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**THE ROLE PLAYED BY INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATIONS IN
DELIVERING BENEFITS TO VELD PRODUCT PRODUCERS: THE CASE
OF KGETSI-YA-TSIE.**

By

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**Mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Masters of Philosophy in Environmental Management**

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Plagiarism Declaration

I, Thokomelo Phuthago, declare that the material in this thesis is based on my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise), and has not, in whole or in part been submitted towards another degree, at this university or elsewhere.

Signed by candidate

Signed:

Date: 15th August 2008

Dedication

I dedicate this study to my family (my mother and my father), especially my fiancé Brilliant, for all the support, encouragement and sacrifices that you made and gone through during this period of my study. Above all, I dedicate this work to the Almighty Lord, who gave me strength and wisdom to be where I am today. For it is written that:

“Share your plans with the Lord, and you will succeed”. Proverbs 16:3

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This thesis would not have been possible without the participation of the great people of Tswapong in the east of Botswana, especially those from Maunatla, Sefhare, Seolwane, Lerala, Seleka and Lecheng villages for sharing their experiences and stories. I am grateful to Kgetsi-ya-Tsie for allowing the survey to be conducted with the members and for providing the support that made all this possible.

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I cannot finish without saying how grateful I am to all the sponsors I received for my studies, the Department of Environmental Affairs for sponsoring my studies and living expenses for the two years of my stay and the National Research Foundation (NRF) of South Africa for supporting my research, without whose support, this work would not have been possible. For this I am truly grateful.

I also extend gratitude to my family for the constant encouragement and support during my study at UCT.

Abstract

This study examines and analyses the role played by Community Based Organizations (CBOs) that act as intermediary organizations that help to bring benefits to veld product harvesters. It also examines the nature of these benefits, with a focus on Kgetsi-ya-Tsie (KyT) in the Tswapong region of eastern Botswana. Specific objectives were to examine how KyT has helped veld product harvesters maximize benefits from natural resources; to analyse the institutional capacity, structure, and relationships that affect decision-making processes to distribute benefits; and to examine who and how many people benefited from KyT and why they benefited.

Intermediaries such as KyT identify market linkages between producers and markets. They are able to build on the strengths of traditional skills and knowledge by infusion of technologies, capital and innovative practices. Thus they are able to equip local communities with new skills and capabilities to market and run profitable enterprises. Through detailed investigation of KyT it is concluded that producers have benefited from the involvement with the organization. The values of products have been enhanced through quality control, labelling, packaging, marketing and sales. Not only have markets been secured, but prices to producers have also improved through KyT. Producers have also benefited through skills acquisition and social empowerment.

The institutional capacities, structures and relationships that affect decision-making and benefit sharing differ considerably between intermediary organizations. However, it is clear that robust and adaptive management structures with clear constitutions or deeds are crucial if CBOs are to ensure that benefits are used in ways that are acceptable to producers and other stakeholders. This would help to solve perceived problems of mismanagement and misuse of funds often associated with intermediary organizations. Decisions as to whom and how many people benefit and why they benefit from veld products are determined by the nature of the organization. For KyT, only members and their families benefited from its

activities, particularly through income generation from various natural resource-based activities.

The conclusions from this research indicate that intermediary organizations play an important role in rural populations. Not only do such organizations have important functions relating to purchasing, transport, processing, packaging, certification, marketing and export, but they are also efficient at facilitating interaction between local communities, the state, NGOs and the scientific community.

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Acronyms

AGM	Annual General Meeting
BWFH	Botswana Women's Finance House
CBO	Community Based Organization
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CDO	Community Development Officers
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
EDC	Eco-Development Committee
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoB	Government of Botswana
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
LAMPS	Large-Scale Adivasi Multi-Purpose Society
NGO	Non – Governmental Organization
NRMP	Natural Resources Management Project
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NTFP	Non – Timber Forest Products
KyT	Kgetsi-Ya-Tsie (“A bag of locust” or “working together”, “together we stand”)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WMA	Wildlife Management Area
VDC	Village Development Committee

1. Introduction

The poor conservation outcomes that followed decades of intrusive resource management strategies and planned development have forced policy makers and scholars to reconsider the role of “community” in resource use and conservation. Recent work champions the role of communities in natural resources management brought about by decentralization, and their meaningful participation in conservation, primarily through Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) initiatives (Chambers and McBeth, 1992; Etzioni, 1996). The devolution of power from the state to communities to manage natural resources has been implemented through different forms under the concept of CBNRM. Various expressions of CBNRM include social and community forestry, community wildlife management, co-operative management, participatory multipurpose community projects, communal area management programme for indigenous resources (CAMPFIRE), and others (Western and Wright, 1994). Despite important differences, all these expressions of CBNRM share certain characteristics (Western and Wright, 1994), including:

- a commitment to involve community members and local institutions in the management and conservation of natural resources,
- an interest in devolving power and authority from central and/or state government to more local and often indigenous institutions and peoples,
- a desire to link and reconcile the objectives of socioeconomic development and environmental conservation and protection and,
- a tendency to defend and legitimize local and/or indigenous resource and property rights.

1.2 CBNRM as a concept

CBNRM initially gained attention during the early 1970s when many natural resource management agencies, policy makers and scholars became disenchanted with the results of large-scale, capital-intensive, and centrally planned conservation and development projects (Horowitz and Painter, 1986). Searching for more viable and sustainable solutions, new approaches recognizing

the role of local communities were adopted (Büscher and Dietz, 2005; Gibson and Marks, 1995). The new approach recognised local communities as the key focus for success of the conservation agenda. The basic premise of this approach was that tangible benefits are a vital motivational factor for local people to align their behaviours with conservation goals. This signalled a shift in international thinking on conservation issues (Little, 1994).

Community approaches developed in national parks and protected areas aimed to reduce the conflicts between protected areas and people with a belief that chronic conflict with local peoples jeopardized the long-term sustainability of protected areas (see for example, Stevens 1997; Nepal and Weber 1995; West and Brechin 1991; MacKinnon et al. 1986; Machlis and Tichnell 1985; Dasmann 1984). Agreements such as Agenda 21, the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention on Desertification negotiated at the 1992 Earth Summit, strongly advocate as solutions a combination of government decentralization, devolution to local communities of responsibility for natural resources held as common property, and community participation (Holmberg, Thompson and Timberlake, 1993, www.cbd.int/, www.unccd.int/). Such approaches — evident in the policies and programs of some national governments, donor agencies and NGOs — argue for “co-management”, or an appropriate sharing of responsibilities for natural resource management between national and local governments, civic organizations, and local communities (Adams and McShane, 1992; Berkes, 1995; Baland and Platteau, 1996; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996).

1.3 Botswana context

In Botswana, several communities have been assisted in forming representative management committees, seeking resource use rights, and organising commercial activities based on natural resource utilization. The ultimate aim is to improve the living conditions of people through sustainable use of natural resources to the point that they see the value of conserving their environment for future generations (CBNRM Forum, 2000). Therefore, the CBNRM concept in Botswana has been praised by local communities, practitioners, policy makers and scholars for its emphasis on the devolution of authority over natural resources from the State to

defined groups of resource users (CBOs) on communal land. The term CBO is a broad concept that can be interpreted in various ways but for the purpose of this study, CBO is defined generally as an entity formed by a community, groups of communities, or groups within communities which are involved in the management of natural resources to represent the community's interest and to implement any management decisions taken. At the core of this concept is the emphasis that these CBOs will help users maximise their benefits from natural resources through the creation of the right incentives. The question is whether CBOs have achieved this goal. Do natural resource users maximize benefits as a result of CBOs? Incentives motivate local people and other players to participate in projects, manage natural resources sustainably but also encourage local people to engage in planning, and to participate in the creation of new local institutions and rules (CBNRM Forum, 2000). Has this approach been successful?

This study through a detailed examination of the Botswana CBO Kgetsi-ya-Tsie (KyT), examines the role played by CBOs as intermediary organizations that help to bring benefits to veld product harvesters and the nature of these benefits. Many different definitions have been used for veld products also commonly known as non-timber forest products (NTFPs). For the purpose of this dissertation, veld products refer to all forest products other than timber. Intermediary organizations act as market linkages between producers and buyers retaining a certain percentage of the revenue as administrative costs. They play a number of functions including purchasing, providing transport, processing, packaging, labelling, certification, marketing and export on behalf of the producers.

1.4 Overview of the study

Chapter 1 examines international and local understanding of the concept of CBNRM, the purpose behind the programme and expected results of implementing such a programme. It introduces the case study of KyT and presents the research question and objectives of this dissertation. The methodology and design of the study is presented, together with an examination of its limitations.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the CBNRM literature, an overview of the CBNRM in Botswana, literature on intermediary organizations, the challenges they face and benefits they obtain. The findings of a survey carried out with KyT key informants and members is presented in Chapter 3 including views on the organization, its activities and operational procedures, and an analysis of benefits accruing to KyT members.

Chapter 4 discusses these findings and examines the role played by CBOs in acting as intermediary organizations for the purchasing and sale of veld products while Chapter 5 presents conclusions and recommendations from the study.

1.5 Background to the case study

Kgetsi ya Tsie (KyT) is a CBO located in the Tswapong hills in the eastern parts of Botswana. The organization was started in 1997 with support from the Botswana Women's Finance House (BWFH). The project started through the Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) when it undertook a veld resources demonstration project in the country (HaBarad and Tsiane, 1999). Tswapong was a pilot site for a phane –worm (*Imbrasia belina*) based CBNRM project and an assessment was carried out in the area with women using these resources. The KyT area is communal land, administered by the Land Board under the Tribal Land (Amendment) Act (Cap. 32:02 of 1993). The land is mostly designated for crop production and livestock rearing. The Tswapong area has tourism potential and sites of historical importance, but these sites are currently undeveloped (Department of Tourism, 2001 & 2004). The KyT project was initiated to provide a livelihood alternative or supplementary to livelihood activity for women. The structure of KyT is said to be based on the Grameen Bank model (KyT, 2007). The Grameen Bank is a microfinance organization and community development bank started in Bangladesh that makes small loans (known as microcredit or "grameencredit") to the impoverished without requiring collateral.

The word "Grameen", derived from the word "gram" or "village", means "of the village". The system of this bank is based on the idea that the poor have skills that are under-utilized. A group-based credit approach is applied which utilizes peer-

pressure within the group to ensure the borrowers follow credit discipline. The bank also accepts deposits, provides other services, and runs several development-oriented businesses including fabric, telephone and energy companies. Another distinctive feature of the bank's credit program is that a significant majority of its borrowers are women (Yunus, M. 2005).

The way the KyT structure works is that “at the village level members organize themselves in **groups** of five. Groups within a village organize themselves into **centres**. Each centre elects a representative to their **Regional Council**. In turn, Regional councils appoint members to serve on the **Board of Trustees**. The Board decides policy issues and appoints a Project Coordinator and staff to implement those decisions” (www.kgetsiyatsie.org). It is basically a four – tier system comprising groups (maximum of 5 members), centres (3 to 10 groups), regional council (representatives from sets of centres) and a Board of Trustees (representatives from the regional councils and one optional appointed member). Figure 1 below shows the KyT organizational structure.

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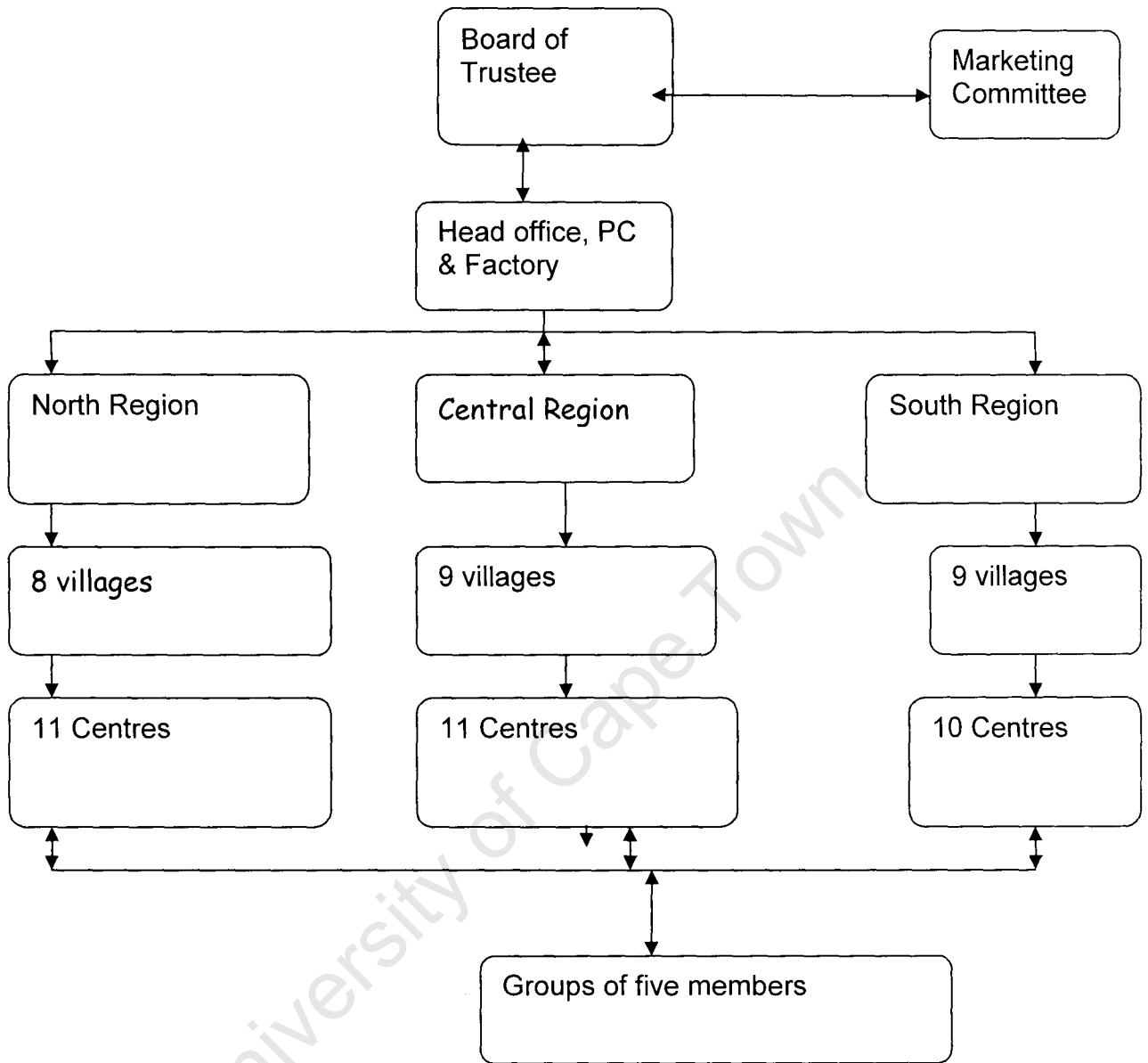


