

Botswana Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Development

Botswana Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Development:

*A Handbook of Theory
and Practice*

Edited by

Byron A. Brown,
Lelokwane L. Mokgalo
and Tsitsi Chipfuva

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PRAISE FOR THE BOOK

“Brilliant... interesting... the book covers all aspects of cultural heritage ... the analysis and revolutionary vision of the business-side of cultural heritage and tourism put forward by the book editors give us an original view of the directions that tourism product diversification can take in modern Botswana.” – **Milton Tapela, Botswana National Museum and Art Gallery**

“In *Botswana Cultural Heritage*, Byron Brown and colleagues have mapped an innovative portrait of the key facets of, and contradictions in, culture and heritage in contemporary Botswana, linking cultural nationalism and internationalism, cultural entrepreneurship prospects, and local community development across ethnic group cleavages. They demonstrate that there are entrepreneurship prospects on the business side of cultural heritage.” – **Mike Lesolle**

“The book is written by academics who understand the local environment and live its culture and heritage every day. I share their passion... [The] book is a powerful tool that promotes a national pride in cultural values, traditions and history....” – **Sarah Rawlinson**

“A sobering read for contemporary audiences who are not just in Botswana but in countries engaged in forever efforts to safeguard cultural heritage resources while also exploring ways to commodify them – reminding us how easily and subjectively the edges of ethnic difference, and its consequences, can shape and reshape our vision of national state building... It is also a valuable reminder that the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is often fleeting: Botswana minority groups may have been overlooked at the birth of the nation, but they have emerged as a recognised force in cultural heritage terms.” – **David Lauren**

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We can only hope that the final result justifies the faith that all our authors, and families who supported us throughout the journey, have put in our role as editors.

FOREWORD

I am delighted to write this Foreword as I believe that the protection of culture and heritage is an important issue across Africa. The government of Botswana recognised the need for culture to be included in their national plans for development and approved a National Policy on Culture in 2002. The implementation of the Policy recognises the concerted effort and contribution by all, starting with local communities. This book, written by my colleagues at the School of Business and Leisure at the Botswana Accountancy College, is an important contribution to understanding the challenge of achieving a permanent interaction between individuals, community groups, captains of industry, NGOs, and the government in making culture and heritage a catalyst for local development. More importantly, the book is written by academics who understand the local environment and live its culture and heritage every day.

I have worked with the School of Business and Leisure at the Botswana Accountancy College since its inception. I have grown to love and understand the country and its cultural heritage through their guidance and have learnt a great deal about the customs from those who understand their local communities and care about the quality of their environment. I share their passion for discovering talent and nurturing creativeness to make local communities more sustainable. As partners and academics, we have shared this knowledge and understanding with our students and the cultural heritage community in Botswana and the UK. It has enriched students' learning and inspired their thinking through interpretive discussion and, through the shared stories of the guardians of the cultures of their respective communities, we get a grounded understanding of the cultural heritage.

This book is a powerful tool that promotes a national pride in cultural values, traditions and history that will guide efforts and actions for policy, interpretation and sustainable tourism development that are examples of best practice for other nations. The chapters are wide ranging and advance the discourse on heritage tourism in Africa, providing insights from Botswana that stimulate debate on sustainable tourism development and the sustainable management of cultural resources. The book provides insights on the challenges and offers solutions for destination marketing, tourism product development and business ventures.

I think the most powerful aspect of this book is the desire to engage readers in discussion about local tourism concerns and a celebration of the cultural heritage of Botswana. Through the chapters of this book readers can identify and apply the theories and concepts as they relate to them. By engaging them in the discourse they are motivated by the value of traditional knowledge, cultural continuity and promoting sustainable social and economic development for future generations.

I hope this book will become a core text that academics, policy makers, cultural heritage experts, local community members, entrepreneurs, NGOs, governments and tourists across Africa and the rest of the world can find stimulating.

