# Performance and the Economies of Cultural Heritage Festivals in Botswana: Cashing In Or Selling Out?

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*Ditšhaba di sa etelaneng di tshaba go tshegana* (People who do not visit each other are scared of laughing at one another)
—Botswana Proverb

*Ngwao boswa* (Culture is an inheritance)
—Botswana Idiom

## Abstract

Cultural heritage performances such as the Kuru Dance Festival of the Basarwa (Bushmen/San) and the Sedibelo Festival of the Bakgatla in Botswana trade on indigenous performance traditions by translating rituals, culture and heritage into economic activities for the consumption of tourists. This article examines what the potentials and pitfalls of such an exchange might be, and provides insight into the way cultural performers re-enact their perceived 'authentic' memories of 'African-ness' through performative acts that attempt to resist the long history of mythologising Africa. It further discusses whether such performances might perpetuate Euro-American patterns of 'consuming Africa', and thereby reiterate colonial power dynamics. This paper addresses these issues as a way to interrogate the currencies of African cultural heritage performances. It gives insight into the development of Botswana cultural performance arts since Independence in 1966, using the tools of theatre and performance studies.

## Introduction

During the month of May of every year Botswanacraft Marketing, a local company that manufactures and distributes Botswana cultural handicrafts, hosts a festival called *Letlhafula* (Autumn Harvest) in Gaborone. This event is primarily a cultural cuisine festival, but it also presents cultural performances such as traditional *setapa* (wedding) dances, cultural games, and most recently, corporate-funded quizzes and competitions. The festival attracts local and international audiences who pay an entrance fee of approximately USD$30. The *Letlhafula* festival enjoys the financial support of corporate donors such as the mobile phone company Orange Botswana, and state sponsorship through the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture. The festival has been called a 'movable feast' (Dema 7 June 2013), an 'exuberant thanksgiving festival', and one of the events that have the potential to make Botswana a 'competitive tourist destination' (Letsholo 29 April 2013). While the *Letlhafula* festival is privately-owned and managed, other festivals in the country are run by local communities and exemplify cultural and/or ethnic tourism. Good illustrations are the *Dithubaruba* Cultural Festival, the *Domboshaba* Festival of Culture and History, and the Batlokwa Culture Day, all of which commemorate the history, identity and indigenous cultural practices and performances of the respective ethnic groups. The festivals offer a variety of activities, including music and dance traditions, cultural cuisine, costume displays, enactments of wedding, funeral, and worship practices as well as representations of religious observations.

Such festivals are geared more towards the promotion of cultural, spiritual and historical aspects of specific ethnic groups. Promotional materials (websites, brochures, flyers and ticket adverts) for these events often capitalise on the salability of culture, cultural materials, and indigenous knowledge systems. In the current moment of cultural revitalisation in Botswana, social performers are increasingly investing in the social function of heritage performance (to promote social cohesion) and its economic benefits (to make a living), as the expressions in the epigraph assert.

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This article examines two sites of cultural heritage tourism in Botswana –the Sedibelo Heritage Festival and the Kuru San Dance Festival –to demonstrate how an African society i) reinforces the value of performance to transmit and authenticate cultural memory, history, and identity; ii) translates landscapes of cultural heritage into economic value; and iii) uses cultural heritage elements to unite communities –real and imagined. 'Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined' (Anderson 1983:6). Communities in Botswana distinguish themselves through performed re-enactments of their collective cultural memories and identifications. These imaginations of unity, collectivity, and continuity are anchored through heritage performances, notably those which get trafficked as 'authentic' experience. Much research has been carried out on the link between performance, heritage tourism, and authenticity (MacCannell 1973 and 1979; Urry 1990; Kidd 2011; Chhabra *et al* 2003 and Tomaselli 2001). Studies on the economics of practices of the San and similar marginalised communities also abound, such as the examination of the interplay of San cultural exchange and community development (Barnard 1996) and the performance and transfer of cultural memory in the Americas (Taylor 2003).