Figure 1: KyT Organizational Structure. Source: Abstract from KyT notes

Collecting and processing of veld products by KyT women improves food security, creates employment, generates income and empowers these women (KyT, 2003). The Trust carries out a range of activities, but the collection, processing and marketing of veld products are the core activities in addition to a micro-credit scheme that has since ceased. The collection of veld products is done at the level of individual and groups. These members and groups have the option to process the products themselves (e.g. jam), sell unprocessed resources to the Trust for processing, packaging, and marketing (mostly morula) or market and sell their

products directly to third parties. KyT is a women's organization that markets more than ten products from veld products, such as, morula (*Sclerocarya birrea*) oil, morula soap, morula jam/jellies, traditional morogo (*Vigna unguiculata*), phane worm (*Imbrasia belina*), Gala la tshwene (*Myrothamnus flabellifolius*), and Monepenepe (*Cassia abbreviate*), Letshoko (face powder), Mosata (*Stomatostemma monteiroae*) and morula cake. Of these products, morula oil and soap are the most important to KyT as they account for 70% of their revenue (KyT 2004).

1.6 Motivation for the study

CBNRM has been adopted world wide due to recognition that local communities have direct control over the utilization and benefit from natural resources in order to value them and use them in a sustainable manner (Chambers and McBeth, 1992). The idea was that as communities benefit from the utilization of natural resource; this would trigger rural development with benefits in community Trusts filtering down to household level. Government agencies and development organizations began suggesting that natural resources could provide a sustainable source of employment opportunities and rural income generation. In Botswana (early 1990s) a community mobilization process to establish CBOs as legal entities that would manage natural resources in rural areas began. CBOs like KyT were established on the premise that local communities would benefit from the use of natural resources and that they would empower members both socially and economically.

A number of studies have been carried out that focus on the links between CBNRM and poverty reduction/alleviation and sustainable rural livelihoods and ways of income generation (see Turner, 2004; Magome and Fabricius, 2004 and Jones, 1999). There has also been considerable debate among CBOs, practitioners and academics concerning the objectives of CBNRM which are contested between biodiversity conservation, community development and other broader developmental concerns. This study will not explore the CBNRM objective debate but will, through detailed examination of KyT; examine the role played by CBOs as intermediary organizations that help to bring benefits to veld products harvesters. It also analyses the nature of these benefits. A particular interest is to

investigate how individuals within intermediary organizations become convinced that participation in environmental conservation or resource management is important to their livelihoods, and that utilization of these resources brings benefits and incentives; how these organizations help individuals turn their dreams into reality; and the problems encountered by intermediary organizations in realizing their objectives.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

1.7.1 General objective

The general objective of the study is to examine and analyse the role played by CBOs such as KyT which act as intermediary organizations that help to bring benefits to veld product harvesters and to analyse the efficiency of such organizations in achieving their objectives. This is done through a detailed examination of KyT, a women's organization that collects, processes and markets veld products in Botswana.

1.7.2 Specific objectives

- To examine how KyT has helped veld products harvesters maximize benefits from natural resources
- To analyse the institutional capacity, structure arrangement, and relationships that affect decision-making processes to distribute benefits.
- To examine who and how many people benefited from KyT and why they benefited.

1.8 Study Area

Tswapong region is defined as the area on the eastern hardveld of Botswana within the following boundaries: to the south, the Mahalapye-Martin's drift road; to the north, the Tamasane-Bobonong road and the Seoka stream; to the west, the rail line; and to the east, the privately owned Tuli Bloc farms. This area, with some

minor variations, is delineated as a separate unit for planning and other administrative purposes. The Tswapong hills region lies within the Palapye-Serowe Sub-District, one of five administrative units within the large Central District (Figure 2). The entire area is communal land, administered by the Land Board and, used for subsistence crop and livestock production.

Settlements in the Tswapong region tend to be small and located at the base of hills near water sources. There are waterfalls, rock pools, deep gorges, seasonal rivers, springs and lush vegetation around the hills. Agricultural lands, cultivated by residents of the clustered village communities, are close by, at a distance of one to several hours walk away from the village residence. In 2001, the total population of the Tswapong region (CSO, May 2002)- calculated on the basis of the enumerated population in the villages, as well as that in agricultural lands and cattle-posts associated with these villages - was about 30 470 (GOB, 2001). The two largest villages in the region are Lerala and Maunatlala, with populations respectively, of 6 740 and 3 876 in 1991 (CSO, May 2001).

The Tswapong region reflects many of the economic patterns characteristic of rural Botswana as a whole (GoB, 1993; Lipton, 1978). A large percentage of the regional population is comprised of migrant labour and is thus absent from the villages. The area, like many other rural peripheries in Botswana, offers very limited local employment opportunities beyond a few sales positions in local stores and government and district bodies. Data extracted from the 2001 census (CSO, May 2002) show that most of the economically active population in the area was engaged in subsistence agriculture. Maize, sorghum, beans, and watermelons produced by family farms were largely consumed by members of the household. More affluent farmers were able to sell part of their agricultural produce. Livelihood diversification is therefore a crucial strategy in this region (BIDPA, 2007).

The region is characterized by sandy loam soils that are moderately fertile and suitable for crop cultivation. The vegetation varies from scattered wooded grassland to dense bushveld. The chain of rocky Tswapong hills is rich in both medicinal plants and edible wild fruit trees and shrubs. Rainfall in this region is unreliable, unpredictable, with rainfall typically between October and April. Annual

rainfall in this region is of relief or convectional type and is 500mm on average a year.

1.9 Methodology

The study will be based on existing literature concerning KyT and other CBOs and on primary data collected through in-depth interviews with key KyT informants, analysis of the CBO KyT's records, field notes and from focus group discussions (FGDs) with key stakeholders (KyT members, members of the community and youths) and records materials from KyT. Interviews were conducted with key KyT informants and FGDs were conducted in the six villages of the Tswapong area (Maunatlala, Seolwane, Seleka, Sefhare, Lerala and Lecheng). The villages visited are all part of the eastern region of Botswana represented in figure 2 below.

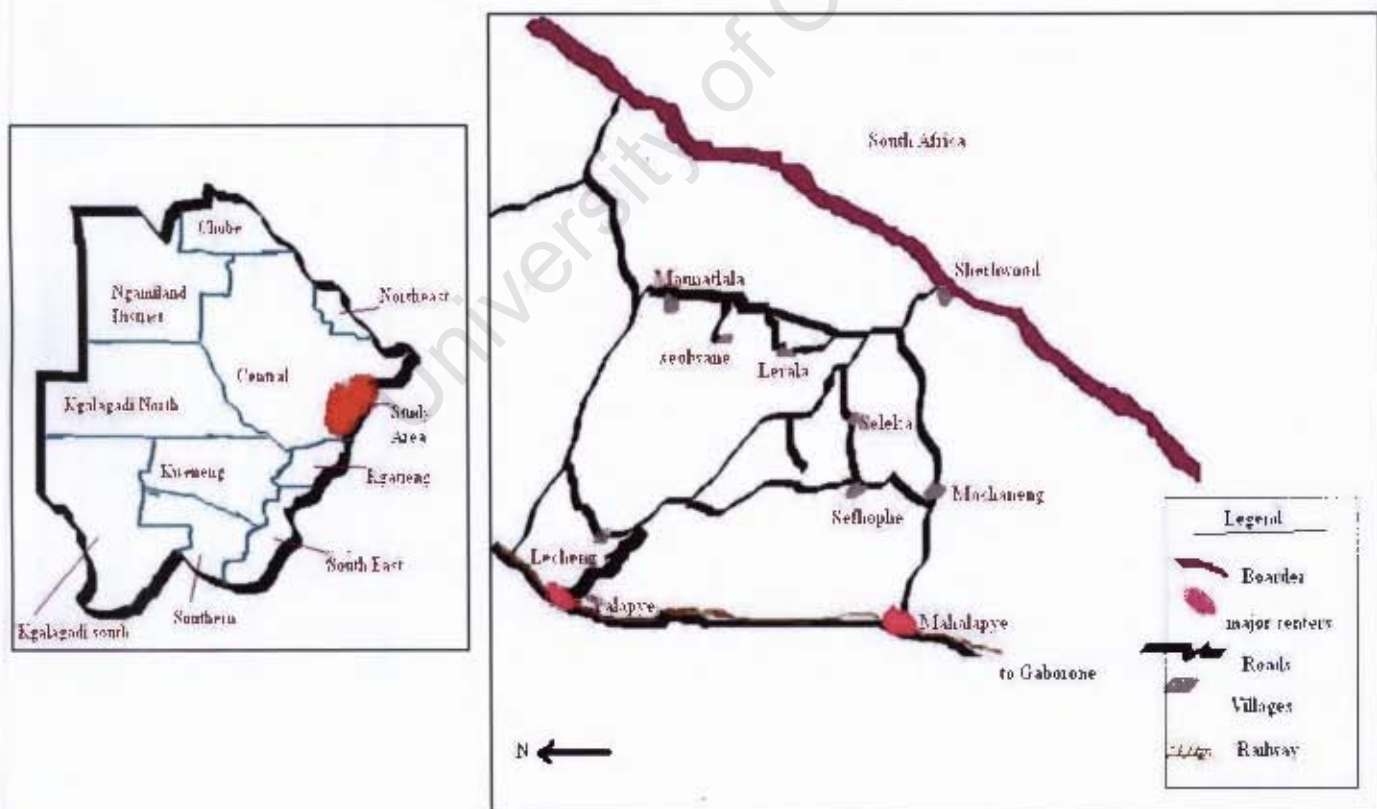


Figure 2: Map of Botswana and location of Tswapong region: Source Map Point

Some of the villages visited are underlined on the map in green colour. Table 2 below shows the distribution of participants by locality with a total of 134 people participating in the FGDs. Fifty-four of the participants were members of KyT and 80 non – members (47 youths and 33 adults).

Table 1: Distribution of FGD participants by locality

Villages	Members	Non-members	
		Youths	Adults
Maunatlala	9	6	9
Sefhare	7	12	-
Seolwane	11	-	10
Lerala	10	9	-
Seleka	9	11	6
Lecheng	6	9	8
SUB TOTAL	54	47	33
TOTAL =	134		

1.9.1 Study design and data collection instruments

A qualitative approach was used to examine respondent's awareness of the link between presence CBOs and benefits. This approach aims to understand phenomena within a particular context, is idiographic, thus holistic in nature, with the main aim to understand social life and the meaning that people attach to everyday life (De Vos, 1998). Denzin and Lincoln (in De Vos 1998) define qualitative research as a multi perspective approach (utilizing different qualitative techniques and data collection methods) to understanding social interaction, aimed at describing, making sense of, interpreting or reconstructing this interaction in terms of the meaning that the subjects attach to it. The qualitative approach elicits participant's accounts of meaning, experience or perceptions. It also produces descriptive data in the participant's own written or spoken words and involves identifying the participant's beliefs and values that underlie the phenomena. This

approach was found to suit the task of assessing the effectiveness of an organization such as KyT.

Semi – structured open ended questionnaires were administered to key informants. The focus of the instrument was to assess if the activities carried out by KyT had any positive impact on the livelihoods of the target population. The use of semi – structured open ended questionnaires as a tool for data collection allowed for flexibility in the study. A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) technique was employed in collecting data with use of an interview guide (Appendix 3). The interview guide gave the researcher the opportunity to probe and seek clarity. FGD's have been found to help in developing effective language, content, and selecting an appropriate medium of communication. However, the limitations of FGD's are that they are less useful in getting information considered private or personal, as people cannot easily share their feelings and experience in a group (Yoddumnern-Attig et al, 1991). Despite these limitations, some participants in the FGDs were able and willing to give personal testimonies and their experience with KyT. These members were very vocal and viewed the forum as the best way to correct the mistakes and problems within their organization. As such they were able to engage each other on the issues discussed and give their personal opinions. This gave the researcher the chance to calculate what number responded on the affirmative or otherwise on the main issues. It become easy to question the other group participants what their opinions were once other members voiced their opinion.