—Dr Sarah Rawlinson
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INTRODUCTION

WHAT ARE WE MISSING? THIRD-GENERATION TOURISTS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE: AN INTRODUCTION

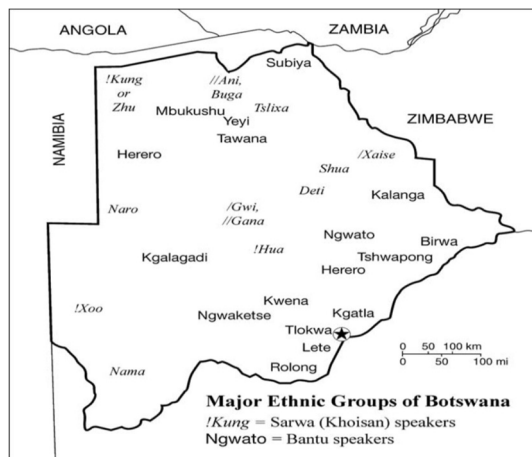
BYRON A BROWN

Cultural heritage is an emerging aspect of tourism in Botswana, and indeed the wider Southern Africa Region (HSRC, 2014; Mabuse, 2013; Mbaiwa, 2005; Giampiccoli, Saayman & Jugmohan, 2016). In Botswana, cultural heritage is very impressive, aligned with the diverse history and ethnic composition of the society. There are many ethnic groups in Botswana, some of whom Denbow and Thebe (2006) have provided a pictorial view of their approximate geographic location in the country (Map A.1). In the last National Census in 2010, the ethnic groups that contributed to the cultural heritage milieu of Botswana included the Tswana, Kalanga, Batswapong, Babirwa, San People or Bushmen, Bayei, Hambukushu, Basubia, Baherero and Bakgalagadi (Brown & Forchesh, 2012). The Tswana cultural community, itself, is not a homogeneous group. The group consists of a number of tribes categorised as Bangwato, Bakwena, Bangwaketse, Batawana, Batlokwa, Bakgatla, Barolong, and Balete (Brown & Forchesh, 2012).

While the ethnic composition of the Botswana society is diverse, not all ethnic groups in the country are recognised by the Botswana Constitution as a community or as having tribal sovereignty. Many of those not recognised are of the non-Tswana clan and are regarded as minority. Although Selolwane (2004) speculates that the non-recognition of these ethnic groups is a result of the structure of ethnic communities at the time, whereby small tribal groups, especially those without a centralized system of governance, were subjugated by, and assimilated into the ranks of, other, more centrally managed and dominant, ethnic groups, thereby causing their

omission and non-recognition – there is no denying that the exclusion of some tribal groups from the Botswana Constitution has impinged negatively on their cultural heritage development, as Nyati-Ramahobo (2006) acknowledged. The exclusion essentially placed those communities in obscurity and curtailed their cultural significance. Nevertheless, Botswana's rich cultural diversity today is buttressed by the presence of these constituent tribal groups and ethnic identities who had not been accorded constitutional recognition and value. This is because many of these groups kept aspects of their culture and ethnic identities alive while under subjugation and had negated to assimilate into the culture of those who subjugated them, as Nyati-Ramahobo (2006) found. Chapter 2 discusses this issue and the politics of cultural heritage in more detail.

Whether recognise as an ethnic community or as having tribal sovereignty or not, each tribal group in Botswana has a unique history, culture, heritage and identity that dates back many years. A case in point is the San Peoples. They are one of mankind's most ancient ethnic groups, with a history that stretches back more than 35,000 years, with their ancestral home being Botswana's vast Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Botswana Specialists, 2016). The rich cultural products and living heritage that underpin the Batswana (people of Botswana) sense of place and national identity at present were passed through the generations of people that traced their origins to the diverse ethnicities that define the country today.



Map A.1 Some of Botswana ethnic groups and their estimated geographic location. Denbow and Thebe, 2006.

