

**CBNRM Support Programme  
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# **Main Findings of the Review of CBNRM in Botswana**

**J.W. Arntzen, D.L. Molokomme, E.M. Terry, N. Moleele, O. Tshosa and D. Mazambani**

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The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent the views of IUCN, Hivos and SNV.

## Foreword

10 years after the first CBNRM project was launched in the Chobe Enclave in Northern Botswana there was an urge amongst stakeholders to reflect upon the progress made and to assess the extent to which the initial CBNRM objectives have been met. In addition, in recent years more reasons emerged to do a thorough review of CBNRM in Botswana. Government raised concerns about the occasional skewed benefit distribution of natural resources use at community level and the often inadequate community financial management systems and resulting lack of accountability. The private sector raised concern about stagnating enterprise development, especially in the tourism sector, despite the great economic potential. Support organisations as well as international donors called for guidance on how to build upon experiences and further develop the CBNRM approach. Furthermore, the other countries in the region such as Namibia and Mozambique are interested in learning from the development of the CBNRM approach in Botswana.

It was upon this background that the National CBNRM Forum successfully rallied all stakeholders to embark upon a national review of CBNRM in Botswana, and to source the necessary funding. In this respect the National CBNRM Forum is greatly indebted to DfID, the CBNRM Support Programme and GEF/SGP for financial assistance.

The Centre for Applied Research in Gaborone was selected in April 2003 to lead the review and the team of consultants managed the exercise timely. This process resulted in the following products: The final reports Volume I – Main findings and recommendations, and Volume II – Case studies. Digital copies of the reports are also available on the web site of the CBNRM Support Programme <http://www.cbnrm.bw>

In addition to the final report the consultants were tasked to prepare a summary version to be published in this Occasional Paper Series for wide distribution in Botswana and beyond. It is hoped that the lessons drawn in this paper and the recommendations made will bring CBNRM a step further towards rural development and natural resource conservation. In this respect the National CBNRM Forum intends to use the finding of the review to influence ongoing policy debate and to contribute to the improvement and finalisation of CBNRM policies and legislation.

This document is the fourteenth in the Series of the IUCN/SNV CBNRM Support Programme. The papers intend to promote CBNRM in Botswana by providing information and documenting experiences and lessons learnt through the implementation of the concept by the practitioners in this field. Relevant CBNRM related information assists in bringing together all stakeholders who have an interest in what the concept stands for: social and economic empowerment of rural communities, and natural resources conservation. The Series is aimed therefore at all practitioners who work with CBNRM in Botswana, and is intended to provide information that assists in successfully applying the concept and cultivating an adaptive and flexible policy environment. This paper as well as all previous issues is also available on the web site of the CBNRM Support Programme: <http://www.cbnrm.bw>

*Secretariat  
National CBNRM Forum of Botswana*

## **IUCN – The World Conservation Union**

Founded in 1948, IUCN brings together States, government agencies and a diverse range of non-governmental organisations in a unique world partnership: over 900 members in all, spread across some 136 countries. As a Union, IUCN seeks to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable. A central secretariat co-ordinates the IUCN Programme and serves the Union membership, representing their views on the world stage and providing them with the strategies, services, scientific knowledge and technical support they need to achieve their goals. Through its six commissions, IUCN draws together over 6 000 expert volunteers in project teams and action groups, focusing in particular on species and biodiversity conservation and the management of habitats and natural resources. IUCN has been operating in Botswana since 1984, when IUCN was invited to assist the Government in the preparation of the Botswana National Conservation Strategy. The IUCN Botswana Office was established in 1991. Since then, the IUCN Botswana Programme has been involved in drafting environmental policies, strategies and legislation; formulating management plans; identifying the environmental interests and needs of the business sector; as well as providing support and capacity building to NGOs and CBOs in the country. For more information, visit the Internet on <http://www.iucnbot.bw>

## **SNV Netherlands Development Organisation**

SNV Netherlands Development Organisation strengthens local government and non-governmental development organisations, with a view of making a sustainable contribution to the structural alleviation of poverty in rural areas in developing countries. It deploys skilled professionals for this purpose. Over 700 Dutch and local experts are currently involved in the transfer and exchange of knowledge, skills and technology. SNV's 26 field offices are active in 28 countries throughout Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe. SNV Botswana has been operating since 1978, building up experience in land-use planning, rural development and community mobilisation. The organisation works in conjunction with local organisations and Government to reach its target populations of poor rural women and marginalised minority groups in western Botswana, which are mainly the Basarwa (San or Bushmen). SNV terminates its programme in Botswana in December 2003. For more information, visit the Internet on <http://www.snvworld.org>

## **IUCN/SNV CBNRM Support Programme**

The Community-based Natural Resource Management Support Programme is a joint initiative by SNV Botswana and IUCN Botswana. It is built on SNV's experience in CBNRM pilot projects at the grassroots level and on IUCN's expertise in information sharing, documentation of project approaches, and establishing dialogue between Non-Governmental Organisations, Government and private sector on a national, regional and international level. The three main objectives of the programme are: 1) to establish a focal point for CBNRM in Botswana through support to the Botswana Community-based Organisation Network (BOCOBONET). 2) To make an inventory of and further develop CBNRM project approaches and best practices, and disseminate knowledge regarding implementation of CBNRM activities through the provision of information and technical advice to CBNRM actors. 3) To improve the dialogue and the co-ordination between CBOs, NGOs, private sector and Government. For more information, visit the Internet on <http://www.cbnrm.bw>

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## Abbreviations

AA	Appropriate Authority (Zimbabwe)
BOCOBONET	Botswana Community-Based Organisation Network
BOCONGO	Botswana Council of Non-Government Organisations
BWMA	Botswana Wildlife Management Association
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resources Management
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CBTE	Community-Based Tourism Enterprise
CCF	Community Conservation Fund
CSD	Community Services Division
CEDA	Citizen Economic Development Agency
CECT	Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust
CEG	Community Escort Guide
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
DET	District Extension Team
DLUPU	District Land Use Planning Unit
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
DNPWLM	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (Zimbabwe)
EU	European Union
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
HATAB	Hospitality and Tourism Association of Botswana
IFS	Integrated Field Services
IUCN	World Conservation Union
JVA	Joint Venture Agreement
JVP	Joint Venture Partnership
KCS	Kalahari Conservation Society
KDT	Khwai Development Trust
KyT	Kgetsyi ya Tsie
MEWT	Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism
NKXT	Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust
NACOBTA	Namibian Community Based Tourism Association
NACSO	Namibian Community Support Organisation
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NRM	Natural Resources Management
NRMP	Natural Resources Management Project (USAID-funded)
RADP	Remote Area Development Programme
RALE	Representative, Accountable and Legal Entity
RDC	Rural Development Council (Zimbabwe)
STMT	Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
TAC	Technical Advisory Committee
VDC	Village Development Committee
VTC	Village Trust Committee
WMA	Wildlife Management Area

## **Acknowledgements**

This paper is based on the 2003 Review of Community-Based Natural Resource Management Projects in Botswana. The CBNRM review study has been carried out for the National CBNRM Forum with financial assistance from DFID, the CBNRM Support Programme and GEF/SGP.

The CBNRM Review has benefited from the support and input of many people in the CBNRM villages, private companies, government officers and non-government organisations.

We are particularly indebted to the people from Khwai, Lerala and other Tswapong villages, Sankuyo, Ncaang, Ngwatle and Ukhwi. They participated actively and talked frankly in the group discussions. We also received a lot of co-operation from the CBO boards and other village institutions, including the village headmen and chiefs and extension workers.

We are also indebted to HCH and Rann Hunting Safaris for their contribution to the case studies. During fieldwork we ran into the project manager of Safari Botswana Bound, who kindly shared his views with us in Hukuntsi.

The two case study NGOs were very co-operative in group discussions and availing material to us. We are very grateful to the Kalahari Conservation Society and Thusano Lefatsheng.

While many government departments have supported the review study, we would like to mention the role of DWNP in particular. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks chaired the Review Reference Committee, and aided the review in many other ways, both in Gaborone as well as in the Districts (Hukuntsi, Maun and Serowe). The membership of the Review Reference Committee included the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Agricultural Resources Board, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Ministry of Local Government, Department of Lands, District Councils, Land Boards, BOCOBONET, NGOs, HATAB and BWMA, donors, the National CBNRM Forum and CBNRM Support Programme. We are gratefully for their comments and valuable ideas.

We are also indebted to the IUCN Botswana office and the CBNRM Support Programme for facilitating the review and acting as the secretariat of the Review Reference Committee. Thanks a lot Masego Madzwamuse, Cathrine Wirbelauer and Nico Rozemeijer. We are also grateful to Nico for editing this occasional paper.

As so many people and institutions have assisted the review, we have not even attempted to acknowledge everyone. For the 'great collective' that we have not mentioned by name, we are very grateful for your support. We hope that you will find that the time invested in the review is rewarded in a report that will contribute towards the establishment of a strong CBNRM programme and that will lead to more and better CBNRM projects in future.

Jaap Arntzen  
Team leader  
October 2003

## Introduction

After the first project was established in the Chobe Enclave in 1993, Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) projects have mushroomed in Botswana during the 1990s. While the importance of achieving the unique blend of environmental, economic and social objectives of CBNRM is being recognised, concerns are growing in Botswana that the projects are not yet mature, and cannot sustain themselves. Concerns have also grown about communities' ability and suitability to manage the substantial resource revenues and productive activities. Concerns are not restricted to communities. Questions have been asked about the capacity and operation of CBNRM support organisations such as NGOs, government institutions and donors. Most donors have withdrawn from Botswana and have left gaps in the support network. Finally, the rural development and conservation principles and impacts are being questioned. Does Community-Based Natural Resource Management really contribute to development and resource conservation?

While CBNRM has built up a lot of goodwill among conservationists and development practitioners, the number of sceptics has been growing in recent years, and a review of the progress made to-date with recommendations for strengthening of the approach was therefore timely. Also it was hoped that the review would contribute to the forthcoming CBNRM policy.

This paper presents the main findings and recommendations of the recent Review of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in Botswana that was carried out for the National CBNRM Forum by the Centre for Applied Research in Gaborone. The study was carried out in the period May-September 2003.

The *overall* objectives of the study were to review the progress made so far with respect to the implementation of CBNRM projects in Botswana; to analyse current problems and constraints; and to recommend improvements. The *specific* objectives were to:

- Analyse the design, evolution and current state of CBNRM in Botswana;
- Describe and analyse the CBNRM-related objectives of stakeholders, and their capacity to achieve these objectives;
- Analyse the interests of stakeholders and obstacles to successful CBNRM implementation;
- Recommend ways of removing obstacles and of creating favourable conditions for CBNRM implementation;
- Recommend CBNRM-related capacity building efforts of all parties involved;
- Analyse the contribution of CBNRM to resource conservation and recommend improvements;
- Analyse the CBNRM potential for economic development and diversification and recommend improvements; and
- Analyse the linkages between CBNRM and rural livelihood priorities and recommend methods to improve CBNRM contribution to such priorities.

The study focused on four components:

- *Organisational analysis of stakeholders.* Who are involved in CBNRM projects? What are their strategies, objectives, roles and activities? What conflicts may arise and what synergism can be exploited?
- *Impact assessment of CBNRM projects.* What are the socio-economic impacts of CBNRM projects, locally and nationally? How are livelihoods affected? What are the environmental impacts of CBNRM projects?
- *Policy and regulatory environment of CBNRM.* Which policies and regulations does Botswana have to govern the CBNRM process? Which policy and regulatory gaps and constraints exist and how can these be filled?
- *CBNRM experiences and lessons from elsewhere in southern Africa.* How does CBNRM operate in other countries? Which key differences and similarities exist with Botswana and what lessons can be derived for Botswana?

This report covers the following sections:



- History and current status of CBNRM in Botswana;
- Stakeholders capacity analysis;
- Analysis of the CBNRM approach in Botswana;
- Socio-economic impact assessment of CBNRM in Botswana;
- Environmental assessment of CBNRM in Botswana;
- Policy and legislative environment of CBNRM in Botswana; and
- Regional CBNRM approaches and experiences, and lessons for Botswana.

