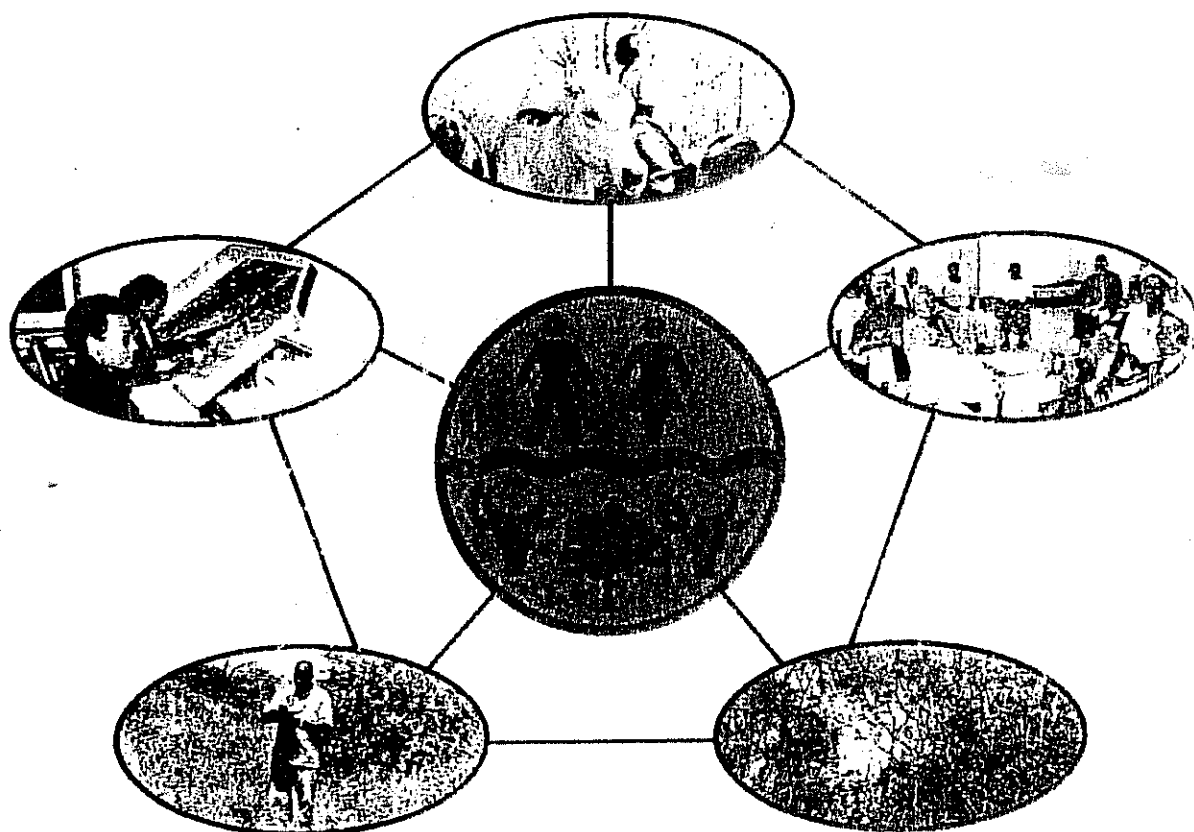


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## **Botswana Range Inventory and Monitoring Project: Phase 2**



**Policy and Rural Livelihoods: a  
preliminary study of the impact of  
range-related policies on the  
communities of Tubu and Makwate**

**Botswana Range Inventory and Monitoring Project**

Ministry of Agriculture, Room 255, P Bag 003, Gaborone, Botswana  
Telephone: +267-350500 Fax: +267-350440 Email: brimp@botsnet.bw



## **Botswana Range Inventory and Monitoring Project**

**Policy and Rural Livelihoods: a  
preliminary study of the impact of  
range-related policies on the  
communities of Tubu and Makwate**

**Community Based Resource Management  
Field Report No 4**

April 2002



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## List of Acronyms

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ALDEP	Arable Land Development Programme
ARC(B)	Agricultural Resources Conservation Board
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
BIDPA	Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis
BLDC	Botswana Livestock Development Corporation
BMC	Botswana Meat Commission
BRIMP	Botswana Range Inventory and Monitoring Project
BSRLP	Botswana Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Programme
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CBPP	Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia
CFDA	Communal First Development Area
CHAs	Community Hunting Areas
CHH	Child Headed Households
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DAHP	Department of Animal Health and Production
DAI	Division of Agricultural Information
DAPS	Division of Agricultural Planning and Statistics
DAR	Department of Agricultural Research
DCD	Department of Cooperative Development
DFID	Department for International Development
DWNP	Department of Wildlife & National Parks
EEC	European Economic Community
FAP	Financial Assistance Policy
FHH	Female Headed Households
FMD	Food and Mouth Disease
HIV	Human Immuno virus
LSUs	Livestock Units
LWDP	Livestock Water Development Programme
MHH	Male Headed Household
NAMPAD	National Masterplan for Agricultural Development
NCSA	National Conservation Strategy (Coordinating) Agency
NDP	National Development Plan
NPAD	National Policy for Agricultural Development
RADP	Remote Area Development Programme
RADs	Remote Area Dwellers
RTC	Rural Training Centres
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UK	United Kingdom
VDC	Village Development Committee
VEXTs	Village Extension Teams
WCNPA	Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act
WMAs	Wildlife Management Areas
WMP	Water Master Plan
WRP	Water Resources Policy

## *Preface*

This joint report was written by Botswana Range Inventory and Monitoring Project's (BRIMP) Rural Livelihoods and Long Term Monitoring teams, together with consultants Diana Mompoloki and Nancy Kgengwenyane. BRIMP is a joint Ministry of Agriculture and Department for International Development (DFID) initiative. Two communities, Tubu and Makwate, with contrasting agro-ecological and socio-economic characteristics, were selected to pre-test the methodology for livelihood assessment and range-related policy impact studies. The field team comprised of the above consultants, the following BRIMP staff: Mpopi Jonas, Jerry Ramontsho, Neelo Sebele, David Stimela, Copper Sakhu, Thuso Mmofe, Catherine Moseki, Inajame Direkileng, Ruth Malleson and the following Ministry of Agriculture regional staff Motawana Molefe (Range Ecology Field Assistant, Maun), Florence Diphatsa (Range Ecology Field Assistant, Maun), Veronica Mokgautsi (Agricultural Demonstrator, Gumare), Kefilwe Modimakwane, (Agricultural Demonstrator, Makwate). The field team would like to thank Daphne Keboneilwe, Raymond Kwerepe, Victor Tlhalerwa and Malcolm Marks for all their help and guidance. Finally, we would especially like to thank the communities of Tubu and Makwate.

# 1 Introduction

This report is made up of five sections. Section two outlines the methodology used for the field study. Section three summarises the findings of a preliminary study of rural livelihood in Tubu, Ngamiland District and Makwate, Central District. Section four discusses the impacts of range related policy on different socio-economic groups in Tubu, Ngamiland, and Makwate, Central District (see Map 1) and makes range-related policy recommendations. Section five summarises the discussions on the recommendations and the way forward following a range-related policy workshop held in Gaborone on the 10 April 2002. Study findings are based on a literature review and 10 day's fieldwork. They cannot and should not be generalised.

BRIMP's community-monitoring activities serve four functions: first, they provide useful information on the evolution of natural resources at a community-scale; second, they furnish information on the impact of rangeland changes on the livelihoods of the communities, particularly the most vulnerable members of society; third, they provide feedback on the influence of range policy on the resources and the livelihoods of the communities concerned; fourth, and most importantly, they provide rapid feedback to the communities so that their local natural resource management systems can be modified as necessary.

The community-based monitoring programme has selected a number of pilot villages and begun work with communities to identify key resources that should be monitored and so assist in their better management. Socio-economic studies have also been carried out in pilot communities to elicit local perceptions of the impact of range-related policies and to assess the impact of rangeland changes on rural livelihoods. Information generated from resource monitoring and socio-economic studies will, in turn, be fed back to communities as well as decision makers to enable them to make better informed range management decisions.

Given the plethora of rangeland, land tenure and natural resources related policies, programmes and legislation that operate in Botswana, the first step in the policy perceptions study was to select those range-related policies that most significantly impact on the livelihoods of the most vulnerable sectors of society. The second step was to design and implement the study to gain a comprehensive and socially differentiated view of local perceptions of the impact of selected range-related policy on people's livelihoods. The third step was to ensure that the information generated is disseminated to relevant decision makers and communities.

BRIMP employed consultants Diana Mompoloki and Nancy Kgengwenyane to work closely with relevant BRIMP staff to assist with the policy perceptions and livelihood assessment work. The consultancy took place from 6 February to 22 March. The fieldwork took place in Tubu from 18 to 24 February, and in Makwate from 26 to 28 February. A report by the consultants presenting a review of relevant literature with policy description and analysis has been produced<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See 'BRIMP Report on the impacts of range-related policy on different socio-economic groups, with pilot studies in Tubu, Ngamiland and Makwate, Central District', available for reference from the BRIMP Information Service.

A major component of BRIMP Phase 2 is to establish a pilot community-based range monitoring (CBRM) programme. The programme is a joint activity between the Long-Term Monitoring (LTM) and Rural Livelihood (RL) Teams. It aims to work with partners such as NGOs and other government departments in order to assist communities to set up systems to:

- 1) Identify the main changes that are taking place in the condition of the rangelands through the establishment of a community-based monitoring system to monitor and support the management of key rangeland resources.
- 2) Monitor the impact of changes in rangeland condition and the impact of rangeland policies on different socio-economic categories of households, particularly the most vulnerable sectors of society.
- 3) Collect socially differentiated views on the reasons why these changes are occurring.

In addition, the programme will:

- 4) Analyse the data collected through 1) and 2), provide information and feedback to communities and disseminate findings to Government and NGOs and so support the decision-making and policy formulation processes.
- 5) Increase community awareness of the causes and consequences of changes in rangeland condition and rangeland management decisions on community welfare.

## 2 Methodology

Five pilot communities (see Map I and Table I), found in five different ago-ecological zones, were selected in November 2001 to participate in the CBRM programme.

Table I CBRM Pilot Communities

Village	District	Land Type
Olifant's Drift	Kgatleng	Hardveld
Makwate	Central	Hardveld
Moiyabana	Central	Transition
Tubu	Ngamiland	Sandveld/Western fringe of Okavango Delta
Sojwe/Lephepe	Kweneng	Sandveld

Selection of these pilot communities used the following criteria:

- Contrasting land types.
- Range-related activities make a significant contribution to rural livelihoods.
- NGOs or Government departments already working with communities.
- Villages selected have a degree of commitment to taking part in community based natural resource monitoring, some have requested range related assistance in the past.