This article interrogates how communities in Botswana imagine themselves through indigenous performance traditions, enactments of socio-cultural memory, and culture-oriented processes of identification. It reads the notion of performance as being commensurate with history and collective memory in the sense of performance theorist Joseph Roach (1995). By paying close attention to local performance aesthetics, cultural commodities, and the value of indigenous knowledge structures, the article explores how cultural performers package and facilitate the exchange of what they perceive to be authentic experiences, memories, material culture and heritage sites (MacCannell 1979). As has been observed, performers participate in cultural productions that either 'add to the weight of the modern civilization by sanctifying an original as being worthy of copy or... establish a new direction, break new grounds, or otherwise contribute to the progress of modernity by presenting new combinations of cultural elements' (MacCannell 1999:81). With claims of authenticity, the heritage destinations examined in this article exhibit models that are perceived to be accurate, relevant, and adaptable to contemporary conditions. These heritage performances can thus be read as embodied acts that do not only transfer social knowledge, history, memory and a sense of identity (Taylor 2003:2), but also present modified copies of the original productions which address the economic needs of the modern imagined community (Anderson 1983 and Chhabra *et al* 2003). In this light, the article reflects on the development of cultural performance arts in Botswana since the country's Independence.

## Background

In July 2010 the government of Botswana ratified the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The ratification was prompted partly by the need to preserve Botswana heritage, but presumably by the need to diversify the economy. This reading is influenced by the strategy of economic diversification as articulated by the 2009 Human Resource Development Strategy, and the decision to establish the Culture and the Creative Industries as an official sector of Botswana's economy. The decision is an indication of the country's efforts to preserve natural, historical, social, and cultural heritage elements for purposes of development as outlined in the country's developmental instruments and other policies. Cabinet's decision to ratify the 2003 UNESCO Convention is a good sign in the direction of supporting the cultural and creative industries sector. That the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture (MYSC) has begun to implement this Convention and use the Convention's Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Fund to benefit communities socially and economically indicates commitment to reinforce the agenda for economic and human sustainability. This is evident in the community ICH making an inventory for projects that are being undertaken throughout the country. A good example is the recently-received

UNESCO ICH funding which enabled the inventorying of 122 intangible cultural heritage elements in the Kgatleng District. Additionally, rights owners of art-based projects have enjoyed some financial support from government-aided programmes. This can be seen, for example, in the disbursement of approximately USD$4 million by the Copyright and Intellectual Property Authority (CIPA) to fund youth arts activities and the promotion of the creative industries through the Levy on Technical Devices.

Support is also shown by the MYSC which finances the annual President's Day Cultural Competitions, National Culture Day celebrations, and the Constituency Arts Competitions to revitalise indigenous cultural practices and procure funds for artists and producers of cultural goods. During the 2012-2013 fiscal year, the MYSC spent approximately P11.5 million (USD$1,442.000) in support of local performers for competitions in indigenous music, dances, drama, fine art and the production of cultural products. This figure indicates a 73 % growth over a period of four years in comparison to the investment of P10 million (USD$1 254 000) in 2010 and P3 million (USD$376 200) in 2008.[2] It seems that cultural performance has thus begun to take centre stage in the economy of symbolic production through small scale cultural and creative entrepreneurship for the development of arts and culture professionals in Botswana. While this is a step in the right direction, the challenge remains, as Mike van Graan (2011) observes, to create African markets for the creative and cultural industries throughout the Continent.