1.9.2 Data collection and data analysis

Data was collected through in-depth interviews with 3 KyT staff and 5 KyT village chairpersons. Key KyT informants were identified through KyT records and through discussion with the KyT coordinator. Six Focus group discussions were held with women who form the membership of KyT in 6 of the 26 villages involved with KyT. The villages visited were picked by KyT Coordinator who has familiar with those villages that had active members and that participated in the organization's functions. One of the criteria of choosing these villages over others was that participants should be active in KyT activities. This criterion was reached upon

realizing that some KyT members were not active because of the severe financial problems within the organization. It was therefore difficult to track down non active members. Those who participated were identified through their village chairpersons or secretaries. The names and contacts for the village chairpersons and/or secretary were provided by KyT head office. Through communicating with the village chairpersons and/or secretaries, members were identified and contact persons helped in gathering or contacting these members or supplying contact numbers to the interviewer for arrangements. Not all those identified were available to participate as they were either busy with weeding, or involved in other activities (such as attending funerals, clinic appointments ploughing fields or cattle posts). Also not every KyT member in these villages turned up for meetings as some members are not active anymore.

Discussions with youth (out of school 18 – 30 year olds either male or female) and non – members of KyT (both male and female) were also held separately from KyT member discussions to allow for critiques without intimidation. An interview guide (Appendix 3) was used specifically to direct discussions. Probing and prompting to clarify questions and answers was used where necessary. At least three FGDs were held in each village (one for KyT members of the village, one for non – members (either males, females or both), and one for the youth. Data was analysed using simple descriptive statistics, summarising and grouping similar data to tease out themes that elicit experiences, opinions, and understandings to address the issues relating to the interactions between CBOs and benefits from natural resources.

1.9.3 Consent Process

The KyT Coordinator, KyT village Chairpersons and members were consulted about the activities of the research. After careful explanation, participants were asked if they were willing to participate in the study and arrangements were made for the FGDs with those willing to participate. The arrangements were verbal and no consent form was signed. Participants were willing to be involved provided the interviewer had been permitted by KyT head office to conduct the survey. Some

village chairpersons or Centre secretaries confirmed with head office and helped gather their members together for the purpose of discussion.

1.9.4 Limitations of the study

It was difficult to get respondents to attend scheduled FGDs because the period in which the field work was conducted collided with the weeding and harvesting period of the fields (March–April). Therefore attendance at FGDs was sometimes low resulting in postponements and rescheduling. The idea was to bring at least two or three whole KyT groups of five women together (each group in KyT has five members and these groups of five members' together form a centre – see Figure 1). Unfortunately, some members are inactive so instead the FGD comprised women from different KyT groups and with any member who made themselves available. Also the researcher wanted to hold interviews with youths and non-members as well, but found it difficult in practice to arrange meetings with these groups. Consequently, public places such as clinics, shops and bars were used to pick respondents which might not represent the sample of the community mainly because the number of people utilizing such facilities might not be a true representation of the community. It was difficult to gather youth except in Maunatlala and Sefhare villages where youth organizations exist.

The other limitation to the study was that because of current problems facing KyT, interviewees viewed this study as a forum to air their problems. Instead of focusing on the issues raised during the FGDs, interviewees talked about how to solve the organization's problems. It was a challenge to get the FGD on track but in the end it was a successful and interesting experience.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Overview

Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) is a practice that emphasises natural resource management (NRM) by, and with, local communities (Gibbs and Bromley, 1989; Chi, 1999). It has three primary objectives; improving the livelihood and security of local people; enhancing environmental conservation; and empowering local people (Chi, 1999). CBNRM involves the management of land and natural resources such as pastures, forests, fish, wildlife, veld products and water by groups of rural people through their local institutions. It has been popularised as a mechanism for the management of natural resources to safeguard livelihoods of local communities (Chimbuya, 2003). It is worth noting that CBNRM has evolved over a number of years within different contexts including “people and parks”, “buffer zone management”, “participatory natural resource management”, and “community natural resources management” (Chimbuya, 2003). This approach is applauded for recognizing and reinforcing the role of local communities who live in and depend for their livelihoods on the natural resources around them.

CBNRM is an established policy goal of rural development especially in Africa. In southern Africa, CBNRM initiatives started as early as the 1980s in Zimbabwe and Namibia. It became famous through a programme known as the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe and the CBNRM programme in Namibia (Arntzen 2007). Following the success of the initial programmes in which rural groups were able to improve their livelihoods through the use of wildlife – most notably, CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe and the conservancy model in Namibia, governments and NGOs in southern Africa and elsewhere began realizing that natural resources could play an important role in the lives of impoverished rural people, and that the productive use of plant and animal resources could play a role in rural development (Matzke and Nabane, 1996). The programmes in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia have strongly depended on wildlife and tourism, although the resource scope is now broadening to include other natural resources, whereas in Mozambique and Malawi projects

also include forestry and marine ecosystems (Arntzen 2007). In South Africa CBNRM approach is commonly associated with land restitution claims involving communities that lost land for the establishment of parks in the apartheid and colonial era (Koch, 2004).

CBNRM is an attractive concept that local communities, organized through community based organizations and defined by their distinct and integrated social structure and common interests, can use to manage their natural resources in an efficient, equitable and sustainable way. CBOs prevent the concentration of power in a few hands and allow the participation of all members in the decision-making process (CBNRM Forum, 2000). In addition, they help ensure an equitable distribution of wealth as it is observed that entrepreneurial income is more equally distributed through such organizations (Dave *et al* 2002). The shift from state to community-based management of natural resources may also assist marginalized and poor groups to obtain a greater role and stake in the allocation and proprietary control of local natural resources. The natural resources in question are usually common property resources to which there is some degree of communal access. Jodha (1986) identifies common property resources as: the resources accessible to the whole community of a village and to which no individual has exclusive property rights. Agarwal (1995) adds to the list a wide variety of essential items that are gathered by rural households for personal use and sale: food, fuel, fodder, fibre, small timber, manure, bamboo, medicinal herbs, oils, materials for house building and handicrafts, resin, gum, honey, and spices.

In India, for example, Beck, *et al* (2001), estimate that common property resources contribute some US \$5 billion a year or 12% to the incomes of poor rural households. Figures from West Africa (Arnold & Townson, 1998; Baumer, 1995; Osemeobo, 1991, 1993; Abbiw, 1990) suggest a similar scale of contribution, although this research is less conclusive. In Namibia, more than US \$600, 000 was generated in 2001 alone from conservancies. Additional literature (Besley and Louise, 2002; Debroy and Bhandari, 2001) makes it clear that common property resources are of crucial importance to the poor in most rural areas of developing countries and are also central to many cultural and social activities of poor rural women and men. It is unlikely that many other informal sources of income provide

such significant benefits to poor people. Moreover, the importance of common property resources is not only economic; common property resources are also central to the many cultural and social activities of poor rural women and men.

2.2 CBNRM in Botswana

Common property resources in Botswana are typically communally owned and found on communal land, mostly managed by Land Boards. Seventy one percent of Botswana's land falls under tribal land and is controlled under customary tenure (Tribal Land Amendment Act of 1993). Within customary tenure areas, land is controlled through a decentralised system of locally elected Land Boards. Land Boards have powers of granting customary land rights. The functions of the land boards with respect to land administration (Tembo *et al* 2001), have been identified as land allocation, Land Registration, Land Use Planning, Land Use Monitoring, Land Acquisition and Land adjudication. In southern Africa, and Botswana in particular, the resources being managed are typically open woodlands or grasslands for livestock grazing, fuel wood, thatching grass, medicinal plants or any other veld products, fish resources and wildlife for game meat and/or safari income.

CBNRM in Botswana has made steady progress since its inception in 1989. It was first launched in 1989 when the government of Botswana and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) embarked on a joint Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) that was housed in the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP). The programme was taken up once it was realized that conservation of natural resources in the country was not practical and possible without active involvement of rural communities that are resident within or adjacent to the Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). These areas were chosen because the pilot programme was based on wildlife before it opened to include other natural resources. The approach rests on the recognition that local communities must be actively involved in the management and utilization of natural resources (wildlife and veld products) and

derive a livelihood from them in order to value them in a sustainable manner. This called for the formation of CBOs in areas within or adjacent to these resources to manage these resources. Most CBOs in Botswana function as Trusts meant to benefit members in a given community. The Deeds of Trust, or the CBO constitution, governs membership in the Trust with members paying an annual fee to the Trust. It is therefore important to note that whenever the word CBO or Trust is used in relation to natural resources use, it will always be linked to the concept of CBNRM, because it is through this concept that CBOs were established. In other words, CBNRM occurs within CBOs formed by a community, groups of communities or groups within communities where members share a common interest in the sustainable use of natural resources in the area. The Botswana CBNRM policy further testifies to this by stating that a CBO is an entity formed by a community, groups of communities or groups within communities that are involved in the management of natural resources to represent the community's natural resources management related interests and to implement any management decisions (GoB, 2006).

2.3 Intermediary Organizations

In the context of CBNRM in Africa, an intermediary is a third party that offers services between two trading parties. Many have models functioning as conduit for goods or services offered by a supplier to a consumer. Typically the intermediary offers some added value to the transaction that may not be possible by direct trading. In the case of this dissertation, intermediary refers to the organizations that identify market linkages between veld product harvesters (who are the producers) and the buyers. This dissertation examines and analyses the role these intermediary organizations play in supporting communities to attain sufficient volumes and market their produce, and their mediation between the market and community and to a lesser extent state. For example, in southwest India, co-operatives have been set up by the state to act as intermediaries that market unprocessed products of the Soliga tribe (an indigenous group) (Shanker *et al* 2005). These co-operatives are called LAMPs (Large Scale Advivasi Multipurpose

Society). The Soligas are mandated by the state to sell NTFPs collected from forests to the LAMPS. The LAMPS in turn sell the products to outside agencies, including enterprises owned and operated by the local communities. ATREE (a local NGO) has worked with the LAMPs to ensure that the Soligas receive at least 75% of the eventual sale price of the products sold by the LAMPs (Shanker *et al* 2005).

Local institutional development has come to constitute an integral part of most CBNRM implementation efforts. Numerous models have developed for institutional development in the different CBNRM initiatives in Africa. Typically, however, institutional development has tended to take the form of creating new and formal institutions, and to ignore the existing remnants of traditional resource management institutions. As a result of this, most evolving CBNRM programs are premised on the design of local institutions, usually committees and subcommittees, without much regard to local decision-making processes and arrangements. This has tended to alienate traditional authorities, and in turn to undermine the CBNRM initiatives (Singh *et al* 1996).

If intermediary organizations are to play an effective complementary role to support rural producers, they need to have the ability to understand the immediate needs of local communities and to address them. These needs may range from poverty alleviation, empowerment, and cultural satisfaction to security of tenure and ownership. This may also involve the need to develop rules of governance and enforcement. Intermediary organizations should be managed and run by local communities through the involvement of the community. Cooperation and understanding within the intermediary organization, like democracy at the level of government, should lead to the definition of an internal decision-making structure, the delegation of authority to a decision-making body (in this case the Board of Trustees), and the definition of a set of rules (in the constitution) to impose checks and balances on the decision makers that minimize misuse and mismanagement (De Janvry *et al* 1993).

2.4 Benefits

Community Based Organizations provide financial incentives (such as higher income, insurance coverage, increased livelihood security, building family and Trust assets such as office space, equipments, and vehicles), and non-monetary benefits (such as self confidence, boosting of food security, improved communication, enhanced ability to participate in community decision-making process, and the strengthened cultural identity and social cohesion) that link conservation of the resources with basic survival (Dikobe and Thakadu, 1997). In many communities, the provision of certain services such as building materials, clothing and household items, is often lacking. Low purchasing power within rural communities, inaccessibility and remoteness are factors that deter enterprises from investing in these areas (Van Der Jagt *et al* 2000). Community members have to travel far and incur extra costs to obtain these services. Therefore, monetary benefits from CBO activities can be used to make some of these services available in the community, either as profit-making enterprises or as non-profit making services to members.

In addition to providing services, some of the possible benefits derived from CBO activities may include material and non-material benefits which, while difficult to measure in quantitative terms, are very important as they form the foundation on which CBOs can start to manage their activities in a sustainable manner. Moreover, direct involvement of local communities in the management and conservation of natural resources creates incentives that motivate communities not only to participate in projects but also to manage natural resources sustainably. As was mentioned earlier, CBNRM was adopted in many developing countries as both a conservation and rural development strategy, involving community mobilisation and organization, institutional development, comprehensive training, enterprise development and monitoring of natural resource base.

For example, the Soligas community Sanctuary project in India (Shanker *et al* 2005) provides three components-- enterprise, biological and socio-economic. The enterprise components create NTFP-based enterprises wherein the Soligas can collect, process and sell some NTFPs on a sustainable basis. The biological

component has set up a monitoring plan that keeps track of the temporal patterns of production and extraction, and the impact of extraction on the regeneration of extracted species. The socio-economic component ensures community participation in the project and economic sustainability. It also monitors the impact of the enterprise on the income of the Soligas. The understanding here is that not only is the economic sustainability of the Soligas communities ensured but that a financial incentive is created to reduce the rapid loss and degradation of the forests (Shanker *et al* 2005).