This was a pilot exercise guided especially by timeliness. The study comprised three components:

- 1) A participatory community workshop involving focus group discussions and using participatory rural appraisal methods drawn from the RLT toolkit, such as resource and village mapping, transect walks, trend lines, time lines, collection of background information about the settlement, discussion the impact of specific policies on people's lives and the rangeland environment, and the monitoring and management of key rangeland resources.
- 2) A participatory wealth ranking exercise that allowed criteria to be established for distinguishing households of different wealth categories.
- 3) A sample survey that consisted of a 12-page questionnaire adapted from BRIMP Phase 1 data sheets, with additional questions on policies and background socio-economic information about the household<sup>2</sup>. The sample survey must be programmed to be repeated at least once every five years to assess livelihood changes over time.

Two villages, Tubu and Makwate were selected to compare and contrast the effects of different rangeland conditions and range-related policies on rural livelihoods. Within each settlement it was hoped to interview a minimum of 30 households. However, due to time constraints, it was only possible to interview a total of 42 households (19 in Tubu and 23 in Makwate). Care was taken to include households at cattle posts in our sample of households. Preliminary studies are to be carried out in the three remaining pilot communities in the near future.

Information collected through the household survey on demography, education levels and other socio-economic characteristics of household members (i.e. 'human capital'); privately owned natural assets (e.g. livestock) and personal/household physical assets (e.g. house quality and facilities and personal consumption items such as radios etc.) and from the wealth ranking exercise allowed us to differentiate households on the basis of wealth and other socio-economic characteristics. This information was used as a proxy for economic status, to score households. The scores were used to

<sup>2</sup> See BRIMP's CBRM Field Manual for details



# LOCATION OF CBRM PILOT COMMUNITIES



- Pilot Communities
- District
- Road
- River
- International Boundary

Compiled by:  
 BRIMP GIS Base Data Capture Team  
 Remote Sensing and Cartography Section  
 Ministry of Agriculture

divide up households on the basis of wealth and other socio-economic characteristics into 'resource poor', 'resource medium' and 'resource rich'<sup>3</sup>.

Table II below, summarises the characteristics of relatively poor, medium and rich households interviewed in Tubu and Makwate. It is important to note that, as a whole, people in Tubu were relatively poorer than people in Makwate. People in Makwate tended generally to have more livestock and better housing. This may be due to the fact that Tubu is relatively remote compared to Makwate, so building materials are relatively more expensive in Tubu. In addition, many people in Tubu have been negatively affected by the Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia (CBPP) outbreak. A participatory mapping exercise to map each individual household in the settlement was carried out and this enabled us to select a sample for interview. For relatively small settlements, of 100 households or less, it is possible to draw a single map with the location of each household marked on it. For settlements with more than 100 households, such as Makwate, we decided that it was easier to visit the headmen of each ward and ask them to help us to map each ward separately.

In order that the sample households are spread evenly throughout the sample frame we selected a quasi-random sample of households to be interviewed. This method entails selecting every 'Nth' household at regular intervals throughout the sampling frame until the required sample size (i.e. <29) is reached.

Sample size will be increased in future surveys taking, a minimum of 30 households per settlement, a larger sample will give the findings more weight. It should be noted that, as Ferguson (1990) points out, it is important to bear in mind that if the household is taken as the unit of analysis it is easy to overlook differences that cut across households – such as employed versus dependent, man versus woman, young versus old. It is therefore important to pick out these differences through key informant interviews with a range of different individuals – young, old, male, female, employed, unemployed etc.

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<sup>3</sup> See BRIMP's CBRM Field Manual for details.

Table II Characteristics of Poor, Medium and Richer Households in Tubu and Makwate

Characteristic	Relatively Poor Households N* = 12	Medium Households N=22	Relatively Rich Households N=8
Building materials for housing	Thatch, reed, mud, blocks.	Thatch, reed, blocks, and iron roofing.	Blocks, bricks, iron roofing and tiles.
Number of rooms /huts to house the whole family.	1 or 2 separate huts or rooms.	Two and upwards.	One large house or a number of well constructed rondavels.
Household items present.	May have a radio, little else.	Radios, possibly beds, some chairs.	Radio, possible a fridge, a sofa, a bedroom set.
Lighting	If they have any, candles.	Candles, sometimes paraffin.	Paraffin or possibly a generator.
Cooking	Collect firewood, usually by hand and carry them selves.	Use firewood. use donkey carts to collect.	Use firewood, but may also have a gas stove.
Water	Use public standpipes.	Use public standpipes, may have a tap in the yard.	Tap in the yard, sometimes water in the house.
Employment	Drought relief work.	Drought relief work, labouring, cleaning, piece work.	May have a full time job, retired with pension from civil service
Number of livestock.	No cattle. a few goats and a few chickens.	Larger numbers of small stock, chickens, donkeys for ploughing and pulling carts, may have a few cattle.	Larger numbers of cattle, small stock and donkeys, may have commercial poultry.

\*N = No. of households sampled

### 3 Livelihood Findings

#### 3.1 Socio-Economic Context

Makwate is located in the hardveld zone. The village lies between Tuli Block Farms to the east, Machaneng to the northeast, Shakwe to the northwest, and Kudumatse to the southwest (see Map 1). Makwate had a population of 1,076 in 1991 and a projected population of 1,218 for 2001 (Central Statistics Office (CSO) 1997). Most Makwate residents practice mixed farming. Cattle and goats are important sources of income for relatively wealthy households. Sorghum and maize production are important sources of income for relatively poor households, in years when there is sufficient rainfall. Other sources of income include beer-brewing (by women), thatching grass, firewood collection, government welfare schemes (including drought relief and pensions for elderly people) and remittances<sup>4</sup>. It is important to note that from our rather cursory literature review, there appears to be very few socio-economic studies of Makwate and surrounding areas. There are, in contrast, relatively more relevant studies carried out in the Tubu area.

Tubu lies on the western fringe of the Okavango delta, approximately 12km east of Gumare, Ngamiland District, east of the Thaoge River and west of the veterinary cordon fence. The 'buffalo fence' as it is called, was constructed to stop the annual migration of buffalo out of the Delta in the wet season and the attendant spread of Foot and Mouth disease to cattle herds. Tubu lies within Ngamiland's Communal First Development Area (CFDA) programme. This programme seeks to build up the capacity of existing village institutions so that they can better manage community development (Childers et al 1982). In 1989, Tubu had an estimated population of around 600 (Snowy Mountain Engineering Corporation (SMEC) 1990). Tubu is listed as having a population of 508 in the 1991 population housing census (CSO 1997).

Most Tubu residents practice mixed farming. Cattle production has been negatively affected by the CBPP outbreak in 1995 (see Table III below) and subsequent slaughter of all cattle in the area. Almost all households are involved in arable farming (both dryland and molapo farming). Molapo cultivation (where the receding flood water and the capillary rise of shallow groundwater is used to provide the soil moisture storage for rainfed farming) is a significant source of cash income for some households and makes a significant contribution to food self-sufficiency. Dryland molapo cultivation involves the farming of depressions in the higher lying alluvial plains waterlogged seasonally by runoff from surrounding areas. Some households are also involved in fishing and handicrafts.

The timeline below, drawn up by Tubu community members at the CBRM workshop, gives an indication of some of the major historical events that have taken place in Tubu since the community settled at its present location<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the CBRM work that has taken place in Makwate see BRIMP CBRM Field Report No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> The Makwate community also drew a timeline at their community workshop, see BRIMP CBRM Field Report No. 2.

Table III: Tubu Timeline

Year	Event
Pre 1950s	Bayeyi travelled around from island to island. Travelled in the 1950s and 1960s from Jao, Ikoga and Sepopa and Caprivi. Tubu people moved to Mowana, Xanxwe and Gumare thereby gaining access to services (school and church).
1955 – 1963	Wetlands.
1963	Water level reduced, moved back to Tubu. Hypertension (heart disease??) spread.
1966	Tubu surrounded by water.
1969	Water dried up, but still some islands.
1974	Malaria outbreak.
1983-1984	Establishment of private self-help primary school. Locust outbreak (ploughing season).
1985	Primary school opened for all.
1986	First borehole drilled and equipped.
1987	Drought Construction of buffalo fence. Land disputes because of buffalo fence between the government and Tubu community.
1988	Drilling of second borehole.
1989	Equipping of above borehole.
1990	Mobile clinic started.
1991	Construction of gravel road.
1995	Fence construction of community garden plot project. Contagious bovine pleuro pneumonia (CBPP) outbreak. All cattle were eradicated in the Tubu area.
1996	Customary court and Kgotla established Tree planting and introduction of apiculture Good food crop harvest Drought relief programme
1997	Permanent clinic, nurses quarters and community hall established. Cattle restocking
1998	Village Development Committee established houses.
1999	Idea of joint community venture trust conceived.
2000	Tsetse fly outbreak. Mosquito affected livestock and caused blindness. Community trust operation started. Underground fire affected arable fields (burnt to ash) Problems with lions
2002	Drought threatens

The findings from this section are largely drawn from the household surveys. We need to stress again that these findings are drawn from a very small sample of a total of 42 households in Tubu and Makwate and are part of a pre-test survey. Interviewees were asked to rank the importance of different income sources over the last year (see Table IV). From the households interviewed in Tubu and Makwate, relatively poor households generally appear to have less livelihood options than richer households, this leaves them more vulnerable to change.

About a third of all households sampled in Tubu and Makwate had no livestock at all. Almost all of the poor households interviewed in Makwate and Tubu did not rank livestock as an important income source over the last year (2001-2002). It appears that livestock for the poor and medium are important for subsistence, contingency and for cultural purposes. This contrasts with the relatively rich households interviewed, who tended to rank livestock as a significant income source.

From our sample, arable farming appears to be an important source of food self-sufficiency over the last year. All of the households interviewed in both settlements, are involved in arable farming. Arable farming was ranked as one of the top income sources for poor and medium households in Makwate over the last year. In Tubu, arable and related activities were relatively less important for the poor households interviewed. This may be due to a shortage of molapo land in Tubu (see section 5.3. below). Arable activities were ranked high in importance for the medium and the rich households.

Drought relief combined with pensions, as well as gifts were ranked as the top two income sources over the last year by a high proportion of poor households interviewed in both communities. The dependency on drought relief programmes as a major source of income is cause for concern. Drought relief programmes can create labour constraints at critical times in the agricultural calendar, and may possibly discourage poor people engaging in arable agriculture. This effect may well explain why only two out of a total 12 poor households sampled ranked arable farming as a main source of income.

Informal activities, such as beer-brewing, collection of veld products and firewood and piece work are important sources of income for a high proportion of households sampled, nearly half of all households ranked these activities in their top three income sources over the last year.

