

# STEPS IN THE FORMATION OF COMMUNITY-BASED RESOURCE MANAGEMENT INSTITUTIONS AND LEGAL BODIES FOR CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES IN BOTSWANA

Robert K. Hitchcock  
Kalahari Peoples Fund

## Introduction

A major conservation and development strategy employed in southern Africa since the late 1980s and in Botswana since 1990 is known as *community-based conservation* (CBC) or *community-based natural resource management* (CBNRM). The main idea behind community-based conservation is that communities get the rights to the benefits from natural resources (Western, Wright, and Strum, 1994; Hulme and Murphree, 2001; Child and Lyman, 2005; Borgerhoff Mulder and Copolillo, 2005). This is done through the passage of legislation to allow local or regional bodies to profit from wildlife and other wild resources in communal areas. The CBNRM approach is different from the approach in which the state (i.e. the Government) controls natural resources. In the latter case, benefits from those natural resources go to the central government treasury to be used as the Government chooses.

The Community Based Natural Resource Management Policy of the government of Botswana has been described in government publications (e.g. Department of Wildlife and National Parks 1996, Republic of Botswana 1997) and in a series of useful reports by the IUCN/SNV CBNRM Support Program (for summaries of some of the findings of these programs, see Cassidy and Madzwamuse, 1999; Cassidy, 2000; Gujadjir, 2000, 2001; van der Jagt *et al*, 2000; Arntzen *et al*, 2003; Buzwani *et al*, 2007; Schuster, 2007; Schuster and Thakadu, 2007). SNV carried out CBNRM projects in Ngamiland, Ghanzi, and Kgalagadi Districts (for an assessment of some of these projects, see Jones, 2002; Masilo-Rakgoasi, 2002). Over the decade from 1990 to 2000 a large-scale Natural Resource Management Project – a joint Botswana Government–U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) project was implemented in various parts of the country, including Chobe, North West, Ghanzi, and Central Districts (Winer, 1994; Painter, 1995, 1997). There have also been a number of CBNRM projects carried out by local non-government organizations, one example being the work done by the Kuru Family of Organizations in Ghanzi and Ngamiland (e.g. at Groot Laagte in the Ghanzi Farms region) (Nkelekang 2000) and another being the efforts to promote the interests of local communities in the area close to the Okavango Panhandle (Teemashane Trust, 2002).

Much of the work on community-based natural resource management in Botswana has taken place in areas designated as community-controlled hunting areas (CCHAs). These areas are portions of wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) that have been zoned as part of land use plans by the District Councils and District administrations. According to the Government white paper on the *Wildlife Conservation Policy* (Republic of Botswana 1986), WMAs are those areas in which wildlife utilization is the most important land use (Arntzen, 2003). About half of the

country currently is zoned as either wildlife management areas or as state land (national parks, game reserves, and monuments). Wildlife-related development activities include safari hunting, photographic tourism, lodges and campsites, and community programs relating to wildlife and other natural resources, including taking people on nature walks and game drives. For a summary of some of the community trusts and their activities in Ngamiland and Ghanzi Districts, see Table 1. The

Table 1. Community Trusts in Botswana's North West and Ghanzi Districts, Botswana which Are Involved in Integrated Conservation and Development Activities

