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Cultural Tourism in Botswana and the Sexaxa Cultural Village: A Case Study

Rachel Jones
SIT Study Abroad

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Rachel Jones

Academic Director: Chirova, Stewart

Project Advisor: Dr Joseph Mbaiwa

College of William and Mary

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Table of Contents

Abstract:

Botswana has seen tremendous growth in its tourism industry since its real inception the 1980s. Unfortunately, the tourism sector has almost solely focused on photographic and hunting safaris at the expense of cultural tourism. Because there is potential for rural development through effective cultural tourism, this study aimed to look at the case of one such rural community and their venture into cultural tourism. The Sexaxa community and their Cultural Village was studied to understand multiple facets of the issue. The history of the Bayei tribe, the history of the cultural village, how much the cultural village reflects the modern village, and what the challenges and successes have been in the formation of the cultural village were examined. The study also sought to discover what tourists were looking for in cultural tourism and what safari companies were offering. It was found that the most tourists do not think they want something like a cultural village and few safari companies support it. Yet, the cultural village itself seems to have made a positive impact both on its visitors and on the community. There is still untapped potential in the Sexaxa village at large in terms of support as volunteers and craftspeople, if there can be effective training in place. Many of the skills shown in the cultural village were found to take place in modern Sexaxa, though a few traditions and skills are starting to be lost. It is with this knowledge that this study suggests that Sexaxa consider carefully which parts of its culture it feels it needs to preserve and make a conscious effort to do so since the cultural village is already an effective framework for preservation.

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Introduction:

Botswana is renowned for its spectacular Okavango Delta, and the unique opportunities for wildlife viewing that go with it. Travellers come from all over the world to Maun International Airport to be whisked off in a boat, plane, or safari vehicle deep into the Delta. Although wildlife tourism provides many Batswana with jobs, rural poverty still remains a large issue in Botswana. So what about the people who are not situated to work in the safari industry? Can the draw of tourists to the Okavango Delta benefit them in a way that is sustainable?

Botswana has an incredibly rich culture. It is a country with a small population and many tribes that have lived together relatively peacefully for the entire 33 years of independence. The people in Botswana are famous for their friendliness, hospitality, and beautiful baskets. They would, therefore, appear to be the perfect people for the tourism industry. Yet, Botswana has promoted for many years a type of high-end, low-volume tourism that has left many Batswana at the wayside.

At independence Botswana had virtually no tourism industry. By the 1970s, tourism was still minimal, with the main tourists being backpackers coming from South Africa. Tourism really took off in Botswana in the 1990s with government support and marketing (Mbaiwa, 2005). The industry has been growing ever since, and provides a lot of promise to national economy. Tourism currently contributes about 4.5 % of the nation GDP and accounts for over 10% of employment in Botswana (Department of Tourism, DoT, 2000). Although diamonds are still by far the richest industry, tourism comes in second and, unlike diamonds, holds promise as a renewable resource.

When the government of Botswana formulated their marketing strategies for tourism, they believed that they could better preserve wildlife if they encouraged each visitor to pay more. They have succeeded in getting more money per person, though fewer people overall. As a result, the industry had to begin catering to upscale demands. Oprah Winfrey or the Prince of England, who have both visited Botswana, are not going to be sleeping on the ground or pushing their safari vehicle out of the sand. Instead, these high-paying customers demand the very best of world-class hospitality. Unfortunately, in most cases the local companies have no way of competing with expatriate enterprises. These experts had been trained elsewhere in the world to serve tourists and have the managerial skills, marketing experience, and money to back up their projects (Mbaiwa, 2005). Even when expatriates team up with Batswana in joint-venture projects, much of the profit still ends up overseas, and

the locals do not always gain skills from their involvement. They may simply become a Motswana front for a foreign idea.

What has resulted is enclave tourism, where foreign tourist money ends up largely in the hands of foreigners working in the safari industry in Botswana, or agents who book from abroad (Mbaiwa & Duffy, 2009). In this system, visitors rarely experience what life is like for a Motswana, or meet Batswana apart from the occasional guide, maid, waiter, or driver. Visitors spend little to no time in Batswana villages or cities. After all, the marketing of the Okavango Delta has historically promoted the region as devoid of human contamination—a place where one can go and be alone with the elephants, hippos, and leopards. Clients envision a virgin land, where they may run into a bushman on a traditional hunt or a tiny village that has never seen a *lekgoa* before. This romantic view of Africa makes it difficult for tourists to understand that Botswana is modernizing and that there are few places left, if there are any at all, where people live as they did one hundred years ago—that "authentic" and "primitive" mold that tourists want to put Africa in. Therefore, Botswana's marketing of its wildlife has come at the expense of cultural tourism. Tourists arrive in Botswana unaware that there is a vibrant culture (one of the past *and* of the present) and it is often too late to change their already-packed itineraries.

Enclave tourism has caused a decline in a feeling of ownership by local communities. The problem is, and it has been said time and again, that when

the local people are not invested in their surroundings, and when they have no other means of income, they will exploit their own environment (Mbaiwa, 2004). So when the most beautiful places in Botswana start to look like they belong to someone else, the local people lose their sense stewardship. When the Okavango Delta begins to only cater to foreigners and their hired foreign companies, the local people will have no incentive to protect it. After all, stewardship in Botswana has not traditionally been determined by laws and statutes, a conservationist approach that has often resulted in resentment, but rather it has been a delicate balance determined by the kgotlas, seasons and real needs of the people.

Take, for example, the making of mokoros. In the past, Batswana would make mokoros themselves, out of wood, when they needed them for fishing or transport. While some men were fishing in mokoros, others might be hunting in the bush, women might be collecting fruits in the fields and harvesting palm wine. There were not enough people producing or taking from any one thing to cause harm to the environment. However, imagine a scenario in which laws are made to restrict hunting by local tribes and the cutting down of trees for palm wine, and a licensing needed to fish in the river. The people will be presented with the choice to either go against the laws, risking fines and punishment, or to exploit the resources that are left, like the trees for making mokoros. This scenario is quickly becoming a reality for many residents near the Delta. Not only have laws restricted local hunters, fishermen, and gatherers, but the people have

seen foreigners reap the benefits of those same resources through their use in tourism. Where can local people earn an income through doing what they know? That is the premise of responsible cultural tourism.

Cultural Tourism "is a genre of special interest tourism based on the search for and participation in new and deep cultural experiences, whether aesthetic, intellectual, emotional, or psychological" (Stebbins, 1996). It aims to benefit host communities through the economic benefits of tours, crafts, and transport, as well as through the incentive to preserve culture. It benefits tourists by giving them a humanizing experience and expanding their cross-cultural understanding. Ideally, the host communities also gain understanding from the visitors they interact with.

A cultural village is one way of facilitating cultural tourism. A cultural village can manifest in a number of ways, but it typically shows off traditional culture through model homes, entertainment, stories, food, household activities and tools, and clothing. Local people staff the positions as tour guides, entertainers, and demonstrators. Tourists hopefully feel that they have witnessed the essence of traditional village life through the experience, all in one place, and in a way that brings in revenue fairly to the community.

As far as money is concerned, the fewer steps in the process, the better. If communities can organize *themselves* to show off their culture and have visitors pay them directly, then the system is working well. But for a number of reasons, this is seldom possible. Small communities wishing to bring visitors to a cultural

village, for example, may need safari companies to advertise for them, to make bookings overseas, to transport to and from the airport or lodge, to provide food, etc. The communities may not have people skilled in writing the legal documents that enable them to gain government support. They may also not understand exactly what tourists desire to see. These are just some of the many challenges that small communities seeking to get ahead in cultural tourism face.

The aim of this project is to explore further the challenges and benefits of cultural tourism in Botswana. It uses the Sexaxa Cultural Village as a case study, which has been doing cultural tours since 2001. It examines the history, the cultural tours, the volunteers and the opinions of villagers themselves. It also looks at what parts of the culture that are shown at the cultural village are still practiced in Sexaxa today. To complete the "tourism triangle" of community, company, and tourist, safari companies were also contacted and tourists surveyed to gauge interest in cultural tourism and what they desired to get out of it.