The review was based on literature analysis, interviews with key personnel and field case studies. Four CBOs were studied in detail (Kgetsy ya Tsie, Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust, Khwai Development Trust and Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust). 3 are wildlife-based, and one deals mostly with veld products (Kgetsy ya Tsie). 2 cases involve more than 1 village (Kgetsy ya Tsie and Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust). Key features of each CBO are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Key features of the case study CBOs

<b>Area and date of registration</b>	<b>CBO</b>	<b>Natural resources</b>	<b>Villages</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Rights</b>
NG 34 29 <sup>th</sup> of November 1995 Lodge in NG 33	Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT)	Wildlife, scenery	Sankuyo	Hunting and photo safaris in WMA	Exclusive rights through 15 year head-lease from Land Board
NG 18 (and two lodges in NG 19) 2 <sup>nd</sup> of March 2000	Khwai Development Trust (KDT)	Wildlife, scenery	Khwai settlement	Hunting and photo safaris in WMA	Exclusive rights through 15 year head-lease from Land Board
Tswapong Hills 1 <sup>st</sup> of February 1999	Kgetsy ya Tsie (KyT)	Veld products	2 villages	Collection and processing of veld products	None
KD1 10 <sup>th</sup> of June 1998	Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT)	Wildlife	Ukhwi, Ncaang and Ngwatle	Hunting and photo safaris in WMA	Exclusive rights through 15 year head-lease from Land Board

In addition, the review included 2 private companies involved in joint venture agreements: HCH working with STMT in NG 34 and Rann Hunting Safaris working with the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust. Finally, the CBNRM-related work of 2 NGOs was reviewed (Kalahari Conservation Society and Thusano Lefatsheng).

After the main issues had been identified, three workshops were organised in Maun, Serowe and Kang to discuss the CBNRM issues and options. The consultation phase was concluded with a national workshop in Gaborone in September.

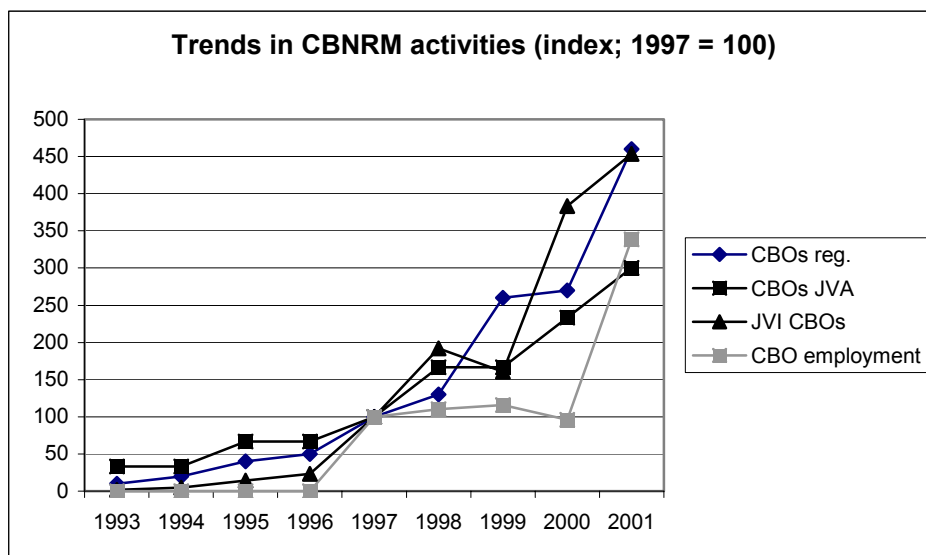
Interested readers are referred to the main report for full details on the review (volumes 1 and 2). The report is available from the CBNRM Support Programme web site: <http://www.cbnrm.bw> Interested readers are also encouraged to make comments or discuss issues with the CBNRM National Forum or the Centre for Applied Research ([siphoka@botsnet.bw](mailto:siphoka@botsnet.bw)), Box 70180, Gaborone, Botswana.

## History and Current State of CBNRM in Botswana

The CBNRM process is relatively new in Botswana. The Natural Resources Management Project (NRMP) (1989-1999) and the Department of Wildlife and National parks (DWNP) are widely credited for the establishment of CBNRM projects, the first one being the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust (CECT) in 1993. The NRMP emphasised the establishment of CBNRM projects and offered support during their implementation. There was initially little attention for the development and co-ordination of support agencies and for policy and legislative development. Both policy and legislative development lag behind even to-date.

The number of Community-Based Organisations (CBO) has rapidly grown, and in 2002 forty-six CBOs were registered while twelve of those were involved in a joint venture agreement (JVA); at least seven private companies were involved at that time. Revenues from JVAs have grown to P8.5 million in 2002 with an average cash value for communities of over P 700 000 per annum. This is a lot of money for the mostly small CBNRM-villages. JVAs operate as the cash engine of the CBNRM process. The rapid growth of the projects is depicted in Figure 1 showing the trends in CBNRM projects, joint venture agreements and income and employment. The figure shows indices with 1997 as the baseline year (= 100). Before 1997, CBNRM variables were well below 100, but afterwards they are in the range of 300 to 500. This reflects a more than tripling of the number of projects and income.

Figure 1:



Note: CBO reg. = registered Community-Based Organisations; JVA = joint venture agreement; JVI = joint venture income. Data cover only part of the CBOs in Botswana and are therefore incomplete. Y-axis is index (1997 = 100)

Table 2 shows the spatial distribution of CBNRM projects and revenues. CBNRM projects are fairly evenly distributed over the country, but the largest revenues from JVAs are realised in Chobe and Ngamiland districts (96.5% of total). According to the last CBNRM Status Report, CBOs managed to increase their JVA-revenues by 24.6% between 2001 and 2002. The CBOs employ just fewer than 1000 persons with an average employment of 21 employees per trust in 2001. These employment figures exclude the members of some of the CBOs that are self-employed and sell to the trust (e.g. close to 1 000 Kgetsi ya Tsie members).

Table 2: Spatial distribution of CBNRM projects and benefits (2001)

	Chobe/Ngamiland	Kgalagadi/Ghanzi	Eastern Botswana	Total
No. of registered CBO	14 (29.8%)	11 (23.4%)	22 (46.8)	47
Revenues received from JVA	P 7 065 000 (96.5%)	P 185 000 (2.5%)	P 74 000 (1.0)	7 324 000
Benefiting Population	28 371 (63.5%)	5 150 (11.5%)	11 180 (11.8%)	44 701

Sources: based on CBNRM Status reports.

Several milestones mark the CBNRM projects in Botswana:

- 1989: Start of NRMP located within the DWNP;
- 1993: Establishment of first CBNRM project (CECT);
- 1998: Formation of BOCOBONET as the CBO umbrella organisation;
- 1999: End of NRMP; DWNP support continues, mostly through extension work;
- 2002: CBNRM approach recognised in the revised Rural Development Strategy; and
- 2003: Suspension of community hunting rights of some CBOs.

During the late 1990s, several CBNRM support and lobby organisations (BOCOBONET in 1998, CBNRM Support Programme in 1999 and National CBNRM Forum in 2000) were established and DWNP established an extension department in support of CBNRM projects. Despite the strengthening of the CBNRM landscape, CBNRM is not yet a coherent programme and it is better described as a group of fairly diverse projects with the common denominator of a village institution in control of resource utilisation and conservation. Compared to a genuine programme, CBNRM-Botswana lacks at present two important components:

- An 'enabling environment' that promotes the CBNRM approach and assists the design, implementation and performance of individual CBNRM projects; and
- Mechanisms to raise, discuss and decide on CBNRM issues at a programmatic level.

CBNRM projects can be described as a *'project or activity, where a community (one village or a group of villages) organise themselves in such a way that they derive benefits from the utilisation of local natural resources and are actively involved in their use as well as conservation. Communities form an institution that is responsible on their behalf for the utilisation and conservation of local natural resources. Often (but not always), communities will receive exclusive rights and responsibilities from government'*.

While CBNRM projects are mostly associated with wildlife hunting and tourism, the projects cover a variety of activities and resources, including veld products and cultural activities.

Start box

### **Overarching recommendation to develop a CBNRM programme and Covenant**

There is need to move a step beyond the project level, and to negotiate a CBNRM programme or covenant among stakeholders. A covenant is an agreement concluded between all CBNRM stakeholder parties. The agreement is the result of negotiations usually initiated by government. Such negotiations may take some time (e.g. one year), and usually involve compromises from each stakeholder group. The overall result is often better than the results of legislation and economic instruments alone. In addition, stakeholders usually feel ownership of the covenant, and are more likely to comply.

Covenants have been used in Europe, particularly in the quest to combat pollution. In southern Africa, few applications are known. This is surprising given the strong tradition of consultation and participation. It appears ideal for CBNRM implementation.

The covenant's duration should be ten years with regular progress reviews and adjustments when necessary.

A covenant could include:

- An overall goal and clear environmental and development targets for the duration of the covenant;
- A set of instruments available to stakeholders for the implementation of the covenant;
- Clear plans of activities and commitments by stakeholder for the duration of the covenant;
- Rights and responsibilities of stakeholders, particularly the CBOs and private companies;
- Funding mechanisms for the covenant implementation. For example, funding could come from government, donors and direct stakeholders;
- Broad guidelines for benefit distribution at the local and national level;
- Peer review mechanisms to evaluate the implementation of the covenant;
- Code of conduct and best practices in CBNRM that all stakeholders could work towards;
- Conflict resolution procedures and sanctions for non-compliance or under-performance; and
- Progress and performance results by group of stakeholders could be made public.

The covenant would be binding for all stakeholders/ signatories.

A CBNRM covenant is useful in several ways:

- It offers guidance for the implementation and progress measurement of individual CBNRM projects;
- The negotiations and the resulting covenant encourages more contacts between stakeholders and a better understanding of and greater appreciation for each others strategies, actions and potential;
- Clarification of the roles, responsibilities and entitlements of stakeholders;
- It offers opportunities for streamlining and simplifying CBNRM-procedures;
- Opportunities for networking and information exchange;
- Ensures regular review and evaluation, and stimulates applied research;
- Opportunities for co-ordination of funding sources; and
- Greater transparency that can be used at the project level by communities and support groups.

End box

The CBNRM approach is economically suitable for Botswana as it exploits key comparative advantages of the region (e.g. wildlife resources, scenic beauty, Parks) and Botswana (wilderness, low population density, stability and good international image), particularly in marginal areas with few development alternatives (western and northern Botswana). The review demonstrates, however, that the economic potential of CBNRM projects is not fully exploited and that it needs to be assessed up front. Doubts persist as to the viability of hunting-dependent CBNRM projects in the Kgalagadi, particularly when quotas are being reduced (see for example the KD 1 experience).

## Stakeholder Capacity Analysis

The CBNRM process in Botswana started without major NGO involvement. The process was driven by government and NRMP and focused strongly on starting individual CBNRM projects. While the organisational landscape has changed and diversified, this early imbalance still persists to-date, as no lead NGO supports the CBNRM process and no programme has been established.

A quick inventory of stakeholders in Botswana's CBNRM process counted over hundred different organisations such as community organisations (almost 50), private companies (around 10), non-government organisations (19) as well as central and local government institutions (more than 20, including District Councils) and donors.

Communities and JVA-private enterprises are the direct CBNRM-stakeholders, as they gain direct resource use rights. Both groups have formed associations: the communities formed BOCOBONET and the companies are organised in HATAB, which however does not deal with CBNRM only.

A variety of support organisations exist such as non-government organisations, government departments, donor agencies and the CBNRM support programme. The work of government is co-ordinated at district levels through the TACs; NGOs have BOCONGO that also deals with non-CBNRM matters. Support is almost exclusively directed towards communities, and largely disregards support needs of enterprises. The community support from enterprises is not institutionalised, and only operates at the project, i.e. JVA level. Most support organisations are not specialised in CBNRM, and unlike in Namibia, there is no agreed division of topics/ themes and areas among support organisations.

In addition to offering CBNRM support, government is responsible for policies and regulations that stimulate rural development and for the state of natural resources. A large number of government institutions are involved in CBNRM, but DWNP is currently the lead agency.

Below, we discuss the capacity and role of each stakeholder group in more detail.

### Community Based Organisations

The Community Based Organisations (CBOs) are the key to CBNRM projects in Botswana. A snapshot of objectives, areas of interest and activities was made for twenty-five CBOs. Most of those CBOs are organised as trust (23); 9 were located in Ngamiland, and 15 were multiple-village CBOs.

The main areas of interest of CBOs include:

- Resource conservation and improving livelihoods are the most common areas of interest (24 and 22 CBOs respectively);
- Craft production and marketing (15);
- Sustainable use of natural resources (14);
- Community-based tourism (10);
- Wildlife utilisation (10);
- Sustainable use of veld products (8); and
- Environmental education of communities (6).