In addition to these observations, research has illustrated that European history or settlers' history sprawls around the country, resulting from colonialism and immigration (Mabuse, 2013). Along with these, the country is also defined by an expanse of cultural landscapes that carries deep spiritual and therapeutic significance. In other words, Botswana's cultural heritage is an important part of the environment – the valued places – places such as the Gee Moremi Gore and the Tsodilo Hills that connect the natural and cultural frontiers. Some of the cultural heritage resources in Botswana have been recognised by world heritage bodies such as UNESCO (Mbaiwa, 2005); others have been acknowledged through local land reservations, and through legislative listing (Botswana, 2001). Thousands of years of history have left material traces such as rock paintings, rail networks, gravesites, historic buildings or characteristic architectural features (e.g., mud walls, dry stone walls, straw roofing, and churches). However, there are many other cultural heritage products, places and forms that are yet to be formally identified, recognised, and protected (HSRC, 2004; Molefe, 2017). Certainly, many of Botswana's current cultural heritages are intangible and relate to customs, uses, or meanings and, while these are less evident, they nevertheless, are important enough to the cultural groups which pass them down, intergenerationally. Thus, thousands of years of history have also left a wealth of immaterial culture. This book sheds light on tangible culture, and these less tangible forms.

In the tourism discourse, the argument is made for the need to properly and adequately understand the many forms of cultural heritage that are situated at a destination (Waterton & Watson, 2015). The scholarly literature has also recognised the inseparable nature of the tangible and intangible forms. A new generation of tourists, characterised in the tourism discourse, nowadays, as third-generation tourists, is in search of a new form of experience – i.e., one that is personalised, authentic, built around responsible tourism that is eco-friendly, oriented to original place values, attentive to local cultures and to traditional experience (Fabris, 2010). Indeed, third-generation tourism is now driving many societies – especially those that project a tourism destination orientation – back to their roots; i.e., back to recognising and valuing the unique things that define their cultural orientation and national identity as a society (Wissema, 2009). What challenges does this new concept of a third-generation tourist pose? What aspects of the past can we reinvigorate to provide a unique experience, each time, for these types of tourists? What should we do in years to come? All these views of the new group of tourists are unquestionably significant not just for scholars who are researching in the field, but equally important too for students, and tourist business operators and practitioners.



*Picture A.1 Traditional Tswana mud-wall, thatched house as historic building.
Photographed by Botswana Museum*

To fully appreciate Botswana's impressive cultural heritage, and the significance of cultural heritage as a tourism product, in general, the discourse about the subject needs to take a closer look at deeper issues related to sustainability, and at how we each, and collectively, frame our understanding of what is or is not heritage from a cultural perspective, particularly as interpretations of culture and heritage, respectively, and jointly, continue to evolve. With the emergence of the third-generation tourists, for instance, the legislative view of cultural heritage is put into sharp contrast to the view of cultural heritage of the ordinary person in society. Beyond recognition of the interpretation divide, much more needs to be done. New approaches about how to, on the one hand, cater to the needs and expectations of the third-generation tourists, while on the other hand, ensure sustainability must now be part of the discourse, particularly in societies such as Botswana where both the natural and the cultural elements are of significance. The book is a starting point towards such a tourism discourse.

At the same time, a contrast is being made in the tourism industry between "cultural tourism" and "heritage tourism", implying that these concepts are referencing inherently different categories (Henama, 2013). In a flight magazine, dated May 2018, which I read while travelling from Johannesburg to Accra, Ghana, recently, reference was made to heritage tourism. The same article mentioned the value of providing cultural experiences to tourists to attract them to the destination. But cultural tourism and heritage tourism are essentially about the same thing, i.e., the unique and valued cultural qualities at a destination. The fact is, one of these is simply the *context* (i.e., culture) while the other is the *content* (i.e., heritage). The point is, not all aspects of culture develop an adequate degree of significance – i.e., aesthetic, historic, scientific, social, or other special value – over time,

to be regarded as heritage; that is, having intergenerational value. The fact is, heritage is a cultural process, evidenced even in terms of the choices and decisions. As Henama (2013) notes, tourists can be attracted to a destination by cultural objects and practices that may or may not qualify as heritage based on the legal characterisation of heritage.