This project is significant on many fronts. After the relatively low success rates of the Community Based Natural Resource Management, it is prudent to examine closely the challenges of community management and new opportunities to benefit from resources that already exist besides wildlife and hunting. As a former study proclaimed, "In Botswana, and in the Okavango Delta in particular, resources such as museum, national monuments, historical sites and ruins, rock paintings, cultural events, sports and recreational activities

remain relatively untapped in terms of their potential contribution to the tourism sector," (Government of Botswana, 1997). So the time is ripe for this sector of tourism in Botswana. Not to be forgotten as well, is the poverty that exists in the Okavango region. If cultural tourism can be a stepping stone out of poverty, then its significance cannot be underestimated. Lastly, I hope that by putting information about Sexaxa down on paper that it will help inform future decisions about the cultural village, and promote reflection among the villagers themselves about preserving culture and what is gained and lost in the process of modernization.

A Brief history of Bayei (information from Mr. Motsamai Mpho):

The Bayei, also called the Wayeyi, came to Botswana around 1750 CE. They originated in Sudan and crossed through Zambia. They were living in the Caprivi strip in a place called Diyeyi when they made the move to Ngamiland. There is some discussion over the timeframe of this move, some claiming as early as 1000 CE, others as late as the 1700s. When the Bayei came to Ngamiland, they came through the Chobe. They are river people and used canoes for transport. The land then was wet and they settled in Sankuyo. Some went on to the Central District or as far as Mokaneng. The Bayei lived along the river practicing hunting, fishing, plowing, and keeping cattle.

The Bayei became a tribe in 1895 when the Batawana arrived in the area from Serowe. The Batawana were welcomed by the Bayei and are said to have

even helped the Batawana find food and provisions. The Batawana were more aggressive in claiming land than the Bayei, and were willing to fight the Bayei for the land. The Bayei would not fight and subsequently became the serfs of the Batawana. In 1946 Bayei were still the majority tribe in the area, with numbers around 13,620 compared with around 8,000 Batawana. Still, the Bayei were forced to do much of the physical labor, such as plowing, cooking, and cattle keeping for the more powerful Batawana.

Since 1948 the Bayei have been demanding recognition from the Botswana government. Today, the Batawana still claim ownership of the land and the Bayei are recognized only as a minor, or junior, tribe. There are eight major tribes in Botswana, and twenty minor ones (Survival International, 2009). According to Survival International, "minor tribes can be removed from their ancestral land without compensation, cannot elect a leader from their own community and cannot educate their children in their mother-tongue." The Bayei are advocating for a paramount chief to represent their tribe. The Kamanakayo Organization, led by Lydia Ramahobo, now works to develop appreciation and recognition of Bayei culture.

Study Area—Sexaxa:

Sexaxa is a village of around 500 residents in the North-West district of Botswana. It located about 20 km the north east of the tourist city of Maun, considered the "gateway to the Delta." It takes approximately 25 minutes to get

from Sexaxa to the center of Maun by car. There is a bus that runs by Sexaxa—the one that goes multiple times a day from Maun to Shorobe. The road runs through the middle of Sexaxa. Villagers describe where they live based on the assigned kilometre number on that road, which can be 17, 18, or 19 in Sexaxa. One can say "I live in 18," for example, which describes an area a kilometre long and encompasses either side of the road. The cultural village is located just off the road in 18.

The village is filled with mophane trees, which change leaf color from orange to green during the summer. The areas where homes are have mostly just those trees, some small shrubs, and very sandy soil. Beyond the homes is the "bush"—thorned acacia bushes and more sand. One side of the village runs along the Thamalakane river. The river is used for fishing, water, transport, and for farming the fertile soil near its banks. Other than river water, there are standpipes in each kilometre area that can be filled for resident use. No homes have internal plumbing. Some homes have electric generators, though most do not.

There are no schools in Sexaxa. Primary students walk to Matlapana for schooling, and secondary students must travel to Sedia, about 20 minutes by car. There is also no clinic in Sexaxa, the closest being in Matlapana. Within walking distance of the main part of the village is the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre (HOORC), which is home to multiple projects dealing with conservation of the Delta. At the time of this study there was free

internet there in the library but, according to Sexaxa resident Canaan Mbwe, very few villagers ever utilized this resource.

The majority of the people there are Bayei. Many villagers can speak Shiyeyi, though Setswana is spoken most of the time. The majority of people in Sexaxa are unemployed or seasonally employed. Most people farm for subsistence, which requires intense labor during certain times of the year like planting and harvesting. Some of these farmers sell their crops in Maun to generate income. Others may run "tuck shops" that sell basic food items. Many households generate income through the production and sale of khadi ("rasta wine"), traditional beer, palm wine, and/or shake-shake. Some people work in hunting or safaris and reside in Sexaxa only when they are not in the bush. Still other families subsist on specialized skills/products like selling firewood or grass for roofs, carving chairs or making baskets. Yet, many people in Sexaxa rely on family members elsewhere, who work in Maun or the Delta to provide for them.

See figure 1 for Sexaxa's location in Botswana

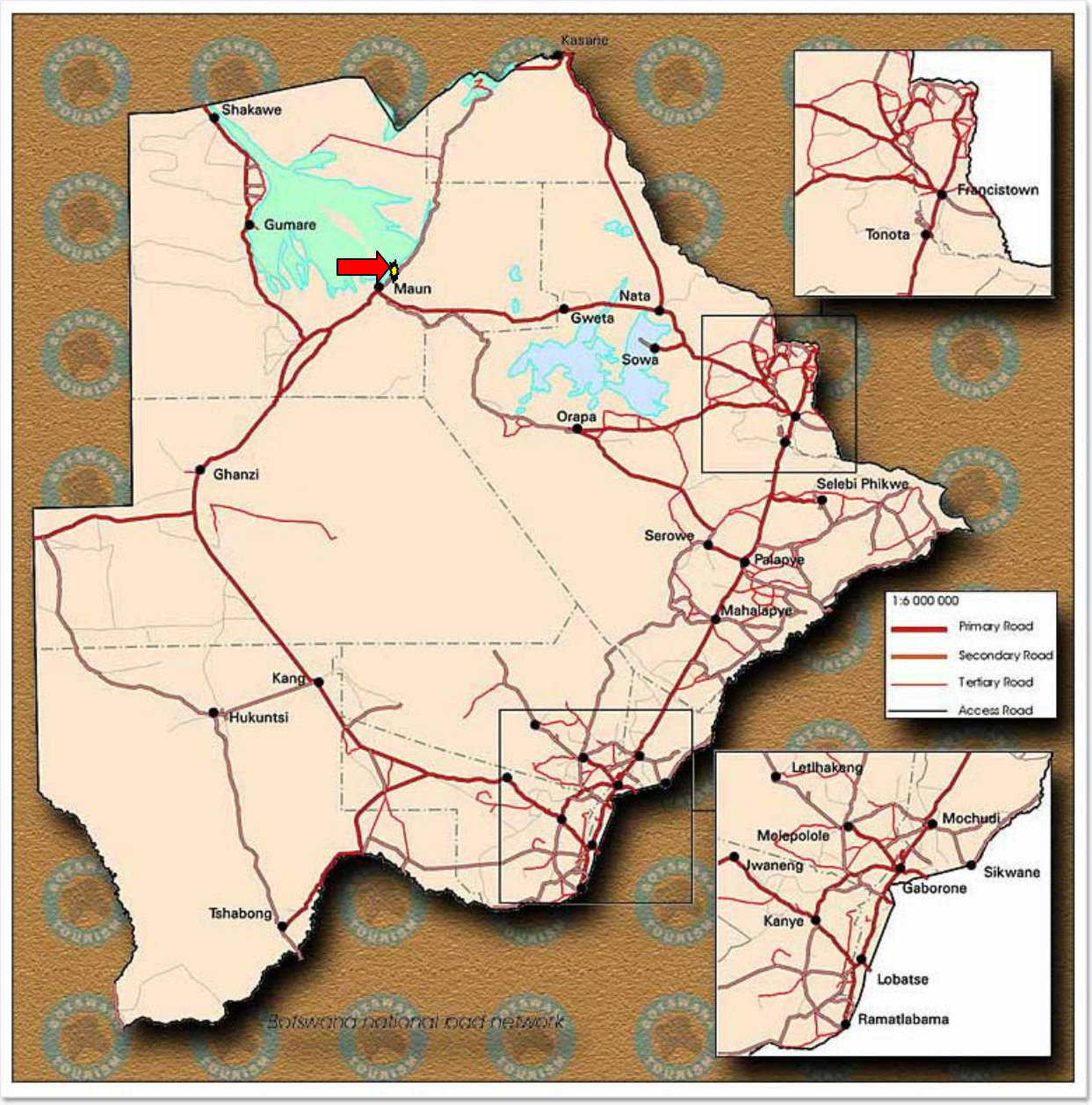

Figure 1 (http://www.botswanatourism.co.bw/maps/maps.html)