Overall, veld product-related activities were ranked within the top three income sources by eight out of 42 households sampled, but their significance varied between different wealth groups. Veld products and related activities such as handicrafts were not ranked as an important source of income for the poor households interviewed in Tubu. However veld product-related activities (collection of reeds, handicrafts, cutting poles) were ranked as an important source of income by a high proportion of the 'medium' households interviewed. Many of the relatively poor people interviewed complained that distance was a major access constraint for veld products. Other constraints, such as distance, lack of time due to being engaged in drought relief work and competition from harvesting by outsiders may also prevent relatively poor people from harvesting veld products.

At the community workshop in Tubu, people voiced their concern over the fact that many 'outsiders' come from surrounding settlements (Tsau, Etsha, Danega and Habu) to harvest *lethaka* (*Phragmites* sp.) – reeds and thatching grass from communal lands for personal and commercial use. They said there was no control and suggested that the responsibility for managing these veld products, as well as firewood, should lie with the community.

Hunting appeared to have been an important livelihood activity 25 years ago. The introduction to the study entitled 'UBS Students Reports on Five Okavango Villages' carried out in 1975 states that these studies

'portray a population living around the Okavango delta which, while turning increasingly to crop and livestock production still derives an important portion of its income directly from the Delta itself. Hunting, in spite of increasing restrictions and expansion of protected areas, is still an important source of income' (Odell 1978)

These findings are not reflected in our small sample of households in Tubu. None of the households surveyed said that hunting was an important source of income over the last year. This may well be due to the difficulty in acquiring hunting licences.

In the past people appeared to have relatively free access to wildlife, now hunting is tightly controlled. Government issues game licenses and each year the Department for Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) sets a hunting quota after which a raffle occurs. Licences are given to the winners of the raffle.

Table IV: Top Three Income Sources for Sample Households by Socio-Economic Group for Tubu and Makwate, 2001-2002

Income Source	Poor Households			Medium Households			Rich Households		
	Makwate N=5	Tubu N=7	Total N=12	Makwate N=14	Tubu N=8	Total N=22	Makwate N=4	Tubu N=4	Total N=8
Livestock and related activities	1	1	2 (17%)	6	5	11 (50%)	3	3	6 (75%)
Remittances and gifts	0	2	2 (17%)	3	1	4 (18%)	2	2	4 (50%)
Beer making	1	0	1 (8%)	2	1	3 (14%)	0	1	1 (13%)
Petty trading	1	0	1 (8%)	0	1	1 (5%)	0	0	0
Arable and related activities	1	1	2 (17%)	5	6	6 (27%)	1	3	4 (50%)
Piece work	1	1	2 (17%)	2	0	2 (9%)	0	0	0
Drought relief	3	1	4 (33%)	1	0	1 (5%)	0	0	0
Pensions	3	1	4 (33%)	6	0	6 (27%)	1	1	2 (25%)
Sewing	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1 (13%)
No income		2	2 (17%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unspecified Veld products	0	1	1 (8%)	0	0	0	0	1	1 (13%)
Handicrafts	0	0	0	0	2	2 (9%)	0	0	0
Reed collection	0	0	0	0	3	3 (14%)	0	0	0
Sale of poles	0	0	0	0	1	1 (5%)	0	0	0
Sale of firewood	0	0	0	0	1	1 (5%)	0	0	0
Transport services	0	0	0	0	0	1 (5%)	0	0	0



## **3.2 Community and Rangeland Changes**

### **3.2.1 Rangeland Change**

Overgrazing and wind erosion were reported to be serious problems in Tubu area by SMEC (1990). According to the same report, over the last 40 years this area has "become the most eroded landscape in Botswana... From being an area of food self-sufficiency and abundant wildlife, the region has become dependent on imports of food (or of the funds to procure household food security)" (SMEC 1990). Livestock have become the dominant influence on the landscape.

This change is thought to have come about partly because of the drying up of the Thaoge River since the 1860s, which, in turn, has caused extensive vegetation blockages that plug the river channel. The Thaoge River Flow Restoration Project started in the mid-1980s. A 14km canal has been constructed to bypass the blocked river channel. However this project does not seem to have benefited Tubu. According to the Department of Water Affairs there has been tectonic movement along the Gumare fault line that has raised the land area, which in turn, has reduced the level of seasonal flooding in the Tubu area (see section 4.2.5 below). Tectonic movement combined with the drying up of the Thaoge River and the subsequent recession of the permanent and seasonal swamps to above Tubu has, in turn, led to a change from arable molapo farming and fishing to livestock grazing.

Arable farming has declined and livestock farming has increased. It may be that the decline in customary land use control and resource allocation, the increase in cattle numbers (before CBPP) and the removal of the natural control by the tsetse fly on settlement and livestock grazing have also contributed to changes in the condition of natural resources. It is unclear what effect the increase in livestock numbers has had on veld products. A resource sketch map, drawn by participants at the community workshop, showing the approximate location of rangeland resources around Tubu is shown below (Map II).

There appears to be a dearth of literature and data relating to resource trends in the Makwate area, but see CBRM field report no. 2. In addition, BRIMP's long term monitoring team is currently using satellite imagery of the pilot communities and surrounding areas, to assess long-term vegetation change.

### **3.2.2 Demographic Change**

A high proportion of households interviewed in Tubu and Makwate were female headed, this possibly indicates that part of the young, active male population have moved to the main population centres of the region and beyond in search of work. The combination of rural-urban migration and AIDS will most probably leave a labour vacuum, which will have a negative impact on rural livelihoods and natural resource conservation programmes.

## **3.3 Community Perceptions of Changing Access to and Availability of Range Resources**

At the Tubu community workshop, some young members of the community, complained of the shortage of molapo land, and implied that some people were holding on to land without cultivating it. Shortage of arable land seems to have been a problem in the area in the past too. The Ngamiland Villages Report (District Administration 1979) said of Gumare 'The molapo area are quite extensive and in some areas the land board stated that there are few land parcels left [in the river valleys] to be allocated'.



On the whole, most households interviewed in both Tubu and Makwate did not perceive a shortage of grazing land. In addition they did not perceive that their access to grazing lands had been reduced over the last ten years. Tubu people explained that this was because cattle numbers had still not risen to the same level as before the CBPP outbreak.

A high proportion of the relatively poor people interviewed complained that distance was a major access constraint for veld products. Relatively rich households sampled stated they had no problems with accessing veld products, maybe because they have transport means to access relatively remote areas. Other constraints, such as lack of time, due to being engaged in drought relief work may also prevent relatively poor people from harvesting veld products.

The trend lines below give an indication of the perceptions of changes in availability of specific veld products over time. It was drawn up by community members participating at the Tubu CBRM workshop<sup>6</sup>.

Access to fuelwood was reported as a perceived problem for all wealth groups interviewed in Makwate and Tubu. Most households reported that access to fuelwood had reduced over last 10 years. Most reported that they had to walk further to collect fuel wood and that this was because too many 'outsiders' were collecting.

<sup>6</sup> For key resource trend lines for Makwate see CBRM Field Report No.2.

# SKETCH MAP : FEBRUARY 2002

COMMUNITY MEMBERS (NOT TO SCALE)

N



Thachoro Area

Arable Fields

Grazing Areas



Clinic

Motsaodi  
(*Garcinia livingstonei*)

Mochaba

Mokula

Mokochoho

Yamoxereko Area

Motsentsela  
(*Berchemia discolor*)

Sexhowa

Motlhakola  
(*Euclea divinorum*)

Tsaro  
(*Phoenix reclinata*)

Makamakama and  
grazing Area  
(*Cymbopogon sp.*)



Bakery



Tsaro  
(*Phoenix reclinata*)  
(Wild date palm)

Area  
(siana)  
(m)

