

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY BASED NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT IN BOTSWANA

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Executive Summary

Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) is the concept now commonly used in Botswana for the joint approach towards rural development and natural resources conservation. As an attempt to find new solutions for the failure of top-down approaches to conservation, CBNRM is based on the recognition that local communities must have the right to exercise direct control over the utilisation and benefits of natural resources in order to utilise them in a sustainable manner. CBNRM has become an accepted concept in development strategies of the Government of Botswana, the international donor community, NGOs and other stakeholders. Since its inception in the early 1990's, many communities have embarked on the process of becoming legally recognised to manage their resources. CBNRM is no longer an experimental concept, but one which is being widely implemented in Botswana and in the Southern Africa region.

After almost 10 years of CBNRM implementation in Botswana, there is need to reflect on the progress made so far and to re-consider the way forward. IUCN-The World Conservation Union, SNV-Netherlands Development Organisation, and the Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) engaged in a joint effort to organise a series of three workshops leading to this National Conference. The themes of the workshops addressed important elements of CBNRM in Botswana: community mobilisation, enterprise development and natural resource monitoring. Funding was provided by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Harare and USAID.

The purpose of this paper is to provide background information on CBNRM in Botswana to the National Conference participants and to present the key issues pertaining to CBNRM which resulted from the workshops.

HISTORY AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Land Use and Resource Planning

The history of CBNRM starts with the Tribal Grazing Land Policy of 1975 which zoned land use with the objectives to:

1. Control overgrazing and degradation of the range resources; and
2. Promote greater equality of incomes in rural Botswana.

Areas that were marginal for grazing and agriculture were zoned as "reserved". These reserved areas were rich in wildlife and other natural resources, providing an opportunity for the people to use them as a source of income.

The “reserved areas” eventually became Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), where residents could use the natural resources for their own benefit, and the benefit of the country as a whole. WMAs, as a type of land use, were officially recognised through the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 to encourage a commercial and sustainable wildlife industry. Wildlife utilisation is the primary land use in WMAs and other land uses are permitted only if they are compatible with wildlife. 12 WMAs covering 22% of Botswana’s land area have been proposed, of which 9 have been gazetted to date.

In order to rationalise the previous land use administration system with the WMAs, the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing embarked in 1989 on a re-zoning exercise of all Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). CHAs are administrative blocks used by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) to administer hunting quotas. The entire land area of Botswana has been divided into 163 CHAs, which have been zoned for various types of wildlife utilisation (including non-consumptive use). 43 CHAs are zoned for community management and 20 are zoned for commercial management of wildlife.

Community Management of Natural Resources

Wherever possible, CHAs have been zoned around existing settlements and are designed to benefit the local people by allowing communities to lease these areas from Land Boards. If a community forms a legally recognised Community Based Organisation (CBO) such as Trusts, Associations, Societies or Cooperatives and develops a Land Use and Management Plan, it can apply for a 15 year Resource Use Head Lease over the CHA from the Land Board. These 15-year leases are reviewed at the end of 5 and again at the end of 10 years. After signing a head lease, communities can then (if they so choose) sign a sublease with a joint venture partner to work together in hunting and/or photographic activities. These 15-year leases are meant to give communities (and their joint venture partners) sufficient security to be an incentive to invest in the long term development and the long term management of the natural resources.

While DWNP legislation over the years allowed for a certain decentralisation in decision-making over the use of the wildlife resource accompanied with related guidelines, regulations and support strategies, other sectors lagged behind. Few comprehensive development strategies have been designed in regard of community based tourism development and community based woodland and veld produce management for example that allow for more community control of resources and community-driven conservation measures. Communities are allowed to use the surrounding resources, but have no rights to control the use by others.

CBNRM and CBO Capacity Building

In 1989, the USAID funded Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) within DWNP, started developing different pilot project models. These new models involved lengthy consultations with communities in identifying and designing the projects, and involved the district authorities in advisory and supporting roles. The first CBNRM pilot project started in the Chobe Enclave where the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (CECT) was established in 1993. CECT was the first community trust to tender its wildlife quota to a safari company. In 1994, SNV - Netherlands Development Organisation initiated a CBNRM programme, providing support to a number of communities in western Botswana (Ukwi and XaiXai among them). CBNRM projects include the utilisation of wildlife, mopane, marula fruit, cochineal, thatching grass and tourism activities.