Methods:

This study falls into three major components:

1. *Examination of the cultural village itself*

1.1 **Tour and information write up**: The original intent was to compile data from multiple tour guides. However, Ednah is the only person currently equipped to give tours at the cultural village. So, the information which she delivered on a tour for two visitors was written down, as she spoke it, in as much detail as possible. Now that this information is recorded it can be used to train future volunteers to do the tours and possibly relieve some of the burden on Ednah.

1.2 Founder and Board member interviews: An informal request for a history of the cultural village was conducted via e-mail with its founder, John Davey. Additionally, the chairman of the Sexaxa Community Trust board, Ednah Goitsemodimo, and "Zone", the vice president of the board were interviewed. They were asked about the workings of the cultural village, the history, the challenges and successes, and future plans.

1.3 Survey of knowledge, attitudes, and interest among villagers: A survey was conducted of ten households at random on a weekday morning. People were approached if they were outside and willing. Canaan, a resident of the village, assisted with translation for those who could not do the survey in English. Those surveyed were asked: 1. Have you ever been to the Cultural Village here

in Sexaxa? 2. Have you been on a tour? 3. What do you know about the cultural tours? 4. What do you think they exhibit? 5. Where does the money go? 6. If you could be involved, would you want to be? Why? Names and age estimates were also taken. Answers were recorded on the spot in a notebook and later compiled by question.

1.4 Interviews with basket maker and musician: Two special interviews were conducted with the intent of understanding the cultural village from the point of view of a volunteer. Sisco, a man who makes and sells chairs at the cultural village and also plays music and tells stories, and Keitiretse, who makes and sells baskets at the cultural village were asked the following questions at their homes: How and when did you first learn about the Sexaxa Cultural Village? Why did you decide to get involved? What things do you do there? How did you learn about these things? From who? Will you teach your children/others about these things? Do you enjoy your work at the cultural village? These volunteers were found through meeting them during the tour and through the knowledge of Canaan. They were also asked some additional questions about their crafts.

2. *Study of the village in relation to the cultural village*

2.1 Survey of which activities are still practiced in modern Sexaxa: The same ten Sexaxa residents that were surveyed about their knowledge of the cultural village were surveyed for this portion. They were asked 15 questions about skills/activities demonstrated or described in the cultural tour to see if they

are still practiced in the village today. The list of questions can be found with the results. "How often" was usually phrased as "how many times a week?" or "How many times a month?"

2.2 Survey of how those skills/that culture is passed down: If the respondent said they did a particular activity, such as fishing, traditional dance, or basket weaving, they were asked who taught them that skill or how they learned it.

3. *Study of cultural tourism in Botswana*

3.1 Survey of safari companies/workers to discover interest in cultural tourism: Ten safari companies were chosen at random from a list on the Botswana Tourism Board website. They were contacted by telephone during business hours and whoever answered the phone was asked the following questions: Do you offer opportunities for cultural tours or cultural experiences? If so, where do you do them? Also, about what percentage of your clients take advantage of those opportunities? In your opinion, is there interest in cultural tourism? Is this new? Growing?

3.2 Survey of tourists to gauge what is desired in cultural tourism: Ten tourists were interviewed at random at Maun International Airport. They were approached and told "I am doing a research project about cultural tourism and I was wondering if I could survey you." Then if they agreed, they were asked the following questions: 1. How long are you staying in Botswana? 2. What activities are you doing here? Any cultural tourism? Did you consider cultural tourism?

Was it an option when you booked your trip? 3. What kinds of experiences would you want in cultural tourism? 4. What would you want to get out of it? 5. Have you had any significant good or bad cultural experiences elsewhere that stick out for you?

Results:

1. *Examination of the cultural village itself*

1.1 Tour and information write up (see appendix)

1.2 Founder and Board member interviews

John Davey: The Sexaxa Cultural village was founded by John Davey, a qualified professional guide originally from Zimbabwe. He believes that his interest in cultural tourism stems from his African upbringing and a genuine appreciation for the varieties of African cultures. He says, "During the course of my safari work and dealing with literally thousands of foreigners I realised that there was a genuine interest if not great thirst for cultural tourism." He began providing cultural tours to his clients in Zambia and then the Kwai area in Botswana starting in 1992, and said that they were a great success, provided they were "kept totally natural." Guests even cited the experiences as a highlight of their trip. After attaining a tourism licence, John and his wife, Tina, believed that safari companies would utilize their services as Botswana Cultural Tours to offer guests similar cultural experiences around the Delta. However,

many companies claimed that guests were already tightly booked and adding another activity would interfere with their flights. John Davey says:

> "I also believe that many of the South African born managers attached to the safari companies failed to appreciate or visualize how cultural tourism would in any way enhance their guests overall experience. Many operators said to me things like, `our guests have such a short time here that I don't think that any would really be prepared to limiting their time in the bush in exchange for a cultural tour in Maun.'"

There were some successes in that time, however. While a very small percentage of clients came from safari camps, agents abroad were able to book directly through the Botswana Cultural Tours company. Yet, after eight years of "battling and being subsidised we had no choice but to call it a day," citing escalating crime in the area as another factor that contributed to his leaving Maun.

In order to begin cultural tours in the Sexaxa area, the Daveys sought the permission of the senior chief in the area, who first directed him to the community at Ntema. It took three months to explain the proposal to the villagers. The Daveys proposed a joint-venture project with regular meetings and a price-structure that was mutually agreed upon. They wanted the whole community to benefit from the tours, not just a few. And when they "discovered that certain individuals were pocketing all the money and denying the rest of

the community anything," they went back to the senior chief who subsequently directed them to Sexaxa.

In Sexaxa, they had to start over with explaining their intentions and proposal, but found the people helpful and receptive. They wanted to emphasize that they were not there to be "the boss" but partners in this project. They began the tours in 2001 using Shorty Ramagoto's home, but after some time that there would be occasions when having tourists enter his home would be inconvenient for Shorty. It was then that they decided to build a replica homestead, one that could be used at all times without interrupting everyday life. "I must say that in the whole 8 years that we worked with the Sexaxa community never once was there ever any argument or disagreement," says John Davey. There was one time when a considerable amount of money was stolen in the beginning, but Davey does not seem to see that as something that hindered the cultural village long-term.

In 2006, the community was convinced to form its own trust (The Sexaxa Development Trust) and establish its own bank account. Though the Daveys planned to expand their operation to include more communities and cultures, they received no support from the Botswana Department of Tourism or local safari companies, and lacked the funding to do so. In closing, he had this to say, "We know as a fact that certain members of the community benefited enormously from our cultural tours and in this regard witnessed a general improvement of people's general standards." He also wanted to make it clear

that even though he is no longer in the Maun area (he now resides in South Africa) that he still feels fondly toward Sexaxa and thinks of the people there everyday.

