with DWNP, School education (southern part of Botswana) • Networking with other organisations • Ecotourism projects, • Important areas protection, advocate for protection of these areas. • Advocacy for the protection of birds.
WildCRU	~4 full time, 1 focused on community engagement	University research team, researchers, targeted communities	currently Boteti and Chobe, but could expand	Inter-disciplinary research unit with and education and outreach component. Solving problems for the benefit of wildlife, people and the environment	Active	Mobile kraaling, community extension around predator-livestock conflict, human-lion coexistence, through Trans Kalahari Predator Programme

Table 10: CBOs in the Tubu-Nokaneng-Habu area

Organisation name	Constituents	Organisational Capacity	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities	Level of engagement with environmental issues
Nhabe Farmers' Association	Mainly Sehithwa and Lake Ngami area farming community	Farmers associations in Ngamiland are still in their infancy. There are no clear guidelines for activities, beyond marketing. Membership is voluntary. Since FAs are not seen as charitable bodies as the trusts are, avenues for funding and support will need to be different. Currently most of the smaller FAs in Ngamiland are under-resourced, and lack technical expertise to mobilise and lobby for their industry needs.	Giving the farming community in North West District a voice in policy influence and getting support.	Active	Members meet regularly to discuss challenges to farmers in Northwest District and plan/strategize how to combat these challenges.	Moderate - as they are dependent on sustainable management for sustaining their livelihoods. Involved in the SLM Integrated Assessment project.
Habu Elephant Development Trust	Community members	Fairly recently formed. Not all community members appear aware of the trust, which could undermine its effectiveness. A clearer appreciation of the importance of broad buy-in and participation is needed. Trust representatives would benefit from management training, as the structure has not yet had a chance to implement any major activities	Originally formed to promote elephant-based tourism, now focusing on integrating wildlife conservation and livestock farming through zoning.	Active	Currently initiating zoning exercises, and working with BPCT to start collaborative herding by trained herders. Funded by FAO for an integrated development project to undertake zoning as basis to address wildlife conflict, livestock disease, and rangeland degradation.	Moderate, considering just emerging. FAO-funded project directly targeting these issues/

Organisation name	Constituents	Organisational Capacity	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities	Level of engagement with environmental issues
Tubu Community Trust	Community members	Without funding and any supporting agency, this trust has struggled to get any major project off the ground. However, chiefs and ward headman are actively engaged, and strong overlap between trust and traditional authority means the few activities taking place proceed well. Has received governance and M&E training in the past. Has had issues with constitution that are currently being rectified.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To manage and protect the natural resources of the Tubu area; • To facilitate the provision of bulk infrastructure and social services to Tubu Village; • To facilitate the creation of new livelihood opportunities through tourism; • To facilitate the improvement of agriculture (livestock and cropping); • To ensure good governance 	Modera tely active	Few, has plans for community campsite and tourism, in process of securing lease for the area. Monitors use and offtake of plant resources. Securing funding for developments	Highish; has conducted community zoning, records offtakes and sales of key plant resources
Nokaneng Development Trust	Community members	Low; absence of funding means that no real activities have started, including training.	To undertake wildlife-based tourism, but could focus on other sustainable development activities	Not yet active, as no funding	Identifying areas and securing leases for tourism activities. Working on LUCIS-based internal area zoning as per land board requirements	Low engagement; currently no conservation related activities
Ngamiland Basket Weaver's Trust	Basket weavers across the district		To promote basketry in Ngamiland for income generation especially for rural households headed by women through conservation of basketry resources for sustainable production of baskets and environmental protection.	Active	Basket weaving	Unclear
Ngwao Boswa (registered as Pty Ltd but operates as a CBO)	Basket weavers, primarily from villages in the western Okavango		To promote basketry in Gumare and other areas in Ngamiland for income generation especially for rural households headed by women through conservation of basketry resources for sustainable production of baskets and environmental protection.	Active	Basket making	Highly engaged; developed a nursery primarily aimed at promoting regeneration of important species in basketry hence addressing depletion of such species in the wild.

Table 11: NGOs in the Tubu-Nokaneng-Habu area

Organisation name	Number of full time employees	Constituents	Location	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities
Botswana Predator Conservation Trust	~5-10	Researchers, recently added community outreach in Habu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maun • Serowe 	Uses scientific enquiry to better understand the behaviour of these animals, using academic endeavour to foster a better future in developing countries. We operate at the point where communities and conservation meet, linking environmental issues to decision making in the ongoing development of rural Africa.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservation education program • Conservation biology research • Wildlife management • Human-wildlife strategies • Livestock insurance project • Illegal bush meat hunting interventions • Domestic dog disease control program • Bio boundary project

Table 12: Other NGOs in Ngamiland, with expressed interest in and potential to support conservation agreement projects in the target areas

Organisation	No. of employees	Constituents	Location	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities
Botswana Rhino Conservation Trust	4	Director and monitoring staff	Pans, North West District	Monitoring and reporting on the wild populations of Rhino in Botswana in conjunction with DWNP. Feeds into protection - which falls to BDF and anti-poaching unit.	Growing rapidly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biological monitoring of rhinos • Integrated anti-poaching unit
Cheetah Conservation Botswana	14		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gaborone • Jwaneng • Ghanzi • Maun (Main focus Ghanzi) 	Aims to preserve the nation's cheetah population through scientific research, community outreach and environmental education, working with rural communities to promote coexistence with Botswana's rich diversity of carnivore species.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scientific research (carnivore population studies, motion camera study, scat analysis, conflict mitigation pilot study, crittercam) • Community outreach (site visits, farmers workshops, livestock guarding dog program, human-wildlife conflict project, poaching and illegal trade) • Conservation Education program
Elephants for Africa	3 full time 4 part time 2 volunteers	Board of 12 (majority are locals, safari companies)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Makgadikgadi Pans National Park • Khumaga • Phuduhudu 	Aims to understand the daily needs of elephants and humans and seek local solutions for local problems. Elephants for Africa strives to protect, conserve and educate to ensure a future for wild populations of African elephant and move towards humans and wildlife coexisting.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct research to understand the ecological and social requirements of African elephants. • Works with local and international researchers to deliver scientific data to local decision makers. • Runs education programmes that focus on developing the conservation leaders of the future and empowering local communities (farmers) and schools
Kalahari Conservation Society	14	Voluntary membership	Gaborone	<p>A Botswana-based environmental NGO working to protect the nation's rich biodiversity and natural resources. Three major objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to conserve Botswana's biodiversity resources and habitats; - to leverage the economic value of wildlife and natural resources for the prosperity of all, especially local people that reside in wildlife-rich localities; - to inspire a generation of environmentally conscious citizens who strive for a healthy balance between human wellbeing and healthy ecosystems. 	Active	Lobbies and advocates for the conservation of Botswana's natural environment and wildlife resources and is active in promoting conservation and environmental protection issues to government, industry, commercial business and education institutions, as well as to rural communities and the general public. KCS conducts and sponsors environmental research, conservation and habitat management programmes and acts as a national repository for domestic, regional and global environmental information and both supports and conducts education programmes. KCS also monitor the implementation of formal agreements and legislation, facilitates stakeholder participation and collaborates with domestic, regional and international environmental and wildlife conservation partners.
Ecoexist	25	Researchers and community outreach workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gusu Camp • Kachirachira • Eretsha • Seronga (Eastern Okavango Pan Handle) 	Seeks to reduce conflict and foster coexistence between elephants and people. In areas of heightened competition for access to water, food, and space, Ecoexist finds and facilitate solutions that work for both species. Our mission is to support the lives and livelihoods of people who share space with elephants while considering the needs of elephants and their habitats.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide crop farmers with sustainable farming techniques - conservation agriculture • Strategy development ; collaborate with local, national and international groups to create an enabling environment for a range of programs that tackle the root causes of conflict • Research; elephant tracking • Facilitate cooperation among farmers and villages about deterring elephants from crop raiding • Facilitate private sector support for elephant-friendly, elephant-themed commerce in the Panhandle working with stakeholders to design mitigation techniques. • Increasing the benefits of living with Elephants - through diversifying tourism product in the area - benefits from products, services and curios, that are directly linked to elephants - agricultural products from farmers living with elephants. • Reduce land use conflict - LUCIS methods for identifying corridors and using for land use planning system.

Organisation	No. of employees	Constituents	Location	Focus / mandate	Status	Main activities
Pabalelo Trust	3 full time & 3 part-time	Researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Samochima (demonstration and training area on Klipsop farm) • Xhaga • Okusi • Shakawe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental responsible food security for subsistence farmers (reversing slash and burn tendencies through permaculture principles - encouraging farmers to utilize what they already have to their advantage) • Human-wildlife coexistence - reinforcing farmers resilience against wildlife invasion • Agro-forestry; fertiliser trees 	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permaculture food production & backyard horticulture: training and demonstrating • Dry land Conservation Agriculture: demonstrating and training better practice for rain fed agriculture, for mostly female subsistence farmers • Environmental Education & Educational Support: to community children: from pre-school to youth of different age groups • San (Bushmen): traditional values-based leadership and cultural livelihoods development • Works with Ecoexist on human-wildlife conflict • Organising Women's Groups: To enable women to have a stronger voice, and to help them to get funding through for e.g. the Dept. of Gender Affairs and other government support systems
Tlhare Segolo Foundation	2 volunteers	Community	Maun and surrounding villages	Tlhare Segolo Foundation is a fledgling organization that works to alleviate poverty, empower women and youth, better manage community based natural resources, conserve biodiversity in the Okavango Delta and Ngamiland, conduct community-based research and evaluation and improve and develop derelict land. The foundation's actions are driven by the deed of trust and constitution. There is a board to make governance decisions and the volunteer coordinator and development officer makes operational decisions. The organization interacts with other relevant organizations as appropriate.	Somewhat active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project proposal writing expertise • Assists communities to find funding • Provide technical expertise • Knowledge management - shared knowledge about sustainable development • Conservation education and awareness
Travel for Impact	~ 5 full time, also volunteers	Social enterprise	Maun	Links the travel industry with local community projects in Northern Botswana. Strategic engagement focuses on children and youth; conservation; culture and heritage; and women. Supporting cooperatives, and Lake Ngami Conservation Trust with governance / strategic planning, capacity building	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community capacity building, i.e. women's basket weaver's groups and the Lake Ngami Trust
ToCADI	Unknown	Employees and community members	21 villages in the Okavango pan-handle	Works to empower communities in the Okavango sub-district to become self-reliant and improve their standards of living.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assists community trusts • Educates locals on income generating schemes (such as drilling and equipping boreholes, harvesting thatching grass, tending vegetable gardens) • Facilitates eco-tourism projects such as the Teemacane Cultural Hiking Trail
Wilderness Wildlife Trust		Employees and community members	North West District	Wilderness Safaris decided that an independent entity that facilitated fundraising and the disbursement of the monies to deserving projects would mean that, both directly and indirectly, they could reach more people, wildlife and places.	Active	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community financial empowerment and education projects • Research and conservation projects • Anti-poaching and management projects
WildCRU	~4 full time, 1 focused on community engagement	University research team, researchers, targeted communities	currently Boteti and Chobe, but could expand	Inter-disciplinary research unit with and education and outreach component. Solving problems for the benefit of wildlife, people and the environment	Active	Mobile kraaling, community extension around predator-livestock conflict, human-lion coexistence, through Trans Kalahari Predator Programme

APPENDIX 5: PAST GOVERNANCE PERFORMANCE OF STUDY SITE CBOS WITH RESPECT TO CBNRM

Several of the study site CBOs have had their governance systematically assessed: Tubu (Cassidy et al 2017) and Khwai, Mababe and Sankuyo (Child and Wojcik 2014). These studies have highlighted how lack of transparency, particularly with regard to financial matters, has tended to undermine community cohesion and the equitable distribution of benefits. Insufficient attention to communication and the building of trust are commonly reported challenges. Several studies – as captured by Rihoy & Maguranyanga (2010) – record low levels of accountability, and non-representativeness of broader community interests by CBO leaders and managers.

One of the biggest governance challenges relates to decision-making. There is an inherent flaw in the externally-imposed trust model, that pre-supposes that a large community of people can all equitably, regularly and fairly participate in meetings to decide on activities and income distribution. At the same time, central government has tended to limit community decision-making to financial expenditure; larger *management of resources* decisions are made by government, and then given to the community to adopt and follow. Such decisions include: off-take quotas, and number and type of tourism facilities.

Past Governance in North-eastern WMAs Area

Due to high turnover of board members in the wildlife management area CBOs, the adoption of sound governance practices has been slow. With the rapid growth of internationally driven wildlife-based tourism, central government has had little patience with the pace of social learning in remote, rural communities. In particular, Khwai, Mababe and Sankuyo have all in the past experienced misappropriation of funds by trust board or management. However, for the most part financial management and accountability has improved markedly in the past 10 years. In response to such mismanagement, government has introduced different measures to control bad governance practices, with varied results. After some false starts, the most successful governance intervention has been the introduction of the obligation for trusts to hire a trust manager with tertiary education and appropriate environmental and management background. The managers have served an important function in introducing management systems, and improving mechanisms for accountability. Other less helpful interventions have included a further reduction in the autonomy and decision-making of trusts by dictating that all revenue be received by government on behalf of the trust, and for trusts to then provide justification for funds they need dispensed. This undermines the very notion of *community-based*. Most recently, a directive has been made that head-leases for concession areas will no longer be given to communities. Instead, BTO will negotiate a lease directly with a private safari operator. This issue has yet to be felt in this area, as existing management plans are still in place. However, leases have recently expired, and new management plans are about to be developed. Mababe has already seen one of the operators in the area have their lease renewed without the trust's lease being renewed. Effectively, this removes any rights to manage or govern resources from the communities in this area.