A community has to follow a number of steps before it can assume management (of wildlife) responsibilities. These steps are summarised as follows:

- The community has to develop an appropriate form of organisation representing the interests of all residents before it can apply for hunting quota;
- The community has to establish a legal entity with a registered constitution;
- A natural resource development and management plan has to be prepared and approved by the Land Board;
- The CBO can, if so wished, enter into a lease agreement with the Land Board; and
- The CBO has the option to utilise the natural resources at its disposal in a variety of ways, a joint venture with the private sector is but one of the options.

A long process of building the capacity of community groups and its leadership is required before the “community” is capable of taking these steps through participatory decision-making, equal sharing of benefits, monitoring and managing its natural resources. The facilitation of this process by supporting and extension agencies (Government Department, NGOs and the private sector) is considered of vital importance.

MAIN ELEMENTS OF BOTSWANA’S CBNRM PROGRAMME

Community involvement in natural resources management is neither new to Botswana, nor to the Southern African region as a whole (e.g. ADMADE in Zambia and CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe). The history of CBNRM in Botswana has however resulted in a concept, of which the main elements are described below, that is unique and adapted to the natural resource conditions and political and institutional context of Botswana.

Decision Making is Community Based

Decision-making over the use of natural resources in many CHAs has been devolved to CBOs. These qualify as accountable and representative of the associated residents of the CHA. They decide what resources they want to develop. For example, if their focus is on wildlife resources, they control the use of the annual wildlife quota, decide whether to hunt the quota themselves and/or to tender it to safari companies. If the community decides to tender for hunting and/or photo-tourism, it is the CBO that determines the conditions to be included in the lease contract over and above the standard requirements. It is the CBO that initiates, guides and concludes the tendering process (not central or local government).

All Revenues/Benefits Go Directly to and are Distributed by CBOs

All revenues generated from the use of the land and natural resources in a defined community CHA go directly to the CBO and benefits are distributed by that CBO. The community designs its own projects and elaborates the conditions attached to the joint venture leases with its partners that prioritises the benefits they want such as community services, employment, cash revenues, management training and/or shares and equity.

Communities Can Form Legal Entities to participate in CBNRM

Communities (whether representing one village or a group of villages) can form legal entities (such as Trusts, Associations, Societies, and Cooperatives) in order to:

- Satisfy government requirements to be an accountable and representative CBO;
- Obtain head leases giving them tenure of access and control over specified resource use;
- Legally issue sub-leases (if they so choose) to joint venture partners;
- Legally sign contracts with the private sector; and
- Formalise service delivery by supporting agencies such as NGOs, donors.

CBOs Can Obtain Resource Use Leases from Land Boards

Legally established CBOs can obtain 15 year Resource Use Head Leases from Land Boards. Such long-term leases permit commercial activities and are meant to provide CBOs with the authority, tenure and commercial incentives to (re)invest in the long term conservation of their natural resources.

CBOs Can Develop Joint Venture Partnerships with the Private Sector

Many CBOs have chosen to join their land and natural resources with the investment capital and business/marketing expertise of the private sector in partnerships. CBOs have the mandate to manage the tendering procedures and to elaborate the conditions of leases, often requesting employment, cash revenues, training, infrastructure, development funds, shares and equity etc., as forms of benefits to be guaranteed in the contracts.

CBOs Are Increasingly Choosing to Develop Veld Resources As Well As Wildlife

Of the 18 CBOs active at the beginning of 1999, 11 include a veld product activity (such as handicrafts or thatching grass), while 4 CBOs have no wildlife component in their development plans at all, relying on veld products such as mopane worms or marula fruits instead. For these open access resources, CBOs only have customary control, unlike the wildlife resource where management control has been devolved. However, the Ministry of Agriculture is developing a CBNRM policy, which may address the issue of access and control.