Ednah Goitsemodimo: The only person currently giving tours and the chairman of the board for the Sexaxa Development Trust, Ednah plays a very active role in the Cultural Village. She began her involvement through an encounter with John Davey. She was standing watching Davey give a tour when she started laughing at something he said. He approached her and asked if she spoke english, which she does, and eventually put her in the role of the displaying the traditional medicine as the "medicine man". Davey used to do most of the speaking during the tours, but gradually passed that role on to Ednah. Davey does not speak much Setswana, and therefore he would need someone else to translate between him, the visitors, and the volunteers. Ednah could translate directly. Ednah was also a useful link between Davey and Sexaxa. When Davey used to book visitors, he would drive all the way from Maun to tell the volunteers when the tour would take place, until he started calling Ednah to inform the volunteers instead. Davey used to transport visitors with a vehicle from his company, which made it much easier to bring people to and from Maun.

When Davey left in October 2006, Ednah says that it was a challenge: "We relied on him, and then he was gone." She has become the overseer of most everything. Visitors call her personally and set up their tour and then she

walks to the houses of the volunteers or calls them to tell them when they need to be at the Cultural Village to set up. The times that she leads tours are very flexible. Visitors can also pay more to have a traditional meal.

Ednah reviewed the history out forth by John Davey, explaining how Davey saw that foreigeners wanted to understand how the villagers lived and how he began the process of starting tours by having a kgotla and actually began them in 2001, using Shorty's house. At Shorty's house visitors could see traditional stools, see traditional food being cooked and more. Then in 2003, the permanent homestead was built. Last year it was enlarged, with the aim of increasing the shade for visitors.

Ednah explains that there are currently 40 members of the Sexaxa Development Trust. The Trust was made official on May 3rd, 2003. It does not specifically outline how the cultural village should be run, but rather has broad objectives that were intended to give the people of Sexaxa choices in their endeavors to improve their livelihoods. One such objective is: "Endeavor to make the area and the nation more self-sufficient by producing goods and services that might otherwise be imported. To establish such enterprises, workshops, or agencies to provide such goods and services and to create employment in the area (Sexaxa Development Trust Constitution)." It costs 100 Pula to become a member of the trust. There are ten people on the Executive Board, a committee that meets to make decisions for the trust. However, Ednah says that many of the committee members do not show up for the meetings, do

not understand the scope of the trust or the cultural village, and leave her and Galetsharane ("Zone") frustrated and powerless. She believes that part of the problem is the lack of involvement of young people.

Ednah says that for most people being a member of the trust is more about selling products to visitors than about sharing culture, though for her it is the opposite. Some members are basket sellers or beneficiaries, and some are just volunteers. People who volunteer at the cultural village are not paid—all the money for visitors from tours goes straight into the trust fund. For now, the trust money goes into renovations for the homestead, paying Galetsharane Tomeletso a monthly sum to oversee basket sales, and buying the food that is displayed at the cultural village. The hope has always been, according to Ednah, that the trust can make enough profit to benefit the community through a fund for orphans, the destitute, etc. She also mentions that Davey believed that she should be paid, but that people did not have enough money for that.

Ednah says that the Cultural Village earned between 14,000 and 17,000 pula last year from tours alone. Tours currently earn more profit than baskets. She cites lack of effective marketing for this, saying that people seldom know what to expect when they arrive. For baskets, members were supposed to put down 10 pula for month as a fee for displaying the baskets, but Ednah says that there has been no way to enforce that policy, and so very few people ever end up paying. Ednah calls meetings of the members when she deems necessary, which she says is "just occasionally," or about every three weeks or more.

Ednah describes two sets of hopes for the future of the trust and the cultural village. First, the trust is working on getting status as a Community Based Organization (CBO). This has been difficult because they need to attain a licence from the Tourism board to do cultural tours and own a piece of land (which they do) before they can be recognized as a CBO. The other issue is that the cultural village is still tied up legally with Botswana Cultural Tours, though the company no longer works with Sexaxa. So, the government does not see the trust as fully independent, although it is operating as if it is. Ednah herself dreams of starting a company and expanding the cultural village. The company could transport people from Maun and the village would be expanded to include an office, traditional accommodations, and more activities like mokoro rides. These added features would bring employment opportunities and increase the profits to benefit the community.

Galetsharane "Zone" Tomeletso : oversees the basket sales in the Cultural Village and is also the Vice Chairman of the board. Zone became involved with the cultural village, like others, through John Davey. Zone was interested, and Davey encouraged him to join saying "We need more young people!" Zone began by helping carve chairs, canoes, spoons and baskets, and continues making/selling these things today. He learned how to carve from his uncle, Sisco (also a trust member), and basket making from his mother.

Zone stores the baskets inside the cultural village until clients call Ednah, who in turn calls him and tells him to set them up. He can set up with about 30 minutes notice. He says that there are normally about 5 groups per month that visit the cultural village for baskets or a tour, and that most groups buy baskets if they visit. There are the most visitors in the winter months (May-July). There are currently 42 basket sellers, and the village sells between 7-50 baskets a month. The baskets range in price from 50-200 Pula, depending on the quality and design. A tour costs 100 pula per person. Zone says that the main way tourists hear about the cultural village is now through brochures in lodges (In the past, Davey used to bring most of the visitors through his company).

Zone explains that the trust now has a bank account at FNB and that the money has so far gone to renovations of the cultural village. He says that board members were supposed to be paid but that since Davey left it has not been possible. Zone gets a small sum per month for overseeing the baskets. He reiterates what Ednah said about board members not showing up for meetings, and adds that it is especially a problem during plowing season because people are very busy in the fields. Another challenge that was also touched on by Ednah, is the issue with the licensing. Zone says that part of the problem is that the government considers them part of Maun and believes that they should have certain size plots, which the village does not adhere to. If they had the licence, the government would give them some support funding.

Zone believes that the cultural village can help Sexaxa with the money that is earned with basket sales. His hopes for the future are that they can improve marketing to bring in more people, and that they can improve the management so they can be more effective.

1.3 Survey of knowledge, attitudes, and interest among villagers

- 70% of respondents said that they had been to the Cultural Village
- Only 1 respondent had been on a tour
- Responses when asked what is shown during cultural tours:
    - **"Make baskets to sell to foreigners" (8 Respondents out of 10)**

  Other answers:
    - "People show what they know, like cooking water lilly or dancing"
    - "They play guitar and dance for visitors"
    - "Make baskets and carve"
    - "They show traditional food, instruments, show how people live here, how they came here, houses"
    - "Show how to drive a mokoro and show baskets"
    - "Do traditional dances for visitors and carve things"
    - "Make baskets and pound things"
    - "Show traditional entertainment like dancing"
    - "Show traditional dancing clothes"

Note: Some of these answers are not accurate. There is no guitar playing or mokoro driving. And while baskets are shown, it is not the only part of the cultural village.

- Responses when asked: Where does the money go?
    - **"Don't know" (6 respondents out of 10)**
    - "Save it at a bank"
    - "Save it"
    - "The money goes to the basket makers, who use it to send their kids to school"
    - "To the people who make the baskets"

Note: The money is saved in a trust fund at FNB bank

- 80% of respondents said they would want to be involved in the cultural village if they could. Yes reasons:

- "to share our way of life"
- "for the monetary benefits"
- "I want to learn more about culture and share with the next generation. Modernization is still good though (not traditional clothes, not clay pots, living in modern houses, etc)"
- "I am interested in basket making"
- "I would like to learn to make baskets because you make money that way. Motswana things are valuable! They save you from other things like alcohol"
- "to learn about what they do there"
- "to do traditional painting"

"No" reasons:

- "No, because there is no pay"
- "You have to make baskets and I can't make them because I'm sick"

1.4 Interviews with basket maker, musician, and volunteers

Keitiretse: is a basket maker in Sexaxa and a volunteer at the Cultural Village. The promise of showing her baskets to clients and selling them is what prompted her to join the Sexaxa Development Trust. When asked how often she sells a basket, she was vague, mentioning that sometimes it can be 2 months between client visits.

Keitiretse said enjoys sharing her culture and wants to share how Bayei culture differs from other cultures in the area. She learned how to make baskets from her mother when she was young. At first she just watched her mother, and later her mother would watch over her attempts and monitor her progress. The patterns she makes she says come from her mind alone. Every day things she sees give her ideas for basket patterns. She finds her basket-making materials (palm leaves) on the other side of the river from Sexaxa. She must use a mokoro to get across. The dye comes from tree roots or sweet reeds and is permanent.