CBOs have clearly articulated objectives, most of which cover development and environmental aspects:

- Development: gaining benefits through the sustainable use of natural resources, promotion of community-based tourism activities, sustainable use and marketing of veld products for community benefit, and promotion of craft production and marketing; and
- Environment: protection and conservation of natural resources, community education on the importance of and wise management of natural resources, safeguarding the cultural heritage

of the people associated with the area, and conservation and sustainable use of areas of historical, archaeological and biological importance for the benefit of communities.

In order to achieve their objectives CBOs are involved in a wide range of activities, including using natural resources, development and sale of natural products, auctioning and tendering of quota, managing or leasing out of photo safaris, and use of quota for subsistence purposes. CBOs also manage campsites and some run cultural villages and activities.

CBOs as a group accomplished the following:

- Contribution towards the establishment of CBNRM organisations such as BOCOBONET and the National CBNRM Forum;
- Development and implementation of CBNRM projects with varying levels of success;
- Establishment of JVAs, which generate substantial revenues and employment and became the engine of CBNRM growth;
- Skill development has taken place in areas such cleaning, guiding, cooking, skinning, craft production, processing of veld products and to a limited extent tourism management;
- Development of management plans for their areas;
- Networking and co-operation among CBOs and with NGOs as well as with government. CBOs have to different levels of success benefited from access to funding, advisory support and capacity building. CBOs have a better relationship with the DWNP, primarily through the DWNP Community Liaison Office; and
- With the assistance of NGOs, CBOs have been successful in acquiring funding from donor agencies to establish and/or expand CBNRM projects.

The CBO capacity was assessed in five performance areas: internal environment, sustainability, CBNRM views, benefits and capacity in various areas of interest. No attempt was made to give weights to individual strengths and weaknesses. Table 3 shows that CBOs tend to have more weaknesses than strengths at present. However, there is a significant variation in performance amongst CBOs. Time is important in developing the capacity and performance of CBOs. Generally, older CBOs have a better capacity and perform better. Other factors assisting CBO-capacity include the level of revenues, natural resource endowments and technical assistance.

Table 3: Common strengths and weaknesses of CBOs

Common areas of strengths	Common areas of weakness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Infrastructure development (offices, lodges, campsites, guest-houses);</li> <li>• Technology (computers, radio communication, GPS, processing equipment);</li> <li>• Support from membership;</li> <li>• Understanding and appreciation of CBNRM as an approach that can improve livelihoods while at the same time conserving natural resources for future generations;</li> <li>• Input into policy;</li> <li>• Networking and co-operation;</li> <li>• Access to proposal writing skills;</li> <li>• Identification of some viable business options;</li> <li>• Access to donor funding; and</li> <li>• Identification of resources and their uses through consultants and NGO partners.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Difficulties understanding and implementing organisational structures;</li> <li>• Micro-management by some boards;</li> <li>• Lack of capacity to separate policy making from day-to-day administration;</li> <li>• Difficulties understanding and implementing the provisions of the Deeds of Trust and constitutions;</li> <li>• Poor communication between the board and General Members;</li> <li>• Concentrating decision-making in a few individuals on the board and allegations of abuse of power;</li> <li>• Absence of or weak organisational progress monitoring systems;</li> <li>• Absence of direct benefits to households;</li> <li>• Absence of clear, long term benefit distribution plans;</li> <li>• Lack of capacity to gather and disseminate information on CBNRM projects;</li> <li>• Disempowerment of communities in some cases;</li> <li>• Lack of capacity to manage conflicts and negotiate deals;</li> <li>• Lack of technical capacity;</li> <li>• Inadequate financial management skills and controls;</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of tourism related and marketing skills;</li> <li>• Absence of resource inventories;</li> <li>• Absence of active management of resources; and</li> <li>• Lack of sustainability in some CBNRM projects.</li> </ul>
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Most CBOs have successfully gone through the first stage of establishment. This involves mobilisation, preparation and approval of a management plan, the preparation and approval of the constitution of the trust, trust registration and acquisition of exclusive resource user rights. They have successfully established mutually beneficial relationships with NGOs and DWNP. Some CBOs started to generate community and household benefits beyond the operation of the trust. Some areas of CBO-strengths include the development of basic infrastructure (offices, radio communication, etc.) and hardware (transport and computers), support of their members, advocacy and lobbying, and networking.

Many CBOs however, have a weak organisational structure; there is little beyond a board and the trust employees. Many CBOs suffer from micro-management by boards, lack of community participation, power abuse, financial mismanagement and lack of distribution of benefits. Furthermore, CBOs do not seem to monitor their progress in terms of the management plans, nor adjusting their plans and activities accordingly.

### **Private companies involved in Joint Venture Agreements (JVAs)**

Currently, there are at least seven private companies involved in Joint Venture Agreements. Most of these companies are specialised in hunting safaris, and sub-lease or under-utilise the photographic safari component of the JVA. Generally, JVA companies bring critical and scarce resources to CBNRM projects such as tourism and enterprise skills, access to markets and funding sources. Some companies make profits, while others report to make losses.

Private companies enter joint venture agreements to seize business opportunities. In some cases, the companies have no alternatives, when all private concessions are gone; some foreign companies seek to expand their activities into Botswana, other companies enter JVAs to complement their 'products' from private concession areas (e.g. elephants).

The Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) of the private companies involved in JVA are summarised in table 4.

Table 4: SWOT analysis of private companies

<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Weaknesses</b>
Some companies keep management staff and camp staff to a minimum, which allows them to operate optimally and profitably.	Some companies depend on trusts for 'hiring and firing'. Some companies employ more staff than necessary, to meet the JVA stipulations. This leads to low productivity and some employees complain that they are not being trained.
Some companies have a good track record and reputation, and operate as professional, profitable businesses.	Some of the companies specialising in hunting have had to take on a photographic operation because this was part of the community lease agreement with Land Board or in the management plan rather than that it reflects a strength of the company.
Some operate in a US\$-based environment and do not suffer from the current appreciation of the Pula against the US\$.	Some made their community tender bid in Pula, but their client business is US\$-based so they suffer badly from exchange rate fluctuations.
Some of the companies have a very good, professional relationship with their CBO partners. There are few conflicts or problems.	Several are embroiled in messy relationships with the communities and CBOs characterised by tension and mistrust.
Some have a clear-cut relationship based effectively on a sub-lease agreement.	Several companies are struggling hard to do 'community development' work and are pulled

	in all sorts of directions by the community and the trust.
<b>Opportunities</b>	<b>Threats</b>
HATAB notes that more of its members are gradually seeing the advantages of the CBNRM concept.	Most private sector tourism companies prefer to run operations in private concession areas to communal areas under the CBNRM 'approach'.
Hunting safari companies feel the impact of global problems (e.g. 9/11, Iraq war, conflict in Caprivi, Zimbabwe political situation, SARS) less than photographic tourism companies.	Global problems have a strong influence on photo safari business. Any loss of business affects those companies involved with communities hard, as they must still honour their financial obligations to the communities.
Botswana is the best place in the world to hunt elephant, buffalo and lion.	Hunting bans for specific species such as lion. The ban was only announced one month before the start of the hunting season; long after the lion hunts were marketed. An ban on elephant hunting would probably 'kill' the JVAs.

The link between companies and communities is often unsatisfactory due to differences in strategies and lack of understanding of each other's motives and strategies. The companies easily get upset by the seemingly endless demands of communities in return for little 'active community participation', the amount of time involved in dealing with communities, and in their lack of enterprise understanding. Private companies pay substantial amounts to communities and many also deliver community funds or social responsibility programmes.

Some private companies try to shift part of the market risks to CBOs, while CBOs do not seem to be receptive and argue that risks are the private company's burden. Exchange rates and market fluctuations are the main risks at the moment (most JVAs provide for changes in the quota). The identification of risks needs to be better addressed in JVAs so that both the CBOs and companies understand and agree on their risk exposure.

Furthermore, the perception of each other's role and involvement in CBNRM is totally different. Communities seek *temporary* assistance from private companies to help communities run hunting and photo safaris on the long term by themselves; in contrast, private companies are involved to make money, and are there to stay. In brief, the JVA can be described as a *marriage of inconvenience* between two reluctant partners. They need each other but would rather do it alone. This state of affair has affected CBNRM projects, as it is not conducive to creative and efficient co-operation of communities and the private sector.

### NGOs

A total of nineteen NGOs are involved in CBNRM support. This figure includes umbrella and networking organisations such as the National CBNRM Forum, the CBNRM Support Programme as well as interest groups such as BOCOBONET and HATAB.

Apart from the CBNRM Support Programme, the National CBNRM Forum and BOCOBONET, none of the NGOs has CBNRM as its core business. Few NGOs are involved directly in wildlife management and utilisation possibly because of the heavy government involvement in the sector. Similarly, few NGOs (3) work in the area of tourism development; only one deals with general environmental issues. Access to funding has motivated many NGOs to participate in CBNRM projects. The main areas of interest of NGOs are sustainable use of natural resources, community empowerment, poverty alleviation and eco-tourism or community based tourism.

The primary objectives and areas of operation are:

- Institutional strengthening (11 NGOs);
- Community mobilisation; lobbying and advocacy (9);
- Training and technical advice; information gathering and dissemination (8); and
- CBO formation; board training and socio-economic studies (7).



The main achievements of NGOs with respect to CBNRM lie in these areas as well as in the development of some veld products (government is not very active in this area) and CBO-assistance with fund raising. Currently, most NGOs face serious sustainability problems due to the drying up of core funding.

Common strengths of NGOs include infrastructure and technology, good governance, organisation structure and a good understanding of the CBNRM process. Identified weaknesses include limitations in access to funding, lack of conflict resolution skills, limited assistance to the tendering process and lack of monitoring of own activities. Another weakness is the lack of support to private-public partnerships. NGOs could mediate and try to improve the understanding between the direct stakeholders, and aim to build mutual trust. The NGO sustainability remains a serious concern.

### Government institutions

At least eleven central and local government institutions are involved in CBNRM support and/ or policy development. This large number has led to fragmentation of CBNRM support and co-ordination problems.

DWNP and to a lesser extent the Department of Tourism are currently the key departments, but it is not right to consider CBNRM as a DWNP programme. Other important departments include the Department of Rural Development (poverty reduction and rural development), the National Museum and the Remote Area Development Department, charged with the development of remote areas, most of which overlap with CBNRM areas. The roles of the government departments are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Roles of various government institutions in CBNRM

<b>Government Department</b>	<b>Area of Interest/Activities</b>
Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism (MEWT), especially Community Service Division (CSD) DARUDEC Wildlife Conservation & Management Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prepared Joint Venture Guidelines;</li> <li>• Manages the Community Conservation Fund (CCF);</li> <li>• Community Service Division (CSD):               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mobilising communities to form trusts;</li> <li>• Provides direct assistance to CBOs in drafting trust constitutions, advising on elections, financial management training, board training including roles and responsibilities, organisational development, providing advice on JVAs, and some other CBNRM technical advice, such as training to Community Escort Guides;</li> </ul> </li> <li>• CSD sociologist, resource economist and community liaison officers also work with communities at district level.</li> <li>• DARUDEC Wildlife Conservation &amp; Management Programme:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promoting stakeholder co-operation (communities, private sector and others);</li> <li>• Facilitating increased benefits to communities from CBNRM;</li> <li>• Improving research and monitoring at central level and community level;</li> <li>• Strengthening capacity of DWNP at headquarters and district level;</li> <li>• Manages the Community Development Fund.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Agriculture Resources Board	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Issues permits for gathering certain veld products.</li> </ul>
Department of Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Created an Eco-tourism Unit:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to support Community Based Tourism Enterprises (CBTEs);</li> <li>• provide awareness about tourism and the importance of tourism for Botswana;</li> <li>• facilitate tourism related training; and</li> <li>• provide some general extension services.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Developed Botswana Tourism Development Master Plan;</li> </ul>