Past Governance in Lake Ngami Area

The Lake Ngami trust has only been operational for 5 years. It started off with a strong trust manager, and good institutional support from both government agents and development programmes (notably SAREP and the UNDP SLM programme). The area was handed over for management to the community jointly with various extension agents through a Joint Management Committee, and trust functioning began within the framework of a specifically development management plan. Currently, governance appears to be functioning well. Farmers associations in and near the lake are very much in their infancy, and membership is not widespread or well distributed over the area. Apart from the Hainaveld association which is focused on the neighbouring

ranches, the farmers associations still need guidance and capacity building to strengthen their mandate and their supporting role to farmers.

Past Governance in Western Okavango Area

Besides Tubu, no CBOs in this area have been either quantitatively or qualitatively assessed for governance practices. In part, this is because most of the CBOs are relatively new, and have had little support or resources for mobilisation. From key informant surveys for this study, it is clear that two key issues must urgently be addressed in these emerging CBOs. The first is the need for absolute transparency and clarity on the agendas and motivations of different sectors of the community, of the CBO leaders, and of supporting NGOs. Only with such openness can trust be built, and areas of commonality found. The second is the need for increased communication and creation of mechanisms for both broader information dissemination and democratic participation in decision-making.

APPENDIX 6: PAST AND CURRENT ROLE OF THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN CBNRM IN THESE STUDY SITE VILLAGES

In all the CBOs constituted as CBNRM trusts (using the government-mandated constitution) in Botswana, the village chief is an *ex officio* member of the trust board. This means that the mechanisms are in place for full participation for the traditional authority in CBNRM activities; the extent to which this mechanism is exercised has largely depended on the individual personality of the chief in authority at the time. In some communities, the chief has been an active participant in board decision-making, typically with the following benefits:

- Increased transparency
- Increased cohesion and coordination of village development activities
- Increased awareness by community members, because issues are more likely to be discussed at public community meetings.

In other instances, where the chief is less engaged, or where there are multiple villages (and chiefs) within the same trust, these benefits are not felt as strongly.

There are important reasons to actively incorporate traditional leaders in community conservation activities. This is because of past traditional resource management actions that elders in the community still remain aware of, and which are often based on sound environmental practices. Schapera (1994) documented a list of such practices, many of which were brought up by key informants during the community consultations. According to these sources, village chiefs would:

- Appoint a grazing bailiff to ensure that all cattle grazed only where had been determined to be that year's grazing
- Annually establish a grazing area and a resting area
- Ensure that no area of open land was burnt in consecutive years
- Annually announce the season starting day for harvesting various resources, including thatching grass, reeds, and fish
- Annually announce the area where such resources could be collected, or which areas should be rested.

This role of traditional leaders in natural resources management suggests that many of the past lines of authority, as well as the specific rules themselves, could be used to support conservation innovations within rural communities.

APPENDIX 7: CURRENT CHALLENGES TO CBNRM IN BOTSWANA

This extract from a recent book chapter provides a useful summary of the issues undermining the current model of CBNRM in Botswana:

The Botswana attempt to avert the problems associated with open access to natural resources, particularly of economically important wildlife, was based on this kind of top-down approach. In 1995, the Botswana government introduced a community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) programme in key villages situated inside the wildlife management areas in northern Botswana, with limited success (Blaikie 2006). In Botswana CBNRM is based on the principle of creating incentives for rural communities to support the presence of wildlife in their areas (Government of Botswana 2007). In an area where wildlife-based tourism is a major revenue earner, the potential for local people to benefit is high. However, one of the biggest challenges to the programme's success is that the benefits tend to accrue at the community level, while the costs (e.g., livestock losses, crop raiding) are still borne by individual households – an issue addressed in CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe (Child 1996), but not in Botswana. The focus on wildlife as the main, high-earning resource has tended to detract from proper management of other key resources that people rely on, such as water, thatching grass, grazing, and other food, building and medicinal plants (Shackleton, Shackleton *et al.* 2001). Further, in traditional societies, wildlife is seen as the men's resource, and women often become marginalised in decision-making, even where they may have an important role in hunting small game or birds (Hunter *et al.* 1990).

Critically, the focus on wildlife, and hence on the very few communities inside wildlife management areas (van der Heiden 1991), has left the majority of rural, natural resources-dependent communities outside of the CBNRM programme (Cassidy 2000). This exclusion from the focus of the country's CBNRM approach, combined with the disempowerment of traditional local level leaders through the centralisation of governance since independence in 1966, and the difficulty of implementing national policies in remote areas, has resulted in unmanaged, open access to natural resources in the majority of rural settlements.

[Extracted from Cassidy *et al* 2017].

In addition to the overview given above, there are several long-standing, and well-documented, challenges to both *community* aspects and *management* aspects of CBNRM. These are described briefly below.

Central government's reluctance to support, or even allow, community-level decision-making over natural resources: In part because of the legal structures that place responsibility for all natural resources on different government departments, and in part because of political motivations to control power outcomes at lower levels of society, very little actual decision-making was ever devolved to communities engaged in CBNRM. Communities cannot decide on hunting quotas, cannot determine the number and type of lodges in their areas, and do not have the legal mandate to enforce rules of access and exclusion. To a large extent, their rights regarding actual resources management have been limited to the right to implement decisions handed down to them from central government.

Blanket, one-size-fits-all national policies and community strategies: A approach based on a misguided concept of a homogeneous nation still predominates in Botswana. Policies tend to contain a level of detail that does not allow for local level variation, whether of geographic or ecological conditions, or of cultural, social and economic preferences. This undermines the country's ability to develop strategic interventions appropriate for different areas in the country. In addition, because of lack of devolvement to the local level, there are very

few instances of local by-laws. Very often, the generic framework cannot properly be implemented because it doesn't match the specifics on the ground.

This homogenising approach has also led to an expectation at CBO level, that all community members must participate in the same way in all activities, regardless of the ecological, geographical, social or cultural variations that might exist within the community or CBO's area. In particular, the Botswana standard model based on blanket, "all-in" community participation is cumbersome, bureaucratic, and does not link rewards to behaviour changes, or appropriately target those individuals directly engaged in using a particular resource. The existing wildlife-focused CBNRM model promises huge cash incomes that are way out of proportion to rural community livelihoods. This has created situations of unrealistic, and unfulfilled expectations to communities outside of tourism areas. It also separates conservation income from individual livelihood strategies and practices, and has often had little impact on households' wellbeing.

Capture and control of interventions by village 'elite':

Because communities have been treated as homogeneous single entities, there have been no checks put in place to prevent a handful of individuals controlling the community trusts and making decisions that suit their own interests at the expense of the majority of other individuals living in the community. At best, this has resulted in inequitable decision-making; in the worst instances, it has resulted in misappropriation of funds, corruption and promotion of self-interest. This dysfunctional situation has occurred in nearly all of the high-earning CBOs, and has had the unfortunate consequence that government then punishes the entire community by withdrawing benefits to all (since they see the community as a single entity).

Limited funding sources and support to NGOs due to Botswana's status as a middle-income country: Locally based NGOs have struggled for the past decade to find the necessary resources to allow them to support CBOs. For those donor-funded programmes that do exist (such as the UNDP's SLM Project), programme-lifespan is often shorter than the time needed to establish community-level interventions. A new niche appears to be developing where wildlife research NGOs are finding funding; however, their agendas generally do not directly align with the development needs of CBOs.

High turnover of district-level government employees: District officers and extension agents form the direct line of communication with communities and are vital implementing and supporting agents. Often the success of local projects is due to diligent championing by specific individuals. Continuity is support from such individuals is regularly undermined as due to government procedures that regularly move officers around the districts.

Recent spate of national directives related to wildlife-based tourism: Most legal acts in Botswana allow for a minister to over-ride the provisions of the act under certain conditions. In the past couple of years, there have been a number of such directives, or directives that are made with extremely limited consultation. What is unclear is whether all directives of this nature are valid, because they have not always spoken directly to the content of the act through which they were made. Some of these directives are directly pertinent to CBNRM, with negative consequences for community conservation. These directives include:

- The annually renewed moratorium on wildlife hunting, removing the main source of revenue for wildlife-based CBOs
- That all revenues CBOs earn be paid to government, to dispense and distribute on behalf of the CBO (in response to mismanagement of funds in some trusts) until the trust proves itself capable
- That all trusts must have the same wording and institutional arrangements
- Most recently, that no more head leases be given to communities; instead BTO negotiates leases directly with safari companies who should give some royalties to the community, but by-passing the community in all decision-making, and explicitly excluding any community rights to the safari area.

APPENDIX 8: WHERE AND HOW CONSERVATION AGREEMENTS CAN PROVIDE PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS TO CBNRM CHALLENGES

Because so many of the challenges are linked to central government approaches to development, addressing the challenges should come not through direct response, but through the identification of alternative approaches that can take place outside of, and parallel to, government structures – i.e., building on civil society partnerships alongside appropriate relationships with government sectors. Conceptual solutions to the current Botswana CBNRM *impasse* are presented below for each of the challenges identified in Appendix 7.

Central government's reluctance to support, or even allow, community-level decision-making over natural resources: A potential solution would be to introduce conservation agreements in a manner that downplays the language of resource *rights*, and community *control* over resources. That is, conservation agreements should focus more on livelihood outcomes and less on property rights. In such a scenario, the focus would be very clearly on an exchange mechanism relating to market-related rewards for behaviour changes [management practices]. Government would need to be a third party, establishing rules or by-laws for a given resource in a given location. This suggests a three-stage process, and two distinct arenas for engagement: 1) working with both government and the broader community to identify an area for managing a given resource, and establish resource rules within that area; 2) establishing commitments through a conservation agreement whereby any person wishing to use that area agrees to abide to the rules; and 3) separately working with people from the nearest community to patrol and report to government any infringements of the rules.

Blanket, one-size-fits-all national policies and community strategies: It has been suggested that conservation agreements might work best if done on a case-by-case basis, outside a formal (government) or high-profile programme. This would allow each case to establish its own transactional arrangements, without being bound by a set of conditions that could stifle implementation because local-level conditions do not fit the mould. Because the agreement is potentially a contract between non-government parties, it may be better simply to frame conservation agreements as a tool for engaging rural people in sustainable resource management practices, without specifying much beyond that.

Additionally, even where working through a CBO, it will be important to target a level *below* the CBO – that is, at the level of resource interest groups. Incentives must be given directly to individuals on the basis of their actions regarding a specific resource, not solely on the basis of them residing within a community. The latter formulation for benefit distribution has undermined the intention of CBNRM offsetting the costs of conservation at community and household level.

Capture and control of interventions by village 'elite': NGOs and government extension agencies working with communities need to stay alert to who the key players in the community are, and to ensure that the voices and interests of those from less dominant sectors of society (women, ethnic minorities, elderly) are heard and supported. It may be necessary to take proactive steps to avoid the appropriation of traditionally women's or ethnic minority's resources by more powerful community members who see a chance to make money through the commercialisation of the resource. Working with sub-village levels, such as wards or family groups, would help ensure more equitable participation in conservation agreements.

Limited funding sources and support to NGOs due to Botswana's status as a middle-income country: Two paths should be followed to address this challenge. The first is to set up institutional arrangements to help local CBOs and NGOs access existing sources of funds – particularly those available nationally. NCONGO could play a large role in this regard, providing alerts for funding calls, and helping CBOs complete the grant application process. The second path is to find ways of bringing those private sector investors or NGOs who have greater access to funding (i.e., through a focus on charismatic species conservation) into partnerships with

communities interested in sustainable resources use. This requires an explicit acknowledgement of divergent interests and a commitment to working together where the focus overlaps. For example, both lion conservationists and livestock owners share an interest in reducing human-wildlife conflict.

High turnover of district-level government employees: Adoption of innovations tends to be very slow in rural communities, and sustained support beyond 5 years is needed. Where possible, conservation agreements should include a Botswana-based NGO with a permanent presence in-country. Such an organisation would be able to provide the continuity and ongoing drive to push commitments to any agreement.

Recent spate of national directives related to wildlife-based tourism:

This challenge is inherently hard to address, as there are very few ways for civil society to counter unilateral pronouncements from ministerial level. Since such directives are typically couched in the language of 'the national interest, lobbying based on national policies will have limited effect. There are, however, international obligations that could be used to market and promote the community-based nature of conservation agreements. For example, under a recent review of the Okavango Delta World Heritage Site, the review committee pointed out that the government was not doing enough to include local communities in environmental decision-making and resources management. This WHS obligation could be used to rally support for conservation agreements, at the same time as conservation agreements could be used to show-case government interest in community resources management.

APPENDIX 9: WILLINGNESS OF CUSTODIAN INSTITUTIONS TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF CBNRM TO ENCOMPASS LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION AND RANGELAND MANAGEMENT

A discussion of the willingness of these institutions to broaden the scope of CBNRM must be prefaced by a discussion on national rights vs. community rights, and the political ecology of rights of exclusion. Almost all informants brought up the issue of how the current framing of “all Batswana have equal rights” creates a direct challenge to whether communities may be given rights to manage grazing land. Botswana is a small country, and very sparsely populated. This means that it has been easy in the past to treat the nation as a single ‘super-tribe’, whose members all that the right to benefit from the nation’s resources. This argument has been used to justify numerous policies and laws – most notably perhaps the 1993 amendment to the Tribal Land Act which removed tribal membership as a prerequisite to acquiring land in any one location. Any citizen of Botswana can acquire use rights anywhere in the country, regardless of where they are from or where they live.