ACHIEVEMENTS IN CBNRM

What has been achieved in 10 years of CBNRM in Botswana? What milestones in the further development of the concept and successful implementation of the strategy can be mentioned? Without being all inclusive, the following achievements are worth noting:

- Department of Wildlife and National Parks has laid down comprehensive (draft) legislation and implementation guidelines in support of CBNRM in Botswana.
- A nation-wide land use zoning exercise has realigned the boundaries of wildlife (hunting) and other natural resource areas to conform to major land use zones and to create economically and ecologically viable land units.
- More than 30 Community Based Organisations are in the process of being established or are already active in natural resource management to date, some of them having entered into joint ventures with safari companies generating substantial financial revenue.
- Resource revenue/land rentals have increased to better reflect the value of natural resources.
- Extensive CBNRM related human resource and organisational development has taken place at community level that is used as a vehicle for the improvement of living conditions of people in the remote areas of Botswana.
- Communities are increasingly recognised by Government and other development agencies as partners in development who can take up planning and management responsibilities.
- An association of CBNRM CBOs (BOCOBONET) has been established to take up an important mediating and advocating role in representing the interests of the sector.

KEY ISSUES IDENTIFIED

Three workshops preceded the CBNRM National Conference, in which the following topics were discussed: community mobilisation, enterprise development, and natural resource monitoring. The key issues that arose out of these workshops and pertain to a successful implementation of CBNRM in Botswana are mentioned here. The more detailed issues, recommendations and questions will be revisited during the course of this conference.

1. There is a need for a shared vision on CBNRM, rooted in full co-ordination and communication between the different stakeholders

There is a need for increased co-operation not only between Government, NGOs, CBOs and the private sector as immediate stakeholders, but also between NGOs, CBOs and between the different Government Departments. Sharing of information, building communication networks, promoting trust and transparent decision-making is required for all stakeholders to contribute meaningfully to a successful implementation of CBNRM in Botswana.

2. Increased capacity and expertise regarding CBNRM are necessary not only within the communities, but also among the service providers and joint venture partners

CBNRM calls for a variety of skills from all players. Required skills vary from participatory planning and natural resources management to operating a commercial enterprise and marketing. To make the most of this development opportunity, capacity must be built and mutually beneficiary co-operation modalities have to be assessed and worked-out.

3. Communities need to have a true sense of ownership if they are to have a true sense of responsibility

The process of community mobilisation and organisation must belong to communities, and should be directed by their goals and ideas. They must feel that the project activities belong to them, and not to a Government Department, NGO or private sector partner with whom they work. They must also feel a sense of ownership of the natural resources on which their projects are based with benefits of use clearly at the disposal of the community.

4. Emphasis in CBNRM so far has been largely limited to generating financial revenues from wildlife resources and less on community empowerment

Equally important to financial revenues are benefits such as empowerment through increased control over development, increased organisational capacity at community level, human resource development and natural resources monitoring and management capacity. These elements and potential benefits of CBNRM deserve more attention and more resources to develop.

5. The CBNRM concept has been developed from a wildlife utilisation perspective, underestimating the potential value of and resource management linkages with other natural resources such a range, veld products, water and forests

A more integrated approach from a policy development and implementation perspective (integrated monitoring and management tools, joint training approaches, common understanding of community mobilisation and organisation, etc.) would assist in achieving common objectives of communities managing their natural environment to the benefit of future generations.

6. Marketing of natural resources other than wildlife-related has not received adequate attention

More research and resources should be made available to develop products, and design processing and marketing strategies.

7. NGOs have played a vital role in facilitating the implementation of CBNRM at local level

With the regular (government and local authority) extension services not always able to provide the required support at local level, NGOs have shown to be capable of delivering facilitating services. More resources should be made available for non-government service providers to take up this role.

8. With the imminent departure of donors such as the Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) a gap in technical assistance towards CBNRM is expected that needs to be filled

This presumed gap extends to information collection and documentation regarding CBNRM, policy development support, marketing research, networking (in a Regional context), extension services and technical assistance towards NRM. Do the leading Departments have the means to create an enabling environment to maintain the CBNRM initiative in Botswana?