<b>Government Department</b>	<b>Area of Interest/Activities</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developed the National Eco-tourism Strategy;</li> <li>• Helps CBTEs to market their products.</li> <li>• Implemented Community Camel Utilisation project in the Kgalagadi for CBTEs.</li> </ul>
National Conservation Strategy Agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implemented a project to increase the co-ordination and management of CBNRM focusing on the areas of training, community mobilisation, institutional development and building of partnerships; and</li> <li>• Provided grants to NGOs and CBOs to carry out income generating activities, natural resources management and community development projects.</li> </ul>
Department of Lands and Land Boards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Houses Land Boards that administer tribal land in Botswana;</li> <li>• Administers state land for example NG41 (Mababe) and NG49 (Phuduhudu);</li> <li>• Developed along with DWNP the legally binding 'head lease' between Land Boards and CBOs for the utilisation of concession areas; and</li> <li>• District Officers (Lands) co-ordinate District Land Use Planning Units and are members of the TACs.</li> </ul>
National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empowers communities by involving them in the identification, conservation and development of various archaeo-tourism /cultural heritage sites;</li> <li>• Engage in joint ventures with communities who want to develop CBTEs around cultural heritage sites; and</li> <li>• Developed guidelines to regulate and formalise co-management arrangements.</li> </ul>
Rural Development Co-ordination Division	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Co-ordinates the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of government's rural development policies and programmes;</li> <li>• CBNRM falls under the mandate of the Natural Resources Technical Committee;</li> <li>• Implements the Community Based Strategy for Rural Development (CBSRD); and</li> <li>• Trains District Extension Teams (DETs) in the use of participatory techniques for the implementation of CBSRD, which leads to Community Action Plans (CAPs) and CBNRM related activities fall under these CAPs.</li> </ul>
Remote Area Development Department (RADP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poverty alleviation amongst marginalised remote area dwellers, including many who are part of CBNRM activities;</li> <li>• Creation of self-sufficiency sustainable livelihoods for communities and individuals living in remote areas through the sustainable use of the environment and natural resources;</li> <li>• Empowerment on constitutional rights and land use rights; and</li> <li>• Administers the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF) which is used to support income generation and employment projects.</li> </ul>
Integrated Field Services (IFS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provides business training and advice to various small and medium scale enterprises across Botswana, some of which fall in the CBNRM 'sector'.</li> </ul>
District Councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administer RADP.</li> <li>• One district has a Tourism Officer that works with CBOs and CBTEs.</li> </ul>
Technical Advisory Committees (TACs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainly made up of government officers, although some districts allow NGO representatives to be part of the committee; and</li> <li>• Provides advice and guidance to CBOs.</li> </ul>

The government achievements include the establishment of an extension department at DWNP as well as Technical Advisory Committees in the districts. CBNRM-related policies have been

developed during the 1990s, including joint venture guidelines, tendering procedures etc. The suspension of CBO hunting quotas is another achievement, and it has served as a wake-up call for communities, and will hopefully stimulate CBOs to establish better financial and organisational management structures.

Government support is strong on the wildlife side, particularly in technical aspects and extension, but weak with respect to veld products and business development. The capacity of TACs is inadequate as most members have full time commitments in non-CBNRM areas. As with NGOs, very little support is offered to private companies involved in JVAs. The implicit assumption that the private sector does not need support is wrong.

Table 6: Strengths and weaknesses of government institutions

<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Weaknesses</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability of DWNP to provide funds for short training courses and workshops;</li> <li>• The Department of Tourism has a clear plan of action to contribute to CBNRM development;</li> <li>• The RADP recognises the positive impact of CBNRM on its target beneficiaries;</li> <li>• Government departments are active in forums that promote co-operation and dialogue with NGOs and the private sector;</li> <li>• Government has a strong presence in the districts and some CBNRM communities; and</li> <li>• Government is well endowed and has large extension services in numerous departments.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Insufficiently trained human resources to carry out broad mandate of DWNP community extension department;</li> <li>• Lack of specialisation and inadequate capacity in key skill areas i.e. tourism development, business management which are part of the mandate of the DWNP community extension department;</li> <li>• Low motivation and staff morale;</li> <li>• Lack of a robust strategy to implement and achieve ideals outlined in DWNP Strategic Plan (2002);</li> <li>• DoT lacks experienced staff at district level to implement planned activities;</li> <li>• The Agricultural Resources Board (ARB) plays more of a regulatory role and only minimally contributes to the development of CBNRM initiatives;</li> <li>• TACs are composed exclusively of government officers reducing the possible contributions that NGOs and in other specific functions the private sector could make;</li> <li>• Some TACs are involved in direct implementation of CBNRM rather than playing an advisory role; and</li> <li>• TACs are made up of people with full time jobs while CBNRM responsibilities are an “add-on”.</li> </ul>

**Donors**

Donors have historically played an important role in Botswana’s CBNRM process, both in terms of funding and technical assistance. Due to the decrease in donor activities in Botswana, the CBNRM projects are less dependent on donor funding than for example in Namibia. This is positive but it has to be recognised that the decrease in donor assistance has caused problems in CBNRM projects.

As in other southern African countries, donor activities have had mixed results. Donors have been instrumental in developing infrastructure and technology of CBOs and in providing much needed ‘on-the-ground’ technical assistance. Their on-the-ground local assistance has proven to be extremely valuable for three of the four case study CBOs. The subsequent decrease in donor activities has caused substantial problems in CBOs, which were not yet mature enough to sustain themselves without external assistance (e.g. NKXT).

In the absence of a CBNRM programme, government did not fill all gaps left by donors, despite the important work of the DWNP extension department. Several domestic and international

donors and funding programmes still exist at the moment to support CBOs and CBNRM projects. These include:

<b>Local funding sources</b>	<b>Joint funding between international agencies and the government of Botswana</b>	<b>Funding from international agencies</b>
DWNP Community Conservation Fund	Action for Economic Empowerment Trust	US Ambassadors self-help Fund
RADP Economic Promotion Fund	Micro-Projects Programme	American Embassy's Democracy and Human Rights Fund
IFS Training and General Support Fund		Canada Fund for Local Initiatives
Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA)		Environmental Heritage Foundation NGO/CBO Empowerment Project
LG 109 Village Development Programme		UNDP Global Environmental Facility
NCSA CBNRM Support Project		African Wildlife Foundation
		DARUDEC Wildlife Conservation and Management Programme

Some programmes such as the Micro-Projects Programme may extend more actively into CBNRM in the future.

*Major areas of interest and activity of donors:*

- Community self-reliance and socio-economic development;
- Building and strengthening democratic institutions;
- Provision of financial support to CBOs and other conservation initiatives geared towards protection of endangered species;
- Environmental education;
- Support for the renovation and management of community lodges;
- Sustainable exploitation of natural resources;
- Promoting resource management capacity amongst CBOs and NGOs for sustainability;
- Community based initiatives that address global challenges;
- Support to Trans-boundary Natural Resource Management;
- Enterprise development; and
- Income generation and employment creation through sustainable use of natural resources.

*Major constraints of donor support and funding programmes:*

- Short-term horizon that does not sufficiently recognise the efforts involved in building viable CBOs and CBNRM projects, and sudden withdrawals;
- Limited and fragmented funding programmes;
- Limited funding as compared to the number and needs of CBOs and support NGOs;
- Few donors support overheads of NGOs;
- Cumbersome, highly technical and time consuming application and approval procedures;
- Complicated reporting requirements; and
- Limited co-ordination amongst donor agencies.

Start box

### **The recommendations that follow the stakeholder capacity analysis**

1. Negotiate and implement a CBNRM covenant with all stakeholders involved. The covenant would be binding to all parties. The components of and the rationale for a CBNRM covenant are given in a box at the end of the previous chapter.
2. Establish a representative, accountable and legal CBNRM platform with participation of all stakeholders. This institution could be charged with the implementation of the CBNRM covenant. It is recommended to formally register the National CBNRM Forum as a membership trust made up of representatives from the government, CBOs, the private sector, NGOs and the principal donors supporting CBNRM.
3. Clarify and optimise the roles of stakeholders.

#### *With respect to CBNRM implementation*

- The role of government in direct implementation of CBNRM projects needs to be reconsidered. Government involvement in direct implementation of CBNRM needs to focus on areas where the specific government departments have specialised knowledge and expertise;
- There is need to provide more space for NGO and private sector involvement in direct implementation of CBNRM projects; and
- The emphasis of CBNRM implementation and co-ordination should be at district level. TACs should go back to their original role of technical advice, particularly with respect to joint venture agreements and the rural development co-ordination aspects of CBNRM.

*With respect to CBNRM support strengthening and co-ordination, establishment of an association of CBNRM supportive organisations (BOCSO) with representation of government, NGOs and donors*

#### *With respect to the CBNRM enabling environment*

- Government needs to provide an enabling policy environment for the effective implementation of CBNRM. The roles of the different actors involved in facilitating CBNRM needs to be clearly reflected in the CBNRM policy;
- Establishment of a government CBNRM Monitoring and Evaluation Unit to provide oversight in the implementation process; and
- Establishment of a separate CBNRM Policy Development Unit that would be responsible for the CBNRM policy development as well as the co-ordination of government's CBNRM efforts.

#### *With respect to CBNRM monitoring and evaluation*

- The CBNRM National Forum would be actively involved in overall CBNRM monitoring; and
  - The Government's unit would be responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of the impacts of policies and legislation.
4. Development of strong and effective umbrella organisations for stakeholder groups
    - BOCOBONET needs to be strengthened into a representative and accountable association that serves the interests of CBOs. BOCOBONET needs to continue its mandate of lobbying and advocacy on behalf of its members on issues of concern within the CBNRM policy framework;
    - NGOs need to strengthen their lobbying and advocacy strategies through BOCONGO; and
    - HATAB should also continue serving the interests of its private sector membership.
  5. Strengthening of individual groups of stakeholders

#### *Government*

- Departments such as the National Museum and the Agricultural resources Board (ARB) that are critical to the facilitation of CBNRM need to clarify their roles and areas of support to CBNRM projects;
- Greater involvement of ARB, fisheries and other relevant departments into the CBNRM process;
- Better co-ordination of government activities through the new CBNRM Policy Unit; and
- Increase the role of districts in CBNRM and explore the opportunities to get District Councils more actively involved.

#### *CBOs*

- Experiment with different organisational models, particularly within communities. For example by establishing smaller institutional entities below the boards. This could enhance participation, ownership and transparency;
- Make CBOs more professional and outsource specialised expertise that cannot be efficiently provided by a CBO;
- Continuous training of the board, staff and the general membership on the constitution/deed of trust, roles and responsibilities of each level of the CBO structure. Also business management, tourism and enterprise development are key areas where capacity is required;
- Adopt rotational board elections to improve the continuity of boards;
- Adopt transparent and simple administrative, organisational and financial management procedures;
- Adopt a standard and transparent selection process for joint venture agreement parties;
- Establish strong and effective deterrents for irregularities; and
- The level and nature of support should be determined by the development stage of the CBO and by the progress made. The latter provides a performance incentive for CBOs. Moreover, CBO-performance indicators need to be established and annual inspections of CBO and JVP performance need to be carried out.

#### *NGOs*

- NGOs should make CBNRM one of their core businesses and need to specialise their support themes and areas;
- Offer support to increase the capacity of the various NGOs working in CBNRM at all levels (technical, financial, institutional/organisational). This can be done through long-term service contracts within the covenant framework;
- Assess the needs for 'on the ground advisors' and establish longer-term programmes to avoid that CBOs become dependent;
- Encourage spatial and thematic specialisation of NGO support and promote high quality services. NGO support structures could be established in Maun, Hukuntsi and another one in eastern Botswana;
- Establish a Community-Based Tourism Enterprise (CBTE) support unit, for example under the wings of HATAB, to co-ordinate, develop, strengthen and market CBTEs and eco-tourism; and
- Establish a financial and business management support unit, for example within BOCCIM, Enterprise Botswana or another civil society group.

#### *Donors and funding sources*

- Funding agencies need to adopt a longer-time horizon for their support, make a longer term support commitment or integrate their short-term support in the longer-term CBNRM strategic plan/ covenant;
- The Economic Promotion Fund under the RADP could be integrated into or harmonised with CBNRM funding;
- Funding and support of CBOs and NGOs could take the form of performance based contracts of at least five years;
- The recommended new role of the CBNRM Forum carries resource implications and capacity building. The DARUDEC Wildlife Conservation and Management Programme under DWNP and other CBNRM funding instruments may be in the position to support the new institution;

- Funding mechanisms, procedures and requirements need to be simplified in order to facilitate CBO access. It is further recommended that funding could be channelled through the National CBNRM Forum to provide funding and technical support. Ideally, funding and support would be available from a one-stop support centre; and
- Strengthen the co-ordination of donors supporting the same organisations or with the same geographical focus to maximise effectiveness of resource use and to avoid duplication.

End box

## **Analysis of the CBNRM Approach in Botswana**

The Botswana CBNRM landscape consists mostly of wildlife-based projects and a few veld product-based projects. Wildlife-based projects have been the 'face' of CBNRM in Botswana and some of these have generated substantial revenues, mostly from joint venture agreements. The projects adopted a single model approach (establishment of Constitution/Trust and tendering/auctioning of wildlife use rights). Projects were primarily supported by DWNP, in particular its community services division and the TACs. NGOs and donors also offered support.