She boils the root for dying with the palm leaves and keeps turning it over to make the leaf dye thoroughly. It takes about one hour.

Keitiretse uses the baskets she makes at home in addition to selling them. She said that she feels she should work on a basket all day in order to make it the best possible, but that there are other things, like plowing, that get in the way. She says that she will teach her children basket-making.

Sisco: demonstrates traditional instruments and singing at the cultural village. He also tells the guests about how the Bayei used to be great hippo hunters, carves and sells wooden chairs, and is a member of the Trust. He first heard about the cultural village in 2001 from John Davey. Davey described the importance of the cultural village and explained that he could play music for the clients. The two instruments that he plays are 1) the setinkane, a type of thumb piano and 2) the sawarawara, a wooden bow-like instrument that is played with a stick, the lips, and thumb. He learned how to play them from his father when he was a child. He would play in the afternoons around the fire playing for his relatives. Sisco said that lots of people can play these instruments, though I never saw (in my 2 week stay) anyone else in the village playing. When asked whether he will teach his children, Sisco said that for many years they have been too busy with school, but that he will teach them now.

Sisco said that he enjoys volunteering at the Cultural Village, but that he used to get paid when John Davey was around. Now, he continues because he

agreed to. He said that it is sometimes only once a month that guests will come. His wish to improve the cultural village would be to include traditional drumming.

Sisco sings about different things, like the stubbornness of donkeys, or how to treat one's mother ("Even if your mother is ugly, she is still your mother"). He said the songs are to teach lessons, like respecting one's parents. He makes his instruments himself. The sawarawara is made from the moretwa tree while it is still fresh and can bend with a palm leaf strung across the top. Then another stick from the moretwa tree is used to zig-zag across the bow. The setinkane is made from a gourd that Sisco finds in the fields and steel keys that he makes himself. He writes his own songs in addition to the one's that he learned growing up. He said besides playing at the cultural village he also plays at home for pure entertainment sometimes.

2. *Study of the village in relation to the cultural village*

2.1 Survey of which activities are still practiced in modern Sexaxa

Note: All respondents were asked to answer on behalf of everyone in their household
Also, see the list of survey questions in the appendix.

Traditional at home

- 100 % of the respondents answered that they do not use clay pots to carry water. One respondent said they use clay pots to keep water cool, and two said that they did use clay pots in the past

- 100% of respondents answered that they eat dried food regularly. Examples of the types of food that they eat includes: fruit from the bush, meat, water lilly, maize, sugan cane, sorghum, beans, pumpkin, other vegetables, fish, seeds. Frequency of eating dried food ranged from once or more a week (3 respondents) to only during harvest time (2

respondents). 70 % of the respondents sift grain or maize at home. Of the respondents that answered "yes," the frequency ranged from every day to once a month.

- 70 % of the respondents sift grain or maize at home. Of the respondents that answered "yes," the frequency ranged from every day to once a month.

- 100% of the respondents answered that they pound grain or corn at home. Most respondents pounded more than once a week (2 respondents said once a week, 3 said twice a week, and 1 said 3 times a week; 1 other answered "often").

- 30% of respondents have/use a mattress made from reeds. One respondent explained that he used to in the past but now permission is needed to cut reeds. Also, it is noted that the question included grass and/or reeds, but all 3 "yes" respondents used reeds instead of grass.

- 100% of respondents had homes made from termite mound dirt mixed with cow dung or knew how to make homes that way. Most of the homes were obviously made in that fashion, though many households also had structures made from reeds instead or in addition. Most of the respondents seemed to build their homes themselves, without having to hire labor.

Traditional Skills

- 90% of respondents answered that they (or someone in their household) knew how to make traditional baskets. The number of baskets that could be produced per month ranged from 1 to 5. All respondents said they use their own baskets, while only 2 said they sell them in Sexaxa.

- 60% of respondents answered that they knew how to carve things from wood. Note: women traditionally do not carve. Also, it was learned that now there are laws that regulate the cutting down of trees and one needs a license to cut trees legally.

- 60 % of respondents said they knew how to make mokoros.

- 50% of respondents hunt. The respondents who said they did hunt presented a range of frequency. One respondent hunts about 3 times a month. He hunts spring hare, porcupine, birds, and impala. Another respondent has only hunted a few times, and it was for his family. Another said he hunts only about once a year. All the hunters use guns. It is noted

that one needs "permission", or a license which costs money, to hunt. The most frequent hunter said he ignores this requirement.

- 80% of respondents said they knew how to make their own fences. It was noted that almost all the respondents had made the fences in their own yards themselves. The types of fences differed: they included a series of upright branches surrounding the premises, wire with wooden poles for support, or simply spaced out poles marking the perimeter of the property.

- 90% of respondents said that they fish in the river (Thamalakane). One respondent fished up to 4 times a week, while other answers included: one a week (x2), once a month, twice a month, and many times a month. It was also noted that one now needs a permit to fish in the river and there are regulations on what types of devices one can use to catch the fish.

- 80% of respondents answered that they knew how to do traditional dancing. One elderly respondent explained that in the past there were more community gatherings with singing and dancing, but now it is "too loud" for people's tastes and so this generation does not get as much exposure to traditional dance.

Special Occurrences

- 80% of respondents answered that they do NOT use plants for medicine without going to a doctor. Almost every respondent answered that they now go to the clinic instead. Some referenced that in the past using traditional medicine was more common, but only one respondent said she used roots as medicine regularly today.

- 0% of respondents had been to a traditional doctor/healer.

- 40% of respondents said they had been to a traditional wedding. Two of the yes respondents were asked additional questions which led to the following: the man must first discuss marriage with his uncle, the man's parents then go to the girl's parents to discuss the prospect, there are no longer fines, as there were in the past, for falling down when the man's parents attempt to stand up without hands from the ground, and there is typically a multi-day party, though today money seems to be a limiting factor for the length of the party.

- 80% of respondents said that cows are still used in Sexaxa for a dowry. The other respondents said that money is now more common than cows for dowries. For money, the respondent said that 4,000-6,000 pula was a

normal dowry. For cows, respondents said that it depends on the family, but gave a range of 4-8 as typical for the Sexaxa area.

2.2 Survey of how those skills/that culture is passed down

- Traditional baskets: 5 respondents answered the question of who taught them to make baskets. All 5 learned from women—2 from a grandmother, 2 from a mother, and 1 from an aunt.

- Wood carving: 2 respondents answered this question. Both learned from men-- 1 was taught by his father, the other by his grandfather.

- Mokoro making: 2 respondents answered this question, both learned from their fathers.

- Fence making: the 8 respondents who knew how to make fences answered this question. 1 was self-taught, 3 were taught by their fathers, 2 were taught by both parents, 1 was taught by his brother, and 1 said she did not know how she learned (as in, it's just came naturally).

- Fishing: Respondents who said they fished in the river were taught by the following people: self, friends, or father.

- Making traditional houses: All ten respondents knew how to make houses from termite mounds/cow dung. They all learned growing up just from watching it happen around the village.

- Traditional Dancing: of the 8 respondents who said they know how to do traditional dance, 3 were taught by their parents, 2 learned from community gatherings, 1 learned from a dance group in Matlapana, and 2 simply said "it's our way of life!"

3. *Study of cultural tourism in Botswana*

3.1 Survey of safari companies/workers to discover interest in cultural tourism:

- Of the 10 safari companies called during regular business hours, only 6 answered the phone

- Of the 6 companies that answered, 100% said that cultural tourism is a small element of their safari services, but that it depends on the client's wishes

- Locations they do cultural tourism: Sherobe, Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3), Kwai kwai (2).

- When asked what percent of their clients utilize cultural tourism only one company said "over 50%", the others said: "a very small percent", "about 2%" and "10%" (x3).

- Is there a growing interest in cultural tourism? 3 companies believe that interest is growing, and 3 do not.