9. CBNRM policy discussions and implementations have largely been initiated and directed from the national level (Ministries, NRMP, ARB) and are not yet firmly rooted at (sub)-district or community levels

Technical assistance and funds should be available at decentralised level to support the successful implementation of CBNRM and to integrate the approach in overall district development and resource utilisation. Where possible, existing extension services and personnel at lower tier levels should be brought into the process.

ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT

The workshop on Enterprise Development, which took place from the 9th -12th of March 1999 in Maun, brought together representatives from all stakeholders, including the private sector. A cross-section of viewpoints and experiences were presented. Of particular note was the appreciation shown by tour operators regarding their first opportunity to meet with and talk to Government, CBO and NGO representatives about issues such as joint ventures, tendering procedures, wildlife management and service provision. The workshop raised a number of issues which were recommended for appropriate action. They are summarised below:

Issues

The main issue that constrains enterprise development pertaining to CBNRM is the lack of trust between the different stakeholders. Several factors contribute to this:

- There is a lack of understanding of other parties' constraints and operating conditions. Partners in CBNRM do have different objectives and interests that should be clear from the start. The resulting mistrust is further enhanced by the fact that CBOs, NGOs and Government have little experience in, or understanding of, the business world - particularly the tourism industry.

- There is a lack of transparency in decision-making, both in daily operations and in the allocation of contracts and tendering procedures. There are no clear Terms of References of vital institutions such as the District Technical Committees and there are no agreed mechanisms of arbitration and mediation in place.
- There have been adverse experiences of unethical conduct by stakeholders due to inappropriate or insufficient regulations.
- CBOs and tour operators have experienced difficulties in decision making within joint venture arrangements. For efficient business management it is not always practical to get community consensus on a decision. Conflicts within the community can slow down project development. On the other hand, due to poor communication channels and remoteness, it is often hard for a community to maintain dialogue with its business partner. The limited time horizon of the joint ventures arrangements (an imposed 1-year, 1-year, 3-years lease system) does not allow sufficient time and resources of any of the stakeholders to build sustainable partnerships.

The second issue relates to transfer of skills. CBOs require further capacity building to obtain the necessary skills for enterprise development, including skills to monitor joint venture partnerships. Linked to this is a need for increased capacity of supporting agencies (both Government and non-Government) to facilitate CBNRM and to provide better services to communities in organisational development, marketing, management and administration.

The last issue mentioned in the Maun workshop was the need to secure investment in CBNRM and in that respect a number of questions have to be addressed:

- The question of resource ownership, security of tenure and the length of leases?
- How to secure sufficient services related to CBNRM enterprise development (legal aid, auditing services, and related technical assistance)?
- How to create an environment conducive for reinvestment of community revenue into economically viable enterprises, sustainable natural resources utilisation, joint ventures, shares, etc?
- How to deal with the limited viability and competitiveness of many community-based enterprises due to remoteness of their location and related logistical constraints such as lack of skilled people, lack of communication facilities, poor access and high transport costs, and limited marketing opportunities.

Discussion Statements

1. To promote CBNRM in Botswana as a decentralised strategy towards economic development, community empowerment and natural resource conservation it is necessary to ensure co-ordination and information sharing between all stakeholders through the establishment of all-inclusive CBNRM platforms at district level.

- Discuss the need for and institutional setting of such a forum at district level (where relevant);
- Its mission and composition; and
- Source of funding.

2. To promote the development of CBNRM related skills in Botswana it is considered necessary to establish a non-government and independent training and resource institute that focuses on capacity building of CBOs, NGOs and Government Departments in terms of curriculum development, training and technical advice (for example: Botswana Institute and Advisory Services - BIAS Towards CBNRM).

- Discuss the need for an institute such as “BIAS Towards CBNRM”;
- Alternative options; and
- Source of funding.

3. To satisfy basic conditions for viable CBNRM related economic development and maximum investment in natural resources conservation it is considered necessary to allocate resource ownership/tenure (flora and fauna) to a legally registered and community representative organisation under a long term (50 or 99 years) lease.

The statements to be discussed in the groups and formulated into recommendations. Related recommendations can be added and presented to the plenary meeting.