This means that currently Botswana operates under a paradigm of ‘equality’, not ‘equity’. All citizens must have equal rights, but not all must have equal responsibilities/restrictions/burdens. This means that nobody can be excluded from using resources in an area simply because they are not from this area. Nearly all government representatives, including those from VDCs, village chiefs, district council, district administration, and land board who were interviewed, felt it would be impossible to give a local community rights of control over access to rangeland. Rangeland ‘belongs to everybody’. While the willingness to increase local management of grazing exists within all institutions, none of the interviewees believed that it would be possible to give a local community the authority to manage grazing land, particularly if that meant deciding who could graze there. The Land Board was very explicit in stating that they did not believe it would be possible to give a community a head lease over a grazing area, the way communities have tourism area head leases in the past.

At the same time, however, in just the last few years, some examples of specific resources in clearly defined sectors *have* emerged where government departments are working with local communities to set up quotas and permit systems that are administered jointly by the government department and a local community, with regard to accessing that resource in a given location. Typically, the government department determines the number of licenses available, reserves 60% of the licences for people from the community, allowing for 40% to be allocated to outsiders. At the same time, the community has some role in ensuring some management related to the license or permit conditions – such as offtake limit, seasonality and location.

When grazing and rangeland management are framed in a similar way, custodian institutions were much more positive about the potential for increasing local management activities. They felt that if it were framed that the rules for rangeland use were established for a fixed location or area, rather than in terms of a community, it would be much more likely for such practices to be acceptable, both to ordinary citizens expressing their national rights, and to the relevant authorities. That is, rules for rangeland management and livestock production could be established for a given piece of land. Then livestock farmers, regardless of their origin, would need to agree to abide by those rules if they wished to use grazing resources in that area. It could then be possible to bring in a neighbouring community in a stewardship or monitoring role, but it was felt that the rules would need to be seen as coming through the relevant sector in government for the community to implement, rather than coming from the community itself.

APPENDIX 10: HOW CONSERVATION AGREEMENTS INCENTIVE PACKAGES CAN SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-CONSUMPTIVE TOURISM AND SUSTAINABLE LIVESTOCK ENTERPRISES

Preferential trade and marketing agreements and payments for ecosystem services (PES) are two types of incentives not yet tested in community conservation projects in Botswana. The Botswana CBNRM programme focused on communities as more passive ‘victims’ who must be compensated for bearing the costs of living with wildlife. What is needed are incentives that shift the paradigm here closer to the CI model of stewardship – that those living closest to nature are best placed to manage its sustainable use. Incentive packages should therefore focus directly on resource use practices, and a link between livelihood income, sustainability and management.

Non-consumptive Tourism

The highly lucrative, up-market, non-consumptive tourism model found in northern Botswana has failed to benefit local communities either through sufficient employment opportunities or through locally-based tourism enterprises. After three decades of tourism development in and around the Okavango, Ngamiland District still has the highest levels of poverty in the entire country, and Botswana is currently ranked third in the world in terms of inequality. Currently, any tourism ideas of major potential run a high risk of being taken over by BTO through the land bank process and allocated to larger corporations with the business and marketing skills to rapidly develop a high-earning product.

Unless there is a major political shift in the foreseeable future, it is extremely unlikely that CBOs or even local-level enterprises will be able to engage in tourism ventures in any meaningful way. Even if they were to develop a tourism enterprise, the benefits at household level would reach only a small handful of families. At the same time, there is a concern that the introduction of tourism activities into community areas will displace a much greater number of households using the area for subsistence purposes. Incentive packages would likely have no effect on the development of tourism enterprises, as the obstacles to such development are not internal to communities, but external and based in central government interests and agendas.

Sustainable Livestock Enterprises

There are two direct pressures on livestock production in northern Botswana. The first is shrinking available land for grazing, due to switching to other land uses – particularly in the communal grazing areas where farmers are poorer. The second is over-stocking due to limited off-take, because there is no link to outside markets due to current restrictions under an EU preferential trade agreement relating to foot-and-mouth disease.

The first incentive for securing managed livestock production would be to complete community-level zoning exercises, and to ensure that such zoning includes a shift from viewing rangeland as “land free for expropriation to any other land use” to the creation of an inviolable, formally bounded, grazing zone. Such a grazing zone would permit no land allocations for individual use, or the fencing out of areas for non-grazing use. This would establish a clear, fixed area for rangeland management. This, in itself, would be an important incentive to communal livestock farmers as it would give them a sense of security for their livelihood activities. A clear, fixed area is also a prerequisite for setting out management rules and practices for anyone wanting to use that area. Incentive packages here could include training for range management (rotational grazing, collaborative herding, kraaling) as well as funds initially to hire workers to carry out these management tasks.

The second pressure should be addressed through developing off-take incentives by creating links to alternative markets. Some approaches are already being explored in northern Botswana: commodity-based

trade where meat is processed prior to sale to remove the foot-and-mouth risk; trade with local markets such as safari lodges; and mobile abattoirs. Incentives would include marketing support – not only through helping identify buyers, but also through branding (i.e., eco-friendly meat) and securing good prices to off-set the management efforts.

Other Options – Plant and Fish Resource Harvesting

In areas where livestock-keeping is not an option, there are several non-wildlife, non-tourism resources that would benefit from sound management. Fish and a range of plant products are of small-scale commercial interest. Many of these resources require licenses for harvesting, and have in the past been subjected to traditional harvesting rules – regarding seasonality, location and amount of off-take. There are already some examples of partnerships between government and communities regarding licenses. The most notable of these is with fishing. DWNP, the legal authority for fisheries, has moved to a system where licenses are now issued on the basis of location, and on a license quota specific to each location. DWNP now partners with communities (the CBO at Lake Ngami, and the VDC at Khwai, for example) where the community issues permits on a 60:40 ratio for community insiders to outsiders basis, and only with that permit can a user acquire the actual government licence. The community then has the responsibility to ensure that off-take limits, net sizes, hours, and locations are adhered to. Similarly, DFRR issues harvesting licenses for some plant resources, and could expand their licensing system to include a far greater range of such resources, also on a location-dependent basis.

NGOs could supplement such permitting partnerships by setting up sustainable harvesting agreements, where harvesting methods and quota restrictions are rewarded by transporting harvested produce to markets, and by marketing – particularly where marketing under a “sustainably harvested” banner could secure preferential prices.

APPENDIX 11: NATIONAL FUNDING MECHANISMS AND THEIR CAPACITY TO SUPPORT THE COST AND DELIVERY OF INCENTIVES TO THE COMMUNITY

Within Botswana there are three governmental funding sources, and one parastatal, that can be directly accessed by communities to support conservation activities.

Community Conservation Fund

This fund is administered by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. It was established in the mid-1990s to help CBOs defray some of the costs of acquiring the skills and technical requirements needed for running their organisation. CBOs can submit proposals for up to BWP 500 000 annually to support conservation-related development initiatives. In the past, CBOs have acquired funding for mobilisation; development, structuring and registration of their organisation; training; marketing; legal fees; preparation of area management plans; as well as actual conservation projects.

National Environmental Fund

The NEF was set up in 2010 to provide long term financing for sustainable environment and natural resource management. Although this fund has a much broader mandate, it is still accessible to CBOs. The fund is administered by DEA, and specifically lists activities related to CBNRM as being provided for. Community trusts are already among successful applicants for awards.

Constituency Development Fund

Under a development budget component (LG1109), this fund was established in 2016 to provide communities – through their council officials and Village Development Committees – with multi-million Pula grants to implement major (usually infrastructural) development projects. After consultation with the community, VDCs put forward proposals for activities such as the development of cultural villages, or cooperatives. For the most part, proposals are generally awarded, but examples exist where district and central government have over-ridden a request and given funding for a different purpose. This appears to be in cases where developments might create unnecessary competition between neighbouring villages.

Forest Conservation Botswana

Established in 2006, FCB is a funding partnership between USAID and the Botswana Government, for addressing sustainable forest resource utilisation. This financing mechanism explicitly includes community activities such as CBNRM projects, agro-forestry, fire management, controlled harvesting of plant products, and development of management plans, among others. The Ngamiland Basket Weavers Trust is a recent recipient of funding, as are several other community trusts outside the study areas. Small grants range up to P 100 000; medium grants to P 250 000; and large grants up to P 650 000.

APPENDIX 12: VIABILITY OF PROPOSED PILOT SITES AS DEMONSTRATION SITES FOR CONSERVATION AGREEMENTS

The three proposed pilot sites were selected based on different national land use zones and degree of community organisation. The Khwai-Mababe-Sankuyo Area lies within a Wildlife Management Area, where livestock-keeping is not permitted. For the most part, the people living in these villages are of Bushman origin, and do not have a cultural history of keeping livestock. Currently, the areas where they live are allocated as tourism concessions to private tour operators, either directly or nominally through a CBO trust.

Lake Ngami is a broader area that is managed by a trust in conjunction with government and parastatals through a Joint Management Committee. The area lies on communal grazing lands, has major rangeland management issues, and incorporates a highly variable landscape. Many of the people living here are of Herero origin, with strongly livestock-centric livelihoods.

Though the Tubu-Nokaneng-Habu area also fall on communal grazing lands, it does not have the same degree of environmental variability, nor does it have strong, functional CBOs. While Lake Ngami combines several villages in one CBO, each of the villages in this most north-western of the areas has its own.

Importantly, it should be noted that none of these study sites should be considered for a single CA approach or activity. The distances between the villages are too great, the environmental issues too different, and the between-village social connections are too low. In addition, because of the remoteness of the areas, there is very little spatial overlap in resource usage. For this reason, only one village from each study area should be considered for piloting and demonstration; roll-out to others in each area can follow once CAs prove to be useful in the first community.

Viability of North-eastern WMAs Area as Demonstration Site

Currently, the viability of this area for piloting and demonstrating is considered very low. No livestock (apart from donkeys and a few chickens in Sankuyo village) are kept, so the focus would need to be on other resources, not rangeland management. Furthermore, tourism enterprises at a large scale are managed by BTO with major corporations in the tourism industry, and any small-scale enterprises are of contentious or unverified legitimacy.

Some increasingly commercialised resources could be of interest for sustainable harvesting: fish, reeds, thatching grass, firewood, and wild spinach (*Cleome gynandra*). Incentives to support sustainable harvesting would include access to markets (physically and promotionally) and better prices.

Both Mababe and Khwai are probably most in need of support and interventions, but their CBOs and tourism ventures are currently highly charged politically, and issues of trust (from the side of the community) would likely undermine any major agreement, particularly if it were seen as a high-profile activity or involving highly profitable resources. Sankuyo would be a more politically stable community with which to initiate CAs in this area; however, Khwai has the most resources of harvesting management interest: fish, reeds and thatching grass.

Viability of Lake Ngami Area as Demonstration Site

This area has strong potential to succeed with CAs for rangeland management. Livestock grazing is central to most people's livelihoods in most of the villages, particularly those where there is a high proportion of Herero farmers. There is a strong appreciation for the need for improved grazing, even though many people insist

that identifying additional grazing land is the problem. The 2013 Lake Ngami management plan has already identified a region for piloting Sustainable Land Management practices, being an area that is already quite well bounded, and where there is intense grazing pressure. This is around the village of Bothathogo, which is squeezed between the eastern edge of Lake Ngami, and the new Red Zone veterinary fence separating the area from the Hainaveld ranches further to the east. Starting with Bothathogo, then rolling out to include Bodibeng, Sehitwa, Legotwana, Toteng and finally Kareng would be the recommended order based on need and qualitative assessment of likelihood of success.

A UNDP-funded SLM programme is in place but is due to end in 2018. This project has not started any actual rangeland management practices in the area; however, it has sensitised the communities of Lake Ngami, and has helped them acquire a ranch where they can learn better range management practices. Additionally, the programme introduced the idea of using a sustainable charcoal production project to address bush encroachment issues. While the charcoal production has shifted to focus on other sources of wood, the potential to re-orient it to address bush encroachment is high, as is the development of a CA around this activity. WildCRU has expressed an interest in being a local NGO partner, particularly with regard to mobile kraaling.

Viability of Western Okavango Area as Demonstration Site

This area also has both a need, and a strong likelihood of success, for conservation agreements relating to rangeland management. Of the three villages, Nokaneng is the largest, and also the least organised in terms of institutional arrangements for and focus on natural resources management. Habu already has a strong partnership in place with Botswana Predator Conservation Trust that has a strong focus on zoning and on improved livestock production. Tubu village is extremely well-positioned to engage in conservation agreements: it has a trust; it already undertakes some management of plant resources – with limited outside support; it has a good potential partner – the citizen-owned safari concessionaire on the land to the east; it has carried out a community zoning exercise and has a management plan and many ideas for sustainable development. The trust has a burning interest in starting its activities but has been hampered for the past few years through lack of funding and NGO support.

The safari concessionaire has a good relationship with the community and has expressed an interest in helping them establish a community campsite. While his support is there, and the community is anxious to develop this small-scale tourism enterprise, it would be important to precede any developments with a market feasibility study, as it is not evident that the area would attract enough visitors to make the project viable.

Tubu also has many rangeland and livestock production challenges and interests. There is limited surface water in the savanna area to the west which would be good grazing. Livestock therefore spend too much time in the east, near the buffalo fence, where they are exposed to predation and disease from wet floodplain soils, and where there is additional conflict with crop production.

With its clear needs, existing institutional arrangements, potential partner and high interest Tubu would make a good demonstration site with high potential in this area.

Additional Areas for Roll-out

There are several other villages that would be useful to consider for rangeland management or sustainable harvesting conservation agreements.