- Sales Rep Mark, from Bush Traveler's Safaris had this to say: *"There IS an interest in cultural tourism, but people have the desire for it to be 'authentic.' They don't want it to feel like a zoo or to become a joke for the people doing it. They want to go see real people's homes, see their daily lives as they live them, not create a situation where it becomes someone's job to entertain them and show off their culture."*

3.2 Survey of tourists to gauge what is desired in cultural tourism

- Length of time tourists are staying in Botswana: Range from 3 days to 3 months. Average about a week and a half.

- Locations being visited: Okavango Delta, Chobe, Kasane, Tuli Block, Tsodillo Hills, Central Kalahari Game Reserve

- Activities being done: safaris, rhino sanctuary, boat cruises, camping, craft shopping, Tsodillo Hills tour, Setswana culture week, seeing dancers

- What kind of experience do you want from cultural tourism?
    - "Something not fake. I want to see people living as they would if I wasn't there"

    - "I want something to experience not 'as a tourist'. It is best with a local guide you have a genuine relationship with, who you aren't paying."

    - "I want something not geared towards tourists. I want it to be authentic and for the Batswana people themselves. I heard of a

cultural village outside Gaborone and I won't go near it because it's a gimmick, not real culture."

- "I want to see things like museums, historical places, places that are significant to the people in that area."
- "Since a traditional lifestyle still exists in rural areas, I think it is best to go out there and see it for yourself"
- "I would like to see the way people used to live, as in seeing them mimicking what they used to do"
- "I want to see culture without feeling like I'm exploiting the people. I want them to feel happy to show me, not obligated because I'm paying them. I want them to be joyful that they are preserving their culture."
- "I simply want to see how people live today and how they lived in the past"

- What would you want to get out of cultural tourism?
  - "I want to learn and gain knowledge of this country"
  - "I want to understand local culture and to gain knowledge useful for spending time here"
  - "I want to experience another culture"
  - "I want to be a more educated person and have a place to bring my grandchildren to for them to experience as well"
  - "I just want the experience and the exchange of culture. I want to learn about another culture and share my own."
  - "I want to understand a different lifestyle. In the USA we are consumed with technology and progress but here people have a different perspective that I think I can learn from."
- Past cultural experiences that were especially engaging (some examples of effective ways of sharing culture):
  - "Visiting an orphanage in Kenya"

- "A celebration in Iceland of the Viking way of life. It was very much for the Icelandic people. They sold sheep's head in all the supermarkets!"
- "In Ireland, taking a tour of the city via 'hop-on, hop-off' buses"
- "Seeing the rural areas of my own country, Zimbabwe"
- The Reed Islands in Peru—"They were so happy to share their culture. You could pay to stay with a family for 3-4 days and see how they lived. You really made a personal connection with them."
- "Just meeting the kind people who work in the safari camps here in Botswana was a positive cultural experience"

Discussion:

When conducting the interviews with the founder and the board members, I came to realize that no part of the Cultural Village was as simple as it first appeared. There are both challenges and successes, but both are intertwined and it is often complicated to tell which is which. But for this study, I think there is definite success in the information that is portrayed in the Tour Write-Up (see 1.1) via the cultural tour itself. The information which Ednah shares in her tours is given in a personal and casual manner, yet contains history, stories, customs, and facts that are not easily available elsewhere. I noticed this as I tried to acquire information about the Bayei tribe. After searching online articles and e-mailing professors, the most easily accessible information I found was through the Sexaxa Cultural Village. This shows that the Cultural Village is not only doing important educational work for tourists, but preserving culture for its own people as well.

When one visits the Cultural Village he/she is given a multi-sensory experience. One of the most important parts of which, I observed is the interaction with the volunteers. Whereas in the cultural village in Sankuyo, visitors only interact with their tour guide and simply watch as the villagers do activities for them, in Sexaxa there is specially set aside time for visitors to share and ask questions of some elders. It may seem simple, but it is that attitude of "we also want to learn from you" that makes the experience feel authentic instead of like an exhibit. It is possible to pay someone for a service and still feel that they are getting something out of it besides the money. Ednah demonstrates that there is more to the Cultural Village than money in the way she does her job with passion, and in the fact that she does it all as a volunteer who wants to share her culture. It must be admitted, however, that when interviewing villagers, many people had interest because of the monetary benefits, and only two respondents wanted to join solely because they wanted to share culture.

The information given by John Davey showed the frustration of changing an already entrenched system, that is, the enclave tourism in Botswana. One would think that tourists in Botswana, if they were conscientious, would desire to benefit local communities, would want to understand the way of life of those people, would seek out opportunities to keep their money from going back overseas. Yet, because of the policies which encourage high-end tourism, the people are paying for an already packed itinerary, and for someone else to decide the majority of their activities. So it is no surprise that safari companies

believed their clients did not have time or the desire to visit a cultural village, after all, it would be going against their own system, and that is a system where they can control and benefit from tourist dollars. John Davey was correct in his belief that people enjoy cultural experiences, which I also found in my surveys with tourists (only one respondent said she did not desire to seek out cultural experiences), yet it was a matter of changing the ideas people had when they decided to come to Botswana, the system that brought them there, and the way they spent their time while in the country.

Of the challenges facing the Cultural Village itself, a large one is the general lack of understanding among Sexaxa residents. This is exhibited when board members do not show up for meetings, when there is no one paying for their baskets to be displayed, and most of all, when many of the villagers do not know what goes on in the Cultural Village beyond basket making (as shown in the survey 1.3). Most villagers know that baskets are sold there, because that is how most members are involved, and the baskets are shown on the sign. Yet, without hardly any villagers who have actually been on a tour, their ignorance is not unexpected. It is very encouraging that the villagers surveyed displayed interest in becoming members. After all, very few people in Sexaxa have steady jobs and there is a lot of free time. Additionally, if the respondent who said that being a part of the Cultural Village saves one from alcohol is correct, then increasing trust membership would help the problems with alcoholism in the village.

Some of the other challenges for the Cultural Village are transporting visitors, getting volunteers to act efficiently and timely, not having a CBO licence and not being helped by the government, and general marketing. With limited phone service, limited access to the internet, and few company hook-ups, Sexaxa struggles to advertise effectively. Without having John Davey readily available to help with his expertise, the Cultural Village has suffered with lower numbers of visitors. As of now, all the money from the tours is saved in the trust and has only been spent on things like renovation and food. As a result, the community does not seem to have incentive to participate. If more profit could be made, the community could see tangible results and would be more likely to invest their time and money in the Cultural Village. In this way, it is a catch 22. Without profit, it is hard to increase involvement/investment and without involvement/investment it is hard to obtain profits. So will the Sexaxa Cultural Village suffer the same fate as many CBNRMs and have difficulty drawing people in and a lack of skills to impress them? Has it already?

Despite its prominent challenges, there are reasons to believe the Cultural Village has and will succeed. They have the Sexaxa Development Trust, which gives them the power to undertake initiatives for the benefit of the village. If in the end, the Cultural Village itself must throw in the towel, the Trust can always undertake new projects. There is also the manufacturing of baskets, which despite not being the only part of the Cultural Village, is still a way that local people can earn money through a specialized skill. Ednah says that basket sales

have improved lives in Sexaxa, and I do not doubt that if the baskets could be marketed more widely, that they would continue to do so. And there is Ednah and Zone, who have shown that they are capable stewards of the Cultural Village. John Davey says of Ednah, "In this young lady we saw enormous potential because of her intelligence and general attitude...With the right support she can only go places." If more people in Sexaxa can give her and Zone that support, and if there can be support from just a few more lodges or safari companies, then it seems that the Cultural Village can continue to operate, touch lives, and bring in money for the trust.