Within Botswana, there were 46 CBOs in 2003 with registered constitutions covering over 100 villages (Rozemijer 2003). Fourteen of these CBOs had signed joint venture agreements with the private sector. According to the draft 2006 Botswana CBNRM status report (IUCN, 2006), there was a dramatic increase in the number of CBOs probably due to the perceived opportunities associated with the realization of benefits associated with these organizations. However, a total of 94 legally registered CBOs existed in 2006 but only 35 generated income (IUCN, 2006). Natural resources involved include wildlife, grapple, herbal teas and other medicinal plants, phane worms, morula fruits, morama beans, groundwater, thatching grass, eggshells and palm leaves. A wide range of CBNRM activities are being managed by CBOs, such as commercial hunting, photographic tourism, eco-tourism, biltong production, craft production, woodwork, basketry, veld products processing, and game skin tanning. Arntzen *et al* (2007) reveal that revenues from commercial resources use were estimated to be 19.3 million Pula (P19.3 million) in 2005 and subsistence activities generated P16.2 million in in-kind income for the country. Joint venture agreements with the private sector generated P9million (about US\$1.6 million) in total income for CBOs in 2003 (Rozemijer 2003). Trusts are able to enter into direct contracts with private sector photographic and trophy hunting operations and retain 100% of the income from the contracts. Trophy hunting is the most important and lucrative commercial activity with revenues amounting to P11.9 million followed by tourism (P3.1 million), sales from veld products (P0.7 million) and craft (P0.6 million) nationally. Figure 3 below adopted from the CBNRM Forum (2006) gives an estimated CBO income from different CBNRM sources for the year 2002.

The figure below attempts to give a rough indication of the value added to natural resources through CBNRM in 2002:

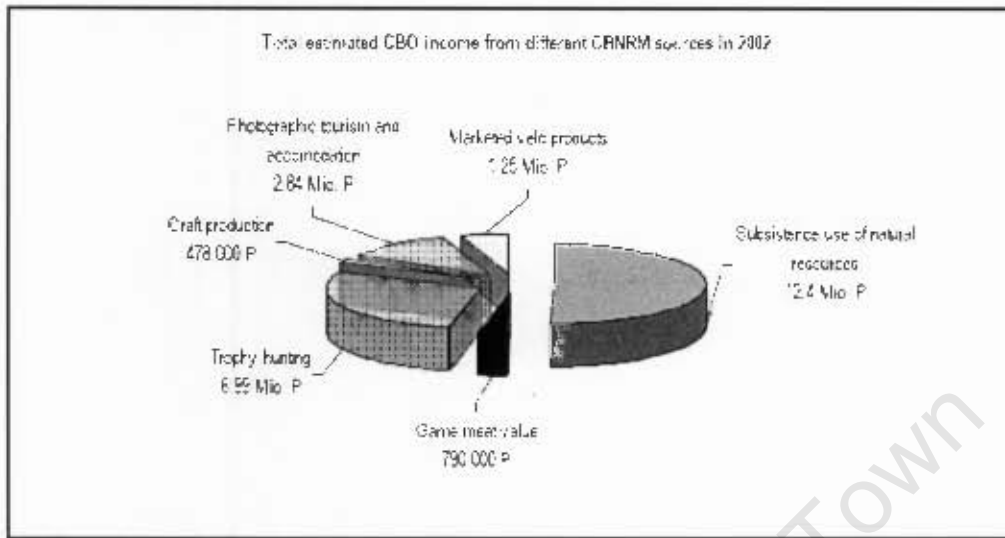


Figure 3: Value added to natural resources through CBNRM in 2002: Source CBNRM Forum (2006)

Figure 3 indicates that natural resource utilization can bring in much needed revenues for the rural population, although it might take hard work and a lengthy process to achieve desired goals. The ultimate aim is an improvement of the living conditions of people residing with the natural resources to the point that they see the value of conserving their environments for future generations (CBNRM Forum 2000). To date citizen hunting has substantially decreased (24% of the 7168 animals on the annual quota), 33% of the species are hunted in private concessions (resource fees accrue to the state) while 43% are hunted in community concessions (100% of the revenue in terms of concession and quota fees accrue to community) (National CBNRM Forum 2006 figures). The actual and perceived value of resources has increased tremendously over the years (Rozemeijer, 2003). It is assumed that by allocating user rights to the community living with the resources an incentive (the right to commercialise) was offered to encourage the conservation of the natural resources the user community was depending on.

Although countrywide collection and sale of natural resources is ranked only as the ninth most important source of livelihood, veld products are important to vulnerable and low income groups (Human Development Report 2006), and subsistence hunting and gathering made an important contribution to livelihood security of a sizeable proportion of the rural population in the remote areas of the country. Most households in Botswana, for example, including those in cities or large towns, derive their livelihood from a wide range of agriculture and non-agriculture sources (Arntzen et al 2006). Unemployment is very high in Botswana (36% of the population), especially in rural areas among women and young people. Therefore, a number of rural people see the creation of employment as a positive impact. It is worth noting that most CBOs operate in remote parts of the country where the agricultural potential is marginal and access to other opportunities is extremely limited. Few people are engaged in crop production and livestock is fairly limited. CBOs therefore offer new opportunities to rural populations and additional incentives for investment making a significant contribution to the local economy.

Figure 3 indicates that CBOs are making substantial revenues from their natural resource based activities and suggest that such organizations have played a role in helping communities maximize their benefits from their activities. Benefits from CBOs include, employment creation - employment from private sector joint ventures as camp attendants, cleaners, guides or by the CBO directly as campsite attendants, bookkeeper, natural resources monitoring team member, escort guides, driver, manager, craft producer, veld products collectors and processors or traditional dancers. Financial benefits, provision of services, conservation of resources as well as a host of other intangible benefits (such as; skills acquisition, food security, self-confidence gained, sense of pride created and optimism for the future) are evident from CBO involvement. While it is appreciated that benefits may differ in type and mode of distribution, financial dividends that trickle down to household levels are meaningful and can catalyse changes in people's attitude towards conservation (Winer, 1996: Mbaiwa, 2004a, 2004b: Rozemeijer and Jansen, 2004).

2.5 Challenges of intermediary organizations

The dynamic interface between intermediary organizations, households, the state, and the market remains one of the important challenges to be addressed. Enhancing the role of local organizations requires a better understanding of how leadership can be induced and reproduced, how advice can be provided regarding organizational norms, and how information regarding opportunities offered by the market and the state can be used.

The most common problem with CBOs, however, is the failure to run effective and profitable organizations (Arntzen 2007). The management skills and capital necessary to run a profitable enterprise usually cannot be found in local communities, with the result that it is reported that foreigners who successfully bid for them, pay a licence fee to the Village Development Community. Often foreigners make little attempt to employ local people, to develop local skills in guide work, or to involve them in building construction, catering and driving, (Thakadu, 2005). This has meant that the “local community” have often become little more than renters with no opportunity for widening livelihood options and associated skills. Further, it is not surprising that relations between the private sector companies and local communities are usually marked by distrust and frustrations (Twyman, 2001), because local communities often find themselves alienated from the activities of the private sector.

As noted by Arntzen *et al* (2003) a number of organizations like KyT have tried to invest in business operations to increase their income but these businesses have often failed or work inefficiently. These have included craft shops, campsites, vegetable plots and guest houses. The failure of such businesses is because such organizations can rarely afford experts and professionals. This is not only true of technical experts, but also legal experts, financial, management and project consultants. Quite often the use of community income by CBOs has largely

included building community assets such as community halls and toilets, banking part of the income in order to build up financial assets and generate interest, and training and scholarships for community members.

University of Cape Town

3 Study Findings

3.1 General overview

Spread across 26 villages in the Tswapong Hills, the 1, 386 rural women producers who form part of KyT harvest and market a range of natural resource products. These resources are listed in table below.

Table 2: Products marketed by CBO KyT

Morula Oil	Cosmetic skin oil, cold pressed from local dicheru (morula Kernels) and 100% pure and natural. Excellent for moisturizing, skin rehydration and reducing skin redness. Sold in 100ml and 50 ml bottles by KyT
Morula soap	Hand made marula soap is a very smooth and creamy soap which will keep your skin in good condition. The soap is another pure and natural product, comprising 70% morula oil and 30% coconut oil, available in 140g and 80g
Morula Jelly	The morula fruit is exceptionally high in vitamin C content. The jelly captures the delicious taste of morula fruit and can also be used for making morula jam. It is an excellent accompaniment to game meat. Available in 250ml jars
Gala la Tshwene	This is a traditional remedy derived from the plant <i>Myrothamnus flabellifolius</i> , and used widely in Botswana for high blood pressure, severe headaches and strokes, also known as the Resurrection plant. Available in 100g and 200g packs
Monepenepe	Another traditional treatment, this is a powder made from the roots and bark of the monepenepe tree <i>Cassia abbreviate</i> . Traditional wisdom is that it is excellent for 'cleansing the blood'. Available in 30g and 60g packs
Lerotse Jam	Another delicious product, made from the locally grown lerotse melon, a type of water melon (<i>Citrullus lunatus</i>), and the jam carries a hint of ginger. Available in 250ml jars

Mosata	Tswapong is one of only two known locations where the plant mosata (<i>Stomatostemma monteiroae</i>) grows. It is a delicious meat substitute, far superior to Soya. Available in 330g and 660g packs
Mophane worm	Worm (<i>Imbrasia belina</i>) living on the mophane tree. The worm is a delicacy when dried and salted and is used as relish.
Morogo	Morogo is made from dried bean leaves. It is very nutritious and excellent for making relish.
Letsoku	A natural face powder

Working within the KyT Women's Community Trust, they harness traditional and indigenous knowledge to the demands of the local and international marketplace. Supported by a revolving loan fund to provide capital for equipment and supplies, they generate an income to support their families. Local communities, through the lease granted by government, gain legal access to natural resources and generally consider that an important step in their empowerment process (Taylor, 2000). Participating communities (one community or a group of communities or groups within communities situated in or adjacent to a natural resource area over which they may acquire user rights) apply for such rights which is an opportunity for them to earn benefits from the natural resources. Revenues and employment are important to local incomes and help to support rural families. CBOs have become important players in Botswana's development process, because projects from these organizations have often resulted in an output that no other production system has ever achieved. KyT members gave a number of reasons why they had joined the organization. Figure 4 below synthesizes the reasons given by KyT members.

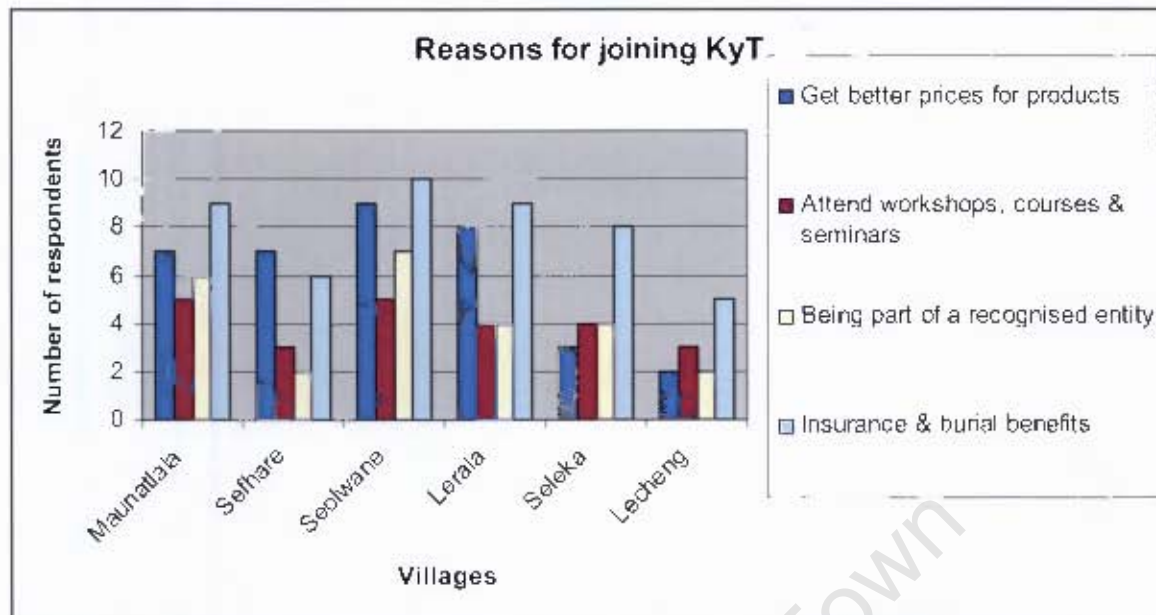


Figure 4: Main reason for joining KyT: Source: calculated from field data (April/May 2008)

Forty members of KyT said they had joined the organization because they thought they would get better prices for their products. The most important intended impact of KyT activities is the potential economic benefit for poor women. Figures from various KyT reports indicate that the incomes of members have been increasing over the years and that the mandate of empowering members economically has been met in these women have been able to acquire some economic benefits from selling their products. Presently, members are able to sell their products to the organization at better prices than on the local market. KyT label, package and sell the products on the local, regional and international market. Members will then benefit from KyT marketing efforts and are certain of good prices. For example, KyT members increased their annual cash income by over 500%, from an average P440, 00 in 1996 to over P3,000 in 2003 (KyT 2004) and by 2004 the average member's income was expected to be P4, 000 per annum. The webpage of KyT states that "..... The most tangible achievement so far is that the members of KyT have increased their annual cash income by over 500%, from an average of P440 in 1996 to over P3000 in 2003. While they have inevitably increased production, this increase has come about mainly by more effective storage, quality control and marketing – decreasing wastage and getting better prices for their produce".