The rationale of CBNRM is that government could not successfully and efficiently protect natural resources outside protected areas, and that community resource management would be a better development and conservation option. Local resource management would encourage greater local participation and release more resources for conservation. Moreover, decentralisation of benefits of wildlife use would increase the local benefits, and stimulate communities' interest in resource conservation.

The approach fits very well into the trends towards decentralisation of rights and establishment of common property natural resource management regimes to combat the perils of open resources access.

In retrospect, the approach is based on several, often implicit, assumptions such as:

1. *Devolution of parts of resource use rights and the associated increase in local benefits will lead to natural resource conservation.* The review has found that poaching is low and appears to have decreased, and that people have developed positive attitudes towards local natural resources. However, no community has developed a holistic approach towards natural resource management that is needed to ensure resource sustainability. There is therefore not really a common property natural resource management regime; virtually no community has invested in natural resources and infrastructure, and no community has reserved funds for resource conservation. In addition, resource-monitoring efforts are carried out, but remain largely unused, for example in the quota determination where communities are not involved in. While the CBNRM projects have built components of resource conservation, they have not yet introduced secure resource conservation mechanisms. The possible conclusions are that devolution of rights in itself is not enough to guarantee resource conservation and/or that it may take a longer time than expected.
2. *CBNRM projects will generate local benefits that will help to change people's resource attitudes and improve their livelihoods.* Generally, local benefits have increased, mostly due to joint venture agreements, but they are proving to be volatile and insecure due to dependency on wildlife quota. Most CBNRM-projects have not been able to increase income from non-wildlife sources. Moreover, few benefits have trickled down directly to the individual members of communities. It came therefore as a surprise that people have developed appreciation for their local natural resources.
3. *Communities are able to design and implement productive projects that will augment and diversify trust income.* This has proven to be very difficult for most CBOs. KyT appears currently quite successful, probably due to its more commercial and market-oriented approach. One difficulty is that the private sector is hardly involved in these productive projects. Another difficulty is the limited local market opportunities for productive projects. This calls for a broader approach of trusts towards investments, including a review of external investment opportunities, and involvement of the private sector.
4. *Communities will improve their performance and in the end be able to manage natural resource and CBNRM projects alone.* The review finds that most communities require substantial support, particularly hands-on, on-the-ground support. Support continues to be needed with respect to organisational and administrative management, financial management and enterprise skills, particularly related to tourism. Support is needed for longer than originally anticipated.



5. *Communities are able to distribute the benefits fairly and in a transparent manner.* Communities do not have a benefit distribution plan, and the primary beneficiaries are those employed by trusts and those benefiting from access to allowances. The direct benefits to communities and to individual members are minimal. Currently, no consideration is given to investments into natural resource management and into external investments.
6. *Communities are able to identify and pursue common, unified interest and activities.* The wildlife-based CBNRM model assumed that the formation of a trust and village committees (for multiple village CBOs) and provision for general meetings with members are sufficient to successfully pursue unified interest and activities, and resolve conflicts that may emerge within the communities. The model assumed that the institutions would be representative, accountable and legal. The review finds that such institutions are legal, but not necessarily representative and accountable. Representation and accountability require additional factors to be in place such as checks and balances and smaller homogenous institutions within villages.
7. *'One model fits all' CBNRM projects.* CBNRM projects have been driven by a single model approach, probably because it is easier understood and to be implemented. However, a uniform approach is unlikely to incorporate local variations in natural resource and socio-economic conditions. The latter include population density, ethnicity, settlement patterns, and differences within communities, size of CBNRM area and the location vis-à-vis markets. The one model approach can easily become coercive and cause neglect of important local factors.
8. *Communities control the key determinants of resource conservation and economic development.* The implicit assumption is that communities are able to control the key determinants of resource conservation and economic development; this is only partly true. Firstly, quota are set by DWNP, and not influenced by communities. This weakens the incentives for communities to manage wildlife resources sustainably. Secondly, the state of natural resources is determined by several factors beyond the control of CBOs. These include infrastructure developments such as fences, diseases, and fragmentation of wildlife habitats that interferes with resource mobility. Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE experience shows that unfavourable macro-economic and political conditions may have a strong, negative impact on the results of CBO projects. In general terms, external shocks may have substantial impact on resource conservation and development results of CBNRM projects. CBOs should plan for such shocks and government should minimise shocks on CBNRM projects (e.g. sudden quota changes, resource bans etc.).
9. *Natural resources offer comparative advantages that render natural resource utilisation the most viable development option.* CBO projects are found in relatively resource rich areas with limited agricultural potential. Therefore the utilisation of natural resources makes economic sense. However, there is a vast difference in potential among CBNRM areas. It is important to establish the comparative natural resources advantages in more detail before CBO plans are being developed and this assessment should include costs-benefit considerations. The review shows that the economic potential of CBNRM in western Botswana may be more limited than the first joint venture agreements suggested.
10. *CBNRM projects can become successful and independent in a relatively short period.* The implicit assumption has been that successful CBOs and projects can be established within ten years; this turns out to be untrue. Even relatively successful CBOs such as STMT are still at risk of mismanagement and poor performance. It needs to be recognised that working with communities is a long-term process, yielding few short-term and mostly long-term results. During that period withdrawal of support can lead to collapse of the CBO.

Experiences from Botswana and the region show that growth, diversity, flexibility, sufficient time and experimentation and learning are key to the CBNRM process. These elements are captured in a number of 'CBNRM fundamentals' that need to be taken into account in the design of a CBNRM programme as well as in the design of individual projects and support mechanisms as they are critical to the long-term success of CBNRM in Botswana.

Start box

## **CBNRM fundamentals**

- Any CBNRM programme needs to recognise the local diversity in socio-economic and environmental conditions and potential. Such conditions include the settlement patterns, remoteness, ethnicity, capabilities, natural resource variety, abundance and economic potential. Therefore, a CBNRM programme should facilitate the development of different local CBNRM models based on local needs and capabilities;
- The primary justification of CBNRM lies in promoting rural development, improving livelihoods and conservation of natural resources. Consequently, CBNRM projects should aim at increasing revenues and other benefits, and distributing such benefits to the benefit of the community and its members. CBNRM is not meant only to sustain trusts and the few direct beneficiaries;
- Community empowerment and participation requires more than community meetings and a board. There is need to develop structures within the community that operate under and with the board to increase participation, ownership and transparency. The KyT group model may hold opportunities for other CBOs;
- CBNRM projects are economic activities and not charity or social welfare projects. To sustain these, trusts need to operate efficiently, and projects need to be viable. Trust projects are not necessarily implemented by the trust, especially if trusts lack relevant expertise. Projects could be run by a group of villagers, by individuals or by a company;
- CBNRM is a slow, evolutionary process, which sees CBOs passing through different stages (establishment, initial implementation, consolidation, and maturity). Time is needed to increase the capacity of CBOs. With time the tendering system also improves due to lessons learnt from previous tenders and growing competition. It is important to give CBOs time and room to learn from successes and failures. Moreover, support should be adjusted to the stage of the CBOs, and be made conditional on progressing to other stages; and
- Sustainability is the key to the future of CBNRM. While the potential economic, environmental and social sustainability have been clearly demonstrated, empirical data do not exist to demonstrate sustainability progress. Monitoring as well as research and development are essential components of a sustainable CBNRM programme.

End box

## **Socio-economic Impacts of CBNRM Projects in Botswana**

CBNRM projects aim to increase local resource revenues to the benefit of rural livelihoods and rural development. The idea is that the local revenues and benefits are used to:

- Improve living conditions of communities and families;
- Compensate families that are affected by 'living with CBNRM resources;
- Re-invest in natural resource management (e.g. restocking, water points); and
- Invest in projects that will strengthen and diversify income sources of communities.

The general perception that emerged from the review is that local resource benefits have increased. However, the benefits have hardly trickled down to families or individuals within the community. The most important short-term benefits include:

- Revenues from joint venture agreements (JVAs). JVAs have been the growth engine of CBNRM projects, in particularly revenues from the elephant quota;
- Employment within the trusts and with the private companies working with communities; and
- Acquisition of and control over assets such as natural, financial and human resources.

The availability of game meat is another important benefit, but it was impossible to quantify this benefit.

### **Revenues**

Revenues exceed one million Pula for several wildlife-based CBOs, and this “big money” has become the “public face” of CBNRM projects. Revenues depend strongly on the benefits from the JVA; donor income is limited and decreasing, and communities have generally been unsuccessful in generating revenues from trust projects. Only the Kgetsi ya Tsie project shows a remarkable ability to increase revenues from the sales of morula oil and soap. Botswana’s CBNRM projects appear less successful in revenue diversification than the Namibian conservancies.

The dependency on wildlife revenues makes CBOs vulnerable to changes in tourism markets and hunting quotas. The limited success of trust projects raises the question as to whether trusts are the best institution to operate these projects. It appears odd that the private sector is not involved in such projects.

Revenues vary a lot between CBOs. The following factors determine the level of revenues:

- Resource abundance and variety; the richer and more diverse the wildlife resources, the higher the revenues. Veld products generate substantially smaller amounts than wildlife;
- Presence of a JVA; trusts involved in JVAs tend to get much higher financial revenues; and
- Age of the CBO. Older CBOs generate higher revenues, probably because of greater experience.

### **Employment**

Employment currently generated by CBNRM is estimated between 1000 and 1500 jobs. Trusts employ around 1000 people, and employment with JVA private companies could be 200 to 500. While these figures are small, they are important to most villages, as there is virtually no local formal employment outside government.

Some companies employ more villagers than necessary in order to comply with the JVA; 1 company stated that it could operate with half the number of staff. Another concern is that employment figures remain below expectations and several trusts with financial difficulties have had to retrench staff. The employment figures of the CBNRM progress reports appear to be too high.

### **Asset formation**

Asset formation is very limited at the household level but some community assets are acquired.

CBOs get conditional user rights over natural resources. The quotas are annually set by DWNP, and CBOs have to comply with several conditions before the quotas are released (e.g. CBOs have to submit audited financial accounts). Lower quotas have eroded CBO revenues and the viability of some CBNRM projects such as in the Kgalagadi (KD 1). The rights are usually sub-leased to companies and sometimes sub-sub-leased by that company. The transferability of user rights improves the marketability of rights and hence their value.

Some CBOs have built community assets such as a community hall with video. Compared to other countries such as Namibia and Zimbabwe, investments in community assets are small in Botswana, presumably because government is expected to develop the community infrastructure.

Finally, a few CBOs invest in training and improvements of human resources (e.g. scholarships). However, the efforts are small and as yet have little impact. Acquired skills are mostly from formal schooling, short training courses from support organisations and previous experience in the private sector tourism sector.

### **Other material benefits**

Other material benefits include:

- Game meat and skins. Usually, CBOs get half of the meat from commercial hunting and sometimes skins, which are used to make crafts;
- Improved access to markets and services. For example, Kgetsi ya Tsie offers market opportunities and morula processing services to its members. It would be too costly for individual members to access such markets;
- Benefits from community funds of the JVA. Such funds address specific needs of communities that have been incorporated in the tender. Private companies calculate the monetary value of such funds, and deduct the amount from the land rental. Thus, the community pays the community expenditures through lower land rentals, and should ask itself the question whether support organisations such as NGOs could deliver such products more effectively; and
- Access to private sector resources and expertise. This important benefit is not properly used due to the suspicion and mistrust that often exists between communities and private companies.

### **Non-material benefits**

The CBNRM projects have very important non-material benefits. While such benefits are often left out of standard economic appraisal techniques, this does gross injustice to CBNRM projects. The list of non-material benefits includes the following:

- High social status of CBNRM members and villages;
- Establishment of representative village institutions;
- Strengthening of the village identity and culture;
- Local empowerment, pride development and self confidence;
- Reduced dependency on government support;
- Technology and product development;
- New economic opportunities for projects in tourism and hunting;
- Exposure to private sector and business thinking and management;
- Development of skills and increased accountability;
- Development of better working relations with government, conservation institutions and support organisations; and
- Retaining educated and productive youth in rural areas.

Such benefits could have important spin-off for rural development outside the immediate sphere of natural resource conservation and utilisation, and contribute towards Vision 2016.

There are also negative impacts of CBNRM projects. For example, opposing factions may emerge within CBNRM projects that strive to control the CBO.