Village	Location	Land Tenure and Use	Major Environmental Issue	Livelihoods with CA Potential	CBO	Potential Local Partner
Phuduhudu (a Bushman community with high levels of poverty)	Far east of Ngamiland, adjacent to Nxai Pans National Park	Stateland WMA, but small stock allowed	Uncontrolled grazing, rangeland degradation	Smallstock farming	Unknown	Unknown, but could be an opportunity to partner with WildCRU
Xobe, Samedupe, Chanoga	Villages along the Boteti	Communal grazing land	Uncontrolled grazing, rangeland degradation, blocked access to river edge by floodplain fields	Livestock farming, floodplain cropping	Part of a new integrated farmers association	Unknown, probably none
Ditshipi, Daonara	North of Maun, close to the buffalo fence.	Communal grazing area	Unpredictable floodplain levels, livestock disease, wildlife depredation and HWC	Crop farming, reed and thatching grass harvesting	Yes	Rhino Conservation Trust has expressed an interest in working with these communities

APPENDIX 13: APPROPRIATENESS OF EXPANDING CONSERVATION AGREEMENTS TO FACILITATE CBNRM, AND MECHANISMS WITHIN POLICY FRAMEWORKS

A rejuvenation of community conservation in Botswana is long overdue. For the most part, attention has focused on the handful of high-earning communities associated with WMAs. In recent years, central government has increasingly argued that these communities have proved themselves unable to manage resources in their area. However, government itself does not have any better track record of management, and currently lacks the resources to take on conservation in these areas.

There is insufficient engagement with and empowerment of those communities well-placed to act as stewards, and insufficient attention to communities – by far the majority in Botswana – who live away from WMAs, and must either still cope with the presence of wildlife, take on management of ecosystem functioning, or both. The concept of “stewardship”, and of “those living closest to nature being best placed to manage it” is more pertinent than ever. There are approximately 150 registered CBNRM trusts in Botswana, all poised to take on sustainable resource use projects, but by far the majority lack the sustained technical and initial financial support to get such projects running.

Conservation agreements offer a structure that more directly rewards effort, where incentives go to those individuals that manage their behaviour, instead of to all people based on residency and whether participating in management or not. This latter strategy is considered a major constraint to the success of the current CBNRM approach in Botswana.

Importantly, the existing CBNRM Policy is not about to be changed. Indeed, it is currently being used as the foundation for the formulation of the national CBNRM Strategy. This then is the policy framework that would be the context for any new community conservation activities. There is nothing in the CBNRM policy that would preclude conservation agreements, and as such, conservation agreements could fit under the existing policy framework.

During interviews, several key informants expressed the opinion that CAs should remain as *ad hoc* tools for use on a case-by-case basis, instead of formalising them as a program that requires sanction by central government. This is because, once formalised, they will likely be seen as user rights, which has in the past been perceived as a threat to central government. This perceived threat has led to premature invocation by Government of Section 5.4 of the CBNRM Policy that states:

“Government, as custodian of the land and its resources, shall retain the ultimate authority to protect natural resources, species and habitats and will continue to monitor and regulate their use to ensure their survival and proper management, all above rights notwithstanding.”

[Extracted from Government of Botswana 2007]

Government’s inability to differentiate between different communities, and to work with the slower pace of rural adoption of business principles means that there would be a high risk of all CAs being negatively affected should one community fail to honour their commitments.

Nevertheless, conservation agreements that promote communities as active partners in resource management, instead of passive beneficiaries of wildlife-cost offsets, would not only go a long way to safeguard sustainable development in Botswana, but would also provide an opportunity for the country to demonstrate its commitment to long-term sustainability in Africa.

APPENDIX 14: METHODS USED

This study comprised a combination of extensive key informant interviews and collation of existing literature on CBNRM, community stewardship approaches and conservation agreements. Interviews (see Appendix 15 for summaries) were held in Gaborone, Maun, and in the following villages in the three study sites:

WMAs to the North-east:

- Khwai
- Mababe
- Sankuyo

Lake Ngami:

- Sehitwa
- Bothathogo

Western Okavango:

- Tubu
- Nokaneng
- Habu

Mr Sehenyi Tlotlego assisted with village interviews in order to capture cultural and linguistic nuances. Key informants included village headmen, VDC representatives, CBO representatives, Farmers Committee representatives, Councillors, as well as any other parties identified as important sources of information.

Existing datasets recently prepared on NGOs and CBOs in Ngamiland were consulted, as were a series of policy reviews conducted for recent major national strategies, to provide background on the existing institutional and policy context in Ngamiland.

The literature review focused on three major areas:

- Existing CI and other reports on conservation agreements and stewardship programs, including guidelines and best practices
- Existing reports with supplementary information on CBNRM, CBOs in Botswana, national conservation objectives, rangeland management in the study sites.
- Academic papers on community conservation and related issues.

Analysis focused on three key aspects of feasibility:

- National level opportunities for integrating conservation agreements into existing community conservation efforts
- Feasibility of conservation agreements in the three study sites
- Recommendations for aligning CI interventions in Botswana.

APPENDIX 15: RECORD OF CONSULTATIONS

Study Site Communities – Key Informant Discussion Transcripts

Mababe Village 19 February 2018

VDC Secretary Bafeletsji Doreen Rotano
Trust representative Stocks Ketsano Ketapile

The project was introduced to the community representatives. Questions were then asked about environmental problems.

First issue raised was self-drive tourists, and those on transit to Khwai or Savuti, use the area for game drives without involving the community. So there is a problem of congestion, and that Mababe can't manage these people, and that there are no benefits going to the community. [Explained that BTO is about to do a new management plan, and these kinds of concerns are more likely to be addressed in the Management Plan.]

Thatching grass is not much of an issue here, there isn't much here. There is no commercial harvesting, only for domestic use. Residents and businesses in Mababe buy grass from Khwai. There is a grass (taller than Mokamakama) that is harvested here, and it does have potential to be harvested on a commercial scale but not being done yet.

People could produce poles from dead mopane and leadwood trees, from all the elephant activity.

The leketa plant, a wild spinach, is harvested here. A lot of people come from Khwai and Sankuyo to harvest, but there is no control over who collects where, how much, or if they even have permits.

Fisheries – people also come in from outside. They claim to have licenses but refuse to show them because they say they are issued by DWNP, not Mababe. [Lake Ngami model shared with them, maybe they could replicate that.]

Sources of income: Trust is currently not receiving any revenue from any of the lodges. The only lodge paying rent is Mogotlo, although they have a few issues. At one stage MZDT had bought shares in the company owning Mogotlo, and then had tried to sell the shares, but were told the company was in debt. Also the lease issue. It is not clear who has the lease for the area at the moment. The lease ended in July 2017, but some dept extended the lease for the company (Kruger/Cougar Tours), but not for the community.

They do have ploughing fields, but recently no one uses them because of crop damage by elephants. [Fencing of the village to exclude elephants, using electric and or beehive fencing was then discussed.]

No livestock, not even chickens due to predation. Ipelegeng is main source of livelihood, with 5 employed as Green Scorpions, and 45 as general manual workers, currently working on clearing yard of clinic, school and kgotla.

Who decides Ipelegeng projects: Council asks for lists of small things, but big projects are decided by Council. Possible environmental projects under Ipelegeng: removal of Salvinia, reduction of bulrushes, reduction of cynodon, which choke out other plants.

The human population in Mababe is believed to be increasing. But the tourism industry does not offer much employment, with just 6 – 7 jobs, all at Mogotlo.

There are a few issues with tourism companies: E.g., Dinokana Camp has been set up without including the communities, or even with a proper lease. As the trust they have no idea how this company got a lease, BTO knows, Minister knows, and it has been confirmed that they got the lease illegally. BTO has asked that the camp remain, but unoperational, pending the outcome of the new management plan, which will include zoning of the area. They will get a chance to bid for the area.

Constituency fund: Mababe applied for funds for a cultural village, agreed to initially, but the DC changed this and set the funds for renovation of the co-op [possibly due to cultural village already approved for Khwai?].

Khwai Village 2- February 2018

Flesheyes Phalalo - VDC Chair

Oneele States Ntsogotho – Deputy VDC Chair

Feasibility study was introduced. Started by asking about resource user groups, and environmental issues.

There are grass cutters harvesting out of NG 19 and NG 18, reed cutters in NG 18 only, fishers and tswii collectors in both NG 18 and NG 19. Major problems around use are the absence of bye-laws and influx of people from outside, no guiding principles on how to control outsiders. Although they are not supposed to stop people, but they do want to control the use, and know who is collecting and from where, so they can direct to areas, and allocate to areas, according to how many people are going to harvest.

Through specific user groups, it should be possible to designate community members to lead the harvest. In the end it is easier for the VDC to account and report to the rest of the community on what is happening if permissions can pass through their office. [Genuine concerns, not unique to Khwai – rights of exclusion is a challenge throughout Ngamiland. VDC says they are supposed to let others in, but No, such rights for outsiders are supposed to be for subsistence use only, not commercial. Something needs to be done. Lake Ngami example of fishing quota, permit fee etc., before getting license from DWNP. DFRR could work with Khwai VDC to implement similar resource-specific controls.] IN the past, the VDC made similar arrangements for thatching grass collectors, and royalties from collectors were used to develop infrastructure in the village (sometimes cash, sometimes a portion of the harvest). If grass-cutting were organised in a similar fashion, grass cutters could now pay harvesting royalties in thatching bundles, which could be used to develop, for example, the kgotla shelter. Again, whether it is paid as money or in kind could be decided later. There are approximately 50 people in Khwai who are grass cutters.

Fish and reeds are the next two important resources used by Khwai community. About 5 to 7 fishers from Khwai, no fishermen from outside Khwai last year – all licenses held by Khwai residents (5 or 7). This is because from last year DWNP issued a quota for the area, that was advertised in Khwai. The VDC chair issued a letter of support for those applying for licenses to take to DWNP, so that could be how come only Khwai members have a license. [LC to verify with Tim Blackbeard, who is the DWNP officer behind the quota system. DFRR could operate similarly by setting quotas and offering licenses locally in Khwai village first to ensure the community benefits. Need to get DWNP to share approach with DFRR. If in return for communities committing to proper use, it would then be good for communities to be offered support with marketing, and getting good prices for their product.]

Firewood is also an issue. There is a fair amount that is being collected by villages to sell to tourists and tour operators. Something needs to be done to regulate it, both in terms of where it is collected, and how much.

VDC vs. the Trust: could it be the Trust that is the channel for the conservation agreement, and VDC says this could be a good idea because the Trust has a website, office in Maun, etc. and so could be better placed. Both VDC and Trust share the common goal of working for the community's development, so working together on such issues shouldn't be a problem.

Ipelegeng projects: mainly construction: 80 people working in Ipelegeng. Currently clearing at the co-op, VDC, and picking up litter in the village. They have several proposals for this year – new rubbish transfer station (old one too close to primary school), maintenance of kgotla shelter, maintenance of cemetery fence, renovation of public servant houses, maintenance of mobile clinic building.

From the constituency fund, they were awarded P 600,000 that they are going to use to build a cultural village at Matswiri Campsite. It will have 4 chalets. Tender is out, tenders were collected on Mon 19th, hopefully construction will start next month. Payment will be done through the VDC, but bookings done through the Trust. Any funds paid to the Trust for bookings will be channelled to the Trust accordingly.

Crops: there are small backyard gardens. Old ploughing fields were allocated some years back, but these were unused due to wildlife, and are now turned into tourism ventures.

Sankuyo Village 21 February 2018

Timex Moalosi – Headman

Galessengwe Haku – Trust Manager/Trust Board Secretary

Mr Dikgosana – VDC Chair

Otsepile Mareja – VDC Secretary

Tumelo Ntemo – Trust – Vice-Chair

Introductions were made, and project explained.

Basket weavers – there is a problem that mokola collection is in the areas where operators have leases, and there is no coordination between collectors and operators. Operators fail to promote and buy local baskets, but instead opt to buy baskets from outside because they are cheaper, not because they are of higher quality. They wish that tour operators at the very least should display local baskets in the curio shops, even without buying, so tourists can at least know about Sankuyo production.

A concern that high elephant numbers are destroying palm trees, and breaking the leaves that weavers use, contributing to a shortage of leaves needed for weaving.

Firewood – concern that government agencies such as Prisons and BDF come in and collect firewood unregulated, uncontrolled, with absolutely no consultation with the community, even though they are supposed to. This has affected the community in that villagers now have to travel long distances to find firewood for themselves.

Concern about CBNRM itself. As pioneers of CBNRM, they have noticed a shift from initial intention of a bottom-up custodian system to top-down government control. This has led to lack of management and loss of control by communities, and they have gone back to before when CBNRM started. Recommends that if

anything has gone wrong, it should be addressed and rectified, and that the bottom-line principles of CBNRM should be returned to. CBNRM guidelines should be developed, and there should be editing of laws to allow for a proper review of CBNRM. [Discussion of how land bank process may be affecting headleases for communities, and that some community areas have been signed over to commercial operators by Dept of Lands, excluding both land board and community from rights to the area.]

[Explanation that the proposed Conservation Agreement system is focused on a specific resource use, that could then be extended to other resources, so that the activity can then recreate CBNRM as the grassroots model it was intended to be. The old man collecting litter in the village given as example of how environmental issues can be pushed, and explained that these kinds of initiatives are supported by both the VDC and the Trust.]

Ipelegeng – has about 50 people working per year. Previous Ipelegeng projects include: clearing of government yards, litter collection, now planning maintenance of VDC houses, new litter bins, signage for waste and litter for this coming year.