Twenty seven KyT members mentioned that they are happy to be part of a recognized entity. It is also imperative to note that members are able to acquire user rights because the CBO is recognized as a legal entity and that this has helped them get support from donors and NGOs. Members have also joined the insurance and burial scheme because of the status of KyT and their membership to the organization. Thirty eight respondents (70%) stated insurance and burial benefits as the reasons they joined this organization. The schemes include life cover for members and their families, disability and funeral costs. Other members joined to acquire new skills through workshops, courses and seminars and state that KyT helped a lot in acquiring new skills. They are invited to attend workshops, and other sectors also organize and bring information to them as an organization (for example, recently the Women's Affairs Department in the Ministry of Home Affairs organized a course for members).

Lack of employment both in the formal and non-formal sectors, lack of alternative livelihood sources and opportunities were frequently mentioned during the interviews as the main problems facing the majority of women in Tswapong area. The purpose of this section is to present results from the FGDs on how people make a living and why members of KyT joined the Trust. This section further explores the views of people on what they consider to be the value of such organizations, and the advantages and disadvantages of organizations like KyT.

3.1.1 Means of making a living

People were asked how they make a living. For the purpose of this study, making a living meant ways in which people survive, buy their basic needs and the means of acquiring or generating income in order to support their families. Although the activities that most respondents in the study area usually engage in during the year are seasonally specific, there were many activities that were quite common in different areas visited during the study. Most of the youths who participated in the FGDs were unemployed, in-between jobs, holding part time jobs or starting their youth projects, whereas most women spent their time doing household chores or working in the fields.

Lack of employment opportunities and the absence of an alternative livelihood had a great influence on women forming a group or becoming part of KyT Trust. This has also been found to be true with the way other members of the society (mostly youths and non-members) spend their time in the villages visited. Most youth (75% of those who participated in the FGDs) said they were just loitering because they had very little to occupy them. Most members of KyT (80%) meet at their regional centre to produce and process KyT products to supply their factory, as this is their main means of generating income. To them, KyT has been able to provide both profits for the Trust and income opportunities for members. Most products, according to KyT interviewees, are highly seasonal and complement each other to provide all year round activity. This is an advantage as it allows members to earn an income throughout the year.

3.1.2 Value of organizations like KyT

The use of veld products to generate income has had the effect of increasing the value of natural resources to producer communities. This has supported communities protecting and nurturing resources in their areas, one indicator being that communities have formed monitoring committees and are now teaching their members sustainable harvesting techniques. Programmes have also been developed to ensure the improved long term availability and supply of such resources (Madzwamuse, 2003). Under subsistence use, veld products have tended to carry less prestige than game meat, despite the fact that their proportional food and calorie contribution has been more significant to households relying on both these resources (Madzwamuse, 2003). Organizations like KyT have ensured that the value of such resources is realized, but have also had the effect of increasing the value of cultural resources. The most obvious indication of this is through the production of traditional crafts, pottery, traditional foods, and through traditional singing and dancing. Such activities are seen as building a sense of pride and self – worth, as well as a means of preserving cultural activities. Since most of the people involved in these activities are women, they benefit more. Figure 4 illustrates the value of these organizations as articulated by KyT members.

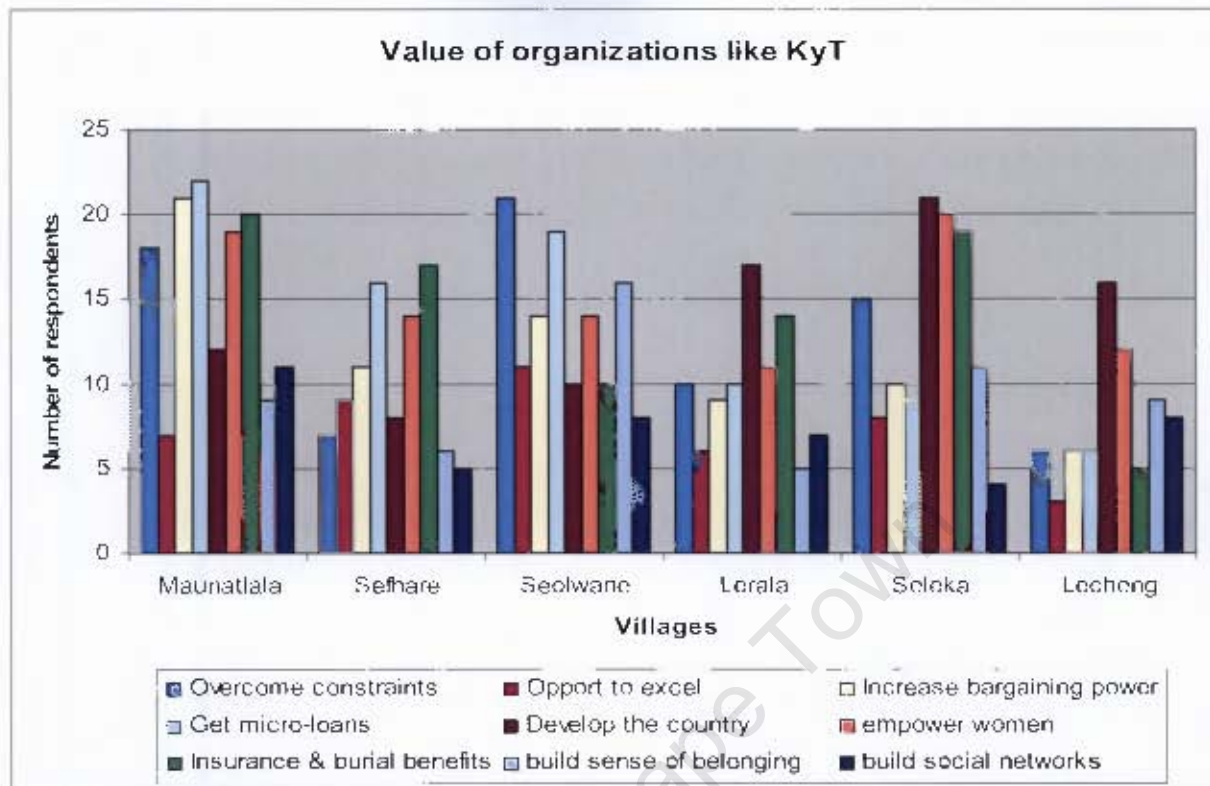


Figure 5: Value of Organizations like KyT. Source: calculated from field data (April/May 2008)

Women in Tswapong, like most rural women in Botswana, have less access to income – generating activities. They may not have less livestock and fewer subsistence crops, but most importantly, they have fewer sources of monetary income (cash crop production, salaried jobs and businesses). Therefore, most of the respondents felt that organizations such as KyT play a big role in people's lives as these organizations have helped members live better lives, buy food for their families, build houses, generate income and start businesses, something they could not afford to do before. The majority of the respondents (41 members of KyT) valued the micro-loans provided by KyT with which they started their small businesses. Most of these women do not qualify for loans provided by commercial banks, so they welcomed the opportunities provided by KyT. Eighty-four of the 134 respondents (63 per cent of interviewed KyT members) believe that KyT plays an important role in the development of the country, for members, many of whom were previously on the destitute rolls of the council, have gained a new found confidence and developed their homes. Insurance and burial cover are also valued particularly if poor are able to get assistance during unfortunate events such as

funerals. In essence, these organizations have provided salaried jobs and income generating activities by offering both formal and informal employment to their members. Above all, people believe that KyT has played an important role in bringing people together.

CBOs have also helped members maximise their benefits through their use of these organizational structures to increase bargaining power through networks in and across villages. This is evidenced by the ability of KyT to market products and standardize production processes (producers aim for reliable produce of high quality and with uniform standard). As a women's organization that markets more than ten products from natural resources, women under KyT were able to overcome their own transport constraints by pooling cash or getting micro loans as a small group. In this way they were able to hire transport, collect from further afield, reduce travelling time and thereby limit loss through spoilage (HaBarad and Tsiane, 1999).

The mandate of KyT is to empower women in the Tswapong region, which implies that women here may not be empowered or that they are somehow disadvantaged. Empowerment can be defined in many ways and as this concept has been the mandate of KyT since its existence, members were asked what 'empowerment' meant. The meaning in the eyes of the women (members and non-members) interviewed, was that empowerment means acquiring new skills and using them to increase one's income. Most women who had been members for a long time focused on skills-acquisition, and stated that KyT had helped them a lot in this regard (with 38 of the members stating that KyT helped through providing courses, workshops and seminars). Both members and non – members applauded the organization for having made people's lives better and one respondent summed up this sentiment by stating that *"....a lot of people were suffering and struggling to put food on the table but this Trust gave us hope that we may be able to sustain ourselves by giving us an opportunity to get ourselves some cash which we desperately needed to move away from poverty. The answer to this all is by using our hands and the abundant natural resources in our area"*. Organizations like KyT were believed to encourage members to stand up for their livelihoods, teach them strategies for survival and make them better members of society.

However, most of the youth are not members of such organizations and believe that these organizations were not helping but instead were a source of headaches, conflicts and mistrusts. Those interviewed believed that misuse and mismanagement of funds are rampant within KyT and similar organizations and therefore, saw no reason to associate themselves with such organizations. Most of the non – members interviewed felt that *“....KyT is a waste of time as it is overwhelmed by more problems than solutions”* and that *“...the organization has not been doing well for some time now”*. This, according to interviewees, is the reason why they are not members of the organization and the reason why few youth, if any, are participating. One respondent, who is not a KyT member, felt that *“...These organizations do not play any role, and if they do, then their role is insignificant. In this village, most of the services are not provided. So if you want to tell me about the roles played by organizations in the village think again. Not enough support is provided for people to enjoy the benefits of organizations”*.

Almost 90% of interviewed members of KyT think that the advantage of organizations like theirs is the life skills they have taught people, including skills in business management and inter-personal skills. In this regard members of KyT are well recognized and respected in the villages in which they reside. Some have been selected into village committees and other positions in the village. Most have gained experience from training and received salaries for their work. To highlight the above sentiments and get an understanding of what these KyT members are referring to, they were asked if they think members stand to benefit from being members of KyT and Table 3 gives the summary of the responses.

Table 3: Perceptions regarding KyT benefits

Did you think you stand to benefit as members of KyT organization?/ Do you think people stand to benefit anything from being members of these organizations	<u>Response</u>	
	Number	%
Yes	128	95.5
No	6	4.5
Total	134	100

Source: Calculated from field data (April/May 2008)

Ninety six percent of members believe that such organizations benefit individuals substantially. They cite examples of village and church societies that have helped people with funeral and burial covers and conclude that if organizations like KyT are administered and managed with the interests of members at heart, they stand to play a positive role in people's lives and will answer people's needs, wants and desires, as these organizations have the potential to enhance income flows to people.

Interviewees in Seleka village, however, expressed disappointment and did not believe their expectations were fulfilled. They believe that only a few people had gained, and that these same people were always nominated to attend workshops and courses or to travel overseas to represent the organization. One respondent said that *".... I think our head office is biased in that the same people have been attending to KyT matters since the inception of the organization; they attend workshops, courses, trade fairs and even represent the Trust in other regional and international functions. The same people over and over, but surprisingly we learn about these trips after they have taken place"*.

A number of strong and powerful women, who were members of KyT, were interviewed during the study. These women seemed to be very involved in the community and it seemed their social status in the society was held in high esteem, partly because of their association with KyT. The Chairperson of Seolwane and former Chairperson of the Board of Trustee stated that *"...we have travelled to far places in order to survive, we have seen different worlds and places (I recently came back from Senegal, was in the States and other neighbouring countries, I would have not seen these places if it was not for this organization). Members of this organization are no longer afraid of people and are able to communicate with white people - some members recently went to Gaborone to sell our products), they can stand up and be heard, have been voted into committees. The organization has taught us a lot, including marketing skill and negotiation skills (I went to the States to market and sell products, negotiated with the USA embassy to get funds to build this office), products are able to be bought due to marketing skills/ members get invitations to teach other women about the organization (i.e.*

workshop I attended in Senegal), but we need more education to be able to produce”

The former Coordinator of KyT, John Pearce, 2002 notes that “.....Botswana’s morula resources are not so plentiful as those in other countries of the region (Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa) and the organization is not able to produce the oil in the quantities that these countries are able to. However, the organization of KyT has enabled us to ensure regular supplies of dicheru (morula kernels) in accordance with our quality guidelines. Because we were not able to make the high volume, lower price sales of the other country members, we had to position ourselves as a low volume, high quality supplier and thus obtain a better price for our oil”. These are the types of advantages that KyT has set over its competitors. The other advantage, according to the Coordinator, is that KyT has never sought to bring in supplies of morula kernels from outside Botswana. She mentioned “.....we did collect from outside Tswapong and had a village 140km to the north of here supplying us. As the KyT brand name spread and awards started coming in for the oil, what we started to get were lots of visitors from other communities, both from Botswana and from outside. Many wanted to start producing their own oil but the advantage we have at KyT is that the limited supplies of kernels in Botswana would ensure that the outcome of another CBO entering the oil market would make it impossible to for such a CBO to be profitable in the business”.