### Distribution of local benefits

The distribution of benefits is critical to bringing about the desired attitude change towards natural resources and changes in livelihoods. It is not enough to generate local benefits, but it is imperative to distribute the benefits fairly and wisely from an economic, social and environmental perspective.

The average revenue from joint venture agreements per resident is around P 850 per annum (2001). Assuming that CBOs generate another 25% extra, the total average financial benefit would be around P 1 050 per annum per person. This is significant in view of the extremely low incomes in most of the CBNRM villages.

However, members do not benefit from CBNRM projects to this extent. The review found that no trust has a *benefit distribution plan*. Benefits seem to be distributed in a haphazard way, mostly controlled by the board and community gatherings. There is no provision for compensation of community members that have been negatively affected by wildlife resources. Table 7 shows how benefits are distributed by the four case study CBOs.

Table 7: Benefit distribution of the four case study CBOs.

<b>CBO</b>	<b>STMT (NG 34)</b>	<b>KyT</b>	<b>KDT (NG 19)</b>	<b>NKXT (KD1)</b>
<b>Distribution of trust expenditures</b>	1999-2001: trust expenditures: 70 to 82%; Community benefits range from 4 to 14%; Capital expenditures: 10 to 24%; Surplus is banked.	Most revenues spent on trust operation; P 85000 spent on payment to members in 2002.	Revenues spent on trust operations and invested in development of camps.	Mostly spent on trust (now close to 100% of revenues); Little on projects (mostly donations) and communities (only one cash payment in 2001).
<b>Type of other community benefits</b>	Some community facilities; Scholarships; Support for soccer team.	Empowerment; Training and organisational skill development.	None.	Social responsibility programme run by private company; Few community benefits worked out.
<b>Type of community member benefits</b>	Annual cash payment to members; Contribution to funeral expenditures; Support for poorest in village; Free meat for poorest in village.	In 2003, average payment to members was around P 100; With direct sales, members could have raised P 200-300; Growing number of micro loans.	None at present; In the past: free game meat for destitutes and subsidised transport to Maun.	One cash payment of P 40/member.

The bulk of the financial revenues is used for trust operations and very little is distributed directly to members. Member benefits are mostly derived from the community funds of the JVA. 2 of the 4 case studies have increased cash payment to individuals in recent years. While payments to individuals may be small, they have a highly symbolic value and strong influence on members' perception of the trust.

### **Livelihood security and diversity**

CBNRM projects are meant to improve rural livelihoods but the current impact is small in Botswana due to the existing pattern of benefit distribution. Those, whose livelihoods significantly improve are trust employees and persons, who benefit otherwise from trusts (e.g. from allowances). If all CBO revenues were simply divided among CBO members, the contribution to livelihoods would be substantial. Table 8 shows that members in KDT and STMT could fetch several thousands of Pula per year, while the disbursement would be 'only' several hundreds in the Kgalagadi. These amounts are substantial given the low rural incomes in these villages.

Table 8 Per capita income from joint venture agreements (Pula; 2000-02)

<b>Per capita joint venture income</b>	<b>STMT (NG 34)</b>	<b>KDT (NG 19)</b>	<b>NKXT (KD 1)</b>
<b>Year 2000</b>	761.20	2750.00	0
<b>Year 2001</b>	574.36	1438.85	322.41
<b>Year 2002</b>	3694.80	2790.70	204.20

CBNRM projects are usually at best a supplementary livelihood source (e.g. Zimbabwe and Namibia). Nonetheless, the limited impacts are likely to be positive as:

- CBNRM projects access new sources of income for villagers;
- The non-material benefits are important to rural livelihoods; and
- Reduced dependency on drought-prone agriculture and government handouts.

In some cases CBNRM has adversely affected livelihoods (e.g. KD 1 where individual access to game licenses was lost). It was therefore remarkable that local residents categorically stated that they do not want to go back to the old system of special game licenses, as CBNRM offers hope and the potential of more benefits on the longer term.

It is important to reconsider the distribution of CBO-benefits. The livelihood impact of CBNRM could be enhanced by increased cash payments to communities, diversification of the revenue sources of trusts and implementation of drought coping or food security strategies.

### **National benefits**

While the emphasis of the CBNRM process is on increasing local benefits, CBNRM projects also bring important national benefits, including the following:

1. CBNRM projects offer growth opportunities for commercial hunting, photo safaris and commercial use of veld products. Hitherto, the private sector was confined to freehold and state land, but through CBNRM, this sector has gained access to the country's vast communal areas;
2. The pooling of community and private sector resources could boost rural and community development;
3. CBNRM projects are based on comparative natural advantages and therefore are in principle economically viable. One needs to realise however that comparative advantages differ from region to region, and change in time;
4. CBNRM projects empower local communities and reduce their dependency on government handouts. The enhanced pride and self-confidence of communities contributes to Vision 2016;
5. Approximately 25% of the turn-over in CBNRM-related businesses flow back to the State in the form of licence and concession fees, taxes and levies;
6. CBNRM is one of the few sectors in Botswana that continue to attract financial and technical assistance from donors; and
7. CBNRM projects retain some productive youth in rural areas. The CBNRM projects demonstrate that rural projects can succeed.

These national benefits need to be recognised but at the same time constraints need to be addressed that restrict CBNRM projects to maximise their contribution to the national economy. These constraints are currently:

- There is too much reliance on commercial hunting and under-utilisation of the photo safari potential. Reasons are that most JVA companies are specialised in hunting and the current sub-lease period (five years) is too short to stimulate investments in lodge development;
- The handing over of private lodges to communities by the Land Board in the past has been disastrous and has adversely affected the output of the tourism sector, and dented the international reputation of the sector;
- The relationships between communities and private companies are usually tense while the private sector hardly features in CBNRM processes. This restricts the learning opportunities from the private sector and communities; and
- CBNRM effectively gives an economic value to wildlife user rights, and therefore the consequences of any changes in such rights for communities need to be considered carefully (e.g. lion hunting ban).

Start box

### **Socio-economic recommendations**

#### *1. Increase data generation and analysis by:*

- Introduction of standard baseline information and monitoring methods with community participation and with performance indicators;
- Compilation of annual CBNRM statistics to the benefit of CBNRM planning and implementation;
- Establishment of a CBNRM Research Fund to stimulate applied research in key aspects of CBNRM.

#### *2. Increase the material and non-material benefits, as well as their reliability and sustainability by:*

- Developing a revenue generation strategy in order to diversify and sustain income sources;
- Development of plans of investment (in communities and beyond) to sustain future revenues;
- Exploring and promoting viable local investment opportunities through micro-lending and/or tendering of such opportunities;
- Consider sub-leasing or other arrangements for productive projects;
- Maximising existing sources of revenues by improving tendering and auctioning, by better utilisation of the photo safari potential, and by more productive collaboration with private companies;
- Separate tendering of hunting and photo safari activities;
- Study and exploit viable projects based on commercialisation of veld products, fish resources (e.g. fish farming) and wood resources.

#### *3. Promote a fair and sustainable distribution of benefits*

- CBOs should be made aware of the fragility and volatility of their revenue sources and the determinants of the value of natural resources;
- CBOs need to build financial buffers to deal with revenue uncertainty;
- CBOs should adopt a revenue sharing formula that takes into account the benefits to community members, trust recurrent expenditures, resource conservation and productive investments;
- CBOs should develop benefit distribution plans. This ensures consistency and transparency in benefit distribution;
- The benefits for individual members and communities need to be increased, and the trust expenditures reviewed and brought under control;
- Guidelines and strategies should be developed for vehicle purchase and maintenance, employment strategies and conditions as well as for various types of allowances;
- Community support should be focussed on the poorest to ensure that households receive compensation for any costs associated with living with CBNRM-resources;

- Community conditions for JVAs with private companies should be restricted to areas where private companies possess expertise and resources. Community needs that cannot easily be met by the private sector should not be incorporated; and
- Subsistence hunting rights and livelihood needs should be honoured. Community rights should not be given to the private company when subsistence hunting needs are not met, and members do not directly benefit from commercial hunting;
- Given the low direct benefits of CBNRM projects, opportunities for viable agriculture and other income alternatives need to be better explored and exploited while minimising their possible conflicts with community-managed natural resources.

#### *4. Exploit the potential of community-private sector partnerships*

Improve and intensify the relationships between communities and the private sector. This starts with ensuring a better understanding of each other, development of mutual trust, and ends with increased and more productive collaboration. Better relationships require efforts from all stakeholders:

- The private sector has to become more actively involved in the CBNRM process; not just in individual projects;
- The communities need to appreciate the strengths of private companies and be willing to learn from it;
- Information dissemination and education about CBNRM need to be improved as well as the clarity on strategies and roles of all stakeholders;
- Regular contacts at the programme level are needed; and
- Support organisations should pay more attention to the (potential) role of the private sector in the CBNRM process.

End box



## **Environmental Assessment of CBNRM in Botswana**

The environmental rationale of CBNRM projects is that greater community control over local natural resources and increasing local benefits from their utilisation would make local people appreciate these resources and conserve them. The review found that CBNRM has had positive environmental impacts, but that it does not yet guarantee resource conservation. Put differently, the first steps towards resource conservation have been taken but further steps need to be taken to bring about resource conservation and their sustainable use. CBNRM projects have not yet led to systems of common property resource management.

The positive environmental impacts of CBNRM projects include the following:

- Growing appreciation of the value of natural resources;
- Apparent reduction in poaching;
- Better relationships with conservation officials;
- Preservation of savannah landscape and biodiversity; and
- Reduced need for rural agriculture in marginal areas and prevention of the associated agro-environmental problems.

Several environmental concerns remain for the time being.

Firstly, CBNRM projects do not collect environmental baseline and monitoring data. Therefore, it is virtually impossible to quantify the environmental impacts. Such data should be collected and used in resource planning and management in future.

Secondly, most CBOs rely heavily on wildlife resources. Hunting is the major source of revenue, in particular elephant hunting, and the projects would probably collapse without elephant on the hunting quota. In general terms a decrease in future hunting opportunities could render most current CBNRM projects non-viable. It is therefore important that communities decrease their dependency on hunting.

Thirdly, few CBOs have a comprehensive environmental management strategy, other than the land management plan required for registering as a trust. CBOs do not invest in natural resources (e.g. restocking, or propagation) or in water points to retain wildlife resources in their areas. Monitoring is restricted to the work of Community Escort Guides but the data are not processed and analysed. Few plans seem to systematically evaluate the economic, social and environmental merits of different forms of resource use such as hunting, photo safaris and collection and processing of veld products.

Fourthly, wildlife-hunting quotas are determined by DWNP after consultation with CBOs. CBOs feel, however, that their comments are usually not taken into consideration and they have therefore stopped commenting. This situation is regrettable as the perceptions of DWNP and CBOs about the state of wildlife resources are very different. While DWNP often holds the view that resources are in decline, and hence reduces the quotas, CBOs consider the resources fairly stable or to be even increasing. They do not understand why quotas are decreasing. It is possible that CBOs and hunting companies may be biased in favour of higher quota and hence more revenues. At the same time, the process of quota determination is not transparent, as the link between resource changes and annual quotas is not documented.

Start Box

### **Environmental recommendations**

- Strengthen resource monitoring through local participatory monitoring strategies with communities and safari operators;
- Determine hunting quotas in close and genuine co-operation between DWNP, CBOs and the private sector;
- Wildlife off-take within CBNRM areas should be monitored against set quota;

- Problem Animal Control (PAC) of trophy species should be incorporated into the hunting quota in CBNRM areas;
- Adopt a holistic approach to natural resources management in CBNRM areas that includes:
  - Establishment and measurement of environmental indicators;
  - Comparison of different resource use options (e.g. hunting and photo safaris);
  - Bartering of veld products between CBOs;
  - Providing water points to retain reasonable numbers of animals in CBNRM area;
  - Restocking of animal species that have decreased in the CBNRM areas;
  - Diversification of CBNRM into veld products and identification of high potential veld products areas; and
  - Diversify wildlife use to photographic tourism.

End box

## Policy and Legislative Environment in Botswana

As stated above, policy and legislation making have fallen behind the gradual development of CBNRM in Botswana. While bits and pieces of CBNRM policy have been developed, no comprehensive CBNRM policy or legislation has been adopted as yet. Examples of relevant CBNRM policy documents include the Joint Venture Guidelines (DWNP) and the Community Natural Resources Management Lease (Department of Lands). The most important pieces of associated policy are:

- The 1986 Wildlife Conservation Policy. This policy created the concept of Wildlife Management Areas, where wildlife utilisation would become the primary form of land use;
- The 1990 Tourism Policy. This policy created tourism concessions, also in communal areas and laid conditions for the competitive process through which these concessions could be acquired;
- The draft (2003) CBNRM policy. This policy aims to provide a comprehensive approach towards local management of natural resources. Besides wildlife, it includes veld products, forestry and fishery resources. It also controls community access and benefits to and from Parks. The policy indicates the institutional framework that would be responsible for CBNRM implementation;
- The 2002 revised Rural Development Policy. This policy identifies areas for private commercial development as well as areas for community-based development, be it subsistence or commercial oriented.