Picture A.2 Tsodilo Hills rock art. Photographed by Byron Brown

Regardless of where cultural heritage is now, insofar as the third-generation tourists are concerned, one has to acknowledge that, for Botswana, at least, almost every village has its own distinctive cultures and heritages (broadly defined) which, in addition to identifying it as unique, also differentiate it from the neighbouring villages or communities (Mokgalo et al., 2016). While the structure of villages around Chiefs and the “Kgotla” is an interesting phenomenon for research to establish its role in culture transmission and cultural heritage preservation, Mabuse (2013) notes that the significance of cultural heritage tourism to the revitalisation of villages, and for the diversification of the local and national economy, broadly, is being recognised, increasingly so, not just by the government, but also by practitioners and business operators in the tourism industry. Other countries have already seen its necessity and have established innovative actions that, through conservation, and the use of local resources and culture, allow further tourism and indeed community, development (Franch, Martini & Buffa, 2010; Pencarelli & Sperandiani, 2011; Plog, 2001; Quain, Sansbury, & Le Bruto, 1998; Cafferata & Cherubini, 2008; Grönroos, 2009). New approaches such as the Albergo Diffuso type of hospitality business are emerging in the tourism and sustainable tourism management discourse to drive such an agenda. Today, in Botswana, tourism is one of the key human resources development sectors of the economy – ranked second, after the sciences, engineering and technology sector (HRDC, 2014). The high priority placed on the development of this industry implies that the

government is keen to effect changes and to support sustainable tourism development ventures. The insights from the different authors of chapters in this book aim to stimulate debates on policy changes and directions for new research and business ventures.

Research on cultural heritage concludes that a country needs more than just being blessed with resources (Waterton and Watson, 2015; Tonkin, 2017; Selicato, 2016). The linking issue stressed in the ongoing research is that a country also needs to carefully and effectively manage its range of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage management puts an emphasis on the development of frameworks for the provision of leadership at different levels – at the national level, straight down to the regional or district level, and to the village level – that can align and streamline cultural heritage management efforts. As Nthoi (chapter 7) as well as Mokgalo (chapter 10) have pointed out, there are various risks and pressure points that must be focused upon in the management of cultural heritage, but these require the right stewardship at the right level. Central to the leadership and management question, as pointed out by these authors, is the reality that the wealth of cultural heritage resources in the country is *not* documented in a holistic inventory. It means, the inventory is in further need of redefining and updating, and needing to be documented in a form that is accessible, not just to visitors but also to students of tourism studies.

Offering a view on these issues, and on conceptual and emerging aspects of cultural heritage mentioned above – issues that range from the questioning of our understanding of cultural heritage and associated concepts, to the issue of policy, cultural heritage interpretations and the sustainable management of tourism developments, and the marketing of cultural heritage products and experience – is the aim of writing this book. In addition to stimulating reflections on key ontological difficulties that beset cultural heritage, the book offers a wealth of avenues that are worth considering for in-depth research, and for innovation in developing the tourism product and the attractiveness of the destination. Such considerations will have theoretical and operational significance.

WHY WRITE THE BOOK AT THIS TIME?

The book considers cultural heritage tourism and sustainable development from an African perspective. It is written to offer a perspective that can give further clarity and directions to the emerging cultural heritage discourse on the continent. Culture and heritage present some of the valuable tourism assets that are abundant in Botswana, and the wider African continent.

These offer opportunities for, *inter alia*, the revitalisation of communities. Botswana, with its untapped potential in this area presents a case study in the appraisal of theory and practice. The book's approach in theory against practice appraisal, allows it to have a meaningful relevance to the views of both academia and practitioners – a dimension that is not available in the current discourse on cultural heritage.