3.2 Revenues

Within CBNRM programme there are several ways for CBOs to create financial benefits. The easiest way is to sub-lease land to the private sector (i.e. sub-leasing of an area to a commercial hunting operator or a photographic operator) and/or sell natural resources directly to third parties (sale of wildlife quota, sale of veld products). Financial benefits can also be derived from sales of products made from natural resources (Van Der Jugt et al, 2000). CBOs like KyT have significantly increased the total financial benefits that communities receive from natural resources. KyT’s 2002/03 annual report identifies marketing as one of the objectives of the trust for 2002 – 2004, “...to support members in getting their products to market and maximising the prices obtained for products”. KyT is a

unique organization in that products are marketed, sold and/or distributed centrally but unlike with other CBOs, revenue generated from central marketing efforts feeds back to individual members who supply their products to the factory. However, with other CBOs revenues generated are retained by the organizations and deposited in organizational accounts. This central marketing effort of KyT, however, does not replace local marketing by groups or centres. According to the Trust's 2002/03 annual report, the Trust was able to purchase products from members to the value of P84 936, a record figure that reflects the benefits accruing to KyT members. Notes from the former Coordinator John Pearce, (2003) indicate that by 2002 the total sales stood at around P13, 000 per month, some 70% of which came from morula oil and soap. This figure has more than doubled, as according to the current coordinator, Masego Mmipi, morula oil gives the Trust revenues to the amount of P80, 000 per annum. However, she mentioned that;

".....this is not the highest sales record because during the 2003 period, we got revenues from morula oil amounting up to P120, 000 per annum or P15, 000 in certain month".

About 60% of members supply KyT with monepenepe and gala la tshwene, 15% supply mosata, 5% letsoko (face powder) whereas 80% supply the trust with dicheru (see Table 1 for products marketed by KyT). These account for the revenues generated by KyT (since donor funding has dried up) with 70% of revenues coming from morula oil and soap. On one hand, members derive their incomes from sales to the Trust and sometimes from direct sales to third parties, while on the other hand members can derive incomes from their small enterprises. About 40 per cent of KyT members confirmed the above sentiments (regarding supplying KyT) with some members stating that they are able to make up to P2 000 per month during years of good harvest. They further mentioned that although it is difficult to sell to third parties, at times it is more profitable for them to sell directly to third parties. Members say they are able to sell to third parties since KyT factory is unable to buy all that they produce. Products that they are able to sell to third parties include pottery, jam, phane and monepenepe. This they say is what has been sustaining members since the problems facing the organization started. This implies that it is important for members to diversify their marketing strategies

and not only rely on the organization if they are to continue surviving through sales of natural products.

The other reason why members sell to third parties is that nowadays KyT's purchasing prices are not attractive, sales are low and KyT is no longer buying their products. Currently, women are concerned that they cannot sell all their products to KyT since KyT lacks access to markets. Members expressed disappointment with the current situation and "*feel the pain*" of having to watch their precious organization collapsing. Some still have hope and think that "*things will be normal again*" bearing in mind that the prices KyT offered its members previously were higher and may improve if market access improves. When pressed on the price list and purchasing price, members expressed that they were paid at approximately half or two thirds of KyT selling prices. The difference according to members is what they assume is being used by their Head Office to cover all the expenses of running the office, labelling and marketing the products.

Table 4: KyT purchasing and sale prices.

Product	Amount KyT members get organization (Pula/Kilogram)	KyT factory price (Pula/Kilogram)	Amount retained by KyT (Pula/Kilogram)	Proportion retained by KyT (%/Kilogram)	Price on Local Market (Pula/Kilogram)
Phane	P10	P18.70	P8.70	46.5%	P12
Dicheru (Morula Kernels)	P17.5	Not sold unprocessed (processed 100ml bottle of morula oil sales at P30)			18.5
Morula Jam	P7	P9	P2	22%	Not traditionally sold
Lerotse Jam	P7	P9	P2	22%	Not traditionally sold
Morogo	P18	P25	P7	28%	P8
Mosata	P16	P25	P9	36%	Not traditionally sold
Monepenepe	P145	P250	P105	42%	P200
Gala la Tshwene	P42	P75	P33	44%	P400

Source: information supplied by members from their own records. These have been verified by different KyT members in the six villages visited.

These figures fluctuate depending on the market and other factors. Members stated that prices may vary depending on the availability of the product. For example, if the area receives sufficient rains, then resources are plenty and prices may drop, but during droughts products like phane are scarce and harvests are smaller but products fetch higher prices. This means that during drought periods harvesters get more revenues compared to years of sufficient harvest. Furthermore, women selling to direct buyers use cups and spoonfuls to measure the quantity compared to the scales used by Head Office/Factory. This seems to have led to the difference between the perceived and actual revenues obtained. Generally, harvesters selling to third parties, get more for their products depending on the number of buyers or the demand, compared to selling through the organization. Currently sales through KyT are low. Thus harvesters that have established clients (third parties) and supply them constantly throughout the year are better off than those waiting for KyT to secure markets.

3.2.1 Challenges facing KyT

Nowadays, however, the problems that the organization faces are a shortage of funds and transport to reach clients and to supply their products to shops and buyers in major centres like Gaborone. Botswana is seen as a medium – income country and this has prompted international donors and supporting NGOs to phase out their interventions. This has impacted negatively on CBOs such as KyT. Donor agencies and NGOs have been seen and understood as initiators and key actors in increasing the activities of CBOs in natural resource use. These donors and NGOs have been responsible for funding, through planning, implementing and managing activities and projects, through monitoring and evaluating such activities, to advocacy. The phasing out of these organizations has dealt a blow to most CBOs which have been relying for funds from them. Ms Masego of KyT further states that *“.....this is even preventing us from collecting revenues from clients. For example, we have a cheque to the tune of P10, 000 lying in Gaborone waiting for us to collect but we can't because we have no funds to send the vehicle or someone there. This cheque is for the supplies that I took with me on my recent trip to Gaborone. This is what we do now, when one of our members goes to*

Gaborone we send stock along or the clients can collect directly from the factory here in Lerala”.

Almost all the members interviewed echoed the problems of funds and transport shortage stated by the Coordinator. They noted that the most important things regarding their organization and its activities are the price and quantity of their products that they can sell to KyT since this determines their income. They further stated that they joined KyT because they thought they could get better prices for their products. The main obstacle for KyT to access the appropriate markets for their products seems to be the lack of marketing skills within the organization. The current marketing executive is not formally trained in this field, but rather as a secretary. She expressed concern that she is overwhelmed by KyT duties because she has the multiple jobs of coordinator, accountant, marketing officer as well as facilitator and secretary without assistance. There is not even a driver to bring raw materials from the villages to the factory. At times she is forced to close the office and go and collect materials herself, which is an inconvenience to customers and gives the impression that the trust might have collapsed. According to Arntzen *et al* (2007), marketing at KyT has been poor since the departure of the former expatriate project Coordinator. It might seem that this is the primary reason why the trust has been struggling.

Members of KyT mentioned that before the current financial problems, they used to supply the factory with almost 100% of what they produced and that they would get satisfying revenues. According to interviewees things were working well but now what they sell is determined by the factory, and they are told what and how much to supply. At times they have stock piles of products in their houses waiting to supply to the factory which never get sold. For example, in Lecheng village members have been storing bags of monepenepe and mosata in their homes for the past six months to supply the factory. This highlights some of the problems: sales are low, prices are not good and with fewer earnings members are now struggling to support their families. One respondent summed this up saying *“...most of the time the factory tells us how much to supply. I believe that they have a quota for each village depending on what they think each village can supply. When we supply, the factory buys; a box (containing 8 bottles of morula oil of*

100ml) of morula oil at P360, 1kg of powdered Gala la tshwene at P42, 1kg of dicheru (morula kernels) at P17. You can see that there is nothing for us. Maybe for the entire sale, the supplier will get 20% of the revenue generated from that sale". In reality, KyT take 20% of product sales to cover their overhead costs. Some respondents, however, think that they are entitled to half of the revenues that the product fetches. This shows a lack of awareness on the part of members suggesting that KyT may not have done much to educate its membership on the day-to-day activities of the Organization the overhead costs required and on the demand-supply relationship in relation to their produce.

3.2.2 Profit distribution

The issue of community involvement in management of resources is closely linked to that of benefits and distribution of benefits. It has already been noted that without benefits, in relation to effort involved, communities are unlikely to participate (Murphree, 1999). The distribution of financial benefits means dividing the revenue earned by the Trust among its members, i.e. cash "hand – outs". This option triggered the imagination of many community members at the start of their project. It emphasises the short – term financial needs that many rural community members have. However, the first financing priority for any CBO is the Trust expenditure, which includes salaries, vehicles, travel and sitting allowances. As noted in Arntzen et al (2003), most of the Trust revenues are used for these expenditures. It has been established that communities have generated substantial revenues from Trust operations that have not been reinvested to generate more income for the CBO or reinvested into capacity building for the community to be able to initiate and manage their own development processes more efficiently or at least to distribute it equally for better livelihoods (CBNRM Forum, 2006). The position of the CBNRM forum is that responsibility for the financial management of CBOs should be placed in the hands of professional accountants screened by both the Trust and the society. KyT is viewed as a national success as it has grown since 1996 and has impressive results for the income and well – being of its members (Arntzen et al 2007). However, according to Arntzen et al (2003) most of KyT revenues have been spent on the Trust's operations and not directly on

members, even though benefits for the local community members have included empowerment through training and organizational skill development. This suggests that the positive role of KyT has perhaps been over-emphasised and requires further scrutiny. Figures from Arntzen et al (2003) suggests that an average payment to KyT members was around P100 a month, but with own direct sales, especially from phane worm, members could have raised P200 – 300 a month.

Those with KyT membership have benefited from the distribution of the Trust's income in different ways: (1) cash dividends (KyT market and sell produce on behalf of its members who then benefit from the organization's effort and in some cases such dividends may have been in kind); (2) wage employment (for those employed by the organization – sometimes KyT engage members on a part-time basis) and skill training; (3) price subsidy or support (for example, members produce and market their products to the Trust at a more lucrative price than on the local market or buy products from the Trust at a discount price); (4) subsidised services (e.g. members pay lower fares when using Trust vehicles); (5) access to interest subsidised loans for financing micro – business (although this KyT scheme has since collapsed); and (6) social assistance and insurance (KyT offer counselling to its members through sourcing from professionals). There has also been a provision of a funeral programme and other secretarial services to members at fairly low prices. Often, however, the Trust has no systematic pattern in allocation practices. As noted in Arntzen et al (2003), there is no established formula for distributing earnings. Often such an important decision is embedded in the regular budgeting process, with little membership participation in making this decision. As noted in the FGDs, members have no say in the decisions of profit distribution and don't know how much the Trust makes as profit. In essence, there are insufficient control mechanisms in place to avoid a small and "better-skilled" section of the community taking advantage of the power vacuum and monopolising community benefits.

There are exceptional cases where there is a system in place for profit distribution and for most multi-village CBO; the trend has been to distribute revenues equally among villages. In essence, few community Trusts opt for household or individual cash distribution of income like KyT, but rather the incomes remain in bank

accounts as the Trust committees try to decide what the best use of the income would be. Trusts also pay operating costs before they can declare a profit for distribution or reinvestment. In some cases dividends have been considerable, for example, the Chobe Enclave Trust in the north of Botswana received revenues amounting to US\$200 000 per year from wildlife utilization and tourism and 45 families share about US\$125 000 annually (Jones et al, 2004). Jones (2002) found that the Chobe Enclave Community Trust (CECT) has set a ceiling of 15% of gross revenue for running expenses of the Trust, and the remainder is equally shared among the 5 villages. However, the recently adopted CBNRM policy in Botswana stipulates that 65% of community benefits from the sale of natural resource concessions and hunting quotas shall be deposited in the National Environmental Fund (NEF) for the financing of community based environmental management and eco-tourism projects throughout the country.

3.3 Decision-making

Decision-making in CBNRM in Botswana is based on a model of participatory democracy at village level. Decision-making is one of the more important aspects of CBNRM (CBNRM Forum, 2002). Being able to participate in decision making is the key to sharing control over resources. Most CBO constitutions prescribe that important decisions are made by the general membership, all constitutions institute executive boards to implement community decisions and take responsibility for daily management. In most communities and CBOs the formation of new boards for decision making is the first step. Typically a Board of Trustees for CBOs has the responsibility to take decisions on behalf of the Trust based on the mandates and decisions made at Annual General Meetings (AGMs). The CBO shall be responsive to the needs of its members, act in the best interests of all members, inform members regarding all decisions and operate in a transparent and democratic manner and in the best interest of natural resource conservation and management. KyT's website describe the organization as having a unique structure that gives its membership a sense of ownership and ensures flow of information, provides advice and promotes communication (KyT, 2003). The members of KyT are organized in a four-tier system; groups (maximum of 5 members), centres (3 to 10 groups), regional council (representatives from sets of

centres) and a Board of Trustees (representatives from the regional councils and one optional appointed member). The structure allows for a high level of representation, accountability and transparency in decision-making (Arntzen et al 2003). The groups are believed to have strong structures with decentralised decision-making considered key, as illustrated in the following quotations;

“.....the default rate on micro-loans is very low, attributable largely to the strong structure of the groups, who take collective responsibility for individual loans”

“.....actual management of natural resources, production, micro-lending and marketing are carried out at individual and group levels. Decisions flow up and down the organization but are always taken at the lowest possible level”

The presence of Community Development Officers (CDOs) within KyT during the early stages of the Trust made a huge difference to functioning of the structure. The CDOs provided a crucial link among the different components of the organizational structure, as they worked from each region and reported back to the Coordinator and the Board of Trustees (Arntzen et al 2007). The CDOs have since been phased out and this has weakened the links between members and the head offices. Moreover, the links have been weakened by the loss of members (most members are not active) and the failure to hold meetings at the different stages of the organizational structure. Members are now not aware of what happens at head office, and it takes some time for them to communicate with head office. The Board of Trustees itself is inactive. One member stated that:

“.....Each region (the North, Central and South) is supposed to be represented in the board by a member from the regional councils. The board meetings are attended by those we have voted and they report back to their respective regional council meetings on what transpired during the board meeting. However, since 2004 there has never been a board meeting, members are inactive and the board chairperson does not want to call the AGM, and has never made herself available during the meeting that we have called. The last AGM was held in Seleka village in 2004”

In Seleka village, members state that *“.....we are not represented in the decision-making process because there are a number of things that took place without our knowledge. It is surprising because even our representatives sometimes don't know what is happening at the regional and board meetings, sometimes they don't make it to the meetings because of transport problems but meetings take place anywhere and we never know what was being discussed and what decisions were made”*.