River

Xanxo

B  
u  
f  
f  
a  
l  
o  
F  
e  
r  
r  
e  
c  
e

# TUBU COMMUNITY RESOURCE

DRAWN FROM AN ORIGINAL BY TUBU

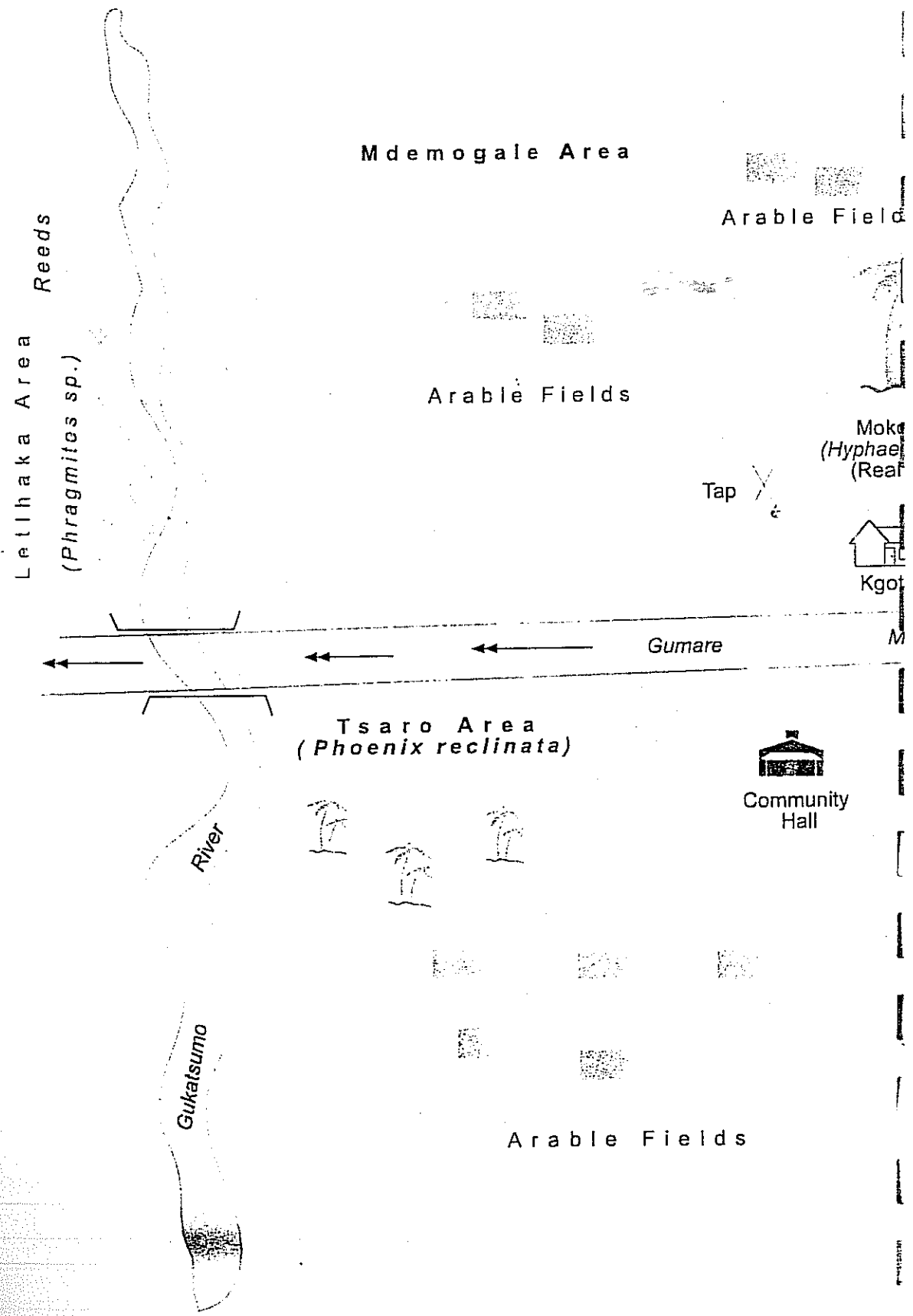
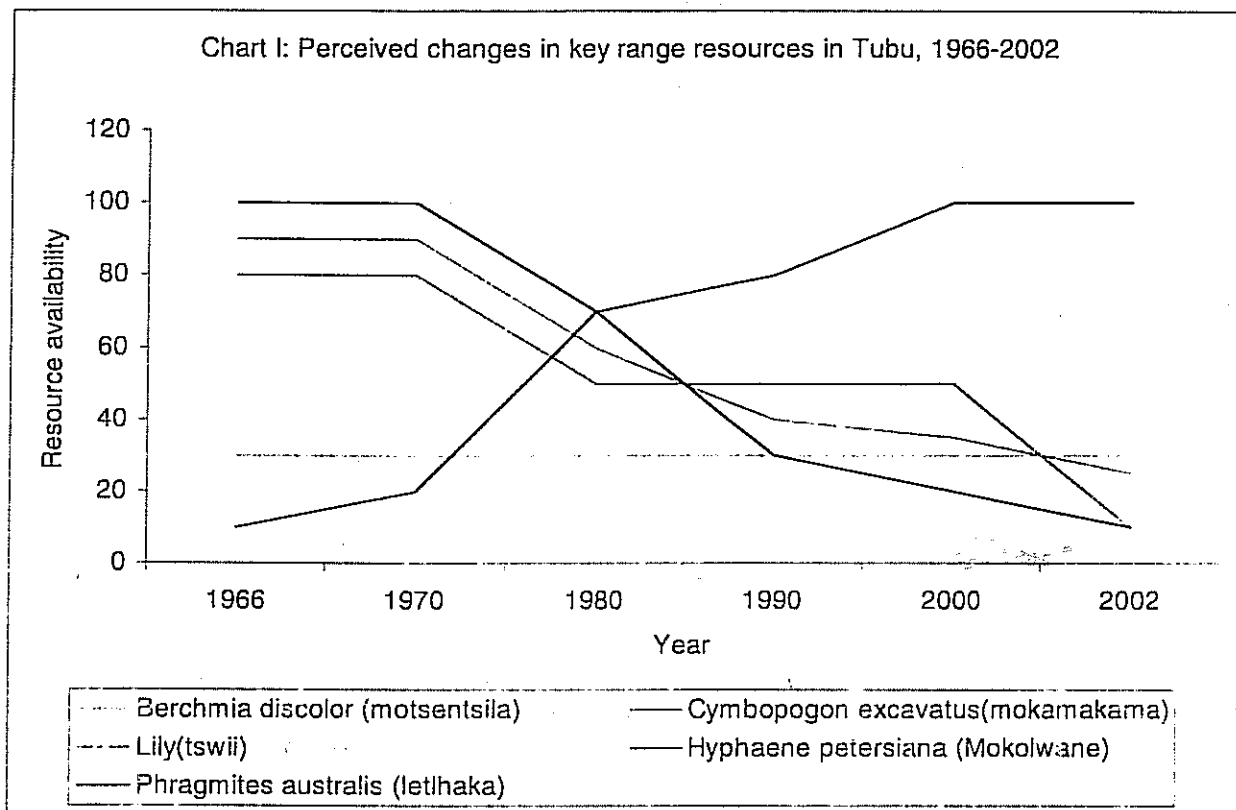


Chart I: Perceived changes in key range resources in Tubu, 1966-2002



\*\*Units for resources availability were derived by ranking availability along a scale of 0-100. 0-30= relatively little resources, 31-60= medium availability and 61-100 = relatively abundant resources

## **4 Policy Findings**

### **4.1 Range-Related Policy Issues**

Given the plethora of policies that affect rangelands and rural livelihoods, it was agreed that this study would only look at few selected policies (CBRM Report No.3 Selection of Policies for Range-related Policy Research). Policies were selected which have significant impacts on the availability of range resources and the rural livelihoods of rangeland inhabitants, particularly the most vulnerable sectors of society. Some of these policies have unintended impacts across all social strata, others have targeted one group of beneficiaries. Sometimes this has negatively impacted on other sectors of society in an unexpected manner.

It was agreed that policies, programmes and legislation affecting the following range-related issues would be overviewed:

- Land allocation, tenure and use.
- The use of veldt products, including wildlife.
- Arable farming.
- Livestock and grazing.
- Water supply.
- Livelihood assistance.
- Livelihood development.

### **4.2 Impacts of Selected Policies on Households in Tubu and Makwate**

Table V summarises the impacts of selected range-related policies on households interviewed in Tubu and Makwate for different socio-economic groups. The table also highlights the lessons learnt and policy recommendations drawn from the study. The following subsections briefly discuss pertinent issues raised during fieldwork.

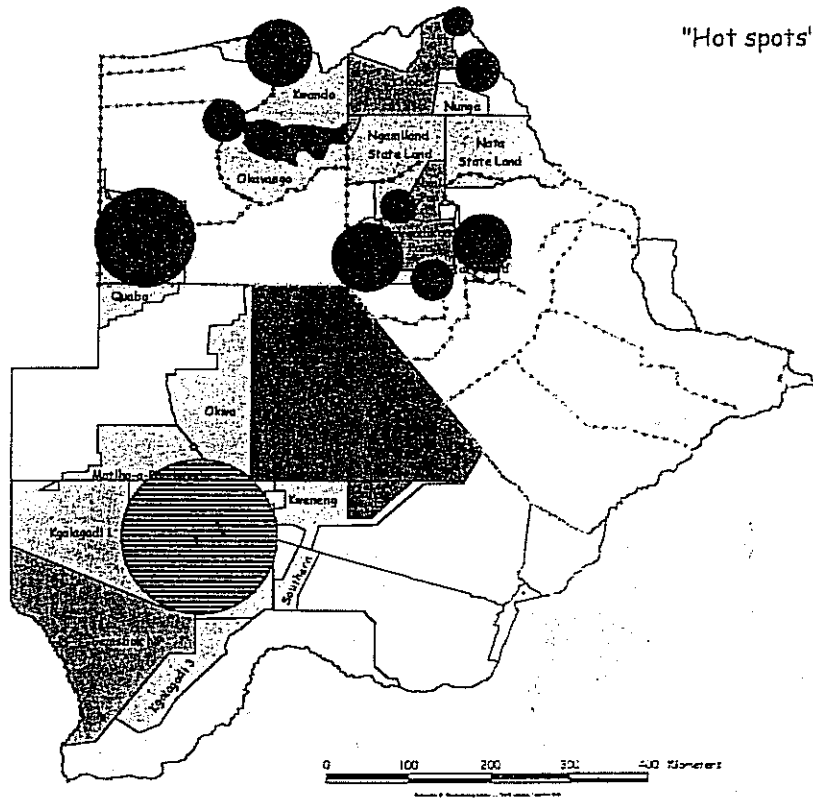
#### **4.2.1 Wildlife Compensation**

This is not an issue in Makwate, although people complained of jackal and porcupine eating melons, and other pests such as quelea birds and locusts. In Tubu, compensation is of great importance, as Tubu has been identified by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) as a conflict hotspot (see Map III and IV). DWNP sees the conflict as a matter of intrusion by the community into wildlife areas, whereas the community sees the conflict as predator versus livestock and elephant versus crops. Over 20% of Tubu respondents have been compensated for predation on livestock. All complained that the compensation rates were very low. The compensation rates for all the cases were below current rates (see policies section in full report). One respondent said that the Government cared more for wildlife than for people, that wildlife were put first. It is impossible to tell from the data sheets when the predation occurred so it could have been before the present increases in compensation, or possibly DWNP had problems verifying the claims of the people to be compensated.

All the respondents complained that the rates were too low, that they were very slow being processed and that they had to travel the long distance to Maun to apply for their claim. The people of Tubu were appreciatively poorer than those in Makwate and any loss of livestock even to the richer members of the community is a great loss. This conflict also causes people to perceive wildlife as a threat to their livelihoods, rather than as a possible economic opportunity.

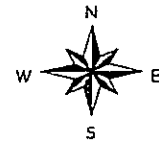
It seems that neither DWNP, nor the Ministry of Agriculture can address this problem alone. Both Ministries need to work together to come up with a workable solution. One suggestion is that

MAPS III & IV Source: Jan Broekhuis, Lead Workshop Report November 2001



"Hot spots" in the protected area system

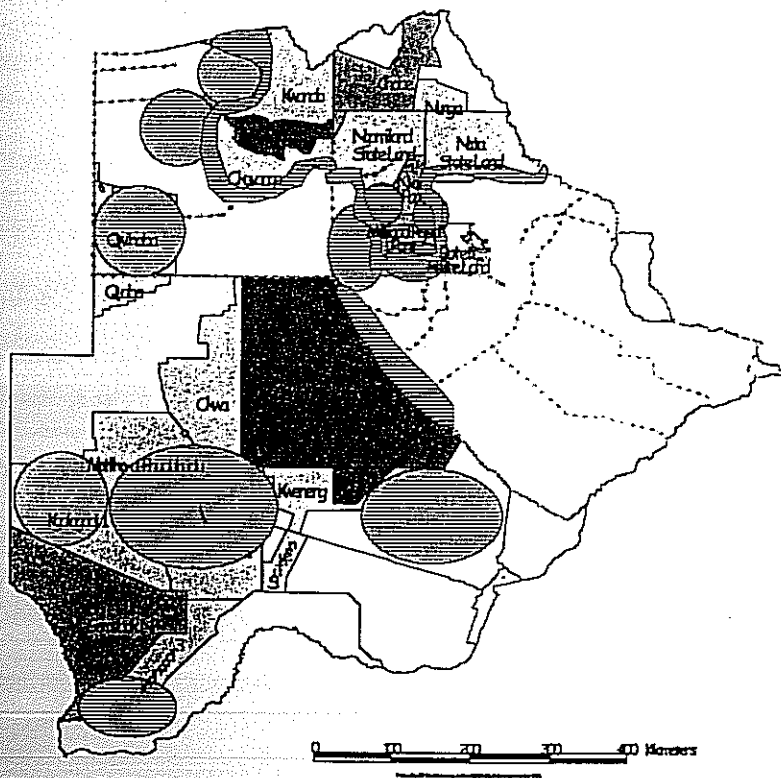
(Version October 1997)



Legend:

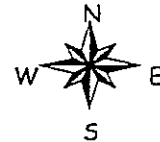
- National Parks
- Game Reserves
- WMA
- Hotspots
- Veterinary fences
- 1 - Kang/Hukuntsi
- 2 - Gope
- 3 - Boteti
- 4 - CT/10
- 5 - CT/11
- 6 - Phuduhudu
- 7 - Northern plains
- 8 - Kasana/Kazungula
- 9 - Kwando
- 10 - Tubu
- 11 - Owihaba

0 100 200 300 400 Kilometers



Main conflict areas

(Version November 2000)



Legend

- National Parks
- Game Reserves
- WMA
- Fences
- Type of conflict
  - Competition
  - Intrusion
  - Predation
  - Transmission

0 100 200 300 400 Kilometers

compensation could be paid from a Trust Fund, jointly administered by the two Ministries, with money coming from tax on livestock and from tourists.