Amount of influence VDC has over Ipelegeng projects is strong, they can recommend and usually get funding.

NGOs working with the community – primarily NCONGO supporting the Trust. Also Round River is training Escort Guides, and helping with ecological monitoring, transects, mapping – shared with research students, but including the Trust.

Bothatogo Village 22 February 2018

Kgosi Tjezako Mundu

VDC Secretary Keilelang Komeresi

VDC Vice Secretary Kamwa Ruueza

Trust Representative Thunufatso Makale

Community Member BB Mundu

Introductions made, and thorough explanation of conservation agreements, particularly in rangelands were made. Explanation of possible collaboration with SLM Project.

Does the project focus only on Lake Ngami, or all of Ngamiland? Study area was explained. Further explanation of the feasibility assignment.

Lake Ngami is interesting place, with birdlife like nowhere else. Source of attraction. Also seasonal fishing, it all depends on the flood from Angola. Although a valuable resource, it is very unpredictable. Kgosi has been fortunate to sit in meetings with the whole trust, and he feels that the Trust's efforts can all work.

Livestock is a major issue for Bothatogo people, particularly in terms of limited grazing space. When the Lake floods, boreholes are affected, when the flood recedes, they lose a lot of cattle and goats that get stuck in the mud trying to drink. Biggest challenge is how to sustain their livestock with the fluctuations in the Lake's flooding. When it is flooded it takes away grazing, but at the same time it provides drinking water. If possible, alternative grazing spaces could be provided where people could move their cattle, and where boreholes could be drilled so that people could water their cattle.

Elephants are coming in, this is not necessarily bad as they enhance the tourism potential of the area, but tourism based on elephants can only work if grazing is provided elsewhere. It is important to note that Lake Ngami is not used only by Bothatogo people, but also by livestock owners from as far away as Kareng and Tsau.

To explain the situation further, the fence is only 6 km away, and in the 2016 cattle census, there are 15 000 cattle in the Bothatogo area alone, all of which much graze between the fence, and the Lake Ngami water boundary, causing environmental issues including overgrazing and range degradation. A solution would be communal farming provided elsewhere for farmers in that strip. An example of such provision is that Government has provided farms near Qabo north of Kuke fence to Basarwa families from villages in this area. It should not only be a provision for one ethnic group; other people could benefit from this too.

Question asked about Conservation International, and what their agenda here might be, is there something hidden that should be explained. Also further explanation on what an agreement was, was asked. [It was explained that CA is a contract where both parties make a commitment, that they agree to. It can be any group of people, it can be internal to the village, or with a government department or NGO, but mostly on the one side there is a resource user group that commits to how they will use that resource properly. CI does not intend to stay for ever; they would rather start something up, but then leave the arrangement for existing bodies, such as the Trust and Botswana NGOs or government departments to maintain with the community or resource user group. An example of farmers being one party, committing to herding, and the support agency on the other, committing to training ecorangers and introduction and support for institutionalising collective herding, rotational grazing, was given. From that farmers gain better cattle, better prices, mobile abattoir, etc.] With regard to the main agenda, CI wants to see sustainable development. Other local NGOs might have their own agendas, eg BPCT in Habu has the agenda of preserving predators, but the farmers are helped to kraal at night, herd, etc., and this is beneficial to both parties, because the Habu farmers have less predation to their livestock and BPCT achieves its mandate.

Sustainability also focuses on location, not on the people. Resources are found in a place, and so it is better to manage for a location, and not just for a given group of people. For example, Bothatogo is different to Kareng. This means that the solutions might need to be different (e.g., around access to water). One could work with the Kgosi's office, to identify who uses the place, and then work with those identified people to see how they could use the area better. Lake Ngami, for example, fishing and grazing on the lake bed may each sometimes be good, but the area is so variable, neither can really be planned for. For grazing, it would be better to come up for solutions on the dry higher land toward the fence and come up for solutions for that strip. For livestock, through the farmers committee, and working with community institutions, farmers could sign an agreement where farmers agree to not let their cows go unattended to drink, nor drive them to drink at the lake. In return, the NGO or trust party of the agreement could agree to pump water to a watering spot some distance from the lake. That way lake does not become polluted, and livestock do not get stuck and die. This might require an outside party to work with the farmers. [Right now, the idea is to establish if there is interest to start a CA, for example around grazing. We know SLM Project is working with the Trust to get a ranch, but we cannot rely on one solution only, we need to get other solutions as long as they do not contradict each other.]

Looking at livestock owners with cattle in the Bothatogo area, does the kgosi know who the farmers are, and how many are just outsiders who use the area when conditions are favourable and then leave? Kgosi explained there is no formal register, but people generally know who is there. Historically, there was a tradition of an informal registration process where whoever came in from outside would see the kgosi first and seek permission to settle with their livestock. Every once in a while, people come in only to register their cows so they can sell them, and then Bothatogo people realise they have never seen them before, and they have no-one's permission.

Rotational grazing – a possibility if all farmers agree to rest a 1 km wide strip for a whole year, and be cleared, would farmers agree and stick to this, or would some farmers violate the agreement? Kgosi says that managing communal areas is always difficult. In a communal area, everything is allowed, small stock, ostrich farms, if such interest groups don't like restrictions, chances are they will appeal to government to get a permission and then be allowed to use the area.

It is common knowledge that cattle graze 15-20 km in a day, and Bodibeng is only 18 km away. So there is overlap, and any plan to bound the area might make it difficult for neighbouring villages. There will certainly be need for intensive training and dialogue because the culture here is to keep cattle by numbers, and that has now been worsened by the very low prices, because in order to get a living they have to keep a lot. People go for Tswana breeds that are not quality, but are drought resistant but breed well. People shoot for low quality because the prices are low anyway.

Grazing space is limited, and this challenge is intense around many villages in Ngamiland, including Bothatogo. If there was alternative space it would be easy. But with training, especially on good breeds and keeping numbers down, more space could be achieved. They are waiting to be assisted, but it should be the main livelihood strategy here, one that has been passed from generation to generation. People should not be afraid of change, those who are, will be lost [adaptive management]. Integrated farming is another potential solution, farmers could limit the numbers of their cattle and in so doing enhance the quality of their cattle. This is clear from other countries such as South Africa where it is clear that quality does not need that much space. Feed lots have been used, and it could be experimented with 2 or 3 people with 10 cows, and see if they can get good quality within smaller areas. The difference between here and South Africa is that you have good prices, good market and no monopoly [e.g., BMC]. People should learn to switch from 80% cattle-based farming, to include other stock such as chickens and small stock. This does not to be all community members, but some could also test if it works. The incentive for farmers participating in such a pilot would be that they should not embarrass their sponsors. Support needs to be robust, and not limited by resources. There are already some who do not have cattle, but grow crops. And such instances where there is now conflict between these different farmer types could be addressed through integrated farming.

The general grazing pattern used to be that in the rainy season, down on the lake bed, and in the dry season, on the higher savannah toward the fence. In the dry season is also when the Lake bed is flooded, so they have to move. [Is zoning a solution to such conflicts – thinking LUCIS for each Trust village?] Land Board did come and work with them toward zoning the area, and identified ploughing land and grazing areas, and LB wanted to impose a restriction of 7 km away from village to get nearest fields. But village explained that this is not possible because the fence is only 6 km away, and that the fertile cotton soils are down near the lake. Areas toward the Haina veld are rocky and sandy and no nutrients and not favourable for arable farming. LB was told that the lake does not only provide water, and they can still dig well points after the water has receded to water their crops. [Community mapping where zones are decided by the community themselves, where zones are demarcated by community members themselves.] That is currently where the LB and the physical planners are coming from, and that the community should start deciding on what should go where – e.g. fields along lake edge. But government has said that the lake edge is a no-go for fields.

It is clear that traditionally, 90 % of ploughing fields were along the lake, and dryland fields on the higher land were for alternative farming. Ideally, arable farming around Lake Ngami with very little cattle would be the ideal combination, and could even be appealing to tourists. The black cotton soil is only found down near the lake, and this is what is good for crops.

Ipelegeng: 60 people work in Ipelegeng. Most Ipelegeng projects come through government plans such as NDPs or DDPs, but village also sends a list of what would work. It was agreed that if there were Ipelegeng projects that could support conservation agreements, the VDC would be able to push these through to implementation. This would be favourable, because it could result in youth being trained, especially those

who did not do well at school, and it seems that conservation agreements would definitely lead to the introduction of new skills. All that is required is proper consultation with the community, and seek their approval, and with that, they go to council who could agree.

Livestock, cattle, goats, and crops – this is our livelihood. This is what we know. Unfortunate to have low livestock prices at the moment, and limited grazing space. The feasibility study should not hesitate to make recommendations on how the area could be used. There is definitely room for drilling wellpoints for water when the lake is shrunk and there is space between the high-water mark and the gravel road that can be used for crop production. In Tsau there is a study group, one is needed here as there are a lot of youth here. They need to learn skills that are appropriate to their lives here. Government initiatives are there, and being implemented to help the youth, eg.g, Brigades. However, not all training speaks to the kinds of livelihood activities that are there in their home village. For example, formal apprenticeships, relating to farming.

(There is also a high rate of primary school dropout rate, now that they are no longer sent to boarding schools, they do not care to attend.)

Sehitwa Village 23 February 2018

Boitiro Dithapo – Kgosi

Helmi Bokhutlo – Trust Chair

Walter Madikwe – VDC member

Introductions were made, and the project described.

The kgosi said, that based on the description, the Trust is the proper vehicle for this experiment. It is agreed that we don't need to get everyone involved if it doesn't apply to them. The trust is well equipped to run it. The VDC and the tribal administration can remain in their advisory role.

Specific environmental problems: fisheries has been a good industry, but now the water has receded and the fisheries have suffered, and this is a big challenge, since the industry is dependent on the flood. Thatching grass: there are areas around the lake where it can be collected, but there is not much space for this activity, as the grass is found in the same area where cattle are grazed. Biggest challenge is how to share that space between thatching grass groups and grazing land. Adding to that problem are wild fires that sweep through and burn everything, and then there is no way to collect grass.

The Trust is in a better position to spearhead any project that might come out of this feasibility study in that the trust already has projects, they know how to do proposals, who to solicit funding from. Already there is a charcoal project that is on its way, and it looks like that falls within a similar concept. The trust is in a better position to look for areas where there are resources outside of the lake area, and that also means if they lead, any effort would be more successful.

Overgrazing is one of the biggest environmental challenges they've got. Wildfires take away any remain grazing that is left. The challenge is that such burning is deliberate, and in the process takes out everything.

Community zoning – what is potential for zoning a grazing area where no fencing is allowed. We need to remember that is communal grazing, and communal means that everyone is allowed to do whatever they want where they want and when they want. The area is very small, there is the Setata fence 45 km to the north, and on the other sides, the village is 'fenced' in by cattle posts. For example, when LB comes in trying to put a 7 km limit for nearest ploughing fields, they realise that this is not possible. [It has Always been

communal grazing. But historically, decisions were made about where to graze together, when to move to a different section – did this apply in Sehitwa?] In the 60s and 70s, rules were set by the community through tribal administration. In the rainy season all ploughing was done in the lake area, and all cattle were then driven away from the lake to the drylands, where surface water was now available due to local rains. Then in the dry season, the cattle were then brought back. Those patterns were respected, and people listened. But now people are free to do what they want wherever and whenever they want. [Is there a possibility to bring back these systems, either in the same way, or modified to work through the Trust or with Dept of Animal Production, or is there a way of modifying new rules based on the same historical system – such as the example given during the CA workshop for providing funding and training for cattle herders?] Yes, it is possible, there was a district holistic land management workshop where issues of zoning were emphasised. She has realised, and it was stressed at the workshop, that not much money is needed to implement the systems. All that is required is to solicit and gain the agreement with everyone, and then to enforce the agreement. The tribal administration is integral to the success of this, because chiefs are respected, and the system has a better chance of working if the chiefs are involved because people will be more likely to listen to them. The Dept of Animal Production, government vets, could come in and work with everyone to see that the system works properly. It is worth repeating that it is not so much money that is required; what is required so for people to agree.

[Issues discussed are just some examples, either working through the Trust, or assisting the trust to be beneficial to the people of LN. Any NGOs working in Sehitwa on environmental issues?] No, but they are members of NCONGO. There are no village level conservation committees in Sehitwa. There is a farmers committee, made up of mainly cattle farmers, just a few, not all cattle farmers are members of the committee. It is not known how many cattle farmers might be members of the Farmers Associations.

Ipelegeng has 86 people, with a few projects selected by the VDC – mainly bush clearing within the village and along the outlying roads linking Sehitwa to other villages. Litter collection through Green Scorpions, and now bush clearing for RAC plot. Most of the projects are submitted by VDC to Council, though some come from Council. The bush clearing was definitely one that came from the village, and accepted by Council. There is a possibility that a project through the trust, or any other conservation activity, could receive support from Ipelegeng. [Example of having bush clearing on a test site for rotational grazing.] This has not been implemented yet, but if the request was discussed and approved within the village, and a clear recommendation submitted to Council through the VDC, there should be no problem. It would also need to receive the approval of relevant government departments.

One thing that everyone should understand is that a conservation agreement can only stem from the clear identification of an environmental problem. It won't work if the problem is not clearly stated and understood. The Sehitwa community must accept the identified problem, and accept who contributes to the problem. It is only then that they can consider an agreement, because they understand the root of the problem. Example of thatching grass and veld fires – it is for the Sehitwa community to know who causes the fires, and why, before they can undertake to address the problem.