Looking towards the long term, the survey of traditional skills in modern Sexaxa and how those skills are passed down (see 2.1 and 2.2), bring up some crucial points. While there are a number of skills that are shown in the cultural village AND practiced in modern Sexaxa (basket weaving, mokoro making, house building, utilizing dried food, etc), there are a few that are not practiced or greatly diminishing (hunting, traditional medicine, carving). In order for the cultural village to display these skills in the future, they must be passed to the next generation. Almost all the respondents learned the skills they knew from older family members, and it will be up to families today to determine whether traditional skills will be passed on. There is the issue of school taking up much more of children's time than in the past, which will probably lessen the number of skills children have time to perfect. Additionally, with modernization, it is possible that skills like building a house out of a termite mound mixture will simply

no longer be necessary in everyday life. In the end it seems that preserving culture, in ways like in the Cultural Village and basket making, can be profitable. If Sexaxa wants to continue gaining benefits from that, they will need to plan carefully to ensure knowledge is not entirely lost.

The central question during the course of this study for me became "Is what the Sexaxa Cultural Village marketing a product that is viable"? I felt for the people of Sexaxa after learning their history, seeing their homes, experiencing their culture. I wanted the Cultural Village to succeed, yet I questioned whether or not tourists would find there what they were looking for. When talking with tourists, it came up time and again that people wanted an "authentic" experience, but that idea frustrated me. It seems that people want to have things explained to them, to feel warmly welcomed, and to learn from a culture, but they want all of that to happen without any existing structures like cultural villages. Many of the tourists I surveyed were stuck in that picture of romantic idea of Africa, where they are the only white people who come and encounter a tribe. While every once in a while it IS possible to encounter culture without any framework, as in just walking into a village and seeing how people live, it becomes an ethical question when it is part of tourism in earnest and practiced by large numbers of people. No one wants to feel that they are paying people to look happy or paying people to preserve their own culture, yet in small and rural villages who can tell the people they do not deserve

money for letting people who earn 50 times their annual income into their homes?

When culture becomes a commodity, it changes, and through this study I have come to feel that the people whose culture is being shared, and therefore changed, do deserve to make honest livelihoods from that. It is not exploitation if the village itself sets the terms on which they share their culture. It is not exploitation if they, like in Sexaxa, are volunteers who do it because it helps their community. And it can be mutually beneficial if both the community and the visitors gain something from the experience. So what needs to happen is a paradigm shift from tourists. Tourists need to compromise on their romantic ideas and allow communities to show their culture in ways that they decide are best. When John Davey founded the Cultural Village, he did so with the cooperation and partnership of the people of Sexaxa. I think that as long as tourists understand that what they are seeing are genuine examples of culture, just in a form that helps the community organize itself, then they can start to appreciate what Sexaxa and other cultural villages have to offer.

Conclusion:

The Sexaxa Cultural Village, like cultural tourism in Botswana as a whole, is neither a success story nor one of failure. While there have clearly been challenges from within the community and outside, but there have also been

benefits, the monetary worth of those benefits not telling the whole story. People have come away from the Sexaxa Cultural Village with more understanding of the Bayei culture, and for Sexaxa, cultural skills have been given a reason to be preserved. There is great potential for benefiting the Sexaxa community in the future through things like funds for the destitute or scholarships because of the framework that has been put in place with the Sexaxa Development Trust and the experience that has been gained over the last eight years in the Cultural Village.

While the Botswana government still has a long way to go in promoting cultural tourism, it has begun to recognize cultural tourism's potential and the market that exists for it. Safari companies will follow client's wishes, and clients are generally interested in cultural tourism as long as it is kept natural and as authentic as possible. If Sexaxa can find a way to bring more tourists to the Cultural Village, it can show people that authentic experiences do not always require simply taking from a culture, it can gain resources, and it can increase involvement in a community where people are looking for a purpose in life beyond drinking traditional beer. Over all, the Cultural Village is a viable product if it can be marketed as something that shows authentic culture in a way that benefits local people and is done well enough to compete in the Botswana tourism market.

Recommendations:

I believe that further studies should be done on cultural villages in general. While my study looked at one in particular, it would be helpful to see which specific factors seem to contribute to the success or failure of cultural villages elsewhere. It also needs to be examined further what exactly constitutes the desired "authentic" experience for tourists, and whether or not it is possible to market that in the form of a cultural village at all. Moreover, it should be studied exactly where tourists look to *begin* planning their trips to Botswana and where they look for information in order to see how small communities can maximize their marketing potential from the start.

As for the Sexaxa Cultural Village, I recommend that they invite members of the community to have free tours of the cultural village on special days. Doing this would not only educate the community about what happens at the cultural village and teach them about the traditions of their own culture, but it would also generate interest in trust membership, being involved in the cultural village, and basket making. I also recommend that they work on using the internet for advertising, as well as making sure area lodges have pamphlets available and on display. It would ideal for there to be a way to set up a tour other than calling Ednah's personal phone. Perhaps they could pay an office in Maun to take care of their phone calls, e-mails, and website and then have them contact Ednah. I also strongly recommend training more tour guides.

Clearly, Ednah is fantastic, but she may eventually become burnt out. With the write up provided in this study and Ednah's help, it should be possible to train someone to help relieve Ednah from doing all the tours. Lastly, it may be a good idea to give visitors a survey from time to time as they leave the Cultural Village in order to gauge their satisfaction, to read their recommendations, and to hear their compliments!

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Appendix:

A1) Tour of the Sexaxa Cultural Village

As presented by Ednah, with some additional notes

Introduction to Sexaxa:

The population of Sexaxa is mostly from the Bayei tribe, so we will be discussing the Bayei traditional way of life, much of which is still practiced today. There are over 500 people in Sexaxa today, and there is a headman who is in charge of certain aspects of governing. Not many people in the village have fixed incomes. Instead, they may plow near the river banks (where the soil is very fertile) to grow food for consumption or to sell at the market at the beginning of the year. Others keep cows for milk or meat and goats, chickens, or donkeys.

History of the Cultural Village:

John Davey, a professional guide originally from Zimbabwe, noticed that his clients had a desire to see the traditional way of life in the villages in addition to seeing wildlife. He discussed starting some sort of cultural tour with the residents and headman in Sexaxa, and in 2001 the tours began. At that time the tours were given at the home of a local man, Shorty, who had volunteered to let people see how his home operated. After some time, it was decided that a separate cultural center would be better to allow for

fewer interruptions in the life of Shorty and his family. This facility began tours in 2006. Having cultural tours here has improved the lives of the people here through basket sales and cross-cultural learning.

Today, we will discuss Bayei history, marriage customs, traditional food, medicine, basket making, music and dance, and traditional family roles.

Women: You can see the ladies using a mortar to grind grain. Houses in Sexaxa do not have internal plumbing, so women must walk up to 300 meters to collect water and carry it on their heads back to their homes. For leisure, ladies make baskets from palm leaves. When it is very hot in the heat of the day, women do most of their work in the morning. Meals depend on what ingredients are available. Women remain very busy most of the time!

Men: Traditionally, men kept the livestock. They would milk cows, look after their grazing and spend the rest of their time doing things like carving wood, fishing, or making fences.

Bayei: The Bayei tribe originates from Zambia, where they lived mostly as hunter-gatherers. They were great hippo hunters and used the mokoro on the Zambezi for fishing and transport. They lived in small and large groups.

- Ednah's uncle, Sisco, tells a story of **hunting hippo**: The hunters would find a big tree and make a spear out of it. Then they would attach a rope to the spear, follow the game trials of the hippos, and eventually spear the hippo in the water. The wood was floatable, and the hunters could observe from afar whether the hippo had died by watching the spear in the water. It would take 4 men in a mokoro to drag the hippo—2 men on the hippo and 2 men paddling. If the

hippo was too heavy, they would have to cut it into pieces to carry ashore. When the meat is ashore, the hunters wait at camp until it is dried. Sometimes they would have to make a new mokoro to carry all the meat! It may take a week to the mokoro, and if there is still too much meat, they would leave some and come back later to get it. They would pack the extra meat in leaves to prevent animals from finding it. They would have their families camping with them so they would first send the women and children home and then start the meat-drying process. Women would cook, and everyone would eat meat first and then have cereal, sorghum, or maize, which is unlike today where meat and grains are eaten at the same time. They would save the hippo oil for cooking and for animal skins.