<b>Name of trust and founding date</b>	<b>Controlled hunting area, Size in km<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Composition of population, population size</b>	<b>Project activities</b>
Jakotsha Community Trust, 1999	NG 24, 530 km <sup>2</sup>	Mbukushu, Herero and G//anikwe San, 10,000 people, multiple villages	community tourism, makoro (canoe) poling, basketry and other craft sales
Khwaai Community Trust, 2000	NG 18, 1,815 km <sup>2</sup> and NG 19, 180 km <sup>2</sup>	Bugakwe San, Tawana, and Subiya, 360 people, 1 village	ecotourism, craft sales, work at safari lodges, auctioning off of a portion of the hunting quota
Mababe Zukutsama Community Trust, 1998	NG 41, 2,045 km <sup>2</sup>	Tsegakhwe San, 400 people, 1 village	ecotourism, leased out some of the hunting quota to a safari company
Okavango Community Trust, 1999	NG 22, 580, km <sup>2</sup> , NG 23, 540 km <sup>2</sup>	Bugakwe, Bayeei, Hamubkushu, G//anikwe, Dxeriku, BaTawana, 2,200 people, 5 villages	Safari hunting and photo-based tourism
Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT), 1995	NG 34, 870 km <sup>2</sup>	Bayeei and Basubiya, 345 people, 1 village	ecotourism, safari hunting concession, craft sales, campsite
Teemashane Community Trust, 1999	NG 10 and NG 11, ca. 800 km <sup>2</sup>	Mbukushu, Bayeei, Bugakwe San, G//anikwe San, 5,000 people,	community tourism, campsite, cultural trail, craft sales
/Xai/Xai Tlhabololo Trust, 1997	NG 4, 9,293 km <sup>2</sup> NG 5, 7,623 km <sup>2</sup> (16,966 km <sup>2</sup> total)	Ju/'hoansi San, Mbanderu, 400 people, 1 village	leasing out of portion of quota, crafts, community tourism
Huiku Trust, 1999	GH 1	2 villages, 1,013 people	Community tourism, lodge, crafts
D'Kar Kuru Trust, 1999	Dqae Qare freehold farm in the Ghanzi Farm block	1 village, 943 people	Community tourism, lodge at Dqae Qare in Ghanzi Farms
Kgoesakini Management Trust, 2004	GH 10	1 village, 1,094 people	Community tourism, crafts

Xwiskurusa Community Trust, 2004	GH 10	3 villages, 1,247 people	Community tourism, crafts
Chobokwane Community Trust, 1999	GH 11	1 village, 484 people	Community tourism, crafts

community-based natural resource management activities in some of these areas have been relatively successful in terms of generating income and employment. At the same time, there have been challenges, including ensuring proper financial management and assuring that the trusts engage in programs that community members feel are appropriate and relevant to their needs.

The various community-based organizations that have been established in Botswana, over 150 at last count, have different operating procedures and focus on a variety of different kinds of resources and activities. There are different ways that the community trusts manage their funds. In some cases, the funds generated by the projects are kept in a trust account in a bank, and periodically payments are made to trust members. This is done, for example, by the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust of Kgalagadi District, which distributes benefits to household groups (van der Jagt *et al*, 2000). In other cases, the funds are invested in income generation, scholarships, or community infrastructure projects of various kinds (Schuster, 2007). A number of communities have entered into agreements in which safari companies have become joint venture partners in exchange for provision of cash, employment opportunities, and services (e.g. medical assistance) to the communities. The private operators may either engage in safari hunting or photographic tourism or, in some cases, both kinds of activities. It is also important to note that ecotourism has a variety of social, economic, and environmental impacts in local communities (see Hitchcock, 1997; Rozemeijer, 2001; Masilo-Rakgoasi, 2002).

One of the activities of local communities in Botswana has been the mapping of their traditional areas using Geographic Positioning Systems (GPS) instruments. This kind of ethnocartography is very useful (Chapin and Threlkeld, 2001). The maps produced have been used in presenting information on communities' land claims at district land boards and at national conferences and government meetings in Botswana, as was the case, for example, in Dobe, western Ngamiland (Albertson, 1998) and along the Okavango Panhandle (Teemashane Trust, 2002; van der Post, 2003).

If rural communities are to gain greater control over land and natural resources in their areas, they have to take certain steps. These steps can be outlined in general terms, although it must be kept in mind that there will be local circumstances that will affect the ways in which events proceed. It is vitally important that communities and those working with them are flexible and that they seek to avoid being too rigid about the approaches they take. Local variations may, in fact, dictate some change in sequencing or permit the coalescence of certain 'steps.' It should be noted that the legislation on natural resource management in Botswana continues to evolve, so the steps are general recommendations.

### **Steps toward Formation of Community Institutions for Conservation and Development**

Step 1. The communities wishing to get involved in community-based natural resource management activities should become familiar with the government of Botswana's natural resource management policies and procedures. They can obtain these documents from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife, and Tourism (MEWT) or from the Botswana Government Printer.

Step 2 Communities and their advisors should attend district-level meetings being held on CBNRM by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. Once the district-level meeting is complete, the community and its advisors will need to engage in a far-ranging educational campaign not only among community leadership but membership as well.