Of the 54 KyT members interviewed, some felt that since the problems of KyT started, they were no longer represented in the decisions that were taken. 96.3% of KyT members interviewed (Table 5) stated that decisions were implemented without consultation and without the presence of their representatives.

Table 5: Responses on representation in decision-making processes

Are you represented in the decision making process?	Number	<u>Response</u>
		%
Yes	2	3.7
No	52	96.3
Total	54	100

Sources: Response represents data collected from 6 villages (April/May 2008)

These sentiments were echoed in almost all the villages covered during field work. For instance, in Lecheng village, members noted that *“..... We were supposed to have attended a meeting at head office on Monday 5th May that called for the regional chairperson, secretary, treasurer and the village Chief, but from Lecheng we could not make it to the meeting. We don't know what was discussed and as usual Head office will not inform us of what happened”*. It would seem that since some members are not active and because the Board of Trustees does not meet, decisions are made at head office without consultation with members. This is in spite of the fact that the KyT structure has been developed to sustain the organization. This trend of not consulting members is said to have started during the former Coordinator's term where things were done without consultation and they feel it is still continuing under the current Coordinator. For example, the Trust's second vehicle was sold without consultation and at times products were

sold without money from the sales making it to head office. One respondent even mentioned that “.....*the board knew about our complaints and nothing was done, I guess it is because some members of the board have never actually been voted into these positions. To me this is the real problem because you get people who are not authorized making decisions that affect the Trust, maybe negatively. I am not even surprised that some of the voted members have excused themselves from such decisions*”. The bottom-line according to members is that the “.....*show is operated by a two-man team or should I say two women, the Coordinator and the Board Chairperson,*” because other members of the board are in the dark as are members with regard to what happens at KyT.

However, the KyT organizational structure is structured to enable members and groups to make decisions. Groups are assumed to meet on a regular basis to discuss activities, progress and issues and give feedback to their representatives in the regional councils. The regional councils are supposed to meet every two months, each sending representatives to a Board with responsibility for determining and executing KyT policy. However, as described above, the board has not met for the past three years and regional councils are inactive. It would seem that the general membership of the Trust is not empowered enough to demand accountability and representative decision-making from their leadership.

One of the guiding principles of CBNRM in Botswana (CBNRM Forum, 2004) is that; “....*Decision-making authority must be at community level and that decision-making should be representative*”, but this has proved difficult for most CBOs, limiting the opportunities for members to fully benefit from their organizations. The result is an absence of practical involvement by the majority of relevant stakeholders in decisions relating to the CBO activities (especially the distribution of benefits) and financial management matters in a coordinated and integrated manner. In a representative decision making forum there is a need for skilled leadership, one that does not take sides, that has an empowered membership and is very bold in taking decisions. In the absence of the above, it is very difficult to avoid the situation where a small minority monopolises the decision-making process.

For KyT there are concerned voices that management is not consulting with members and especially that the Coordinator and Chairperson are “*doing as they like with KyT assets*”. It would seem that the call for decisions and operations to be done in a transparent and democratic manner, with decisions taken in the best interest of its members, was just a formality to get the constitution approved and secure donor assistance. It seems that what the organization and its webpage are saying is not practised and the result is the mismanagement of the Trust's assets and resources. Some members argue that the current chairperson has colluded with the Coordinator and managed to prevent the organization from holding the AGM to avoid being voted out.

3.4 Use of monies from KyT revenues

In neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia (Arntzen et al 2007), CBNRM benefits have been used to develop social infrastructure such as schools, health facilities, water supplies, roads, etc. In Botswana, most of these social services are provided by the government. Reinvestment of CBNRM revenue, therefore, needs to focus on other community projects. To date only a few community projects have been set up by CBOs, although a number of CBOs have been earning substantial revenues for several years now. Community project here refers to any form of community development activity, which might include, among others, building and running a day-care centre, community hall, bus stop shelters, orphanage shelters, running harvesting courses, among others. For example, the Chobe Enclave Community Trust (CECT) has been able to provide a petrol filling station, community hall, provide computers for schools in their region; buy tractors for the five villages and is now working on providing internet access for their five villages (Jones, 2004). Such community projects are most likely in response to needs: such as the provision of services to the community (secretarial services, internet, venue for social functions, draught power etc), the creation of further enterprises and revenues, and the creation of employment.

The most important intended impact of KyT activities is the potential economic benefit to poor women. Most women, especially the poorest, rely on veld product collection as an important source of income. This has been the mandate of KyT to

generate income for its members and that is what they are focusing on. They do not currently have any community project that they are engaged in or are funding, except a few individuals in Seolwane village who run a vegetable garden for the terminally ill. The efforts by these Seolwane individuals although small go a long way in making a positive contribution to the community.

Table 6; Responses with regard to KyT's development activities.

Is there any community project that KyT is involved in?	Response	
	Number	%
Yes	11	20
No	43	80
Total	54	100

Sources: Response represents data collected from 6 villages (April/May 2008)

Individual members do however engage in village projects on their own. The Seolwane women, who are members of the village home based care group and the village health committee, are a case in point. These women decided to provide for fellow community members by visiting and providing vegetables for Home Based Care patients in their village. This is an individual initiative and has not been sanctioned or funded by the Trust. To them this is a way of showing commitment and care for members of their community. At the moment, however, KyT has no plans to engage in any community project because of its financial crisis.

4: Analysis and discussion

CBNRM is imagined differently by different advocates. Internationally, conservationists, both locals and foreign, aim to involve local people in national and trans-national conservation and resource management goals as a means of protecting biological diversity and habitat integrity (McNeely 1995; World Wide Fund for Nature 1993). A number of development organizations, driven in part by the vigorous criticism of socially and economically oppressive resource development projects that they have supported, aim to promote local participation in "conservation and development" (Jodha 1992; World Bank 1996). International financial institutions such as the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as well as the international donor community, have invested in the efforts of both local and trans-national NGOs to promote CBNRM regimes. This has called for the development and involvement of local communities in the management and conservation of natural resources. In India, for example, Joint Forest Management (JFM) assumes that forest – dependent communities will be able to identify themselves with the forest, thus establishing a complementary relationship between the development and protection of the forest and welfare of the people (Vishwa, B et al 2002). This has involved the community's active participation in the conservation and development of the forest, and in turn, has lead to the development of the people themselves.

In Botswana, particularly the case study organization, members are meant to be able to sell their products to the Trust at a better price than on the local market. KyT will then label, price, and sell the products on the local, regional and international market. Members will then benefit from KyT marketing efforts and are certain of a good price. Through this income, some members have been able to support their families. This echoes the understanding that intermediary organizations, particularly marketing organizations fulfil important functions such as purchasing, providing transport, and processing, packaging, labelling, certification, marketing and exporting of products (Wynberg 2006). Wynberg (2006) notes that in truth, many non-timber forest product value chains would be dysfunctional

without intermediaries, although their role requires careful monitoring, control and designation.

Experience from elsewhere suggests that the role played by KyT is not unique. For example, a project at Mysore's Temple Sanctuary in India supported by a local CBO called Vivekananda Girijana Kalyana Kendra (VGKK) preserves forests and makes forest dwellers prosperous (Shanker *et al* 2005). Here quality honey, pickles, jams and ayurvedic medicines are freely marketed by Soliga tribe near the Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Sanctuary, Mysore district, Karnataka. The Soligas are encouraged to use the forest resources with the aim of making the Soligas economically self-sufficient even while conserving the forests. CBOs have played a big role in changing the economic status of rural populations and have made a positive impact on the livelihood and lifestyles of these populations. Harvesters stand to gain from being part of an organization that will allow them to profit more from their harvests and to access skills and education as well as other benefits associated with such organizations. They also gain social capital from being part of an organization aiming to improve their situation, and which provides support.

In the Mysore Temple example, the NTFPs incomes of the Soligas communities have been enhanced in two ways (Shanker *et al* 2005). First, the local communities have started to add value to harvested products by processing, packaging, and marketing them. Ten years ago, no more than 50 kg of processed honey was sold. By contrast, Soligas sold 25 tonnes of processed honey in 2004, which fetches a price more than three-fold that of unprocessed honey. A total of Rupees. 308,400 (US\$ 6 425) was distributed as profits from the sale of processed honey among 869 households (Shanker *et al* 2005). Second, local communities in Biligiri Rangaswamy Hills have improved their share of the income generated through the sale of harvested NTFPs.

For KyT, the membership has grown since 1996 from a five person resource user group in each of the first nine villages to 1500 members in 26 villages (KyT 2004), and has had impressive results with regard to the improved income and well-being of its members.

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Table 7: Summary of the response to main questions posed to interviewees. Responses represented data collected from 6 villages.

Questions to KyT members	Mammatlala village	Semare village	Seolwane village	Selaka village	Lerala village	Lehang village
Why did you join KyT?	- No employment here – KyT is an easy way of making money. - to find means of making a living	Joined KyT to solve poverty problems as women (go intsha leguma). To make a living	To make a living; joined after realizing the importance of such organization when attending a course by women's organization. Told us we can make a living	To be able to sell various NR in the area to make a living, support families and start business	Joined KyT after realizing the organization will assist women to empower them with skills to support their families	Joined because we were struggling and that trust helps women like me to get some cash to support our families.
Value of organizations like KyT?	Such organizations help us to acquire assistance from other government programmes. - help women to support their families	Women working together are able to overcome constraints; we are able to work together, travel afield for resources, we cover for each other's limitations financial. The organization is such a opportunity to excel when you bring your resources together.	- By working together we are able to increase our bargaining power, bring our resources and minds together to achieve our goals, get micro-loans from the fund pool. Develop the country; empower women	We value KyT because of the things we are able to do now; the loans; the insurance and burial assistance are valuable to members.	Such organizations build a sense of belonging, build social networks, bring people together and to teach and assist each other. They are able to have a strong voice and secure financial assistance	We have food, built a house and managed to start businesses due to KyT. Loans ran by KyT help people develop their homes, start businesses and made us better people, rich and educated; have learnt to use resources to help our people (i.e. mosata help kids with diarrhoea)

<p>What are the advantages of being a member of such organization</p>	<p>- Organization help us to be identified as women trying to make difference and empower us through education and skills that are provided</p>	<p>We are able to help each other through pooling resources together; we easily get assistance as a group from other sources.</p>	<p>Organization helps in marketing and sourcing funds. Also it helps with insurance and arranging course and seminars. Have been able to visit place due to this organization</p>	<p>KyT market and sell our products, they negotiated the insurance cover for members who otherwise would not have been able; taught us survival skills, taught us the value of the natural resources and use of trees.</p>	<p>Organizations like KyT have an advantage in empowering women both with skills and ideas. It gives them ideas and skills in entrepreneur management and to stand on their own and be able to support their families</p>	<p>What we do is the decision of the members, we agree to produce or harvest what we feel will benefit us, on our own time without pressure and at the time we feel is convenient for each one of us.</p>
<p>What are the disadvantages</p>	<p>- The little assistance we get is not enough compared to a group of 2 or 3 people who are able to make bigger impact in their lives through such assistance.</p>	<p>It is not easy for ideas to be adopted and we spend time debating unnecessary issues</p>	<p>There are problems at KyT now but such organization help people to survive, they provide skill, opportunities to succeed and support our families. Have been able to secure loans and build house and start businesses</p>	<p>Problems at the organization have stalled things, nothing positive is happening. Seleka office is not complete; there is no toilet, fence and/or funds from HQ. Sales are low and products are not moving but HQ is quiet about these things.</p>	<p>It open to misuse and mismanagement of resources by those in control or in positions of management</p>	<p>Being an organization with mass membership, it is difficult to run it properly as members may not agree on issues or comply with the regulations.</p>

Table 7 synthesizes responses from each of the villages regarding the advantages and disadvantages of belonging to KyT. This reaffirms earlier research (HaBarad et al, 1999) which notes that women under KyT were able to overcome their own transport constraints by pooling cash and getting micro loans as a small group. In this way they were able to hire transport, travel further afield to collect resources, reduce travelling time and thereby limit loss to spoilage. The present study emphasises that organizations such as KyT play an important role in rural livelihoods as members depend on their benefits to support their families. Members in Lecheng for example, mentioned that *“.....For us the value of our organization is huge, I mean we are able to buy food, build houses and have managed to start businesses because of this organization. We had loans that the organization ran and with these people developed their homes, some started businesses and today they are better people, rich and educated. We have learnt to use some of the resources to help our people (mosata was and is still used to help kids with diarrhoea), and we also make archer out of this resource”*.