Kgosi/kgotla: There was a leader among each group, called a headman. His duty was to deal with disputes and to represent the tribe to higher government. In large groups there would be a chief, called a kgosi, who spends his day in the kgotla (central village meeting area) and is now paid by the government. Today women can also be kgosis, and there are a number of female chiefs in Botswana. The chief has a secretary and sometimes additional staff, works closely with the police, and administers justice in cases dealing with traditional law. Being the kgosi is traditionally inherited through family lines and is a hard job! If the village at large does not like what the chief is doing, they may overthrow him/her. If there any important meetings or discussions that need to happen in the village, they take place in the kgotla. It used to be that only men were allowed in the kgotla, but today women can also participate. People must be dressed respectfully

to enter the kgotla—skirts or dresses for women and trousers for men. Anyone can raise their hand and speak in a kgotla.

Homes: Building homes is a collective effort. Women collect reeds from the river or grass from the fields while men cut wood to make poles. Then a mixture of termite mound dirt, cow dung, and water is made for the floors and walls. Today, many houses have tin roofs. It is easier to go to the store and buy tin then to go into the bush to find grass. All in all, it takes about a week to make one home once the materials are gathered.

Marriage Customs: If a young man wants to get married, he must first go to his uncle to discuss it (even before he talks with his parents!). The uncle will then go to the parents and discuss together whether the young man is mature and responsible enough to be married. Today, a lot of young people move outside the village to get jobs yet still feel they are a part of the village and return to be married. Once the boy's parents have agreed, they go the girl's parents and talk, but the procedure takes a few days. The boy's family gathers outside the gate of the girl's family and wait until they get the message that they are allowed to come in. Once inside they must sit on the ground. The boy bows to the bride's family and asks for permission to marry, but he doesn't get an answer yet. The boy's family must all stand up without using their hands. If anyone falls, the bride's family can demand a fine before continuing with the process. Once the boy's family has gone, the bride's family will discuss what an appropriate dowry should be, in the form of cows. Depending on the location, today dowries typically consist of 4-8 cows. Traditionally, the dowry was intended to help the new family set up, but today parents often keep the dowry. Once the dowry is decided upon, there is no negotiation (the boy's family can't plead for fewer cows). During the wedding

preparations the bride and groom are kept separate. The bride is taken away by married women to the in-law's home, where she will sit on a matt while they talk with her. She will also spend the night with them. The man is also taken somewhere. The next day the bride's family will bring a goat to the gate of the in-law's house. The bride will go home to say goodbye, with her a cow for slaughter. After the dowry is paid, the bride is given away and a multi-day celebration commences. The first day a party takes place at the bride's house, and the second day a party at the groom's place. Today the couple will also acquire a marriage license. Also, today many young people engage in a trial period where they live together, are given advice from elders, work through problems, etc. before getting married. Divorce happens, but it is rare because parents and elders are involved in marriages to give advice and encouragement .

Talking with the elders: Guests are encouraged to share their own marriage customs. Then a map is laid out so that guests can show the elders where they are from in the world. Part of the cultural experience is *sharing* with each other, and the elders ask about the guest's families and jobs. The guests may also ask questions.

Food (each shown in a small basket): Wild grass, sorghum (2 types), millet (ground for porridge), corn (can be baked for a snack), samp, wild spinach (picked in the bush), water lilly (is bitter so often boiled with meat; women collect from river; sometimes must dive with a knife to cut roots), dried meat/fish, beans for soup, peanuts, some fruits (like plums, or those used to make khadi and beer), palm nuts (which elephants and baboons love), and marula kernels (used for its rich oil).

Touch, Feel, Try: Pounding sorghum demonstration. Guests are allowed to try as well. Afterwards, demonstration of how the coarse pats of the grain are sifted out using a flat

basket. Porridge can then be made over a fire. Guests can feel how heavy traditional clay pots are that were used to carry water. Today, most people use plastic containers instead. Still, people must collect water every day! Clothing: a man's jacket/hat made from impala fur, skirts for dancing made from reeds. A short dancing demonstration takes place. Things: Examples of a spear, handmade fans for fire blowing, axes for gardening and mokoro-making, fishing trap (put on top of fish to capture them). Music: thumb piano (setinkane) and sewarawara (a wooden bow-like instrument that is played with a stick, the lips, and thumb). One song is played on each instrument. One song is stubborn donkeys, the other about "even if your mother is ugly she is still your mother".

Inside the traditional houses: Houses are often built in family compounds. The larger the compound, the larger the family! The chief's compound, for example, would be at the center of the village and be large. The mattresses are made from grass, making them very firm. The poles forming the frame are stuck, so there is no moving! Traditionally, animal skins were used as blankets and the door was made from palm tree bark or reeds.

Indigenous plants: A plant that treats colicky babies, foam bush for stuffing pillows, snake apple for diarrhea, milkweed for coughs, mopane bark (boiled and drank) for diarrhea, wild gardenia (causes sneezing, but helps depression), a plant that is burned with oil/fat and then the smoke is inhaled for headaches.

Funerals: One can either wear black, blue or green. Official mourning period of one week in the home, a total mourning period of one year (today, it is often shorter). The funeral itself consists of a morning prayer, an evening prayer, the burial, and then a

gathering at the home, where a cow is normally slaughtered to feed the guests. In the old days, women were buried in the backyard and men in their kraals.

Baskets: The women show guests how the leaves are split and soaked. Dye is made from sugar cane and plum bark. The women use their hands to shape the basket as they go. They use a metal tool to push the leaves around the frame

A2) Survey of Traditional Activities in Modern Sexaxa

Do you or someone in your home:

1. Carry water in clay pots?

2. Eat dried food regularly?

3. Sift grain?

4. Pound grain/corn?

5. Make traditional baskets?

6. Carve wood?

7. Make mokoros?

8. Make fences?

9. Fish in the river?

10. Use plants for medicine without going to a doctor or go to a traditional doctor?

11. Make your house from termite mound and/or cow dung?

12. Know how to perform traditional dancing?

13. Use a mattress made from grass or reeds

14. Do you hunt?

Have you ever been to or participated in a traditional wedding?
Did it include any of the following?:

- The man first discussing marriage with his uncle:
- The boy's parents going to the girl's parents to discuss:
- Fines if the boy's parents fall when getting up from ground or fail to do something else properly:
- A dowry in form of cows:
- A multiday party:

ISP Evaluation:

-Did the process of doing ISP modify your learning style? How was this different from your previous style and approaches to learning?

Doing this ISP did not change my learning style, but enabled to me to feel more ownership for it. I now see that what I learn in the end has always been determined by *me,* just that I often let other decide for me instead. This was different from my usual way of learning, which is very "book focused" and often short-term.

--Principal problems you encountered?

I found that my principal problem was actually the heat and transportation. Because it was difficult to find transport to the HOORC and to Sexaxa without walking a long way in the heat, it made it very hard to get myself out there. I know it sounds simplistic, but if you know Maun heat, you know what I'm talking about.

--General Methods? How did you decide on these?

My general method was to decide on my outline and then randomly attack each section. I hate calling people and approaching tourists, so I should have actually surveyed more people and companies, but it became too uncomfortable and left those sections until last.

--Contact with advisor?

I had some trouble contacting my advisor via e-mail, though he was very helpful when I actually went to his office. I know that I could have benefitted from more contact, but I also felt like it was called an "independent" project for a reason.

--Any dead ends?

As far as trying to "help" the Cultural Village in some way, I found that it was a lot more difficult than I anticipated. I did end up making a website, though I don't know how useful it will be to the village.

--What insights did you gain into culture?

I learned firsthand what I had always heard—that things move slowly in Africa! I also learned that people in Botswana are, in general, very helpful

and friendly. The Sexaxa people were very seldom sceptical about why I was asking questions and were very willing to participate in my study, showing generosity and hospitality.

--Given what you know now, would you have undertaken the same project or something else?

I am glad I undertook this project. I wish that I had training in marketing or sales so that I could better understand the problems that I found in the cultural village, but I learned a lot and was glad to interact more with the people in Sexaxa.