Step 3 The communities and the groups working with them should hold an Information Workshop at the local level to which key support personnel from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) are invited along with officers from the District Administration such as the District Officer (Development), the District Officer (Lands), the Remote Area Development Officer (RADO), the Council Planning Officer (CPO), the Regional Wildlife Officer (RWO), and representatives of the Land Board and the Tribal Authority. This informational meeting should be an open public meeting and should be planned well ahead of time to make sure that there is significant participation both of government and district officers and local people. The workshop should be a wide-ranging discussion of community natural resource management programs and should include opportunities for feedback and discussion. The various options available for communities should be outlined along with the procedures necessary for the communities to follow.

Step 4 Those communities wishing to proceed with the establishment of community-based natural resource management activities and institutions should inform the Oversight Committee (OC) of the District Administration (DA) of their intentions.

Step 5. The community should plan and implement a Participatory Rural Assessment (PRA) exercise. This can be done with staff from the Botswana Orientation Centre (BOC), the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, or NGOs that have experience in this kind of work. The exercise should include the collection of data on (a) an inventory of natural resources, (b) an inventory of human resources (population size and distribution), (c) an inventory of local institutions (e.g. kinship groups, women's groups, farmers associations), (d) natural resource management and utilization activities (e.g. subsistence hunting, collection of thatching grass, poles, and palm leaves for baskets), and (e) information on customary and traditional rights to land and natural resources.

Step 6. Communities wishing to obtain a Community Wildlife Offtake Quota (CWOQ) should have a series of community-level meetings to discuss the formation of a representative

community body (a Quota Management Committee, QMC). To do this, the community must either hold an election for representatives or they must appoint people to be on the Quota Management Committee. Care should be taken to ensure that the community committee is as representative as possible (i.e. it should have members drawn from the various segments of the community). Once this representative and accountable management committee is set up, the information on the structure and membership must be communicated to the Oversight Committee, the District Administration, and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

Step 7. Community areas, resources, and boundaries should be mapped. While this mapping need not be too detailed, and should not be too protracted, it should be sufficient to provide the basis for boundary determinations which combine social cohesiveness, ecological integrity, and economic potential. Both technical research and political consensus are required, and this is likely to require an iterative and consultative process.

Step 8. The community should host a Community Quota Options Workshop with facilitators from the District and from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. Like the Information Workshop, this meeting should be well-planned, well-advertised, and attended by as many community members as possible. The various options available to the community should be discussed, including (a) using all of the wildlife quota for subsistence purposes (i.e. keeping the quota for the community itself), (b) leasing part or all of the quota to a safari company, (c) establishing a community-based tourism program which does not include any offtake (hunting) but instead is based on non-consumptive use of wildlife (e.g. photographic safaris), (d) deciding to divide the quota in such a way that some of the wildlife resources are retained for community subsistence purposes and some for commercial use (safari hunting), (e) deciding to use all of the wildlife resources for subsistence purposes, or (f) deciding not to use any of the resources from the area, or setting aside areas within the community-controlled hunting area (CCHA) for conservation purposes. At this Options Workshop, the community members and the Quota Management Committee should decide on how to distribute the benefits that derive from the natural resources (for example, if they elect to lease out part of the quota to a safari company in exchange for a lease fee, the funds can be allocated to the Quota Management Committee for use in community projects or alternatively the funds could be divided among the households in the community). The community members should also ensure that the needs of Special Game License (SGL) holders are taken into consideration and that their needs are met in the plans (for a discussion of Special Game Licenses, see Hitchcock, and Masilo, 1995).

Step 9. For those communities wishing to do so, they can enter into competitive bidding (tendering) for their benefit. In order to do this, they need to follow the procedures in the *Joint Venture Guidelines* (Department of Wildlife and National Parks, 1995). The selection of the joint venture partners will be made by a Review Committee made up of representatives of the community. This Review Committee can obtain support from the Technical Committee, which consists of appropriate members of the District Development Committee (DDC) chaired by the

District Officer (Development). The tendering process should follow government procedures in which all proposals and attached budgets are kept secret. The organizations making the proposals can be asked to come to a Review Committee interview to explain their proposals. The community committee can then rank the proposals and make a determination as to which joint venture partner should be selected.