The academic literature on cultural heritage tourism, as well as the practitioner perspective on the subject, is in need of further development. One of the key benefits of the volume for research is its set of substantive theories that each chapter offers in terms of the specific issues explored and analysed by the author(s). The chapters thus enrich the literature base and the discourse on tourism in the African context by placing a perspective on cultural heritage within the framework of sustainable development. Previously, much of this discourse had existed as separate debates. Integrating these strands of discourses, alongside teasing out and introducing new concepts such as the notion of the “third-generation tourists”, into the tourism discourse, and considering them from an African perspective, are the major contributions to ongoing research.

As a broad coverage and survey, perhaps, of “where cultural heritage, in general, and in Botswana in particular, is now”, and the developmental challenges and issues that the destination confronts, this volume touches upon four broad categories, which form the pillars for organising the chapters: (a) cultural heritage meanings, underpinnings, and contestations; (b) cultural heritage policy and interpretations; (c) cultural heritage management and sustainable tourism development; and (d) cultural heritage products and experiences. Another way to view the pillars is by regarding them as themes that, at present, may pass as driving forces for current cultural heritage research. None of the chapters of this volume on cultural heritages in the Botswana context offer coverage of these ranges of issues in terms of the business of tourism. And yet, this coverage and the collective insights that come as a result of stringing them together are vital to the development of a sustainable tourism business. Offering an appraisal of practice and an innovative approach to the challenges for a sustained development of cultural heritage tourism gives readers the chance to, not only understand the contestations and challenges in cultural heritage tourism, but also perspectives on solutions to mitigate these and for a more sustainable management of cultural resources.

In the discourse on cultural heritage in Botswana, the only book that offers insights on the topic is the work of Susan Osireditse Keitumetse, entitled

African Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management: Theory and Practice from Southern Africa (2016). As important as this work is in terms of advancing the discourse, her work downplayed the business side of cultural heritage management, such as, for example, the central issue of marketing cultural heritage products and experiences; it also downplayed emerging developments in gastronomy as part of the broader discourse in sustainable tourism products. Cultural heritage in tourism development extends beyond issues of conservation and management. Thus, the book has been developed to stimulate reflections on the key ontological challenges that beset cultural heritage, and to offer avenues that are worth considering for innovation in developing the tourism product and the attractiveness of the destination. It is by no means an attempt to replicate already published work but to offer a critical, informative and original dimension of the cultural heritage tourism discourse as it applies to the African context, that can benefit not just students of tourism studies but also the academic community in the field as well as policymakers, tourism practitioners and entrepreneurs who are keen to expand the tourism products.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The ideas for this book originated from discussions among academics in the School of Business and Leisure, Botswana Accountancy College. In this discourse, the observation was made that the majority of available textbooks used in tourism studies or related degree programmes dealt with tourism issues that occur outside of the Botswana context. Although reading and engaging with diverse sources are important, the challenge that the above-mentioned reality poses, is that it constrained student discussion about local tourism concerns and restricted their case examples. Discussions among students or between students and academics about local cultural heritage matters were also constrained. The absence of a local textbook thus motivated a period of reflection which resulted in the development of this volume of 15 chapters, divided into four interrelated parts.

The interrelated parts of the book form the pillars for organising the chapters. The parts are (a) cultural heritage meanings, politics, and contestations; (b) cultural heritage policy and interpretations; (c) cultural heritage management and sustainable tourism development; (d) cultural heritage products and experiences; and (e) conclusions. Each part comprises chapters that explore a diverse range of topics salient to that pillar or theme, authored by academics who are familiar with the cultural heritage and sustainability question locally and in the global context.