NATURAL RESOURCE MONITORING

The workshop on Natural Resource Monitoring was held on the 10th and 11th of June 1999 in Mokolodi and attended by representatives mainly from Government and NGOs.

Issues

The workshop concluded that a more holistic approach towards biophysical monitoring (“ecosystem monitoring”) is crucial to the long-term viability of CBNRM. Monitoring should verify whether CBNRM achieves the objectives of conservation and the sustainable utilisation of natural resources, and monitoring should be linked to management. It should encompass all resources, take place on national as well as local level and strong linkages should be developed between these levels.

This calls for widely accessible data sets, collected with similar formats by all interested agencies. Which needs properly designed systems to integrate the broad range of data, properly trained people (at various Government Departments) and commitment (further capacity building and resources) among all parties to continue monitoring and build comparable and useful data sets over time.

Currently, communities are not fully involved in the monitoring and management of natural resources. They do not have a clear mandate and the decisions they are allowed to make are limited in scope. It is important to link monitoring and decision-making. For communities to appreciate that monitoring is worth the effort, they need to be involved in management decisions regarding the utilisation of their natural resources. For the same reason, monitoring systems must be appropriate and applicable to the management capabilities and options in the community. Monitoring of the specific use of natural resources and the socio-economic aspects of the community is also necessary, such as for example whether the needs of ex-Special Game Licence holders are being met.

Enhancing the capacity of the community to monitor its natural resources requires training and backstopping and as such strengthening of Government and other resource provider extension programmes.

A second issue that was highlighted during the workshop was the need to attribute more value to veld products in CBNRM policy discussion and project implementation. In that respect two statements were made:

- Legislation regarding veld products should be reviewed to address the question of resource ownership, if community involvement in monitoring and management is sought for.
- Research techniques regarding distribution, regeneration, harvesting and marketing have to be improved.

The third issue raised concerns wildlife quota setting. Wildlife numbers and distribution need to be monitored. This is presently done through regular DWNP aerial surveys. Ground-based monitoring techniques should complement these exercises. The workshop participants felt it

was necessary to standardise ground-monitoring methodology to be applied by DWNP in Parks and Reserves, communities and the private sector in their respective CHAs. Training and backstopping in standard techniques should be provided by DWNP extension services. National level database development should allow DWNP to monitor the resource over time.

While in some cases communities have been given the responsibility to manage and monitor their wildlife resources, they have no input in the annual quota setting. The same applies mutatis mutandis to the private sector concession areas. The workshop reiterated the point that monitoring should be linked to management, which includes decision-making. Stakeholders have to be more involved in the process of quota setting.

Discussion Statements

1. A user community or safari company who has been granted the rights by DWNP to manage wildlife resources should be given the responsibility to monitor the resources using DWNP approved techniques and reporting procedures and be given the prerogative to recommend the annual quota to the Department. This recommendation shall be accepted unless the Department has justified species-specific reasons not to accept it.

- Discuss the acceptability of this statement.

2. Current legislation regarding veld (non-cultivated) products should be reviewed with the aim to grant management responsibility over these resources to specified communities.

- Would formalised “resource ownership” of veld products lead to more sustainable management of the resources? How could this be pursued?
- Assuming that “resource ownership” would lead to an increased commercialisation of the resources, what impact would that have on the use for subsistence purposes?

3. NCSA should be responsible for the design and co-ordination of a National natural resources database which would link the relevant data banks of the various sector Ministries and is publicly accessible.

**The statements to be discussed in the groups and formulated into recommendations.
Related recommendations can be added and presented to the plenary meeting.**

COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

The workshop on CBNRM related community mobilisation was held in Francistown on the 9th -11th of December 1998 and attended by representatives of CBOs, NGOs, and Government Departments. It presented community mobilisation experiences with the elaboration of pre-requisite factors to success.

Issues

It was generally agreed that sustainable CBNRM at community level needs a representative, transparent, accountable and capable Community Based Organisation. Perceived benefits are a key to its organisational development and operation. Community members must notice the benefits of CBNRM. Without this, there will be no full community support and participation. Emphasis in CBNRM so far has been on generating financial benefits. However, non-financial benefits such as community empowerment, job creation and the provision of services to communities are often overlooked but may be more important for the long term sustainable socio-economic development and conservation of natural resources than financial benefits.