Step 10. The community should decide on the options for joint venture agreements. The community can lease the land from the Land Board in exchange for a fee, and then sub-lease that land and its resources to a joint venture partner in return for an annual rental fee. An alternative is to hire a skilled management company that markets and runs the community enterprise while at the same time providing training to community members. Once the decisions are made on which option to pursue, the community joint venture project can then be formed. In order to do this, a detailed community joint venture business plan is necessary.

Step 11 In order for a community to enter into agreements that are legally binding, they must form a legal entity, such as (a) a trust, (b) a society, (c) a cooperative, or (d) a company. This legal entity must be registered with the government of Botswana, which requires that it state (a) the goals, aims, and objectives of the legal entity, (b) the rules and regulations governing the body's administration, (c) the composition of the governing board of the legal body (i.e. its officers) (d) a statement on the financial management of the organization, and (e) a statement on the accountability of the body to its membership. One way to do this is to draw up a constitution that spells out the name, purpose, objectives, composition, and activities of the organization. The process for setting up this legal body should be based on public consensus in the community or communities involved.

Step 12. Once the legal entity is registered with the government, it can embark on community-based natural resource management activities. The legal entity must liaise closely with the district Land Board, the District Council, and the Tribal Authority as well as central government agencies including the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. An important aspect of the management responsibility of the legal body (and the Quota Management Committee) is to provide an annual report to the District Land Use Planning Unit (DLUPU) and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. This report must include a discussion of (a) the activities undertaken, (b) how the quota was used, (c) the benefits that were received, (d) the ways in which the benefits were distributed, (e) the positive achievements and problems of the organization, (f) the training that was done or that is required, and (e) a status report on the wildlife and natural resources in the community area.

Step 13. The community organization or legal body should hold an annual meeting with its members at which a report is presented to the community. This report should provide information similar to that outlined in Step 12, and it should include a detailed financial statement. The officers of the Quota Management Committee or legal body should be prepared

to discuss the report in detail, and they should be willing to act on suggestions and ideas generated by the community members.

Step 14. The community committee or legal body should undertake training and community-centred learning activities, including undertaking tours to other places where community-based natural resource management activities are being undertaken. These could include places such as the Chobe Enclave in Chobe District, /Xai/Xai in western Ngamiland (North West District), Sankuyo in North West District, Groot Laagte and Qabo in Ghanzi District, and Ukhwi and its neighbouring communities in KD 1 in northern Kgalagadi District. At these places the community committee members would have the chance to see what other organizations are doing and to hear first-hand about the achievements, problems, and plans of those organizations.

Step 15. On an annual basis or even more often if possible, data should be obtained by the trust and/or its members or by a group designated to undertake this work (e.g. an NGO working in the area) for monitoring and evaluation purposes. These data should be compiled and reported upon in the annual report to the community and to the District Council and government. Periodically, efforts should be made to undertake participatory rural appraisal (PRA) exercises, needs assessments, and consultation exercises in order to ensure that the activities being undertaken by the local organization are on track. If there are problems, changes should be instituted in order to ensure that the CBNRM projects are functioning appropriately. Special attention should be paid to transparency, sound financial management, accountability, and responsibility.

Step 16. Lessons learned from these CBNRM activities should be shared both within the community, with other communities, with other CBNRM projects in the country, and with the agencies and institutions working on community-based natural resource management locally, nationally, and internationally.

### **Some Conclusions and Recommendations on CBNRM in Botswana**

There are a number of conclusions that can be reached about CBNRM and integrated conservation and development activities in Botswana. First, communities must have the decision-making power and authority to undertake projects and conservation activities that they deem necessary. What this means is that power and authority must be devolved not just to the community-based organization level, but to the sub-groups of the communities involved, including classes, socioeconomic groups such as groups of craft producers or hunters), ethnic minorities, households, and individuals.

Local institutions should be self-governing; they should not have to answer to higher-level authorities for all of their activities. At the same time, those institutions should be allowed to have the power and authority to make decisions regarding such issues as benefits distribution. All members of the community, not just the elites or members of specific ethnic groups, should have a significant say in the operations of community-based organizations. All community

members should be able to participate in all aspects of the institution's planning and project implementation and decision-making.