#### **4.2.2 Access to Wildlife**

People generally felt that they had little access to wildlife, the raffle system had caused problems in Tubu with one woman in the 'poor' strata group winning the raffle but, being unable to hunt, was not allowed to pass the quota onto a family member or friend. People in Tubu seemed to be unaware of their status as a Community Trust. This lack of awareness raises the question of how participatory the Trust is and how it was set up and why, and also the question of who benefits and how they benefit.

#### **4.2.3 Access to Land for Cultivation and Grazing**

There seems to be little land conflict in Makwate, although people said they needed more land for ploughing because of drought and loss of soil fertility. The Kgosi is in conflict with the Land Board for planting crops at his cattle post (maize and orange trees), this contravenes the zoning regulation, but it is a very productive use of the land and is employing community members and would be hard to accomplish in the arable area due to lack of access to water.

In Tubu the story was very different, during the key informant interviews and the community workshop it became very apparent that there was conflict between certain sections of the community for the scarce molapo lands. These lands have been under pressure from a growing population, and drying up, this has been blamed on the moving of a watercourse in the late 1970s and more recently on the new road. People with access to molapo lands are refusing to allow others to use them even if the family is not using them at present, people are holding onto them as an inheritance for their children even though their children cannot cultivate yet. This means precious molapo land is left fallow whilst other, usually younger, poorer community members, have no access to molapo land for cultivation. The shortage of molapo land needs to be addressed as it leads not only to divisions within the community but also limits livelihood options for the poor and the youth.

The people in Tubu also felt that the Buffalo Fence has restricted availability of graze especially in drought years; this has been exacerbated by the change in the watercourse. Although shortage of grazing has been mitigated by the eradication of cattle lung disease (CBPP), which led to the compulsory slaughter of approximately 320,000 cattle in Ngamiland. Compensation was paid partly in cash, at the time of the eradication programme, and partly in kind, by replacement cattle. From discussions with members of Tubu community it became clear that many people did not understand the compensation scheme. Rather than investing their cash wisely, they often squandered the money and are now far worse off financially and from a livelihoods perspective. It appears that little help or advice was given on how to best utilise the compensation. It is important that lessons are learnt and are not repeated for the current Masiloje Foot and Mouth outbreak.

#### **4.2.4 Matimela Cattle**

In Tubu, Matimela cattle are not perceived as a big problem, whereas in Makwate stray cattle are causing problems. This is made worse as the drift fence is un-maintained. The community feels that the drift fence should be maintained by the Government, they also feel it is pointless as the roads department has condemned the cattle grid which divides the arable zone from the cattle post areas, so with no grid the cattle walk up the road to the arable areas.

**Table V Impacts of Selected Range-Related Policies on Different Wealth Groups of Households in Tubu and Makwate**

Policy	Impact on Relatively Poor	Impact on Middle Income	Impact on Relatively Rich	Lessons Learnt	Policy Recommendations
Wildlife Compensation	<p>Hard to access due to the response time and need to visit sometimes distant offices.</p> <p>Small stock and arable crops seem to be given a lower priority than cattle.</p> <p>Compensation rates are low.</p>	<p>Compensation rates are low.</p>	<p>As they have more cattle and stock they are often most in conflict with this policy. Complain that the compensation is too low, and does not take into account the breeding or pedigree of the affected animal.</p>	<p>Compensation rates are lower than the value of the property, there are reasons for this but they should be explained to people.</p> <p>Inefficient delivery of compensation especially in remote areas</p> <p>This issue negatively affects the attitude of communities against wildlife</p> <p>People feel the government cares more for wildlife than people</p> <p>CBNRM projects do not always improve people's attitude to wildlife</p>	<p>DWNP must explain the nature of compensation and why it is lower than the value of the lost crop or animal</p> <p>Wildlife needs more community liaison officers</p> <p>Compensation rates raised for those farmers taking precautions</p> <p>Look at the feasibility of setting up a compensation fund jointly between Agriculture and Wildlife</p> <p>Make sure CBNRM initiatives do not just benefit a few influential individuals in the community</p>
ALDEP	<p>Hard to access by the very poor because of the minimum contribution</p>	<p>Relatively easy to access</p> <p>Excellent uptake rate</p> <p>Used by some to access cattle even though they use other means to plough</p>	<p>Easy to access</p> <p>Excellent uptake rate</p> <p>Used by some to access cattle even though use other means to plough</p> <p>There have been allegations that rich people use poor people to front ALDEP applications</p>	<p>The emphasis should be on household food security not production</p> <p>Government does not adequately use the expertise of the ADs when reviewing or designing policy</p> <p>The Poor have not been identified and targeted</p>	<p>The contribution by the individual should be means tested so the poor can benefit and the richer pay a larger contribution</p> <p>Use the ADs to review the implementation as they are the 'experts'</p> <p>Ask ADs to check for 'fronting'</p> <p>Target the next phase on the very resource poor farmers</p>



Policy	Impact on Relatively Poor Households	Impact on Middle Income Households	Impact on Relatively Rich Households	Lessons Learnt	Policy recommendations
Drought Programme	Relief For many it is the main source of cash income especially when arable agriculture fails Paid at very low rate so people feel they don't have to work so hard The poor do not choose the drought relief scheme work projects so it is often of no direct benefit to them	Means that there is a social safety net in very bad years Sometimes benefit from projects such as firebreaks	Sometimes benefit from projects such as dirt road production and bush clearance Means that the rich have an excuse not to look after poorer relatives, 'the Government will look after them'	This is a social welfare policy that should only be used in extremities but in the past has been over used and may have caused a dependency culture to develop at the first sign of poor rains.	Drought relief is an extreme measure - it should be used sparingly. Each village should decide on DRP projects that benefit everyone Individuals should have more responsibility for the money used for drought relief, maybe a head tax on cattle, or a system like <i>masofia</i>
Compensation for loss of livestock due to disease (CBPP and FMD)	Usually have no cattle so does not affect them, although what little they had was compensated for.	Compensated with cash and later cattle. Prevented important cultural events such as marriage Feel they are now worse off	Larger numbers of livestock gave them significant amounts of cash compensation Little advice give on what to do with compensation	Single large cash payments may be used as a 'windfall' rather than an investment People often did not understand the conditions of the compensation payments People are left still with less livestock than prior to CBPP The fine is very low	Staggering the payments over a longer period of time Giving livestock owners expert advice on what to do with the money and how to invest it Have compensation set aside for those employed by the livestock owners such as herd boys
Malimela Cattle	Cattle get in their fields and eat crops	Cattle get in their fields and eat crops Sometimes their cattle stray	Sometimes their cattle stray Sometimes cattle get in their crops	The cattle are collected infrequently by the Council and burden the range resource locally Does not deal with dual grazing	Dual grazing needs to be positively dealt with Malimela should return as a function of the tribal administration Revenues used by the village who suffered the transgression Punishments should be harsher

Policy	Impact on Relatively Poor Households	Impact on Middle Income Households	Impact on Relatively Rich Households	Lessons Learnt	Policy Recommendations
Land Allocation	Used for allocation of housing and arable plots Land board procedure is slow and complicated	Use to access land for housing and arable posts Some access land for cattle posts Slow and complicated	Most often in conflict with land board Use for housing, arable and cattle posts Often keep land	Land Board needs streamlining Needs to know all its responsibilities, such as for grazing management and natural resources	Need to fully embrace all powers and use them Delegate some authority back to the tribal administration, such as for veld products Needs to be more responsive
Utilisation of natural resources (AR(C) Act) (Includes fuel wood, veld products, thatch grass etc)	Collect veld products for food and medicine Small scale collection for sale Loss of veld products affects the poor more as they depend on natural resources for more livelihood components. Often unaware of the permit system Access to natural resources is threatened by the fencing component of NPAD 1991	Collect some veld products but are less reliant than the poor May be involved in the commercialisation of veld products Aware of permit system and uses it	Less reliant on veld products Sometimes purchase from poorer collectors, e.g. thatching grass Sometimes involved in commercialisation	Loss of natural resources impacts more significantly on the poor who depend on them for a larger percentage of their livelihoods Overgrazing and land degradation is often first recognised by the scarcity of certain veld species such as thatch grass Nobody takes real responsibility for veld resources a vacuum was left after the alienation of powers from tribal authorities Land Board has some responsibility inherited from the Kgosi but nowhere do they exercise this. ARB is overstretched and under resourced and are interested in a limited number of mainly commercial species. Veld resources are not viewed by Government as an important livelihood option even though they are significantly important	Control over veld resources should be vested back into the tribal/village structures Village/tribal authorities should be responsible for monitoring and managing the collection, harvesting and commercialisation of veld resources. ARB should have an overseeing role with all other functions devolved to village level. The Land Boards need to be made aware of their role in managing veld resources and made to do their work in this area. The leases on the new ranches should not remove user rights over the collection of veld resources. Numbers of livestock need to be controlled if there is significant species loss, this is particularly important as cattle owners tend to be the wealthier strata of society and those who rely on veld resources are the poorest.