At present most natural resource policies are not specific to CBNRM. This contrasts sharply with the community-based emphasis that has been given to rural development strategies (1997) and policies (2002). It is surprising that the community focus of the new rural development strategy and policy have not yet significantly impacted on CBNRM projects, possibly because DWNP (whose mandate is not rural development) has been the lead government support agency. There is a need to strengthen the “development emphasis” of CBNRM projects in policy making.

The existing natural resource policies leave gaps, inconsistencies and conflicts with respect to CBNRM. Some natural resources are virtually unregulated such as those veld products that are not governed under the Agricultural Resources Conservation Act. For example, veld product permits are mostly granted on an individual basis and CBOs may not even need a permit for their use or purchase, while wildlife permits are granted to communities. Consequently, veld product CBOs such as KyT have no exclusive, secure resource base. For example, new CBOs that would work in the same area and acquire resource rights based on the DWNP-model could affect the rights of KyT. Moreover, existing natural resource policies are rarely adequately monitored and therefore no incentives exist for communities to contribute towards their implementation.

The situation is worse with respect to the legislative environment. While Botswana does not have CBNRM legislation, it also lacks comprehensive environmental legislation such as an Environmental Management Act and Environmental Impact Assessment legislation. The approval process has taken a very long time, and is not yet concluded. The absence of umbrella environmental legislation means that non-compliance with environmental and bits of CBNRM policy is difficult to redress at the moment. Existing resource legislation may be incompatible with CBNRM principles and need to be reviewed (e.g. 1974 Agricultural Resources Conservation Act). Enforcement is even more problematic. While CBNRM has the potential to reduce enforcement needs due to greater community involvement and compliance, it is important that CBOs are accorded the local benefits and enforcement responsibilities. Finally, checks and balances are needed within the CBNRM process to prevent mismanagement and abuse. Such checks and balances could be strengthened through legislation.

Apart from these general policy and legislative observations, specific issues were addressed under the review.

Firstly, it was concluded that the trust form is the most suitable one for CBOs. The trust form is more flexible than any other organisation form, is suitable to pursue training and education (one of the goals of most trusts) and is a democratic and transparent form of organisation.

Secondly, the five-year sub-lease is too short to promote investments and development, and to build strong partnerships between communities and private companies. The period is particularly short for photo safari operations that require substantial investments in infrastructure and marketing. To bring about genuine development and collaboration, longer leases are necessary with obvious checks and balances.

Thirdly, the accountability of trusts is a source of concern and needs to be improved. Trust strategies are often inadequate and actions, either by the board or by employees, not sufficiently transparent or known within the communities due to lack of communication. This leaves room for mismanagement. Trusts could include indemnity clauses in their constitution, thus simplifying the recovery procedures of unaccounted money. In the case of gross mismanagement that affects the entire trust, the trust could be placed under temporary protection. Instead of suspending quotas, quotas would be administered by a person or institution on behalf of the community until the trust is out of danger and able to comply with the quota requirements.

Fourthly, tendering has generally worked well, increasing the revenues of CBOs. Opportunities to make tendering more competitive exist, for example by making the process more transparent by compulsory disclosure of company information.

Fifthly, the constitution of most trusts allows them to make and implement byelaws, for example for natural resource management. No trust appears to have made any byelaw as yet.

Finally, CBNRM provides conditional user rights to communities, and not full ownership rights or comprehensive user rights of land. At present, such rights refer mostly to wildlife resources and are less clear for other natural resources such as reeds, fish, trees, etc. Rights of use over these other natural resources need to be defined.

Start box

### **Policy and legislative recommendations**

- Enforcement of existing policies in various Ministries and Department should be enhanced;
- The draft CBNRM Policy should be overhauled, speedily finalised and implemented. The Policy should ensure consistency across natural resources and have a simple, implementation framework that does not unduly burden CBOs (e.g. one Government institution responsible for CBNRM);
- Umbrella environmental legislation should be adopted to provide overall protection for the country's natural resources;
- CBNRM legislation should be enacted, and define the resources that need to be protected, delineate the ownership/ user rights and duties of communities and CBOs as well as entail a range of enforcement or protective regimes of these resources;
- The trust model is most suitable for CBOs and should be retained. However, CBOs should consider the company model to run productive projects, initiated by the trust;
- Training of board members is needed and boards should play supervisory and advisory roles, and not be involved in day-to-day management;
- Trusts Constitutions should contain indemnity clauses to protect the beneficiaries against embezzlement of funds in cases of fraud, mishandling of funds, etc.; and
- Trusts that cannot meet accountability standards be placed under protection for a certain period during which its house should be put in order with external assistance. Afterwards, full authority will be returned to the trust, or in case of failure, the head-lease will be terminated.

End box

## **Regional CBNRM Approaches and Experiences, and Lessons for Botswana**

Since Zimbabwe pioneered the CBNRM approach in the 1980s, Zambia and Namibia have developed CBNRM programmes too (in addition to Botswana). Below, the main features of the Namibian and Zimbabwean programmes are discussed, focusing on possible lessons that Botswana's CBNRM projects can learn from the regional experiences.

### **CBNRM in Namibia**

After Independence in 1990, the Namibian government has introduced a number of policies and laws that provide for community management of natural resources. Changes towards community management have taken place mostly in the wildlife sector but the approach also extends to forestry, water and inland fisheries. A national CBNRM programme has developed with a particular focus on developing *conservancies*. Conservancies are common-property resource management institutions for managing wildlife on communal land. Policy and legislation enables government to give conditional rights over wildlife to communities that form a conservancy. A conservancy needs to have:

- A legal constitution;
- Clearly defined boundaries agreed by neighbouring communities;
- An equitable benefits distribution plan;
- A defined membership; and
- A committee that is representative of the conservancy members.

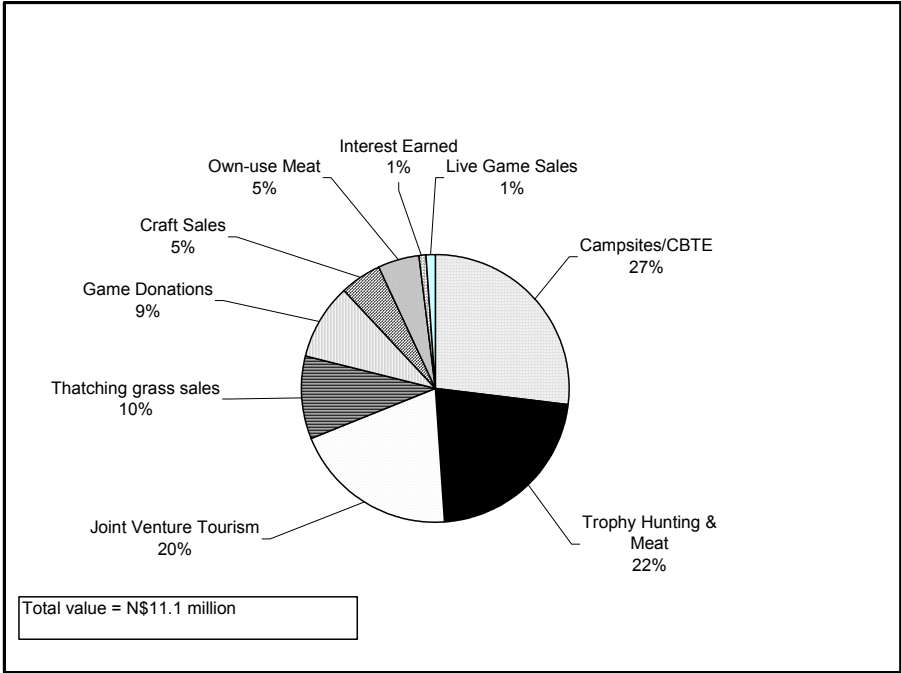
There are now twenty-nine conservancies registered by government and a further thirty are being formed. The existing conservancies cover an area of about 74 000 square kilometres, they have a total of 38 000 registered members (usually adults over 18) and an estimated 150 000 people benefit from the conservancy programme. Currently twelve NGO support organisations and the Government of Namibia, represented through five directorates of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, are involved in the CBNRM programme.

The Namibian programme has focused on providing communities with rights entrenched in legislation and with considerable flexibility and choice. Communities are able to define their own social unit in order to form a conservancy and are not limited by existing administrative boundaries. Communities elect their own representatives. Individual community members must choose to join a conservancy and do not gain automatic membership through residency. Conservancies decide themselves how to use their income. The Namibian programme has focused on considerable capacity building for operating conservancies to allow for active natural resource management. The programme is still receiving considerable support of international donors.

The CBNRM programme has a positive resource impact. There is a general increase in wildlife in conservancy areas, there has been a reduction in poaching, there is progress in managing human-wildlife conflicts, maintenance of wild habitat, increased awareness of wildlife and tourism as productive land uses, and increased requests by conservancies for the re-introduction of game. Conservancies are also developing integrated land and resource management plans, developing wildlife and problem animal monitoring systems and carrying out game censuses.

The revenues of conservancies have risen sharply. The total direct income and benefits from CBNRM to conservancies and community members was N\$11,1 million (US\$1,48 million - 1 Namibian dollar is 1 Rand or 0.67 Pula) in 2002, almost double the amount of 2001. The highest earning conservancy received nearly N\$1 million in 2002 and during the same year, 4 conservancies became financially independent of external financial assistance. Conservancies are beginning to make cash pay outs to members, as well as spending income on community projects. Conservancies have fairly diverse income sources with 4 main sources of income accounting for almost 90% of the total revenues (Figure 2): campsites (27%), trophy hunting and meat (22%), joint venture tourism (20%), and selling thatching grass (10%).

Figure 2: Sources of revenues of CBOs in Namibia



Economic analysis has shown that flexibility and adaptability in the design of CBNRM projects have allowed Namibia’s conservancy initiative to fuse an apparently sound rural development framework with significant intangible values and benefits as well as financial income for communities. The analysis confirms the assertion that conservancies can deliver positive financial incentives to communities, contribute positively to national development, conserve wildlife and be at least as sustainable as other rural development initiatives.

CBNRM also provides rural residents with a number of social benefits that include employment close to home, capacity building in the form of training in operating conservancies, financial management, business skills, and training in land use planning, game counts, and resource monitoring. Communities are becoming more confident and assertive in negotiating with government, donors and the private sector and conservancies have proven effective as legal entities for upholding community rights.

Compared to Botswana’s CBNRM projects, the Namibian approach seems to emphasise support for CBOs. This support is more specialised and some of it regionally based, and involves both government and experienced NGOs. Organisations have been formed such as NACOBTA (support organisation in tourism), and special support funds have been created similar to the CCF in Botswana. The LIFE programme, funded by USAID, has been a stable lead agency for CBO support. Interestingly, Namibia’s CBNRM approach also covers the operation and maintenance of village water supply systems. After government has developed reticulation systems, communities take over the responsibilities for their operation and maintenance. It is too early to judge the results of community-based water resource management.

Start Box

**Key lessons learned from the Namibian CBNRM programme**

- Policy and legislation should be based on local needs and come from practical experience – participatory socio-ecological surveys led to the development of policy and legislation which was developed by government wildlife practitioners;

- CBNRM policy and legislation should provide a flexible framework – communities need to be able to develop their own institutions according to their own circumstances;
- Policy and legislation should allow rural communities to have as much management rights as possible – a real sense of ownership and responsibility comes with strong rights of proprietorship;
- The conservancy model is a sound institutional structure – it has been adopted and adapted by other sectors and non-wildlife communities are using it for management of other resources;
- CBNRM structures need to be well defined at the time of establishment and be considered legitimate to be effective – such structures need to have the attributes of successful common property resource management institutions;
- Individual community members should choose to join the CBNRM structure – this builds accountability and acknowledgement of rights and responsibilities, reinforces the likelihood that members will understand the constitution, establishes a commitment to the conservancy, and allows for budgeting for benefit distributions;
- Participatory planning processes foster stakeholder co-operation, co-ordination and a sense of ownership – this has been evident at national level and within communities;
- Importance of a national CBNRM co-ordinating body – this provides a sense of cohesion and helps to avoid major territorial conflicts;
- Tourism development should be planned based on business principles – particularly the identification of a demand for the product;
- Regular support on financial management is necessary to ensure that finances are handled properly – conservancies have no significant cases of financial mismanagement partly because there has been considerable training, development of a common financial system and the use of checks and balances and monitoring by support organisations;
- Management authority and rights to benefit should be devolved to the lowest possible level to have the maximum effect on behaviour change – transparency and accountability are easier to achieve with smaller units and there are also logistical efficiencies;
- CBNRM structures should develop their own plans for integrated rural development – service provision for all sectors can be planned and co-ordinated according to the aims and objectives of a community’s own development plan, thus preventing a proliferation of sector-based organisations working in isolation or competition; and
- It is best not to mix service provision and advocacy in CBNRM membership associations – difficulties can arise when an umbrella membership organisation tries to do both and issues of sustainability can arise.