## Botswana Cultural Revitalisations

Cultural heritage performances of Botswana articulate the symbolic economy of ethnic cultural integrity – the quality of being united through ethnic practices that are different from those of other communities. The notion of ethnic cultural integrity also defines heritage performances that are tied to ideas of 'authentic' selfhood and ethnic identification, in the sense of Cohen (1988), Wang (1999) and Kidd (2010). Although acculturation is evident among different ethnic groups in Botswana, many still show distinctive practices, such as dances and performance paraphernalia. These distinctive practices underscore imaginings of ethnic self-determination. Popular dances that elaborate Botswana national and/or ethnic imaginings include *setapa* (wedding ceremonial dance), *borankana* (youth entertainment rhythmic dance), *phathisi* (male foot-stomping dance, popularised by the Bakwena people), *matshela-ka-nkgwana* (the maiden harvest dance prominent among the Batlokwa people), *dikopelo* (traditional choir formations of the Bakgatla people), *Tsutsube* (entertainment dance appropriated from the Basarwa), and *Hosana* (Bakalanga people's dance of propitiating God). These dances are performed during festivals not only to entertain, but to reassert national, ethnic, and cultural agency (Denbow and Thebe 2006; Guenther 1999 and Schapera 1977). The dances also document Botswana's history and preserve heritage forms. These performances and acts of self-determination have become particularly important following Botswana's ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. In conformity with the objectives of the Convention, Botswana citizens are consciously articulating a desire to formally register with UNESCO, elements of performance traditions that authenticate their distinctive national and ethnic identifications. The festivals are thus emerging as sites of cultural recuperation through which communities assert their distinctive styles and highlight landscapes of cultural power. In this section we discuss the Sedibelo Heritage Festival and the Basarwa Performances of Heritage Tourism.

### *Sedibelo Heritage Festival*

The Sedibelo Heritage Festival of the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela ethnic group is illustrative of such acts of cultural recall. With a population of approximately 350,000 people living in the Kgatleng District in south eastern Botswana and in the North West Province of South Africa, and jointly-commemorated heritage festivities, the Bakgatla present a good illustration of cultural resilience and revitalisation. Examples of

3 www.mysc.gov.bw accessed 25 June 2015.

the Bakgatla re-inscription of their ethnic culture are the reinstating of *bogwera* for males and *bojale* for females (initiation schools), their traditional practices of enthroning the *kgosi* and now called *kgosikgolo* (king), and commemorative cultural festivals. Initiation schools are emblematic and symbolic sites of ethnic self-assertion. Men, women, and youth of various ages participate in these annual regiment training sessions. These ritualised practices are privy only to the initiates. Upon completion of the programmes, the graduates, adorned in ethnic cultural costumes, perform dances and music at the *kgotla* (village court arena). Arguably, the Bakgatla initiation rites and public performances inscribe value to non-formal structures of training and demonstrate the symbolic economy of indigenous knowledge –to reinforce social unity and cultural continuity. As performance transactions, the Bakgatla expressive traditions show bodies participating in the exchange and consumption of indigenous knowledge for purposes of cultural and ethnic continuity.

Performers at the festival –as shown on the year of observation –were predominantly people belonging to the Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela ethnic group; women, men, youths, and school-children. There were day performances, matinee, and evening performances. Although entry to the festival was open to the public, the audience generally comprised Botswana citizens, Bakgatla people from South Africa, and a few international tourists. The festival sites ranged from the communal court arena stage, the royal and missionary graves, and the Phuthadikobo Museum which are all located in Mochudi (Botswana). Mochudi's proximity to the city of Gaborone, Botswana's capital, enables the festival to enjoy large audience numbers.

The Sedibelo Heritage Festival functions predominantly to revitalise the Bakgatla indigenous cultural practices and heritage elements. With the overarching theme of 'Heritage: Our Wealth', the Sedibelo Heritage Festival organisers view the month-long heritage festival as an opportunity for community members to take part in and benefit (socially and economically) from the promotion, protection, and preservation of their cultural identity (Modise 2011). Tourist audiences enjoy dances, songs, games, and witness re-enactments of some rituals and various enactments of the group's historical encounters. Other activities include video shows and the awarding of certificates of recognition to people who have shaped the history of the Bakgatla people. Performers commemorate indigenous heritage and heritage obtained through the colonial experience. This includes the religious heritage that they received through the Dutch Reformed Church and other churches. Audiences also partake of indigenous Bakgatla cuisine. All of these specific performed traditions are geared towards depicting and asserting Bakgatla ethnic identity.