Crucial to the success of a community-based organization are transparency, openness, and flexibility. Community-based organizations and non-government organizations must set their own priorities and mobilize themselves to achieve those priorities. Mechanisms must be in place that foster accountability and responsibility and not just participation.

Natural resource management and governance regimes must take account of diverse interests. Careful attention must be paid to constraints within governments and the private and non-government sectors and in community based organizations in terms of the ways in which they treat specific groups (for example, ethnic minorities or people who are perceived as being non-members or those who are 'outside the universe of obligation.'). If it is determined that there are biases in the ways that groups are treated, efforts must be made to ensure that all actions are equitable and that they do not either favour or harm a specific group. Equity and fair treatment are keys to successful sustainable development and natural resource management.

It is in the best interests of community-based natural resource management and local communities if the state and other agencies recognized those communities officially as proprietary units with de jure rights over land, wildlife, veld products, minerals, and other natural resources over which they maintain legal control in perpetuity.

The CBNRM activities undertaken at the local level must be documented and monitored very carefully in order to ensure that they do not overtax the environment or the institutional capacities of the community-based organizations involved. It is very important to conduct detailed social, economic, and political assessments of communities and to implement methodologies that are sensitive to community and individual differences to ensure that gender, age, power, occupational, and class characteristics are taken into consideration.

The constitutional, management, and administration systems should not be overly complex from an organizational standpoint. The implementation of community-based natural resource management activities is both time-consuming and labour-intensive. Working at the rhythm of communities is critical in local-level development.

Democracy, equity, participation, open-ended consultation, information, sharing and group and individual responsibility are all keys to success in CBNRM and development project implementation. Government institutions, non-government organizations, and communities should all be willing to allow bottom-up decision-making and open to allowing local people, regardless of their ethnic, class, or social backgrounds, to make their own choices regarding conservation, development, and governance and to benefit from the CBNRM activities being implemented. The devolution of authority must be done through negotiation and interaction rather than through statutory mandate and the imposition of strict rules and conditions.

## References Cited

Albertson, Arthur (1998) *Dobe Land Mapping Project*. D'Kar, Botswana: Kuru Development

Trust.

Arntzen, Jaap W. (2003) *An Economic View on Wildlife Management Areas in Botswana*. CBNRM Support Program, Occasional Paper No. 10. Gaborone: SNV Botswana and IUCN Botswana.

Arntzen, J.W., D.L. Molokomme, E.M. Terry, N. Moleele, T. Tshosa, and D. Mazambani (2003) *Main Findings of the Review of CBNRM in Botswana*. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN Botswana and IUCN/SNV CBNRM Support Program.

Borgerhoff Mulder, Monique and Peter Coppolillo (2005) *Conservation: Linking Ecology, Economics, and Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Buzwani, B., T. Setlhogile, J. Arntzen, and F. Potts (2007) *Best Practices in Botswana for the Management of Natural Resources by Communities*. CBNRM Support Program, Occasional Paper No. 17. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN/SNV (Netherlands Development Organization) Community Based Natural Resources Management Program.

Cassidy, Lin (2000) *CBNRM and Legal Rights to Resources in Botswana*. CBNRM Support Programme, Occasional Paper No. 4. Gaborone, Botswana: SNV/Netherlands Development Organization and IUCN: The World Conservation Union.

Cassidy, L. and M. Madzwamuse, eds. (1999) *Community Mobilisation in CBNRM in Botswana: Report of the Workshop Proceedings December 9-11, 1998, Francistown, Botswana*. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN Botswana and SNV/Botswana

Chapin, Mac and Bill Threlkeld (2001) *Indigenous Landscapes: A Study in Ethn-cartography*. Arlington, Virginia: Center for the Support of Native Lands.

Child, Brian and Martha West Lyman, eds. (2005) *Natural Resources as Community Assets: Lessons from Two Continents*. Madison, Wisconsin: Sand County Foundation and Washington, D.C.: The Aspen Institute.