Tubu Village 26 February 2018

Kgosi AK Motsidiemang
Kgosi Chabi Moteti
Kgosana Atalanang Joshua
Rose Lethopile Seanga VDC Secretary
Keheletswe Salepito Trust Secretary
Odirile Boitshwarelo Trust Treasurer
Thaba Bosekilwe VDC member

Introductions of CAs, and the feasibility study, and how it might be an opportunity for Tubu.

The Tubu area is too small. The buffalo fence is nearby. The area between Gumare and the buffalo fence has people's ploughing fields and cattleposts. West of Gumare is full of mogau and no water. Tubu was one of the first villages to form a conservation committee. Kgosi is one of the first tribal administration offices to start keeping records of who collects grass and reeds, and how much. 70 years ago there were no trees at all, not even palms, just grasses and open space. All the palm trees are from people bringing nuts from far away and germinating here. People are now harvesting the trees for young palm hearts for cooking and eating, and fruits are good for eating. Palm wine can also be made.

Conserving the Okavango (e.g. World Heritage Site listing) included the sustainable development of people, including their livelihoods such as livestock and crops, and this space cannot be reduced in favour of other uses. Also LB doesn't want to give new fields in the floodplains. Already we have tourism facilities in the cattle areas, and it is not possible to share this land any further.

This is an important subject to discuss. The Trust has been working hard toward setting up the campsite and cultural village. There has been a bottle neck with the leases due to problem with the constitution. They do have land for these developments, but they don't have the funds to develop them. They even have a company, Green Visit, and these tourism facilities must be up and running before we can think about conservation agreements, because without the cash flow, we won't be able to support that. Also, let's finish what we have done.

[Question on supporting agencies.] Yes, government could assist, but because they don't have a lease they haven't been able to seek govt funding. But govt officers have been helping them get their constitution challenges (missing pages) rectified. Government will definitely help this coming April (new financial year) with funding. Government institutions are definitely assisting them.

Yes, the LB called them not long ago about the campsite lease. David Kays is a member of the JMC, and is waiting to assist with campsite management training as soon as the trust is ready for it.

Most households own cattle. There used to be a lot of cattle, but there has been this tick-borne disease that has reduced their numbers. We need to be very careful when we talk about the use of fires, especially in this place because of peat fires that are uncontrollable. [CBFiM explained].

[Is ploughing land short?] There is enough land for ploughing fields, there are good soils and good yields. No, there is NOT enough space for fields as well, it is only the old people who have fields, the young do not have because LB has stopped allocating floodplain fields.

Firewood is now plentiful, it is however all collected only within the village, and only for household use, not for sale.

Predation or crop damage – other problems are elephants and porcupines damaging crops, and lions eating cattle. Also cattle diseases: the foot-and-mouth, and now the tick-borne disease finishing them off. Cattle cross over the buffalo fence into the WMAs, and when they do that, they get killed. If the fence were more robust /electrified, this predation problem would be resolved. Tick infestation started in 2015. Dipping and vaccinations do not seem to be working. [Cattle crossing the fence, could herders work?] Yes, herders could stop that, and herds could then herd them back to the kraals and ensure that there is kraaling. Although that

might help, there will be need for other people to herd wildlife. Someone must herd the lions back to their side of the fence.

Young people do not feel the need for herding cattle, and don't think it is their responsibility. It used to be family based, not any more. This is a problem that herders, with proper training and payment, could result. Young people would then see it as an opportunity.

The development and implementation of campsite and cultural village may encourage them to take part. Some of the elephants that come and damage crops, are attracted first by water. So if water holes were provided away from the fields areas to attract them, this might reduce crop damage and human wildlife conflict. What Tubu really needs is an investor, someone who could come in as a shareholder, or someone who could rent the place (campsite / cultural village) so they can start.

67 people work under Ipelegeng. Current projects are clearing village of weeds, maintenance of buildings. Alternative projects based on environmental projects that the Trust could benefit, would the VDC be able to request these? Yes, they think such ideas (fencing molapo fields, chilli borders, etc) could work.

If government could buy into projects such as making a cement trench instead of a fence, that would help. The chilli project was started, but people were not told how to use it, so it failed. The trench may stop elephants, but we need the elephants for our tourism projects, so we should plan to live with them. What is Habu and BPCT doing about the elephant problem? [They have started with predators, not elephants yet. In Habu livelihoods are more focused on livestock, so that is why they have started there. The partnership works because Habu farmers lose less livestock, while BPCT sees less predators killed.]

Who would pay for the herders here? [At first it could be an NGO but typically be for two years, but after that the Trust could access funding from Community Conservation Fund, or National Environment Fund, or after even 5 years, farmers might be happy to pay the herders themselves, because they saw their livestock in better condition from the herding.]

Cattle herders would come in handy, this could be a good initiative because the cattle move all over, and this could be why they pick up ticks, and herders could control their movement. With the campsite operational, after some years, the campsite might even be able to support the cattle herder salaries.

[It is healthy for the trust to think long term, but CI is unlikely to fund tourism projects unless the link to conservation is very clear. Maybe Green Visit, as a company, could get help from LEA since this would be a development project.]

Cattle herders might also help tourism by keeping the cattle away from the tourism areas. There is land, there is water, there is wildlife. We have all these resources, we need money to start.

Nokaneng Village 27 February 2018

Kgosi Malebogo Raditse – Headman of Record

Ogaofi Saoqu – Court Clerk

Galebue Makumbi – Police Post Commander

Benjamin Gantsi – VDC Vice Chair

Rolang Kgosingaka – PTA and Youth Committee Chair

Papadi Batatsi – Pastors committee chair

Galebolae Mogapi – Trust chair – Nokaneng Development Trust
Kaijambu Kondomba – VDC Chair
Kgosana Oamana Xere – Ward headman
Kgosana Vetuamue Komana – Headman Banderu Ward
Kgosana Anna Baganetsi – Headman Mabudutsa Ward
Jason Kazombongo – Councillor
Kgosana Nxamosie Xawe – Headman Basarwa Ward
Thapelo Maphungo – Asst Vet Officer

Introductions made and project explained.

Councillor: This is the first time the project is being introduced, but here it is already asking about problems before there has been any consultation. It is not clear who signs the agreements, where they are signed or how to move forward. This should be done with full consultation of the community before such agreements are signed. Which other villages have been interviewed now? This concept has not been presented to the full council, and before any new project can be introduced this should be done – are there any plans to do so? It is important for the consultations must be done properly, because land is a paramount issue. Farmers do not have land, land has been given to conservation. How much influence will this survey have in changing or rezoning the current land use system? Can this survey lead to revision of land allocation boundaries, and possibly lead to allocation of more land to people?

[Answered, that this is just a feasibility study, it may or may not happen. List of stakeholders and areas given, and how recommendation process will unfold. If it is not recommended, other countries may adopt it. If recommendations are accepted, that is when people will come back, and hold more in-depth meetings and get to the bottom of the problems. This first process is about understanding typical problems in the area. [On re-zoning, firstly, not all conservation needs to be about wildlife, or zoning for or against wildlife. It is about zoning within a community based on the livelihoods and interests WITHIN the community, such as conserving soil fertility, or conserving rangeland quality. The project is not about encouraging large scale rezoning to make room for more wildlife areas by moving people – there is no room for that any more. It is about looking within the community to see how their own conservation initiatives can benefit their current livelihoods. Increasing resentment about wildlife is due to communities surrounding WMAs receiving no benefit from wildlife or wildlife-based tourism, so it would not help to expand that approach. The type of zoning that could be considered is about zoning by themselves within the current area they are using, based on the livelihoods they have, such as fields areas, summer grazing or winter grazing zones. Zones would be about helping the community to manage their own land and the resources within that land. Such as where to harvest thatching grass this year, and which area to leave. Example of Habu, how a supporting NGO may have a different agenda, but can find common ground. Prevention of predation leads to less wildlife conflict.]

There are many issues around natural resources use in Nokaneng. There are plenty of resources, mostly in the floodplains, thatching grass, ploughing fields, palm leaf harvesting, grazing for cattle, water for livestock. It is good to look at how the use of such resources can be better organised. It is possible that through these agreements, the use of these resources can be organised properly. It is good that Nokaneng is giving a chance to give its inputs. The biggest problem for Nokaneng is that there are too many elephants. Luckily now due to good rains, elephants have moved away. But there is clearly chaos between the interaction between people and wildlife especially elephants. This chaos is the result of absolutely no zoning. Crops are grown in every direction in Nokaneng, and livestock in every direction, and no separation of the two, that normally don't mix. All these issues have not normally had a chance to be aired, so grateful for this chance. Issues of livestock, ploughing, grazing, watering all done in one location – this has proven not feasible, and as a result livestock farmers are becoming poorer and poorer by the day. The Delta has provided plenty of good resources to people in the past, including great grazing that produced good quality cattle. With time, cattle owners will be the poorest people living in these villages. Crop damage by elephants is too much, so now hardly any yield.

Farmers are expected to deal with this by shooting the elephant while in the field, but often the elephant is only wounded, and in the process of its escape, it threatens lives and sometimes kills people. Because of that, livelihoods are uneasy due to interactions with elephants. To make matters worse, if a farmer decides to follow a wounded elephant to finish it off, they are seen as poaching. There is no means of watering cattle anywhere else besides the river which contributes to the conflict. Elephants, people all want the same water.

There are many challenges, land is an issue, there is not enough, the area where we live is also where we have everything else going on. The area west of the tar road is full of mogau, but no water, or at least only saline water. A solution would be to pump fresh water from the river system to the area far to the west where cattle can be move to, especially during the rainy season. (If they graze during the rainy season, mogau is not such a threat.) Doing so, would pave way for tourism.

Boreholes and the provision of water is the ultimate solution. Water surveyors should be brought in to locate sweet groundwater to the west to encourage the shift of grazing to that side. There is definitely congestion to the east, crops, livestock wildlife all in one area. There are anti-poaching camps and AI farm on the western farm that also add to the congestion. Maybe boreholes along the road and pumped to the west could be the answer. On the east they lose a lot of livestock to predation but also it becomes hard to herd cattle properly due to elephants everywhere.

There has been a similar consultancy, and a LUCIS land use was done. People decided unanimously that eastern side should be for ploughing, and the western side, 30 km from the village, should be for livestock. They were asked what their primary livelihood was between livestock, crop production or tourism, and they decided livestock was most important. They made recommendations that to solve the problem, boreholes should be sunk in the west to water livestock, or that water should be pumped in that direction. Farmers have come to understand and agree that grazing livestock in the floodplains comes with many diseases, so that are ready to do what they can do avoid that. It is also clear that a lot of resources are on the river side, but of course there are also dryland resources as well. It is true when people say that cattle rearing is challenged by limited land, but in another sense, there is plenty of land. It only appears that there is not enough land because there is too much chaos in its use, that is what has created the problem. Many years ago, there was an experiment with drift fences to stop cattle moving into fields areas, but due to haphazard allocation, people started cutting the fence to move between fields and the project failed.

The Trust in Nokaneng was formed in 2012, the NDT. It has not been successful because leases have not been secured, or have not been collected where they have been awarded. Funding has stopped them from collecting the leases. The Trust was formed for tourism, but the trust could of course be used for other sustainable development activities. There are farmers association interests in Nokaneng. Many farmers have heard about, and are interested in, it, but very few have registered. The NWIFA does have a Nokaneng sub-committee, which is how the relationship to the broader association is structured.

Ipelegeng employs 68 people at any one time, focusing mainly on debushing in the village and along the roads, also cleaning up litter (Green Scorpions). [Asked if Ipelegeng could be a conduit for labour for trust activities, such as digging for the pipeline.] Yes, Ipelegeng could be used. For example, government organised a water tank and livestock drinking troughs, and Ipelegeng to dig the 10 km pipeline, so we have already done that. Ipelegeng is a good vehicle, but the rates are too low, and when a project like that is introduced, they expect a better rate. The problem is that when a project like that is brought in, it is not handed over to the VDC.

Turning back to the example of herders that were given, here in Nokaneng where cattleposts are scattered, how would communal herding be done, would they also be kraaled together? [explained that it would depend on what is agreed on in Nokaneng, and it could be flexible, and it could change. For example, owners associated with three boreholes near each other could work together, and hire 2 herders, while elsewhere a

similar smaller collecting grazing group could be established. Just like with cluster fencing, it is the farmers who choose to share their fields, and which fields to cluster together. It is the farmers that would choose who should graze together, and where to graze.

How long to receive feedback on when conservation agreements will start? Is there a possibility of exchange programmes, or education programmes on conservation agreements in the meanwhile, so people could understand more about this. [explained that this consultancy is very short and focused, but will ask whether the report can be shared with consulted villages. Best thing would be for trust to speak to NCONGO, and see if they can connect them to NGOs who might be able to support them, such as WildCRU, Round River, BPCT. Their interest is primarily coexistence between people and wildlife, so their interest would be to help people live sustainably in order to conserve. The trust or VDC could also approach the SLM project housed at DFRR which is working on rangeland management.] When will the agreements start? [explained that this was just a feasibility study, and that CI's current support in Botswana is to GDSA, so the focus is on setting up a sustainability study for Botswana. So it might or might not be CI that is the organisation that gets directly involved in conservation agreements. It will likely be with another NGO or Botswana based organisation. It is highly likely that the intervention would start really small, with projects in only three or four villages. Habu is a step ahead because it already has a partnership with an NGO. If it is to be implemented, Habu is already poised to start, whereas Nokaneng would still have to find a partner organisation. But this does not mean that after some time it could not be expanded toward Nokaneng.]