End box

### **CBNRM in Zimbabwe**

The Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) is about the sustainable use of natural resources by rural communities. The community users may be a village, a ward or a group of wards depending on the type of natural resource being managed and the way in which it is distributed in a given geographical area.

CAMPFIRE is based on devolution of power from central government to Rural District Councils (RDCs). Through Section 95 of the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975 as amended in 1982, the Minister may gazette a district as having Appropriate Authority (AA). AA confers full rights for wildlife in the same manner as enjoyed by private landholders with some checks to ensure that these rights are not abused. Legally, wildlife belongs to no one unless they are held in captivity or enclosed in a game fence. The Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWLM) does not own wildlife but is obliged by law to look after them and ensure that they are properly used and looked after. Similarly, a district council with AA does not own animals. A fundamental objective of CAMPFIRE is to train people in the wards and villages so that they become competent management authority, fully capable of managing their natural resources.

CAMPFIRE now covers fifty-two Councils. In the wildlife producing districts, local communities have set aside large tracts of wild land and have adopted wildlife production systems, both consumptive and non-consumptive within their areas based on free ranging game. Most wildlife

districts are located in the agriculturally marginal natural regions in the northern and southern (hot and dry) low-veld regions of the country.

The CAMPFIRE approach works through three committees:

- District CAMPFIRE Co-ordinating Committees. These are sub-committees of the Rural District Councils' Conservation Committees formed to strengthen communication between the RDCs and their CAMPFIRE wards. Their tasks include:
  - Monitoring the exploitation of natural resources in project areas;
  - Developing plans that are implemented by the district;
  - Overseeing management of CAMPFIRE assets including motorcycles, vehicles and other equipment;
  - Identifying training needs that must be addressed by the RDCs' CAMPFIRE units;
  - Drawing up annual budgets for the RDCs' CAMPFIRE activities; and
  - Co-ordinating quota setting for the entire district.
- Ward-level CAMPFIRE Committees. These committees feed into District or Inter-ward CAMPFIRE Committees. Their task is to co-ordinate village wildlife committees, and to plan and implement ward projects.
- Village CAMPFIRE Committees. These form the basic units for CAMPFIRE and natural resources management. All basic management issues like control of veld fires, apprehending poachers, Problem Animal Control, participating in quota setting, are centred at the village level and handled by the Village Committee.

The CAMPFIRE programme has had significant positive impacts on the conservation of large and small wildlife especially in the "traditional" wildlife districts. Wildlife areas have been demarcated in most districts, often informally and sometimes with fences. The demarcated areas have by and large been maintained. As a result, elephant populations have increased steadily and buffalo populations were maintained since the late 1980s. The trophy quality was also largely maintained.

After 1998 CAMPFIRE diversified its operational focus and its products to include a wide range of other natural resources besides wildlife. New activities include promoting community-based eco-tourism, fisheries, community-based bee-keeping, harvesting and processing phane worms and fruits. In addition, poaching has been contained, the results being reduced levels of illegal off-take of wildlife populations, fish and tree felling.

The CAMPFIRE programme made significant investments in awareness raising through the activities of Rural District Councils (RDCs), CAMPFIRE Service Providers and the CAMPFIRE Association itself. "Action Magazine" (part of Zimbabwe Trust) played a critical role in disseminating conservation awareness messages through schools and teachers training colleges countrywide. Producer communities are encouraged to undertake their own wildlife censuses, and hold meetings with Parks Officers to compare their census results and determine sustainable off-take of wildlife.

CAMPFIRE has developed income-generating enterprises based on natural resources and these projects are linked to natural resource management strategies. Community actions and attitudes towards these resources have significantly changed. Strategies that have been embarked on by communities include: formulation of byelaws that govern access to the resources, fencing the resource, establishment of village natural resource management committees that are responsible for monitoring use of resources, conducting Environmental Impact Assessments and periodic natural resource audits.

At the national level, revenues from hunting in CAMPFIRE districts increased rapidly after 1995 and then maintained at US\$ 1.5-2.0 million annually. In addition at least twelve high-end eco-tourism lodges are operational in or close to communal areas, and generate income. CAMPFIRE has a revenue distribution formula: at least half to the local communities and a maximum of 35% for natural resource management in the district and 15% administration costs for RDCs.

The number of households benefiting from CAMPFIRE cash dividends increased from 7,861 in 1989 to over 80,000 in 2001. Gross revenue received by communities from 1989 to 1999 is just under 50% of total revenues, and reached ZW\$ 51.4 million in 1999. This is an average of ZW\$ of



537.41 per household per year (or US\$ 14.02). CAMPFIRE is thus at best a supplementary source of income (Bond, 2003).

Table 9: Allocation of CAMPFIRE revenue to communities (1989 – 1999)

Year	Exchange Rate: US\$ to ZW\$	No. of Districts	No. of Wards	No. of Households	ZW\$ disbursed to communities	% of total disbursed to communities
1989	2.126	3	15	7 861	396 005	53.25
1990	2.472	9	41	22 084	509 994	37.08
1991	3.751	11	57	52 456	1 203 673	41.42
1992	5.112	12	74	70 311	3 074 278	49.43
1993	6.529	12	98	90 475	5 560 958	57.40
1994	8.212	14	101	96 437	7 794 511	57.78
1995	8.724	14	111	98 946	8 259 680	59.49
1996	10.07	19	96	85 543	8 388 566	47.89
1997	12.444	28	98	93 605	10 681 392	46.57
1998	24.374	28	98	80 498	22 185 225	48.11
1999	38.338	32	112	95 726	51 443 942	48.72
Total					119 498 224	49.70

Note: After 1995 some districts began to default in terms of sending revenue records to the CAMPFIRE Programme's monitoring unit at WWF. Such districts wanted to avoid remitting levies to the CAMPFIRE Association. Some of these districts are the main culprits in failing to pay the agreed % to communities.

Many households made social investments and built small household businesses. Secondary benefits enjoyed by communities include schools, clinics, community grinding mill and shops funded by CAMPFIRE revenue. The programme has also enhanced local employment around successful tourism projects.

CAMPFIRE has led to increased awareness of entitlements and rights and demand for these at village and ward levels. At least 16 Community Trusts were established at sub-district level and most of these have bank accounts, they regular meet and they have paid employees. The idea of forming trusts was learned from Botswana after several district representatives and some CAMPFIRE Service Providers had visited the country. Where trusts have been registered, payments of CAMPFIRE revenues are being made directly to sub-district level.

The policy and legislative framework within which CAMPFIRE operates creates numerous local institutions that operate in parallel, overlap and compete with each other for power and access to financial resources. CAMPFIRE is a dynamic approach, which is now helping Rural District Councils and communities to set up new types of projects. Some of the districts have been able to support diverse community-based natural resource management and income-generating initiatives. Approximately 40% of these new projects focus on the establishment of community-based eco-tourism ventures while 20% involve the production and sale of products derived from indigenous resources such as bee-keeping, crafts and phane worms. Other major project categories include veld fire management and commercial fishing in inland dams.

Start box

#### **Lessons from CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe**

- CAMPFIRE aims at further devolution of responsibilities through the formation of trusts, based on experiences from Botswana and Namibia;
- Programmatic support in the form of long-term relationships is far more important than short-term consultancy support and training;
- Large and time-bound projects are an expensive way of developing community capacity and are not well suited to the behavioural changes that programs like CAMPFIRE envisage;
- In a project approach too much emphasis of support efforts is placed on the delivery of products, and too little on the process of behavioural and institutional change;

- Projects are an inefficient way of driving product diversification, unless they complement the efforts of private entrepreneurs (e.g. venture capital funds);
- Grant funding of diversifying investment results in inefficient use of funds. Moreover, the process whereby communities who are inexperienced in eco-tourism build facilities and then lease them to the private sector is sub-optimal. Providing a venture capital loan fund to which community-private partnerships could apply, is likely to result in more viable investments;
- CAMPFIRE is most sustainable where business partnerships have been developed between communities and the private sector; and
- Communities are capable of managing funds, building projects and managing wildlife, especially with light, but consistent, technical support.

End box

## **Publications available from the CBNRM Support Programme**

### **• CBNRM workshop and conference proceedings:**

1. L. Cassidy and M. Madzwamuse (Eds). 1999. Community Mobilisation in Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana. Report of Workshop Proceedings. Francistown, Botswana, December 9-11 1998. *(Out of print)*
2. L. Cassidy and M. Madzwamuse (Eds). 1999. Enterprise Development and Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana. Report of Workshop Proceedings. Maun, Botswana, March 9-12 1999.
3. L. Cassidy and S. Tveden (Eds). 1999. Natural Resources Monitoring and Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana. Report of Workshop Proceedings. Mokolodi, Botswana, June 10-11 1999. *(Out of print)*
4. L. Cassidy and R. Jansen (Eds). 2000. National Conference on Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana. Report of the National Conference Proceedings. Gaborone, Botswana, July 26-29 1999.
5. National CBNRM Forum in Botswana. 2000. Proceedings of the first National CBNRM Forum meeting in Botswana 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> of May 2000 and the CBNRM Status Report 1999/2000. *(Out of print)*
6. National CBNRM Forum in Botswana. 2002. Proceedings of the second National CBNRM Conference in Botswana 14<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> of November 2001 and the CBNRM Status Report 2001. *(Out of print)*
7. Proceedings of the Fourth National CBNRM Forum meeting in Gaborone, Botswana, 12<sup>th</sup> of June 2003.

### **• CBNRM Occasional Papers:**

1. T. Gujadhur. 2000. Organisations and their approaches in Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
2. C. J. van der Jagt, T. Gujadhur and F. van Bussel. 2000. Community Benefits through Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana.
3. T. Gujadhur. 2000. "It's good to feel like we own the land..." The people's view of community land rights under CBNRM in Botswana. *(Out of print)*
4. L. Cassidy. 2000. CBNRM and Legal Rights to Resources in Botswana.
5. L. Cassidy. 2001. Improving Women's Participation in CBNRM in Botswana.
6. T. Gujadhur. 2001. Joint venture options for communities and safari operators in Botswana.
7. B. T. B. Jones. 2002. Chobe Enclave, Botswana – lessons learnt from a CBNRM project 1993 – 2002.
8. C. J. van der Jagt and N. Rozemeijer. 2002. Practical guide for facilitating CBNRM in Botswana.
9. P. Hancock and F. Potts. 2002. A guide to start a tourism business in Botswana.
10. J. W. Arntzen. 2003. An economic view on Wildlife Management Areas in Botswana.

11. N. Rozemeijer. 2003. CBNRM in Botswana 1989 – 2002, a select and annotated bibliography and other stories.
12. C. VanderPost (ed). 2003. Community Natural Resources of Bugakhwe and ||Anikhwe in the Okavango Panhandle in Botswana.
13. Kutlwane Modiakgotla and Sue Sainsbury. 2003. Labour laws and Community Based Organisations in Botswana.
14. J.W. Arntzen, D.L. Molokomme, E.M. Terry, N. Moleele, O. Tshosa and D. Mazambani. 2003. Main Findings of the Review of CBNRM in Botswana.

• **Other CBNRM-related Papers available from the CBNRM Support Programme:**

1. N. Rozemeijer (ed). 2001. Community-based Tourism in Botswana. SNV Publication. (*Out of print*)
2. P. Hancock and F. Potts. 2001. The CBNRM Services Directory for Botswana. BOCOBONET/CBNRM Support Programme Publication. (*Out of print*)
3. P. Hancock, F. Potts and R. Kupaza. 2003. The CBNRM Services Directory for Botswana. CBNRM Support Programme / BOCOBONET Publication.

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