Much emphasis to date has been on joint venture sub-leases rather than on joint venture partnerships with community involvement in management of activities and enterprises. One might ask to what extent the resale of a DWNP determined quota can be called “community-based” or “natural resources” management.

An important issue that should be taken into account relating to community-based organisational development is that communities are often not homogenous and single entities. CBNRM runs the risk of being appropriated by dominant sectors of the community. Therefore, mechanisms must be put in place to ensure equitable participation in decision-making and benefit distribution. The interests of groups who tend to be marginalised such as women, ethnic minorities and the poor must be protected in contracts and constitutions. Successful experiences have to be shared and documented.

The second issue that drew the attention of the workshop was the need to build partnerships among stakeholders in CBNRM and to provide for the necessary co-ordination and streamlining in the provision of services. A number of pre-conditions have to be met:

- The roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders have to be clear, recognised and transparent;
- There is need for an inventory of services provided and required (including technical assistance, training and funding resources);
- Existing Local Government extension services have to be linked to the CBNRM approach; and
- Resources have to be made available to non-Government CBNRM service providers.

CBNRM requires a new set of skills. This is not only in terms of managing projects, but also in terms of capacity building, enterprise development, natural resource monitoring and/or the facilitation thereof. The need for exposure to similar activities and for training is high. Linked to this is the need for service providers to specialise and to co-ordinate their areas of expertise.

Discussion Statements

1. Non-Government service providers (training, extension services and/or facilitation thereof) are recognised as important players in the organisational development of CBOs in CBNRM and sufficient room and resources should be made available to allow them to play their role.

- Non-Government service providers have largely been funded by the donor community. With donors increasingly leaving Botswana, can/should the Government allocate the necessary resources?
- Discuss the institutional setting.

2. The Council as co-ordinating agency for rural development must become more involved in CBNRM.

- What role should it play?
- What support does it require?

The statements to be discussed in the groups and formulated into recommendations. Related recommendations can be added and presented to the plenary meeting.

POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR CBNRM

The Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP), within the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), has played an important role in introducing the CBNRM concept to

Botswana. It has been encouraging to see how communities as well as the private sector reacted swiftly and embraced the idea of CBNRM. The concept is regarded as an effective strategy towards rural development in marginal areas, and natural resource conservation. CBNRM calls for an integrated approach to link multiple actors and a variety of development processes such as devolution of ownership of natural resources, economic advancement of remote communities through joint ventures with the private sector, development of democratic institutions at community level, community capacity building, institutionalisation of natural resource monitoring, and capacity building of service providers (Government Departments, NGOs, private sector). For CBNRM to be successful there needs to be a common vision, integrated policies, a comprehensive support and a co-ordination structure.

Policies

As mentioned earlier, CBNRM targets rural development and natural resource conservation. Within these two areas several policies with a bearing on CBNRM have been launched. Concerning rural development the Community Based Strategy for Rural Development (CBSRD) is the most recent and relevant policy document. Its overall objective is to assist people living in rural communities to improve their livelihoods and reduce poverty, and to introduce a more effective and sustainable approach towards rural development by substantially increasing the role of community participation and community leadership structures. CBNRM can be considered as an approach that fits well in the framework of CBSRD. Other important policies are the National Conservation Strategy (NCS) and the Tourism Policy of 1990, which promotes employment and income generation in rural areas through tourism development.

Regarding natural resource utilisation and conservation several policies can be mentioned. The most important ones are the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992, which defines the legal basis for community management of wildlife resources in WMAs and CHAs, and the Agricultural Resources Conservation Act of 1974, which established the Agricultural Resources Board (ARB) who is responsible for the conservation and supervision of natural resource utilisation in Botswana.

The above mentioned legislation does not define specific objectives of Government in relation to CBNRM, nor does it provide firm guidance for its implementation. The circulating “draft unified CBNRM policy” (based upon policy documents of both MoA and DWNP) however should be regarded as an extension of the existing legislation. Besides addressing rural development and conservation issues, the policy gives specific reference to devolving management rights over natural resources directly to qualifying local communities and to promoting community participation in the management of National Parks and Game Reserves. If Government accepts this policy it recognises CBNRM as a valuable strategy of linking conservation to community driven rural development. The main challenge however will be to ensure sufficient capacity and willingness of all stakeholders to implement these policies. This needs financial and human resources and concerted action.