Habu Village 28 February 2018

Kgosi LS Kapomboro

Abel Sashoni – VDC Chair

Boikothao Mogapi – VDC Treasurer

Jacob Seramile – Trust Chair

Mahumo Thaloetsile – Trust member

Keikanetse Diutwetse – Farmers committee Chair, Trust member

Tjakuti Kandjou – Headman of arbitration

Uahorekua Godlop – Was secretary to committee that worked with the Allen Foundation boreholes and water provision

Kgosi Galesieope Moyota – Headman of arbitration

Kelesego Kenakemo – VDC secretary

After introductions, the concept of CA, and how it might support efforts in Habu were described.

Will this be done under CBNRM, or is it another CBNRM project? [It is similar, but a different format since it is specific to a resource and to a user group. Also, current CBNRM model is challenged because the head leases are being affected by the tourism land bank. However, there are enough people in relevant government departments that are supporting management of natural resources at community level to ensure that some form of C.B.N.R.M. *[emphasised to differentiate actual meaning from program]* does continue. The example of DWNP working with Lake Ngami and fishing permits/licenses was given and explained.]

Will this be the same arrangement in Habu? [It is important to keep options open here because there is an existing effort going on with BPCT, and the exact modalities should be done in conjunction with that partnership. However, given that there is already a focus on rangeland management, the example of Ecorangers might be a better intervention for the Habu context. Training and payment of ecorangers could be done by BPCT initially, but then that could later be taken over by the Trust or VDC, and beyond that the farmers themselves could take than on. The benefit to farmers is better grazing, less predation, less diseases,

because ecorangers would keep cattle away from wetter areas and predators. And in this instance, government involvement would be from someone like Mr Chilume at DAP who could tap into agricultural support programmes to assist the community in that. There are other funding mechanisms that the Trust could tap into such as the CCF and NEF.]

We only mentioned soil, grasses. Why are we forgetting palm leaves for baskets, trees for timber, papyrus for mats, clay for pots and building? [This is an important aspect to raise, that the community here has already identified a range of resources that they are concerned about, and that there is no reason why the list should not be extended to be open for CAs where there is a problem around their usage.

It is noted that this is a feasibility study – do they need a full list of resources and problems from the full community now, or should the representatives in this meeting give this information? [Explained that the intention was to get preliminary feedback that could represent conditions in Habu for the general analysis. Once that is done, then if there is a recommendation for Habu, then it would be up to the Trust, or any supporting NGO working with them to sort out what are the specific problems within this particular village.]

HEDT – BPCT activities: as far as is known, community consultations have been done, and that problems surrounding livestock-wildlife conflict have been shared widely, and that the benefits of separating the two land uses is understood, and the community is supportive of this. All the community wants is for water to be pumped to where the cattle will be moved to. HEDT and BPCT understand that the water needs to be drawn and pumped to this drier area for the livestock move to take place. But what is very important is that we cannot be expected to move our livestock until the water is in place – that will not work, so we are waiting to see how the pipeline and water provision aspect proceeds.

Regarding predation, there is a “FAO” supported project that has ongoing discussions with the community regarding the hiring and training of ecorangers, and just last week a few people from the village were interviewed.

Consultations have been ongoing about with “FAO” discussion problems of mixing livestock and wildlife. The community has heard and understood, and is ready to participate in moving their cattle. It is confirmed that young Habu residents were interviewed last week for the positions of ecorangers. Videos and other material were shown at the kgotla, and many farmers from the entire Habu catchment area came to listen. Ben and Dan of the “FAO” were expected back this past Monday to hire those ecorangers, so we are expecting them any time.

[Q: on land management, whether Land Board or Town planning have come to do a village level LUCIS or zoning exercise.] Last year there were consultations where LB and others came to introduce zoning through the LUCIS programme, and the community were left with the assignment to decide on where land uses would occur. The community is in the process of getting LB to come and assess the tourism plots and boreholes for family group syndicates that they have applied for. So far, GPS coordinates of the boundaries of the proposed zones and the plots have been taken, and these will be taken to LB before the management plan, for approval of zone and plot locations. At that time, they will discuss the boundaries and zoning. This process is being spearheaded by Tico (BPCT) and Masedi. What is left is for community members to split themselves up into family groups and make syndicates for borehole-based grazing zones.

Ipelegeng in Habu engages 59 people, doing mainly litter collection and bush clearance, otherwise no projects. Yes, a job such as the pipeline could be put through Ipelegeng, but this would need community consultation, and would need a resolution passed by council.

When will be back with feedback? [The report belongs to CI, so their permission will be sought for sending copies of the report to interviewed communities.] It is a good idea for the report to be shared so that communities can understand what the report has recommended.

Maun – Key Informant Interview Summary Notes

Mr Chilume	Department of Animal Production
Kabelo Mogabodi	Department of Forestry and Range Resources
Ramogaupi Gaborekwe	District Administration
Ms Molathlole	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
Mr Kwelagobe	Tawana Land Board
Chris Brooks	Southern African Regional Environment Program
Cosmos Rathipana	Round River
Tico McNutt	Botswana Predator Conservation Trust
M.A.P. Ives	Rhino Conservation Botswana
Jane Horgan, Leeanne Van der Weyde	Cheetah Conservation Botswana
Innocent Magole	UNDP Sustainable Land Management Project
Siyoku Simasiku	Ngamiland Council of NGOs
O.T. Thakadu	Okavango Research Institute, U. Botswana
Joseph Mbaiwa	Okavango Research Institute, U. Botswana
Richard Fynn	Okavango Research Institute, U. Botswana
Ruth Stewart	Travel for Impact
Jess Isden	WildCRU / Trans Kalahari Predator Programme
Jacques van Rooyen	Conservation International
Debbie Peake	Botswana Wildlife Management Association

(4 attempts to meet with the council secretary, 4 with the district Ipelegeng office, and 6 with district Local Enterprise Authority failed.)

Many of the NGOs based in Ngamiland with a potential for long-term engagement with communities are focused on wildlife conservation. This is not seen as a challenge; instead the area of overlapping interest is through minimising human-wildlife conflict and promoting co-existence. In rangelands, co-existence actions are also closely linked to sound rangeland practices (herding of livestock, mobile kraals, seasonal movement, predator early warning patrols, using dogs for herding etc.). Local NGOs have access to funding to support conservation agreements – such as Darwin Awards from DfiD, WWF. Potential for NGOs to provide support to communities in the study site areas – particularly those on tribal grazing land – is high. Any links between climate change resilience and livelihood enhancement would likely attract funding opportunities, but supporting agencies for these to be channelled through must be in place. Interventions that include infrastructure, such as boreholes or watering points for livestock management could be supported. The focus on resource use, as opposed to whole communities is timely, given the collapse of CBNRM in the face of the tourism land bank. In addition, actual management is more likely to take place when targeting an interest group specifically.

An important issue when looking at communal areas is to ensure that there is a focus on marginalised groups. Women, for example, are more likely to own smallstock than cattle, and herding with dogs is more appropriate to smallstock, so this could be a good option. Even if an NGO is not currently active in supporting communities in Ngamiland, they could come if for training interventions and awareness workshops.

It is important to shift away from the dysfunctional concept of community where all people, regardless of their interests, are supposed to come together to manage resource. It is much more appropriate to target and work

with those that care about a resource, and create new groups around that, finding out what the interest group wants, and building on that.

Some wildlife conservation NGOs are not yet working with communities, but are interested in finding some ways to expand on current community liaison efforts. For example, there may not be a direct role for communities in rhino conservation, but for some villages along the buffalo fence, a direct exchange, such as provision of potable water in exchange for honesty and information, might also be an avenue for the uptake of conservation information. However, for any initiative to get off the ground to target specific user groups, it is important to work with existing NGOs and support organisations, as these channels have spent a lot of time building up trust.

There are a lot of marginalised rural communities excluded from CBNRM. There is a global market forcing them into the cash economy, and in the absence of legitimate options, many individuals are turning to illegal activities such as poaching. There is a huge lack of alternative economic activities and at the same time, a very high dependence on natural resources. There are a lot of unrealistic expectations placed on rural communities, that would not have been imposed in other places. This is leading to the commodification of natural resources, because there are no alternatives.

The Department of Animal Production works closely with DFRR, because of the overlapping interest in rangeland. DFRR has a rangeland management unit. However, DFRR focuses mainly on drought assessments, and the development of fire breaks, working with farmers to do so. DAP works more with farmers, and is trying to support emerging farmers associations. It is important to note that the farmers associations are relatively new, and there are still many teething problems as they try and identify how best to coordinate across the district. Critically, there is currently no *spatial* dimension to FA membership, with farmers joining or not in part of associations that cover broad geographical areas. Currently FA structures are not ready to take a leading role in conservation agreements, because membership numbers are still low, and participation is not based on use of any particular location. There are farmers committees in most villages. These committees are more locally focused, and a better way of targeting collaborative actions for a given area. Alternatively, in communal areas, groundwater rights are allocated to borehole syndicates, typically a group of farmers who share costs of watering. Even if outsiders bring their cattle into an area, their link is usually through such access to water, and by working with syndicates and using collective/shared rotation of borehole use, it would be possible to bring in even such outsider farmers into any local rules that may be developed for conservation agreements.

DFRR helps livestock farmers with technical expertise, such as conducting carrying capacity assessments, and doing range assessments prior to Tawana Land Board granting water rights to borehole syndicates. Farmers associations are an important institutional arrangement, as they are a mechanism for farmers to access subsidies.

DFRR is also working with the SLM Project to carry out holistic land management around Lake Ngami. The intention is to remove thickets around grazing areas. There is potential to make fodder out of chipped scrub, as has been done in Namibia. Some of the farmers associations are working together to get community farms. In addition, Lake Ngami Conservation Trust has just been allocated a ranch in Hainaveld to demonstrate holistic management. Farmers can then learn to assess the range, and when to move, and where to move to. However, from a range management perspective, fences are not the answer. It is better to use herders 24/7. Around the lake itself, different rotational zones could be set up, that would allow farmers to access different watering points at different times.

One of the challenges is to ensure that the problems of dual grazing rights that emerged under the TGLP (where there were no rights to exclude ranch-owning farmers from the communal areas) are addressed. TGLP was all about land use, but it did not emphasise sound management practices.

There are currently critical issues surrounding the emerging farmers associations, including transparency, clear leadership (one of the larger association has different leaders, depending on who one speaks to), funding, and inclusivity. Addressing such governance issues would be a vital early step to enable them to be a party in a conservation agreement program. There is still much work to be done to teach farmers the benefits of belonging to an association, which is a more formalised institution than the current village level farmers committees. There is also a need to teach all parties on the roles and functioning of such associations. Because they are new, they are not yet reliable.

Farmers associations are currently not members of NCONGO, and their status as non-profit or profit is unclear, so NCONGO may not be able to serve as a channel of funds for them. However, trusts can and do get help from NCONGO to acquire funds. Currently NCONGO has focused primarily on its health and education sectors, and wants to address the imbalance by focusing more on its conservation and livelihoods sector. It can offer support, training to CBOs, and trusts in particular. It can bring CBOs together, show them different models, allow them to learn from each other. A critical part is helping them to solicit funding for their own projects. But it can also help them administer such funding, i.e., if a consortium of CBOs wants to work together, the funds could be held by NCONGO on their behalf. NCONGO is in the process of acquiring land to develop its learning and innovation centre. At some point, this facility may even have space to house CBOs and NGOs. It is also working with the civil society sustainability index approach. Funding and broader programmes that NCONGO serves as a link for include: SLM Programme, JICA, NEF, Pollination Project, Ford Foundation, among others.

Although it does not always appear so, in many villages, chiefs and even the local farmers committees to have a good voice for raising issues in the community, and for mobilisation.

Introducing herding, rotational grazing, kraaling, etc. should not be too challenging because in all groups, these were important historical practices. Among the Herero, one of the mainly pastoral groups in northern Botswana, also has a history of shifting to different cattle post areas in different season. There are some examples of communal kraaling around Sehitwa – when the Herero move their cows to the grazing close to the buffalo fence during the dry season, where there is a higher predation threat. However, this communal kraaling only works during the dry season, as this is also the non-milking season. This suggests that in the dry season at least, mobile kraals could be useful to farmers. There are ethnic differences in the livestock husbandry practices of different groups, and some more research or effort would need to be put into ensuring that these are accommodated when such groups share the same grazing land.

Some villages have already started zoning exercises, not only with the Tawana Land Board and its LUCIS approach, but for example in Habu the HEDT is working with Botswana Predator Conservation Trust to set up zones. In Habu, they are trying to raise funds for famer groups based around boreholes. In Habu, there is a need to manage herd size, as the carrying capacity of the area has been exceeded. Habu is already receiving training in Ecorangers, and is partnering with BPCT to set up rangeland activities. The biggest challenge is ensuring access to, and managing, water for livestock. The HEDT is an appropriate group to engage Habu farmers – as membership can be controlled (membership is on the basis of three year's residence in the community). BPCT is currently linking with Conservation South Africa to expand the latter's Ecoranger programme into Botswana, focusing on Habu village initially. The Herding for Health programme is also involved in the training of Ecorangers in Habu. The Ecoranger could provide a good opportunity for Botswana, which hosts the GDSA secretariat, to show case its efforts at sustainability.

Another community in need of support, and with a very big interest in addressing rangeland degradation is the newly formed Trust focusing on NG5 and on the Herero/Mbanderu villages of Tsau, Semboyo and Makakung. They also want to develop a cultural village.