#### 4.2.5 Access to Water

In Tubu, with the change in the watercourse, there is a perceived decline in access to water both for crops and for livestock. After discussions with Water Affairs and Geological Surveys the truth seems to be slightly different. In 1985 the Government started the Thaoge Project, which aimed to dredge the river between Etsha and Tubu to allow the water to flow more freely. This was done but has not been very successful, as there has been tectonic movement along the Gumare fault line which has raised the land area, reducing flooding (Water Affairs, 2002, personal Communication). The project will be assessed later this year. Water Affairs have spoken to the community with the Minister but the community feel that the blame lies with Water Affairs. Some of the people interviewed in Tubu also believe that the new road has also caused the molapo areas to dry up. The road is raised and cuts across the molapo areas, changing water flows. The secondary gravel road to Tubu from Gumare was re-graded last year in 2001. In discussions with the Roads Department in Maun, they agreed to drive the road and assess the claims of the community. Mr Moagi of the Roads Department, feels that the communities claims are untrue, the road follows the natural terrain and has a drainage system. At Water Affairs, Mr Moagi blames the drying up of the molapo on the slight shift in the tectonic plates along the Gumare fault line. It seems clear that the community needs to be given clear information about the current situation as well as an assessment of the long term impacts, so that they can make sensible informed decisions about their livelihood options. This is not just about access to molapo areas but also to other important natural resources such as reeds and fish that are important for livelihoods and are water dependent. The silting up of hand dug wells was also recognised as a problem in Tubu and parents complained that school reduced the available child labour for drawing water.

A number of people in both Tubu and Makwate, as well as elsewhere in the country, use village standpipes for watering livestock. This is illegal under the Water Act, and village standpipes are to be phased out under the Water Master plan. This will have significant impact on households who depend on standpipe water for watering livestock and also for home consumption.

#### 4.2.6 Access to services

The wealthier members of both communities accessed most of the assistance packages, with the poorer sectors being unable to access them because of the contribution (minimum 10%). ALDEP was well used, FAP less often accessed. In both villages FAP has been used for the purchasing of small stock that are raised in the communal areas, although they should have been moved to the cattle posts. ALDEP in the second phase was used as a method of acquiring cattle. In Makwate, the Agricultural Demonstrator (AD) has processed 60 ALDEP packages, 40 in phase 2 which allowed the purchase of oxen for draught purposes. Of the 40 oxen packages she does not know of one farmer who uses the oxen for ploughing, they still use donkeys or tractors. When questioned the AD is aware that processing for ALDEP applications have ceased but she was unaware of the ongoing review and its implications.

Generally people were pleased with the extension services, although many people felt they were too far away in Gumare for Tubu people.

The Botswana Meat Commission (BMC) was only used by the richer section of society who had access to larger numbers of animals. On the whole, they complained about the price paid by BMC and inconsistencies in pricing. Livestock in Tubu appear to be generally kept for emergencies, cultural occasions (funerals, weddings, damages) and as savings. This is why people in Tubu have been left poorer by the outbreak of CBPP as it wiped out their savings in cattle and it is generally harder for people to save cash compared to cattle.

The tables below compare livestock ownership in Tubu and Makwate with the national average.

Table VI: Access to Livestock (Tubu)

Livestock	0	1-10	11-20	21-30	<31
Cattle	50%	30%	-	10%	10%
Small stock	45%	30%	10%	5%	10%
Donkeys	30%	70%	-	-	-

Table VII: Access to Livestock (Makwate)

Livestock	0	1-10	11-20	21-30	<31
Cattle	56%	26%	-	-	18%
Small stock	66%	18%	9%	9%	-
Donkeys	66%	26%	-	-	9%

Source: National Statistics

Table VIII: National Household Ownership of Cattle (1993/4)

SIZE OF HERD	NO CATTLE	1 - 9 CATTLE	10 - 19 CATTLE	20 - 39 CATTLE	MORE THAN 40 CATTLE
RURAL	42%	27%	12%	9%	9%
ALL	56%	21%	9%	6%	6%

Source: National Statistics

As can be seen from the tables, VI to VIII, the statistics for the sample villages are quite typical. Many households have no access to cattle. Although the numbers of respondents is very small, there seems to be a division between those households who keep a small number of cattle (>10) and those who keep larger numbers (<30) with a much smaller number between. This seems to be across the board, this could be due to people keeping small numbers for ceremonial and emergency purposes communally around the village and then a few richer farmers keeping larger numbers at the cattle post (<30)

Although there has been a marked increase nationally in the small stock herd (4,000,000) there are a large number of rural households who have no stock at all and these are the very poor. This significantly limits their livelihood options, and makes them far more vulnerable during emergencies, such as illness. As they have limited options, they are more reliant on government programmes like drought relief. This makes the poverty trap harder to escape from. They are also severely limited by which government assistance packages like FAP and ALDEP they can access.

EAMB was largely unknown, and unused.

Most people felt in both villages that there was a distinct lack of employment opportunities and many of them relied on drought relief for income, whether there was a drought or not.

### 4.3 Access to Policy Information

Most people have a very sketchy impression of policies, some of which have an important impact on their livelihoods. They tend to be aware of only very basic services and policies, and the information is generally acquired at the Kgotta or from the radio (see tables IX and X). Policy information is in the

form of a briefing and people felt they have little influence over the way policy and legislation is designed and implemented. People see themselves as recipients of policy rather than instigators of policy. They feel government has a very 'top down' approach. This feeling is also shared by the Government extension staff in the villages; they feel that they are given policies to implement without ever being asked whether it will work. A very good example is the ongoing review of ALDEP, the AD's in each village are experts but they are unaware of the review and have little or no input into the outcome. The AD's do not meet regularly as a group, and feel that they are ignored. They are a very important source of information and knowledge and more use should be made of them in policy formulation. Why hire expensive consultants when the experts already work for the Ministry of Agriculture?

The following tables (IX - XI) provide a break down of usage and knowledge of specific policies in the two villages. From tables IX and X, it seems clear that most, if not all policies, aside from the social welfare policies, such as the Destitute Policy, are far more likely to benefit the rich, and middle income groups. In some cases policies have possibly detrimental effects on the poorest households, which in Botswana are often female headed households (FHH) and with the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, increasingly child headed households(CHH).

Table IX: Comparison of Access to Policy Across Strata Groups for Sample households in Tubu and Makwate

Policy	Poor	Medium	Rich
FAP	No Access	Little Access	Access
ALDEP	No Access	Good Access	Good Access
SLOCA	No Access	Limited Access	Limited Access
BMC	Did not use	Rarely Used	Often Used
BAMB	Did not Use	Occasional Use	Occasional Use
Land Board	Used to access arable land and plots	Used to access plots, arable land	Used to access plots arable Land and other uses
Matimela Cattle	Slow collection made strays in arable areas worse	Slow collection made strays in arable areas worse	These owned the cattle, they thought the system was fine
C&NRM	Unaware of opportunities	Aware but unable to access	Aware
Fencing policy	Unable to access, unaware of threat to alternative livelihoods	Unable to access except as part of a group	Can access the scheme, interested in participating.
Agricultural Resources Conservation Act	Unaware of Act unless use it to collect 'permitted' plants	Aware but feels it does not impinge	Aware but does not feel it impinges
Tourism Policy	Unaware and unable to benefit	Aware but unable to benefit significantly	Aware and sees opportunities
Wildlife Compensation	Vulnerable livelihoods make any loss economically devastating and often politically powerless and often functionally illiterate people find it hard to access compensation	More aware but still find loss an economic problem, but access to compensation easier	Aware of rights, collects compensation faster but still economically any loss is bad, the group most likely to 'take the law into their own hands'

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CBNRM	Unaware of opportunities	Aware but unable to access	Aware
Fencing policy	Unable to access, unaware of threat to alternative livelihoods	Unable to access except as part of a group	Can access the scheme, interested in participating.
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Table X: Makwate – Policy Awareness

Strata Group	FAP	ALDEP	SLOCA	BMC	BAMB	Land Board	Malimela Cattle	CBNRM	Fencing Policy	Agricultural Resources Conservation Act	Tourism Policy	Wildlife Compensation Policy
Rich	50% had heard of the policy, mostly information was from the radio or Kgolla, none had used it	75% had heard of it, most heard it from the AD, 25% had used ALDEP	75% had heard of it, 50% AD, 25% Kgolla, 25% radio, 25% had accessed SLOCA	100% heard of BMC, 50% from the radio, 25% AD, 25% Kgolla, 25% used BMC	50% had heard of BAMB, evenly spread between the Kgolla, AD and radio, 0% use	100% heard of LB, Mostly from the radio and the Kgolla, 50% had used the LB	50% heard of them, 33% radio, 33% AD, 33% Kgolla, 0% used them.	25% had heard of CBNRM, they heard about it on the radio, nobody had used it.	25% had heard of it, they heard it from the radio, nobody had used it.	25% had heard of ARB, heard from the radio	25% had heard of the Tourism Policy, heard from the radio, had not used it.	25% had heard of it, heard it from the radio, 0% used compensation.
Medium	39% had heard of FAP, Mostly from the radio, none had used it	61% had heard of it, 61% AD, 39% radio, 45% had used ALDEP	15% had heard of SLOCA, 15% heard from the radio, 0% used SLOCA	85% heard of BMC, 53% from AD, 38% radio, 8% Kgolla, 15% had used BMC.	75% had heard of BAMB, 70% AD, 30% radio, 0% use of BAMB	100% had heard of LB, 64% radio, 36% Kgolla, 84% used the LB	68% had heard of them, 65% from the radio, 35% from the Kgolla, only 7% had used the policy (to remove stray cattle from arable fields)	7% had heard of CBNRM, heard it from the radio, nobody used it.	38% had heard of it, 40% radio, 60% Kgolla, 0% used it	23% had heard of the policy, 75% from the radio, 25% from the Kgolla, 7% had used ARB	15% heard of the tourism policy, 100% heard from the radio, 0% had used it	30% had heard of compensation, 50% from radio, 50% from the Kgolla, 7% had used it in the past.
Poor	33% had heard of FAP, mostly from the radio, none had used it	83% had heard of ALDEP, 32% Kgolla, 32% radio, 16% AD, 25% had used ALDEP	17% heard of SLOCA, 17% heard about it on the radio, 0% used SLOCA	85% had heard of BMC, 50% from the radio, 50% from the Kgolla, 0% had used BMC	50% heard of BAMB, all heard about it over the radio, 0% used BAMB	100% had heard of the LB, 50% radio, 50% Kgolla, 50% used the LB	50% had heard of them, 50% through radio, 50% through the Kgolla, 0% used the policy	0% heard of it	0% had heard of the fencing policy	0% had heard of the ARB	0% had heard of the Tourism Policy	0% had heard of the Wildlife Compensation Act