Other regulations and guidelines that are (being) developed are for example the WMA regulations and the Joint Venture Guidelines.

Resource Allocation

Most financial and human resources which were set aside by government and donors for CBNRM implementation, have been channeled directly to communities or government departments, especially DWNP. At the same time it has become apparent that CBNRM needs many different support services, including business planning, resources monitoring, community mobilisation, organisational development at local level, legal assistance, and

many others. Clearly, government alone will not be able to provide all these services and instead should involve other service providers. Therefore, there is need to develop capacity of and linkages with the NGOs/CBOs and private sector and promote partnerships. Partnerships can only become effective and efficient, when roles and responsibilities are clear, when there is co-ordination, and the resources are equitably allocated to the different service providers.

A constraint in Government resource allocation in respect of CBNRM can be mentioned regarding the CBSRD and the DWNP Community Conservation Fund (CCF). Both programmes assume that the communities have the capacity to source and absorb funding for CBNRM related activities. However, experience has shown however that by the time most communities have to organised themselves in a fully representative and legally registered entity with the right to open a bank account to receive any type of funding, three years will have passed. The costs of facilitating this mobilisation and organisation building process are not covered by the programmes mentioned. Government extension services have so far not shown to have the capacity of filling the gap.

Co-ordination

Within government, DWNP through its NRMP project played a pivotal role. However, CBNRM goes beyond the DWNP mandate of wildlife conservation and utilisation. The interest shown by for example the Agricultural Resources Board, National Conservation Strategy Agency, and several Land Boards and District Councils illustrates the multi-disciplinary character of CBNRM. Moreover, NRMP did not only provide support to DWNP but also to other organisations. For example, it assisted the Ministry of Agriculture to develop its own CBNRM policy, which is currently being unified with the one from DWNP. There is a need to encourage active involvement with other government departments and local authorities. However, what will happen after NRMP has terminated its support, which is due the 1st of August 1999?

There has been indication of the need for a new Ministry of Natural Resources or Environment. However, the establishment of such Ministry would take time and does not address the immediate need for a clear support and co-ordination structure. Presently an inter-ministerial CBNRM committee aims at co-ordination, but this committee includes government officials only and is specifically focussed on the USAID/NRMP. As mentioned before, CBNRM as a two-pronged strategy towards rural development and natural resource conservation needs the involvement of multiple actors such as Local Authorities, private sector, and NGOs/CBOs as partners in development. An appropriate support and co-ordination structure should therefore include all parties. How should such a structure look like? One can think of different scenarios and three are mentioned below:

1. The first scenario advocates the continuation of the present situation in which government plays a central role in co-ordination.

The advantage is that policy development and co-ordination are closely linked. However, co-ordination will be government-driven and it will be difficult for other stakeholders to become fully involved.

2. A second option is to entrust the co-ordination to a representative organisation of actors with the prime interest in a successful implementation of CBNRM in Botswana: the CBOs.

Such an organisation could be the Botswana Community Based Organisation Network (BOCOBONET). The main advantage of this option is that CBNRM would become a genuine community movement. However, it is doubtful whether other stakeholders, such as Government and the private sector, would accept BOCOBNET in that role. Moreover,

BOCOBONET is still in its infancy and does currently not have the capacity to take on that role and responsibilities.

3. A third scenario would involve the establishment of a National CBNRM Forum with broad and equitable participation of all stakeholders.

It would consist of a national conference once every 2 years, Task Force meetings and regular district co-ordination meetings. The forum would be managed by a committee in which government, private sector, CBOs, and NGOs are represented. The committee should be responsible for organising conferences and meetings and takes on the role of co-ordination and guidance. This scenario assumes recognition and commitment from all parties.

The scenarios to be discussed in groups and the preferred option elaborated and formulated into (a) recommendation(s). Related recommendations can be added and presented to the plenary meeting