Performers during this festival exhibit agency by having the acts, rituals, and re-presentations displayed and 'authenticated' by the festival organisers and the Bakgatla community. Their active participation in the festival corroborates Susan Keitumetse's assertion that community involvement is a crucial element of cultural heritage resource management in the context of Africa (Keitumetse 2011). With a focus on cultural recuperation and preservation, the Sedibelo Festival provides a forum for performances that capitalise on cultural retentions and losses. The festival valorises the cultural and the nostalgic; reinforcing the value of performance to enhance cultural memory. This is evident in the society's frequent re-performances during the festival. The performers and festival organisers claim to present 'authentic' Bakgatla traditions, experiences and culture. It appears that 'authentic' heritage comes from local performers in forms dedicated to the re-performance of *remembered* original traditions. As Neil Parsons (2006) observes, these cultural and artistic performances –animated through legends, myths, and performed traditions –are recast as cultural heritage forms that present Botswana's past. These formations function to assert the nature of Botswana's history (Parsons 2006). Arguably, they can be read as repertoires of self-determination.

*Basarwa Performances of Heritage Tourism*

Although the various terms of designation, Basarwa/San/Khoesan/Bushmen are used in Botswana, the of-

ficial name is Basarwa. Saugestad and Monageng (2001) note that in general, San has been adopted as the generic term of preference by San representatives and anthropologists. In addition, the article acknowledges the diversity of the Basarwa, and argues that the Kuru Dances Festival construes them as a collective. The Kuru Dance Festival is an annual event organised by the Kuru Development Trust –a local Basarwa non-governmental organisation that hosts the San Music and Dance Festival, and facilitates economic self-reliance among the San communities. Established in 1986, the Kuru Development Trust formulates as part of its mandate the objective to:

> assist marginalized communities in Botswana with the establishment of self-sustainable community self-help organizations, which will increase the capacity of these communities to gain control over their social and economic lives and which will be able to define, direct, and implement the communities' own development. ('Kuru Development Trust Report' 2000:11).

It is quite significant that this organisation focuses on using natural and cultural resources to sustain the Basarwa communities, including, among other transactions, the sale of cultural commodities and souvenirs. These are made from locally accessible indigenous material culture such as ostrich egg-shells and animal skin. More pointedly, these communities offer alternative cultures of production as evidenced by the annual music festival during which they trade on their performance traditions.

The Kuru Dance Festival elaborates theories of embodied systems and the transfer of culture, memory, aesthetics, and socio-economic experiences (Taylor 2003). Drawing on Taylor's notion of 'the repertoire' –embodied acts, forms of cultural expression, and live performances that transmit knowledge –the festival illustrates a system that the Basarwa use to produce and preserve their culture and identity. This paper looks at the dance festival and dramatic formations as one aspect among the many through which the heritage transmission takes shape. Other heritage forms such as language preservation, spirituality, cosmology, healing practices, training for hunting and everyday practice are examined extensively elsewhere (Saugestad 1998; Batibo 1998; Thomaselli 1993; Willet, Monageng, Saugestad, and Hermans 2002). Nontheless, these are acknowledged in this article as significant processes of heritage preservation and transmission among the Basarwa communities.

During the Kuru Dance Festival, local performance spaces such as the arena stage located at Dqãe Qare in the Ghanzi District get transformed into culturally-charged stages where Basarwa communities reassert their distinctive ethnic identity and historical agency. The festival performers are mainly Basarwa groups residing in the western region of Botswana in the Kgalagadi Desert. They comprise pre-school children, youths, and adult performers who present dance ensembles that incorporate song, dance, drama, enactments of initiation rites and traditional games. The dance performances include ensembles of the melon dance, lullabies, love songs, songs for rain, healing dances, religious songs, dances that resonate with the exorcising of evil spirits and dance for enactments of hunting expeditions. Instruments and acoustics include the playing of *segaba* (one-string African violin), *setinkane* (thumb piano) and clapping. These props function as 'artefactual memories' (Urry 1990) because they are incorporated into the performance to authenticate and access Basarwa historical and cultural past (Kidd 2011).