Table XI: TUBU – Policy Awareness

Strata Group	FAP	ALDEP	SLOCA	BMC	BAMB	Land Board	Malimela Cattle	CBNRM	Fencing Policy	Agricultural Resources Conservation Act	Tourism Policy	Wildlife Compensat-ion
Rich	100% had heard of FAP 50% heard from the AD, 50% from the radio, 25% had used FAP	100% had heard of ALDEP, 75% AD, 25% radio, 75% had used ALDEP	50% had heard of SLOCA, 100% AD, 0% use	100% had heard of BMC 50% AD, 25% radio, 25% relations, 50% used BMC	50% had heard of BAMB, 50% AD, 50% radio, 0% used	100% had heard of the Land Board 50% radio, 25% AD, 25% Kgotla, 75% used the land board	100% had heard of Malimela Cattle, 65% AD, 33% radio, nobody had used it	25% had heard of CBNRM, 100% AD, 0% used it *	100% had heard of the 'fencing' policy, 50% AD, 25% Kgotla, 25% Radio, 0% used it	50% had heard of the Act, 33% radio, 33% Kgotla, 33% Committee, 0% used it	75% had heard of the Tourism Policy 50% radio, 50% wildlife Officers, 0% used it.	100% had heard of compensat-ion 33% AD, 33% radio, 33% MP at Kgotla 75% had used it.
Middle	75% had heard of FAP 75% heard from the radio, 25% from the Kgotla 12.5% had used FAP	87% had heard of ALDEP, 55% from the radio, 11% from the AD, 33% from the Kgotla, 50% had used ALDEP	37% had heard of SLOCA, 33% from the radio, 66% from the Kgotla, 12.5% used SLOCA	100% had heard of BMC 14% from the AD, 42% from the radio, 28% from the Kgotla, 50% used BMC	63% had heard of BAMB, 40% from the AD, 60% from the Kgotla, 12.5% used BAMB	100% had heard of the Land Board, 100% heard from the Kgotla, 75% used the land board	87% had heard of Malimela Cattle 70% heard from the radio, 30% from the Kgotla, 50% had collected stray cattle	37% had heard of CBNRM, heard 100% from the Kgotla 12.5% are involved in CBNRM *	63% had heard of the 'fencing' policy, 100% from the Kgotla, 0% had used the policy	50% had heard of ARB, 100% from the Kgotla, 25% had used ARB	63% had heard of the tourism policy, 40% radio, 60% from the Kgotla, 25% had used the tourism policy	63% had heard of compensat-ion 100% from the Kgotla 25% had accessed compensat-ion
Poor	87% had heard of FAP, 75% from the Kgotla, 25% from the radio, 0% used FAP	100% had heard of ALDEP, 60% from the AD, 40% from the Kgotla, 29% had used ALDEP	29% had heard of SLOCA, 100% from the radio, 0% used SLOCA	87% had heard of BMC, 60% from the radio, 20% from AD, 20% from the Kgotla, 1-1% used BMC	72% had heard of BAMB, 60% from the AD, 40% from the Kgotla, 43% had used BAMB	87% had heard of the Land Board, 33% AD, 66% from the Kgotla, 66% had used the Land Board	72% had heard of Malimela Cattle, 80% Kgotla, 20% AD, 0% used Malimela	14% had heard of CBNRM, Heard from the Kgotla, 0% used CBNRM *	0% had heard of the 'fencing' policy,	29% had heard of ARB, 50% AD, 50% from the Kgotla, 29% used the ARB	87% had heard of the tourism Policy, 25% Kgotla, 0% used the Tourism Policy	87% had heard of wildlife compensat-ion 100% heard from the Kgotla 0% had used compensat-ion

\* The people in Tubu seem to be unaware that they have a community Trust that has sold access rights to a tourism operator, according to the Kgotla the Trust has over P300,000 in the Bank, which is intended to be used for a community shop.

## **4.4 Suggestions for the Future – Way Forward for Policy**

Section 4.4.1 below discusses the way forward for BRIMP and the rest of sections 4.4 makes broader suggestions for the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not a recipe explaining how to make policy better but some suggestions, which might make policy more responsive, accessible and consultative.

### **4.4.1 Suggestions for BRIMP to move the policy process forward**

BRIMP is limited to what it can achieve alone, but through the Department of Agricultural Planning and Statistics, it can influence policy coordination, development, review and monitoring. The following section discusses areas in which BRIMP can assist.

BRIMP should continue the work started in Tubu and Makwate and take the study to the other three identified pilot villages. This will allow the BRIMP Team to identify common themes across the agro regions and to identify important differences. This can enhance the work already undertaken and develop the work so as to give a broader, more inclusive picture.

The BRIMP team should work closely with DAPS to design a framework for using current MoA staff, especially extension workers and field assistants, to feed into the review and monitoring process, and where possible or appropriate, the policy consultation process.

BRIMP, where evidence is strong from all five communities, should use available channels within the MoA's own policy consultation framework to brief decision makers. They could brief the High Level Consultative Council for Agriculture chaired by the Minister and the Policy Committee, also chaired by the Minister. This would allow a wider dissemination of information and results.

BRIMP should work closely with the Agricultural Resources Board who is going to develop new and amend existing legislation effecting veld products. As ARB are particularly interested in long term monitoring, collaboration with the BRIMP long term monitoring team, could be particularly beneficial.

BRIMP is well placed to input into the development of the new Land Policy that is being undertaken by the Department of Lands at present.

BRIMP should bring to the attention of the Ministry of Agriculture the problems that are likely to face Tubu in the near future with the drying up of the molapo lands in the area. If alternative livelihood options are instigated now, the effect of the long term drying up could be countered with other developments. If this problem effects Tubu, it is also likely to effect other villages in the Panhandle area of the Delta, possibly an interested NGO working in the area could identify a project for funding, or it could be included in NDP 9.

BRIMP could work with Information and Broadcasting to develop ideas for more innovative use of radio to disseminate policy information, this could be done cheaply by approaching NGOs involved in this area such as Worldview Botswana or Thapong Artists.

Working through DAPs, BRIMP could identify areas for cross-ministerial dialogue, such as the compensation for loss due to wildlife, and provide information to those ministries to support decision making. This is particularly important, as many developments, such as the production of a predator management strategy are ongoing with minimum input by the Ministry of Agriculture.

### **4.4.2 Policy and Legislative Formation**

For rural livelihoods to be sustainable it has been argued that communities should be empowered in the policy making process. At the same time communities should be able to inform Government of their needs regarding their livelihoods and the resources that support those livelihoods. In addition to the need by Government to make it a legal obligation to provide all information in timely fashion to

citizens regarding a specific intended policy (see Guidelines to engaging citizens in policy making in the full report) the following questions arise in relation to community empowerment:

- What forms can empowerment take?
- Do these work in practice? What are the opportunities and constraints for effective empowerment?
- How can empowerment be enhanced effectively?
- Does the development process both empower and dis-empower? If so how can the development process be made more inclusive?

Effective empowerment involves, among other things, having the confidence and ability to make informed choices, use ones' own resources, and to attract support. Empowerment includes the opportunity for people to be active and involved in managing their own development and being able to meet their own objectives. Empowerment should require, as a duty of Government, and other players, transparent, correct, reliable and relevant information to citizens on the specific policy issue as well as the opportunities and options available.

As can be seen from the section on legislative and policy formulation and design (see full report volume II), policy and legislation is seen as a function of the 'experts' in the Ministries and ratified by Parliament. Often lip service is paid to a consultative process but this is often more akin to a briefing than true consultation. Most people are made aware of policy through the Kgotla and the radio, but this is after the fact briefing rather than true debate, which can change the design of the policy or legislation. This means that policy is seen as something that is imposed on the population by Government, and this makes it hard to separate the Civil Service from the politicians.

#### 4.4.3 Policy/Legislation Monitoring

Policy monitoring is necessary in making informed, well-grounded decisions for suggested policy changes. There is need to have in place mechanisms and institutional frameworks to monitor the intended and unintended effects of policy on the resources and the direct and indirect intended beneficiaries of the policy in question. Intended benefits must be monitored to assess the degree of the usefulness of the policy and the benefits acquired by the beneficiaries, in particular in addressing rangeland resources depletion and uplifting rural livelihoods. A fair balance between the need to sustain the availability of resources and addressing livelihoods must be ascertained in order that mitigating factors and options are put in place. The following questions may need to be addressed on sustainability when monitoring the implementation and effect of policy:

- Are sustainable livelihoods, sustainable natural resource use and poverty reduction attainable simultaneously in the development process?
- Is the specific policy that is being implemented in consonant with the broad objectives of other policies dealing with resources use and livelihoods development?
- Are the intended objectives of the policy being met and are the results of the policy of value to the recipients?
- Is the policy supportive of a broad sector of the intended beneficiaries or is it confined to a small/few privileged members of the target beneficiaries?
- Does the policy contribute to poverty reduction?

Monitoring, as a tool, is essential so that Batswana receive the policies they need and deserve rather than policies that are designed in Gaborone, driven by external pressure such as Donors, World Bank, and are completely unresponsive to needs. Policies, should be reviewed by implementing staff every year; a very simple checklist could be developed so that a simple SWOT analysis could be undertaken. The Ministry involved would then compile these, and then a very short presentation would be made to the Ministry management and the High Level Consultative Council and to Parliament if necessary. This would ensure that policies are implemented and they are reviewed by implementers and also by the decision makers. The review must also look at the unintended impacts of the policy and the impact on different socio-economic groups. It would also make sure the target

groups are benefiting, our study has discovered that all of the assistance policies such as ALDEP, are inaccessible by the very poor, which means they are continuously dependent on social welfare policies, such as the destitute policy, which keeps them trapped in a cycle of poverty. Other policies such as the fencing component of the New Agricultural Policy 1991, could have a negative impact on non livestock owning families who will be excluded from the ranch areas by the leases which exclude the collection of veld products and fuel wood.

More use should be made of the Village Extension Teams (VEXTS), they are at the interface of policy, and are the main implementers. Being on the 'frontline' gives them a unique insight, over long periods of time, into the various policies. The AD in Makwate has been in the village for nine years and could very quickly explain the problems associated with ALDEP. There should be scheduled policy meetings with these staff, explaining the implementation of new policy and updates on the success (or failure) of these policies in their villages. This would raise the morale of the staff and make them feel more valued by the main Ministry in Gaborone. Regional and Central Staff could undertake this at a relatively low cost using Rural Training Centres with participation, then representatives would go to a main interregional meeting. This could be used to continuously review policy, for implementation, success, constraints, and could help to diffuse the rather static and unresponsive nature of policies in Botswana. External review is a useful tool, which could be used to verify information from ADs and communities, but should not be the main monitoring tool.

The Community Based Strategy roll out programme, although primarily looking at development of communities, the skills learnt by the extension staff and district staff could be used to identify problems with communities using problem trees and other techniques which could identify policy gaps and also policy implementation problems.

#### 4.4.4 Policy Review

Research in the policy process, during implementation and monitoring plays an important role in the review of an existing policy or in the formation of a new policy that seeks to address policies with synergies and overlaps. Observations from previous studies suggest that research should be demand led, in other words research should address a real need. Other schools of thought suggest that the private sector can contribute to research. Authentic, applied and targeted research regardless of the person/organisation responsible for it should support and inform the policy decision-making process (development, interpretation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation). Research should guide interventions that follow policy to ensure prompt and relevant decision-making.