There are, however, those who feel such organizations are not helpful. One youth in Sefhare village believes that *“.....Most of these organizations are not helping. There are a few that are doing well especially those in the northern region of the country because of the abundance of wildlife. Otherwise in most cases there are problems with these organizations such as misuse of funds, mismanagement, internal fights and so on”. Believe me these are common, look at KyT. What are they doing, what is their impact in this village? They have not been doing well for as long as I know”*

Table 7 notes that there are some challenges and problems with organizations such as KyT. Key problems arise around decision-making with regard to the ideas that are to be implemented, financial problems, and lack of consultation. For, example, in Sefhare village respondents felt that they spend a lot of time debating unnecessary issues instead of implementing ideas that would sustain the organization, sentiments echoed in Seleka when members argued that *“ ... Being an organization with mass membership, it is difficult to run it properly as members may not agree on issues or comply with the regulations”*.

The impact of KyT and its focus have changed throughout the history of the organization. The reason for this change has been that the Trust has never been financially sustainable and has always received and relied on donor funding. This perhaps is the reason why most CBOs in Botswana that rely on resources other than wildlife have never been financially viable on their own. In KyT members feel frustrated because only a few actually benefit from their membership. The spirit and enthusiasm within the organization has been replaced with disappointment and frustration.

Findings presented suggest that KyT activities (collecting and processing of veld products) are central for members to receive revenues. By being members of KyT, women can access the resources necessary to process products and to store their produce for later in the year when demand increases and prices are better. Working in groups can help KyT members to arrange transport to harvesting sites and can also increase their bargaining power when negotiating with third parties or dealing with middlemen. This however, happens rarely as the structure of KyT is such that members rarely sell products individually, but through their organization as the central marketing and sales point. At the initiation of the organization, KyT received enough donor funding and was able to implement its main mandates of empowering women, natural resource management and running a micro-credit scheme. With donor funding drying up, the impact that KyT has on its members is very limited. Some members feel that KyT never lived up to the expectations they had before joining the Trust. The micro-credit scheme has since stopped mainly because of poor repayment rates, educational activities are limited and far apart, Community Development Officers who used to give the training have since been phased out and the organization is struggling to pay its staff. The only impact for members would be feelings of frustration and stress. This is made worse by the fact that KyT is unable to buy veld product stock that members have harvested and produced due to a lack of market. The products that members are able to sell to KyT are determined by the factory or KyT Board of Trustees. Lack of marketing skills within the organization is the main reason why the organization can not reach the market.

There are, however, some success stories. Most of the earlier members of KyT state that they experienced success as a result of their membership. They increased their income from selling veld products to KyT, acquired a lot of skills and received some loans from KyT. This was a positive impact that members associated with the organization. Those impacted positively; believe that the organization has helped them to achieve their dreams. In cases where women started successful businesses, the positive impacts from loans were said to be high. Even though the Trust is currently in financial crisis and not doing well, the impact is still positive for these women as the monies they have acquired helped them kick-start their enterprises and to diversify their sources of income. Their enthusiasm is verified by the fact that almost all women interviewed ran some form of business, small shop or had built a house, an indication that KyT's micro-credit scheme at least to some point has been successful. However, it is important to keep in mind that this study did not evaluate the economic status of the population in question prior to the KyT intervention and that the economic success of KyT members might not be a result of KyT's activities, but rather an indication of the status of women who joined KyT. Nonetheless, it is important to note that it was the intention of KyT to target poor and marginalised women who had below average income. It is therefore assumed that these women, when experiencing success, increased their incomes as well as their social status.

With the current problems facing KyT, it seems that KyT activities have almost stopped, and women are no longer benefiting financially from selling their products and from their membership. So it has become difficult to assess the financial benefits derived from KyT. The Coordinator is quoted as saying;

".....we are currently fighting the wrong impression that the Trust is dead. We need to prove our presence in the natural resource utilization initiatives" (Modikwa 2006)

It is important to note that not all community areas have access to a natural resources base that offers the potential to generate large amounts of money and employment opportunities. There are many factors to bear in mind when assessing the role that such organizations play in helping harvesters to maximize benefits, including the context of the natural resources (areas with an abundance of wildlife

earn the most in financial benefits compared to an area with veld products) and related livelihood strategies, culture and history, levels of material well-being as well as education.

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5: Conclusions and Recommendations

This dissertation set out to investigate the role played by CBOs as intermediaries to help bring benefits to veld product harvesters and the nature of such benefits. CBOs and other grassroots intermediary groups can provide an opportunity for local people to organize themselves into groups that utilize natural resources to bring incomes and employment opportunities to them and their families. CBOs are also ideally suited to build on the strengths of traditional skills and knowledge by facilitating an infusion of technologies, capital and innovative practices. The opportunities for intermediary organizations are significant due to their extensive promotion and support by government and NGOs and their role in rural economic development. Through CBOs, local communities can interact with government bodies that are geared towards the development of rural economies. These intermediary organizations are recognized and have the support of government, international and national NGOs.

With regard to specific objectives, the thesis set out:

- to examine how KyT has helped veld product harvesters maximize benefits.
- to assess the institutional capacity, structure and relationship that affect decision-making to distribute benefits
- to examine who and how many people benefited from KyT and why they benefited

With reference to the first objective it is concluded that KyT has increased the value of its members' products through quality control, labelling, packaging, marketing and selling the products. Members have been assured of good prices and benefit from KyT's marketing efforts. Members have also benefited from close collaboration among the women, who support and teach each other different skills. Despite this, it is important to note that KyT does not distribute its benefits in the ways that other CBOs do. For example, other CBOs distribute benefits by dividing dividends among community members at the end of the financial year. Here decisions are made whether or not to divide dividends during the AGM when the financial report has been submitted. KyT members get benefits depending on what they have supplied to KyT to be marketed. However, non financial benefits

are significant, through skills acquisition and social empowerment. The skills acquired have helped members control the quality of their produce. Social empowerment was achieved through education and business training. This also enabled woman to start up their own businesses through money borrowed from KyT.

With the second objective, it is concluded that the strength and cohesion of the CBO determines the performance and success of the organization. It is noted that the institutional capacity, structure and relationships that affect decision-making to distribute benefits differ considerably between intermediary organizations. For example, not all CBOs or community members and individuals within CBOs have the same needs, values and priorities. Well thought through and adaptive management structures with clear constitutions are crucial for ensuring that benefits are used in ways that are acceptable and agreed upon by all stakeholders. In India, for example, the Large-Scale Adivasi Multiple-Purpose Society (LAMPs) have a cooperative structure, are chaired by the Local Forest Department official and the secretary is an official from the Cooperative Department (Shanker 2005). The harvesters of NTFPS are individual members who elect a Board of Directors; however, the Board has no decision-making power as powers are vested with the Forest Department officials and the secretary. The efficacy of this institution is dependent on having honest government officials.

At KyT, decisions are taken at the AGM and implemented by a Board of Trustees, but KyT is unique in that members derive benefits from that which they produce and supply. In this way they control what they sell, how much they want to sell and what accrues to them. This is different to an organization dealing with wildlife quotas or game meat that will require a management structure that consists of a powerful Board of Trustees that can make decisions acceptable to its membership. KyT markets and sells produce on behalf of its members, returning 80% of the revenue to members and retaining the remaining 20% as administrative fee to run the Trust.

A conclusion from the third objective is that the extent to which communities' derived benefits from veld product commercialization is integrally linked to the

institutional strength of the marketing institutions. The challenges of misuse and mismanagement of funds, lack of leadership and management skills, ineffective community policies and committees, lack of proper skills to run commercial and profitable projects and lack of community involvement in decision-making process, among others, have a negative impact on the success of CBOs and on the potential benefits that accrue to community members. A number of these challenges occur because of the “social and economic stratification” between and within communities. This has a major impact on the way in which benefits are obtained from the use of natural resources, and the extent to which these are equitable and sustainable. In other words, for a community to truly benefit from natural resource utilization, have a functional management structure, implement its management plans and have activities that benefit members there needs to be cohesion within that community and greater homogeneity in terms of ethnicity and class. If this is achieved, then such a community organization will have less internal conflicts and community members will have a greater opportunity to participate in community discussions and decision-making processes. For a number of veld product organizations this does not seem to be a problem as most of these organizations are formed by individuals of the same ethnicity, who share the same interest and activity. These problems are rife however in wildlife based CBOs where multi-villages are involved with members from different ethnic groups and social classes (Van der Jagt *et al* 2000).

For instance, KyT is facing a financial crisis and not internal conflicts. Although this has caused mistrust among members and the Board of Trustees, their problems manifest from financial constraint rather than community cohesion and structure. Once financial problems are resolved, KyT is likely to once again flourish and be of benefit to its members. Arntzen *et al* (2003) comments that CBOs have not had a significant impact on poverty reduction in Botswana as the benefits are not significant enough to alleviate poverty and that such benefits are far apart and their realisation constrained by problems within CBOs. He concludes that “except for those employed by CBOs and those with access to allowances, CBO projects are at best an additional but not a main, source of livelihood”. Despite these comments, the results of the present study underpin the important contribution that

CBOs can make towards improving livelihood security through the diversification of livelihoods.

The findings of this research imply that intermediary organizations play an important role in rural populations, but require support from governments. The support should come in the form of capacity building for the members and the Board of Trustees. Most CBOs lack the skills to manage and run a profitable organization and these skills need to be harnessed with government playing a part. Government and support agencies can play an important role in providing crucial research inputs to the management of NTFPs, modifying collection practices to become more sustainable and promoting participatory resource assessment.

With regard to the membership of intermediary organizations such as KyT, it is noted that a number of rural populations have participated in the activities and operations, but they have not been empowered. It is recommended that members of such organizations need to influence decisions about organizational activities, understand the organization's constitution and participate fully in the decisions that affect them. Their empowerment can help achieve the goal of increasing incomes and enhancing capacity within rural areas to meet basic human needs.

A final recommendation is that producers and their organizations should seek ways to diversify their products and marketing strategies and enhance their marketing skills. Strong emphasis should be placed on new and working ideas, active participation and the avoidance of dependence on external organizations and donor support.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Members/Harvesters/Primary Producers

1. What is KyT?
2. Why did you join KyT?
3. What is the value of organizations like KyT?
4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of such organizations?
5. What do you harvest?
6. How much revenue do you get for:
 - phane
 - monepenepe
 - morogo
 - morula
 - letsoko
 - jam/jelly
 - mosata
 - Gala la tswene
7. what amount of you harvest do you sell to KyT
 - phane
 - monepenepe
 - morogo
 - morula
 - letsoko
 - jam/jelly
 - mosata
 - Gala la tswene
8. How is KyT helping you in getting more revenue out of your harvest?
9. How much of these do you sell to third parties?
 - phane

- monepenepe
- morogo
- morula
- letsoko
- jam/jelly
- mosata
- Gala la tswene

10. Why do you sell to different organizations?

11. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

12. How is profit distributed by KyT and why?

13. How is decision made with regard to profit distribution?

14. How are you represented in the decision making process?

15. How representative are the decision makers?

16. How are monies from KyT revenues used? / How will the money be used?

17. Who and how many people actually benefit from the trust and in what way?

18. How is money acquired by a trust automatically contributing to an improvement in the living conditions of the people?

19. How do subsistence economies cope with an increasing commercialization of available natural resources?

20. What community project is KyT involved in?

21. Who comes up with the ideas for community projects?

22. What forum is used to obtain consensus?

23. How much is the amount of money earned sufficient to give each member a share that makes a difference in their lives?

24. How will additional cash assist community members in improving their living conditions?

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Appendix 2:

Questionnaire: Key KyT Informants and Board of Trustee

Why did they join KyT?

Who is eligible to joins KyT?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of organizations like KyT?

Where does KyT get its revenues from?

What is the percentage of KyT members selling veld products to the trust?

- marula
- monepenepe
- phane worm
- mosata
- letsoko
- morogo
- Gala la tswene

How much revenue does KyT get from?

- marula oil
- marula soap
- phane worm
- marula cake
- jams/jellies
- Gala la tswene
- Mosata
- Letsoko
- morogo

How is the profits distributed by the trust and why?

What are the benefits to being KyT members?

Who determines who benefit and why?

What community projects has KyT funded?

Who comes up with the ideas for community projects?

What forum is used to obtain consensus?

How do you ensure that communities are represented?

How are representatives' chosen?

How do community centres account to the trust?

How does the board determine the allocation of funds?

How does the trust ensure that funds are properly channelled to goods and services that members want?

What contributes to scarce resource? What do you understand by scarce resources and do you think it is an issue in this area?

How does the trust make sure resources are sustainable harvested?

Describe the kind of education/skill members received from the KyT

How does education offered by KyT increase the success of a member's businesses?

What problems does the trust face?

Appendix 3:

Interview Guide: Youth and Non – members

How do people make a living in this area?

What percentage of the population in the area makes a living out of veld products?

What do you know about KyT?

Who are members of this organization?

How do you earn your living?

How does KyT earn its revenues?

What is the role of such organizations like KyT to livelihoods?

How are monies earned by KyT used?

How will additional cash assist community members in improving their living conditions?

How can money acquired by the trust automatically contribute to an improvement in the living conditions of people?

Who and How many people benefit from a trust and in what ways?

How much money from a trust would be sufficient to give each member a share that makes a difference in their lives?

How do subsistence economies cope with an increasing commercialization of available veld resources?

What contributes to scarce resources and why?

What can be done to ensure sustainability of veld resources?