Anchored by the themes, the book brings together a diverse collection of perspectives, from tourism studies and cultural heritage studies to sustainable development, management, the environment, marketing, and hospitality management. All of these chapters are newly written, and original, developed specifically for this volume, and offered by academics who are at different stages of their career. We were privileged to receive chapters from authors who are directly involved in the teaching of tourism and hospitality management in universities, as well as from authors who lead teams in these areas, or authors who are tourism business consultants. Many of the authors are also well-established academics who have already made substantial contributions to the field. As much as they discussed the critical ontological and practitioner perspectives, the authors have, each, teased out, directly or indirectly, the various research and policy implications of their contributions. Collectively, then, the book is to be viewed as a commencement, not as a final, point in the process of framing the discourse on cultural heritage and sustainable tourism development.

During the conceptualisation of the book, we made no effort to offer the authors a working definition of “cultural heritage” or “sustainable tourism development”. Obviously, such an approach would have been difficult to implement since our authors were not all located in one institution, but rather dispersed in universities and colleges, not just in Botswana but elsewhere in Africa, and in Europe. So, authors were left to find their own way in terms of how they operationalise “cultural heritage” and “sustainable tourism development”. The benefit of this approach is the richness of interpretations and applications that emerged, and how this diversity, itself, reflects the range of understandings and contestations, and issues surrounding, cultural heritage and sustainable tourism development. Although critics may argue against the approach we adopted, by suggesting that it likely leads to inconsistency of interpretations about these concepts and how strategy might be implemented, we found no issue to warrant such a view because cultural heritage is subtended by varied strands of debates, which needed to be brought out, as appropriate, rather than to conceal such strands of thoughts. Showcasing the range of the discourse, as possible, around the topic from a Botswana, and a disciplinary, perspective is precisely what this book is supposed to do.

There are 15 chapters in this book. To gain editorial control, the chapters have been grouped into five parts. Part 1 lays out the foundation and sets the context by exploring cultural heritage and teases out different layers of politics in cultural heritage. The first chapter in this part challenges the various interpretations of cultural heritage and locates cultural heritages in

different contexts. Reflections on cultural heritage clearly illustrate the dynamic nature of the concept as a conversational system. This part of the book highlights that the representation of cultural heritage occurs not just in discursive form but also in performative form, which are both in interaction with each other. It was imperative that both of these aspects are highlighted very early in the book. Part 1 also discusses the many places or contexts within which cultural heritages are immersed. The explanation for this is that the variety of places is linked to the way history is understood, recognised, symbolised, and accepted. Part 1 is summed up with an appraisal of key political issues that beset cultural heritage and its packaging for tourism consumption in Botswana. As a multiethnic society, Botswana has had to mend ethnic fractures and deal with ethnic frictions which have manifested in various ways in cultural and heritage terms. Politics raises questions and concerns about various power struggles and contestations in and about cultural heritage, and highlights the reasons why the packaging of the resources is often contentious. For us, it was essential that this introductory part of the book took account of these issues.

Part 2 examines the issue of public policy for, and interpretation of, cultural heritage. It is foregrounded in the premise that, as resources for the tourism business, cultural heritages are finite resources especially if left unmanaged. The onus is on the present generation to secure its diverse cultural heritages and make them available for the next generation. Policy plays a large role in this process because it regulates cultural heritage production, consumption and preservation. Botswana's public policies on culture, heritage and tourism form one of the main themes in Part 2. The country's policy framework on tourism and the environment is comprehensive, but policies related to cultural heritage in this regard are underdeveloped. The important issue of note here is the way public policies on tourism are deeply skewed towards the environment, wildlife and nature conservation, and the disjointed way in which these policies are implemented and managed across diverse government ministries. The criticism too is that the role of cultural heritage as it is engaged directly in social practice – i.e., economic, political and social contexts – is yet to be fully developed in policy terms. While Botswana enacted a national policy on culture in 2001, there is still a heavy reliance on international policy instruments such as the UNESCO Conventions to guide the way that cultural heritage articulates with society, with tourism, and with sustainable development. Thus, while the policy chapter in this part can be hailed for what it has summarised with regard to the prevailing tourism policy and planning in Botswana, it can also be welcomed for what has not been stated in respect of cultural heritage and tourism due to policy gaps. Nevertheless, one chapter in this part explores