In addition to the questions and results of the policy monitoring process, the following questions may need to be addressed during the policy review process:

- Is the policy in question due for review and for what purpose?
- What is the review aiming to achieve?
- What was defective or flawed about the initial policy making process that should be taken into consideration in the policy review process?
- In relation to empowerment, participation and opportunities which actors are essential to inform the policy?
- Is sustainable livelihood and sustainable natural resource use competitive? If so, what are the trade-offs required if resource degradation is to be prevented and poverty reduction is to be achieved?

#### 4.4.5 Policy communication

From our studies it has been made very clear that the main avenue for policy communication is radio and the Kgotla system.

##### Radio

From the questionnaires, approximately 80% of households interviewed own a radio. With only the poorest having no access. More use could be made of the radio in an innovative and interesting way. Policy information does not have to be packaged as boring speeches by politicians. It can be discussed in chat shows and magazine type programmes. Another option is the use of drama: this has been done successfully elsewhere. An example is Soul City, a DFID funded programme on South African TV. An example of this, on the radio, dealing with agricultural issues, is The Archers in the United Kingdom, this was started in the 1950's as a method of relaying information about new farming methods and government policies to rural areas and was very successful. It was based in a village and is a 20-minute soap opera, centred on a farming family, their friends and neighbours. This would be a very useful and not too expensive method for disseminating policy and other information. It would also make radio more interesting.

##### Kgotla

The Kgotla system is very successful but has its limitations. Policy information is given out after the policy has been formulated and discussed and agreed on in Gaborone, the main informants are often MPs or councillors who often don't fully understand all the policy implications, attended by regional staff from the line Ministry. Older people mainly attend the Kgotla and men feel far freer to speak than women, especially older women, who traditionally do not speak at Kgotla. The Kgotla, as it is ongoing during the day, also discriminates against the youth at school as well as those with businesses or at work. The main Kgotla have also in the past discriminated against people from the village from different ethnic backgrounds making it hard for them to get their opinions heard. Another issue is language, often an MP or especially Ministers will come to a Kgotla and make a speech in English, which is then not widely understood. The language at Kgotla should be Setswana with good translators if anything needs to be said in English.

Making the Kgotla more useful for policy information dissemination and review might include the following:

- Setswana spoken at all speeches, or the local language of the area
- Kgotla meetings held when everyone can attend (evenings)
- No restrictions on dress as long as it is 'decent', e.g. women can wear trousers.
- Women and young people should be encouraged to speak
- Use other policy resource people to explain policy, such as NGOs where appropriate.
- Simplify the information

##### Policy Road show

Specific development policies with very wide ranging impacts could be communicated through road shows. Vista the cell phone company very successfully used this approach, to sell its services to the public in the outlying areas of Botswana. The Ministry of Agriculture could equip a vehicle with TVs, videos, interviews, simple versions of the policy, Setswana versions of the policy, and trained staff, which would take the policy to the people and also to schools, VDCs, Councils, and RTCs etc.

#### 4.4.6 Policy Overlaps, Conflict and Legislative Gaps

There is need for a comprehensive streamlining of policies that seek to address the same issues on range resources and livelihood development. There is also need to update legislation where appropriate to legally enforce policy. In some instances there is comprehensive policy intentions and

the legislation falls too far short of meeting the objectives of the policy, or goes contrary to the objectives of the policy (see discussion on policy making above).

#### **4.5 Key Policy Areas**

The report has identified key areas of policy, which impact on range resources and livelihoods in Tubu and Makwate. These are areas which the Ministry of Agriculture could and should address:-

- The poor have little or no access to information about policies, legislation and programmes, many of which directly affect their lives.
- Most policy information is received via the radio and the Kgotla.
- The very poor face barriers to accessing development schemes so they rarely benefit.
- One of the major source of income for the rural poor is social welfare programmes and drought relief work.
- Many of the poor interviewed in Tubu and Makwate do not appear to depend on veld products as a source of income, over-use of the range resource and reduced access may have removed veld products as an income source from the reach of the poor.
- There appears to be a policy vacuum in the management of range resources at the community level.
- Loss of crops and livestock due to wild animals in Tubu is a problem, most of those affected who were interviewed feel that compensation and the service delivered by the DWNP is unsatisfactory.
- From observation many people in Tubu and Makwate use village standpipes for watering livestock, very few households have access to water in their yards.
- In Tubu, compensation payments for CBPP eradication, appear to have left people poorer. This may be due to the inappropriate compensation methods and delivery and lack of advice.
- In Tubu, people complained of a shortage of molapo land used for arable farming due to changes in water availability.
- From the literature review it appears that there is a fragmented policy and legislative framework and many of the problems are cross cutting and are linked to the policies of other Ministries and Government Departments

#### **4.6 Policy Recommendations**

- The Ministry of Agriculture needs to promote more active dialogue amongst all stakeholders, both relating to new and upcoming policies and programmes but also relating to older established policies.
- More innovative use of radio to address policy issues.
- Examine the possibilities of using the Kgotla and other village level institutions for policy dissemination and consultation, to address a wider community audience.



- Target development schemes and programmes so the poorest sectors of society can benefit and develop out of poverty.
- Government social welfare policies should be appropriate and should not undermine self reliance and self respect.
- Development policies should create opportunities to enable the rural poor to develop out of poverty.
- Management and responsibility for veld resources should be vested in village level institutions, to improve access and management of the resource. ARB should be more closely involved in long term monitoring of veld resources and appropriately advising the communities.
- Compensation for loss of crops and livestock needs to be reviewed, with compensation being linked to good husbandry techniques, and the function shared between the Ministry of Agriculture and DWNP.
- The use of rural standpipes for watering livestock, needs to be seriously considered in the forthcoming review of the Water Master Plan.
- The method and delivery of compensation for loss of livestock due to disease eradication schemes need to be reevaluated.
- Steps need to be taken by Government, to work with the community to address long term changes in the water table in Tubu that will negatively affect livelihood options in the forthcoming years.
- Collaborative efforts need to be initiated to address the lack of understanding of cause and effect relationships linked to range resource depletion.
- Many of the issues raised by the communities are cross-sectorial and involve a number of different ministries and departments. Efforts need to be made to encourage collaboration between Ministries.

## 5 Workshop Recommendations and Way Forward

The findings of the report were presented at a stakeholder's workshop on 10 April 2002<sup>7</sup>. The workshop was separated into two key areas, the presentation of the consultant report and secondly group work to develop the way forward.

The presentation of the report was broken into a number of key areas, introduction, traditional support and management systems, history of livestock industry, policy areas and main policies, methodology and results and key findings.

There was lively discussion on some of the areas and the report has been modified to take on board some of the opinions raised. It is important to recognise that the findings are from just two villages but it is based on the people's own opinions, not the consultants. People have strong opinions when it comes to things that impact on their livelihoods.

After discussing the findings, recommendations towards a constructive way forward were formulated. This was done using a group work approach with the participants divided into 3 groups to discuss:

- Priority areas
- Policy communication
- Policy monitoring and review

Areas of priority were identified, a framework for consultation was developed and a monitoring framework that would be responsive and use all the available expertise and staff was proposed.

The following is a breakdown of the presentations given by each group.

### 5.1 Priority Areas for Ministry of Agriculture Action

- The whole issue of compensation for loss of livestock and crops to wildlife needs review. Compensation needs to be linked to good husbandry techniques and should be a function of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks
- Several pieces of old legislation, such as the Agricultural Resources (Conservation) Act and the Forestry Act, need review to enable them to support new policy.
- The Foot and Mouth outbreak in the North East, and the subsequent livestock eradication, should be handled in a different manner so that compensation is given, but that people do not emerge poorer as a result as has happened in Ngamiland.
- The role of drift fences needs to be addressed along with the problem of dual grazing, before the major allocation of new fenced ranches.
- The Ministry of Agriculture must take full advantage of the new Land Policy, being developed by the Department of Lands, to review Land Board powers vis a vis agricultural land.

### 5.2 Policy Communication

From the study it became very apparent that people in the communities, especially the very poor, had very limited access to policy information. From our experience, major policy decisions are often

<sup>7</sup> For the list of workshop participants, see Appendix I



made with little grassroots consultation. Consultation usually involves stakeholder meetings that use representatives such as NGOs, and academics, to present the views of the communities. Policy information that does reach the community is often in the form of information dissemination and awareness raising rather than true consultation. This means that communities have little or no impact on policy development.

From the workshop it was decided that the Ministry of Agriculture should employ greater diversification and innovation of techniques in policy consultation. The Ministry has a fully functioning audio-visual truck, which is at the moment under utilised, and could be used for consultative purposes.

The radio could be used in more innovative ways such as dramatizations, talk shows and panel discussions. Information could go out before the policy is adopted so the issues could be raised with councillors, for further discussion. Newspapers and TV could also be used more widely, particularly in urban areas, especially with the advent of BTV and programming in Setswana.

Kgotlas could be used for policy consultation rather than only for briefings. The input needs to be channelled to the Ministry in more effective ways than simply relying on the political pathways via councillors to MPs then discussion in parliament. Mechanisms need to be explored so that the potential for using other village level institutions in the policy consultation process is realised.

### 5.3 *Policy Monitoring and Review*

#### Current Situation

Policy monitoring and review is carried out by the following institutions:

- High Level Consultative Council for Agriculture – this is a multi stake holder committee designed to create dialogue on agricultural policy led by the Minister of Agriculture.
- Policy Advisory Committee – this is made up of the heads of departments and parastatals and discusses policy.
- Individual departments – these develop the actual policies coordinated by the Department of Planning and Statistics.
- The Department of Agricultural Planning and Statistics. This has three policy functions:
  - Coordinate policy development
  - Coordinate policy review
  - Coordinate monitoring

There appears to be no workable, systematic way of getting policy information from the regional agricultural offices and the extension staff. A mechanism needs to be put in place to ensure information travels from the community level to DAPS and that the information is analysed, incorporated in a monitoring process and fed-back to all levels within the Ministry decision making apparatus.

## 6 *Conclusion and Way Forward*

This study provides a snapshot of two disparate communities, Tubu and Makwate. The study's findings cannot and should not be generalised, but they give an indication of some people's perceptions from different strata within these communities on how selected policies impact on their lives and environment. BRIMP intends to carry out similar livelihood assessment and range-related policy studies in the three remaining pilot communities, then extend the study further to include additional communities. It is hoped that the results of these studies will be disseminated to decision-makers through DAPS. As noted above, it is planned that similar studies should be repeated at five year intervals in the pilot communities, alongside the long-term monitoring of key rangeland resources, to enable us to assess the impact of rangeland changes on rural livelihoods.

It is hoped that this study will be the start of a far longer process to improve policy consultation, monitoring and evaluation of range related policies. Improved policy consultation, monitoring and evaluation, in turn leads to more responsive policies that improve the quality of the range resource, and by so doing broadens peoples livelihood options.