Around Lake Ngami, the focus has been primarily on fishing, and in a way, there is a kind of agreement in place between the Trust and DWNP. The community manages the license quota, reserving a proportion of fishing permits for its members, and then selling the rest outside. It raises revenues from selling permits, which any fisher must then present to DWNP in order to secure the government fishing license. To some extent, fishing has only limited benefit to the Lake Ngami Trust, as only a few people from the communities are fishers. For the most part, the benefit is limited to the issuing of permits. What is needed is access to local markets. However, with lake water levels once again dropping, the Trust needs to turn its attention to other activities. One of these is the charcoal production that is currently supported under the UNDP SLM project. Initially, the charcoal production was intended to focus on bush clearing to address encroachment, but in order to generate cash, the more easily available dead flooded trees are being used.

One of the bigger challenges at Lake Ngami associated with livestock management is that livestock are not herded to drink, but go down where they like. With the water dropping, there are no extensive mud flats to cross before reaching water, and livestock get stuck and die. This is a loss to farmers, and pollutes the environment. The provision of watering points away from the lake edge could be an important intervention to encourage people to herd.

A major challenge for all the tribal grazing areas is to provide a market. While the mobile abattoirs and the concept of commodity-based trade production for livestock products are very useful ideas, this still leaves out the critical missing step of a committed and reliable market for the meat. However, these steps are indeed necessary as a major obstacle to rangeland management is that there is no outlet for farmers to move their livestock off the land.

Other efforts ongoing in the district include the creation of a vaccine buffer (led by Maun Animal Welfare Society) and the strengthening of resource user groups such as basket-weavers, and the sourcing of basket-making materials. For example, Travel for Impact has an economic empowerment project that helps women basket makers produce to a standard set by the buyer.

Rangeland management could get a lot of support, as the issue of degradation is now considered a major threat to both the environment and rural livelihoods. However, a major concern is that many people think seasonal rotational grazing is the answer, whereas what is needed is much longer rest periods in degraded areas – i.e., 3-year rotations. Fences are some of the biggest challenges to rangeland management as they limit the movement of both wildlife and livestock. On communal land, there is currently no control, it is all open access, and there are no rights of exclusion, so it is hard for communities to set up local management rules.

In the WMA communities, there are few actual management initiatives. What is needed are Parks and People partnerships. Khwai has traditional groups, craft-makers, but these are not marketed. Mababe recently had a video produced that showed where their great-grandfathers used to hunt. Sankuyo may be best poised for ecotourism, and small-scale family activities that could related to conservation agriculture. It is the only village in this study area with fields. Cluster fencing and conservation agriculture could be mitigations for existing crop raiding by elephants.

The district administration is very supportive of efforts that could help rural villages better use and manage their resources. It is important to start with those communities that are closest to natural resources. There are many different organisational structures that could be used. For example, co-operatives could form

around a particular resource, with access to that resource bound by the rules of the co-op. Farmers committees could be another entry point. It is important to work with existing organisations, whether veld collectors associations, trusts or farmers committees, and whether existing NGOs or programmes such as the SLM project, or supporting private sector companies (such as David Kays in NG26).

The CBNRM policy is a challenge. It has over-focused on wildlife at the expense of conservation of other natural resources. There have been no guidelines, and the policy is now in need of updating. The development of the CBNRM strategy is just being started. Consultations will be held in Maun, Kang and Palapye, where CBO representatives will be invited. The strategy will be issues-based, addressing those issues highlighted in the policy. A major challenge to CBNRM is the use of directives to change conditions for operation, as this has over-ridden any chance for real engagement by communities. In particular, the issue of land banks for tourism land is a key threat to the existing CBNRM model.

Under the current CBNRM model, government does not allow any actual management by communities. They attempt to manage by remote control; however, because of the distances, they themselves do not do any actual management either, so if management is failing, it is central government that is failing. For example, for proper management on communal lands, rights of exclusion are important, but that doesn't happen. The 1993 Amendment to Tribal Land Act is the biggest challenge. To manage, one needs to be able to monitor and control outsiders. Now, however, permits are given to people from anywhere for any resource. Monitoring does not lead to management, so what is the point? The idea of MOMS and how it could have informed management has been a farce, in that the communities may have monitored, but they were never included in any management decision based on what they monitored.

Government systems don't work. Communities in the WMAs are justifiably bitter, disillusioned and mistrustful. There are no more community head leases, not more community hunting, some villages are left with no access to meat, even after JVPs were supposed to replace meat originally obtained through Special Game Licenses.

Government is concerned that communities are mismanaging the leases, subleasing to anyone without consulting other authorities. Sub-leases on communal land need to be sanctioned by the land board. Now the land board has also been excluded from the tourism leases, which are administered through BTO and Department of Lands, even though it is communal land. It is believed that the Attorney-General's office is examining the matter of appropriate land authority, because the current land acts do not make provision for this, and the directives about the land bank have come from a different ministry.

It seems that CBNRM in Botswana is dead. Without consulting any of the original partners or implementers of CBNRM, the whole process has been killed by the tourism land bank. Even the CHAs that are a DWNP designation are no longer managed by DWNP, it is BTO that determines sub-zones in these areas, and instructs the Department of Lands on who to allocate the lease to. There is no more focus on community engagement, no more understanding of the need to keep communities engaged and benefitting so that they don't come to hate wildlife and wildlife based tourism. If you look at the new headleases, even though it is communal land, the correct land authority isn't even involved any more. And there are specific clauses that exclude communities from any commercial rights in the areas that they have been told were those to manage and benefit from.

In terms of issuing head leases for other purposes, such as group managed rotational grazing areas, this is unlikely to happen. There is an understanding in Botswana that "communal land is for everybody", so even though this is not how it was in historic times, nowadays there are no rights for those from outside the community to be excluded. At the moment, the closest thing to an exclusion mechanism is through the grazing rights implicit in the water rights allocated around boreholes. This is a point, not area, lease, but it is

understood that for the 8 km surrounding that point, the group with the borehole lease has rights of grazing. Other useful smaller leases might include 'way leases' for pipes, i.e., if water needed to be piped to another location.

Gaborone – Key Informant Interview Summary Notes

Neil Fitt	Kalahari Conservation Society
Ruud Jansen, Tiego Mpho, Nico Macheme	GDSA Secretariat
Sonny Mokgwathi	DFRR Conservation Unit
Khulekani Mpofu, Tsalano Kedikilwe	DEA Policy Division
Boatametse Modukanele, Oratile Molosiwa, Sesame Keakabetse	DWNP CBNRM Coordination / Community Extension
Gladys Siphambe	DNMM
Steven Ludick	Director, Department of Community Development
Tshepo Mophuting	Director, Department of Local Governance and Development Planning

The first concern when introducing a new community-based conservation programme or project is to ask what is in it for the communities? Increasingly, we see that high-end tourism is leaving communities behind, and there is very little land left for communities to pursue their traditional livelihoods. Understanding the community perspective, and what will ensure their buy-in, is also important for the sustainability of a new programme. We don't want something that is going to bring promises, raise expectations, and then collapse after 5 years when the donor walks away. We need to make sure that whatever new form of community conservation is introduced, it takes equality and equity into account. There is also a need to clarify user rights, and what the rules around those rights are. The message to government, and to supporting NGOs, is that there should be no more exclusive conservation areas – areas from which local communities are excluded. Too much land has been removed from their access already.

We are operating in a time when there are a lot of political threats to community conservation – lack of buy-in, lack of transparency, lack of awareness-raising. These threats would need to be addressed. There needs to be a focus on sensitisation. There are many, many interested parties entering the conservation / development arena in Botswana, and we are asking that all parties be as open and as transparent as possible, so that the areas of overlap in interest is visible, and can be deliberately targeted for partnerships and agreements. Two key points to remember is that there should be no changes if formal land use designation, and no raising of unrealistic expectations. While there are many interested parties in Botswana when it comes to conservation, it is the communities who are really the *affected* parties. We need to stay aware of the cost to communities under centralisation of conservation. Development and interventions need to be driven by needs on the ground, not imposed from outside.

Any community conservation programme must be tailored to be specific to each area, so it will be important to work with and through local government mechanisms. There must be spatial diversification.

The conservation agreements concept is interesting. It would be good to see it as something that builds on existing efforts, steadily strengthening existing rules and regulations relating to land and resources. We have all the acts determining use of resources. Conservation agreements could be a way for finally getting the rules and laws embedded in the laws, rolled out on the ground. Conservation agreements could be linked to participatory regulatory approaches. Botswana is fortunate to have some really progressive conservation plans, but none of them have challenged the existing institutional arrangements. We need to get the sector-specific departments to engage with communities, and work with them to have them enforce the relevant acts. Devolve and delegate implementation of resource acts and regulations – resource by resource. Beyond

this, we need to truly start adopting adaptive management approaches. We need to localise management and bring the local level into the mainstream economy, using local skills, and based on existing livelihoods in rural areas. Only when we start building on the livelihoods that are already there will we stop the skills drain from small villages and conservation areas. It is time to build on existing technologies and skills.

The land bank has been introduced to support the tourism industry. We have to put the nations interest first. It was intentional that community head-leases be stopped, as communities were undermining the viability and stability of tourism. Communities have yet to prove they are capable of handling large areas for conservation. The land bank needs to be connected to the CBNRM policy.

There is a role for NGOs such as KCS in new community conservation programmes in Botswana. For the most part, the role of KCS has been to drive partnerships. KCS could, for example, channel funding from CI to communities – it has those mechanisms in place. KCS could also help on policy lobbying. For example, it has had a large role in getting licenses for all controlled veld products to be issues spatially, for given locations, and in conjunction with communities. Policies are intended to give guidelines, and it is important to check how conservation agreements fit in with the CBNRM policy. CAs could be used for rebuilding rights of exclusion. Ideally it should be for all resources, but grazing is a huge challenge and very few people would agree that a citizen could be excluded from an area for grazing.

The licensing of resources is interesting – it must be remembered that the resources belong to government, and through government they belong to everyone. So it might not be possible to let communities give licenses or rights to control all resources. However, there are examples where trusts or other registered organisations with mechanisms for by-laws have been able to co-issue permits with government. Typically what we have seen is that in these instances, 60% of the proceeds go to government, and 40% go to the communities. Of course the communities have been pushing for them to be the ones getting 60%. It is important to remember that communal means that “it belongs to everyone”. And because Botswana is of the view that we are one nation, it means to it belongs to everyone in the nation.

The Forest Policy promotes the formation of trusts and for them to have the legal authority to manage resources. So in principle, there are a lot of plant resources for which conservation agreements could work. It would be possible if we made the place of origin of the participants irrelevant. What would be important is the place of use: if you wish to use resources in a particular area, you have to abide by the by-laws for that area, independently of where you are from.

Land tenure does not give DFRR a clear scope with regard to rangeland management. What is range or rangeland in terms of a given area? This has never been made clear. Currently range can mean any area in the whole country, under multiple land tenure and land use types. We need to come up with a clear definition, for an area that is bounded and with defined rules, a defined place for grazing. Each bounded area would be the basis for rules.

One of the activities of the GDSA secretariat is to support the replication of sustainable production across member countries. It has funding from GCF for the secretariat, and to develop programs in Botswana, especially as part of the regional thinking behind the Herding 4 Health program. CI is thinking about opening a country office again, though this would be dependent on funding. If they do, it will be for a minimum of 5 years, hopefully 8 to 10 years. A big focus behind sustainable production is on market access. Conservation agreements are seen as a mechanism, not as a new policy. They offer an opportunity to address gaps or weaknesses in the policy.

In terms of government mandate, conservation has generally not been seen as Local Government territory. Dept of Community Development tends to focus on economic development. The chief would be the entry

point and anchor on the ground. Supporting him are the councillors and the VDC. Every village should have a community development officer, though in reality officers have to work with several communities in more remote areas with smaller settlements. Each village should be supported by a Village Extension Coordination Team from different government departments, who can help according to departmental mandates. At the community level, there are several instances of community collectives – some are trusts, others cooperatives, what is important is that there must be some kind of constitution, mandate and set of rules.

Natural resources are government's resources. Government therefore always needs to be included. There is a Secretariat for Rural Development that coordinates entire government efforts for development. Ipelegeng could be a way to engage community members, but there is a lot of competition for what is a scarce resource, a lot of government departments want to use Ipelegeng workers. However, the Ipelegeng program is not very prescriptive. It has guidelines, and beyond that it is up to the community to decide what is the most useful.

Some discussions have already been started with the Ipelegeng office, such as Meat Naturally and Ecorangers. There is a lot of interest especially in foot-and-mouth areas. Two areas being discussed are Ngamiland and Bobirwa.

Ipelegeng could be a source of funding for labour-based initiatives. Projects can be identified by VDCs and council. A lot of the decisions are made by technical officers at council at district level in conjunction with VDCs. It is important to note that the council technical officers are generalists, and a district level specialist could be appointed from a relevant government department if necessary.

It is important for communities to identify and work with the range of funding available to them. For example, the community Constituency Fund could be used for drift fences.

In rural communities, there has been a slow adoption of good practices, which is a major challenge to sustainable development. Unsustainable usage is however usually due to poverty and livelihood needs in places with few options. People know how to conserve, but because of hunger they harvest unsustainably. There are no alternatives. Regulations and quotas are there, (e.g., for phane worm and firewood) but it is hard to monitor. In addition, much of the use of natural resources is done by government institutions (e.g., BDF, schools, collecting firewood for their use) and they do not feel the need to get permission, nor would they fall under a community quota.

Another challenge to veld products is the blanket policy approach. It has led to open access, a free-for-all, and it needs to become a thing of the past. We need to go back to regulated, managed access.

There are examples of different rules for insiders and outsiders, but they generally don't work. However, there are examples of different fee structures (e.g., Nata sanctuary and thatching grass) or the need for outsiders to pay a commission to the local organisation managing the resource.