Department of Wildlife and National Parks (1995) *Joint Ventures: A Guide to Developing Natural Resource Based Business Ventures in Community Areas*. Gaborone, Botswana: Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

Department of Wildlife and National Parks (1996) *Botswana's Community Based Natural Resource Management Program*. Gaborone, Botswana: Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

Gujadjir, Tara (2000) *Organizations and Their Approaches in Community Based Natural Resource Management in Botswana*. CBNRM Support Program, Occasional Paper No. 1. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN Botswana and CBNRM Support Program.

Gujadjir, Tara (2001) *Joint Venture Options for Communities and Safari Operators in Botswana*. CBNRM Support Program, Occasional Paper No. 6. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN Botswana and CBNRM Support Program.

Hitchcock, Robert K. (1997) Cultural, Environmental, and Economic Impacts of Tourism among Kalahari Bushmen. In *Tourism and Culture: An Applied Perspective*, Erve Chambers, ed. Pp. 93-128. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Hitchcock, Robert K. and Rosinah Rose B. Masilo (1995) *Subsistence Hunting and Resource Rights in Botswana: An Assessment of Special Game Licenses and Their Impacts on Remote Area Dwellers and Wildlife Populations*. Gaborone, Botswana: Natural Resources Management Project and Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

Hulme, David and Marshall Murphree, eds. (2001) *African Wildlife and Livelihoods: the Promise and Performance of Community Conservation*. Oxford: James Currey and Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.

Jones, Brian T.B. (2002) *Chobe Enclave, Botswana: Lessons Learnt from a CBNRM Project 1993-2002*. CBNRM Support Programme, Occasional Paper No.7. Gaborone, Botswana: SNV/Netherlands Development Organization and IUCN: The World Conservation Union.

Masilo-Rakgoasi, Rosinah (2002) *An Assessment of the Community-Based Natural Resource Management Approach and Its Impact on the Basarwa: A Case Study of XaiXai and Gudiegwa Communities*. M Sc. Thesis, Development Studies, University of Botswana, Gaborone, Botswana.

Nkelekang, Masego (2000) *Sustainability of CBNRM in Botswana: A Case Study of the Huiku Community-Based Conservation Project in the Ghanzi District*. M. Phil. Dissertation, Development Studies, Sussex University, Sussex, United Kingdom.

Painter, Michael (1995) *An Approach for Monitoring and Evaluating Community-Based Natural Resource Management Activities Implemented by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Natural Resources Management Project*. Gaborone, Botswana: Natural Resources Management Project.

Painter, Michael (1997) *DWNP's Monitoring and Evaluation Experience with the Natural Resources Management Project: Lessons Learned and Priorities for the Future*. Gaborone, Botswana: Natural Resources Management Project.

Republic of Botswana (1986) *Wildlife Conservation Policy*. Government Paper No. 1 of 1986. Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer.

Rozemeijer, Nico, ed. (2001) *Community-Based Tourism in Botswana: The SNV Experience in Three Community Tourism Projects*. Gaborone, Botswana: SNV (Netherlands Development Organization).

Schuster, Brigitte (2007) *Towards Vision 2016: CBNRM's Potential to Contribute. Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> National CBNRM Conference in Botswana, 20<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2006 and CBNRM Status Report 2006*. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN CBNRMP Support Program.

Schuster, B. and O.T. Thakadu (2007) *Natural Resources Management in Botswana*. CBNRM Support Program, Occasional Paper No. 15. Gaborone: SNV Botswana and IUCN Botswana.

Teemashane Trust (2002) *The Khwe of the Okavango Panhandle: The Past Life, Part One: Origin, Land, Leaders, and Traditions of the Bugakhwe People*. Shakawe, Botswana: Teemashane Trust.

van der Jagt, C.J., T. Gujadhur, and F. van Bussel (2000) *Community Benefits Through Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana*. CBNRM Support Program, Occasional Paper No. 2. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN/SNV (Netherlands Development Organization) Community Based Natural Resources Management Program.

van der Post, Cornelis, ed. (2003) *Community Natural Resources of Bugakhwe and //Anikhwe in the Okavango Panhandle in Botswana*. CBNRM Support Program, Occasional Paper No. 12. Gaborone, Botswana: IUCN/SNV (Netherlands Development Organization) Community Based Natural Resources Management Program.

Western, David and R. Michael Wright, eds., with Shirley C. Strum, Associate Editor (1994) *Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-Based Conservation*. Covelo, California: Island Press.