During the various dances and ritualised enactments, performers wear skirts, aprons and loincloth costumes made from springbok skin, ankle rattles made from silkworm cocoons with pebbles inside, and neck jewelleries made with ostrich shell beads. These props and costumes form part of the Basarwa performance accoutrements. Large numbers of audiences from Botswana, South Africa, Namibia and tourists from other parts of the world pay an entrance fee of approximately USD$30 to witness these presentations of Basarwa cultural memory, history and ethnic identification. The festival scenario could thus be read as a zone of creativity, production, and symbolic exchange where formations of indigenous dance, song, dra-

ma, music and games get translated into entrepreneurial activities. Subsequently, the festival rejuvenates collective cultural memory and makes the labour of performance saleable and bankable.

During the Kuru festival, social actors perform what is expected and/or desired by tourists, or, to echo Dean MacCannell (1973) what has been constructed and/or structured to satisfy the tourists' 'quests for authentic experience'. These practices of cultural enterprising thus commoditise Baswarwa 'staged authenticity', in the sense of MacCannell (1973) and Tomaselli (2001). The staging of Basarwa 'authenticity' could be viewed as an entrepreneurial activity through which the Basarwa heritage performers re-enact and market their indigenous heritage and artifacts to paying tourists. The performances elaborate shifts in the dynamics of value by showing how cultural performers convert cultural value into economic value. Ways of generating value include marketing and cashing in on Basarwa marginality and constructions of 'Otherness'. Performers (consciously or unconsciously) sell selected and rehearsed traditions to international markets that are ready to consume globalised constructions of 'Basarwa-ness'. During the festival, they get into their stereotypical roles as healers, gatherers, hunters, and 'bushmen', willing to be exhibited on the stage as the exotic 'Other'. In these touristic performances, they transport tourists to the Basarwa 'eternal past' (Schechner 2002:236) for a fee.

In this dialectic of cashing in and selling out, cultural performers corroborate the notion of performance as reproduction by re-enacting representations of their cultural identities and identifications which have repeatedly been sold on the global cultural market. The trade in performance here recalls the market-forces that drive the media entertainment of the global north, which mythologise and circulate narratives about an exotic Africa. Performances at the Kuru Dance Festival thus resonate with saleable narratives and cinematic representations circulated in 'The Gods Must be Crazy' (Uys 1980), 'Out of Africa' (Pollack 1985), and 'King Solomon's Mines' (Boyum 2004) among others. Even though the performers and organisers make claims for authenticity and accuracy, what gets exchanged during the encounter and manifested in media are globalised myths or 'plausible reconstructions of the "authenticity" of the Other' (Tomaselli 2001:176). The sale of myth manifests in staging Basarwa timelessness, purity, and unspoiled mysterious Otherness (Tomaselli 2001:178). Further, it is illustrated by selected enactments which have no engagements with circumstances that speak to other aspects of Basarwa historical, cultural and economic specificities.

Why the gravitation towards the sale of cultural myths? There are at least two possible explanations. Firstly, the performers select and transact myths –read as discourses and practices that reinforce the distinction between the Occident (Euro-American Same) and the Other (exotic African) –to maximise economic returns for survival. This argument borrows from Edward Said's (1978) discussion of Orientalism and Tomaselli's (2001) discussion of how the encounter between tourists and indigenous performers in African cultural villages gets commoditised. Performers at the Kuru Dance Festival indicate a desire to use cultural heritage to navigate landscapes of privation and precarity. This performance of cashing in on Otherness can be read as an act of colonial mimicry (Bhabha 1985:173), understood as the strategy of subversion in which the colonial subject mimics and 'turns the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power'. Thus, through mimicry, performers cash in on the difference between Same and Other.

Secondly, recreations might depict something more representative of the past than the present 'reality' which has undergone immense changes. What are the stakes involved in this exchange? In their marketing of staged authenticity, acts of cultural enterprising inadvertently perpetuate the sale of globalised constructions of Africa and the Basarwa that circulate in Euro-American media entertainment culture. The constant recycling of myths is thus counter-productive to continental projects that attempt to interrupt stereotypical and essentialised perceptions of Africa. With their agenda of cultural empowerment and the economic power gained from tourism capital, particularly within the backdrop of globalisation, heritage performances that are packaged for sale render Africa's discourses of decolonisation irrelevant.

What of tourist economics? Who benefits from marketing heritage? Performance theorist Richard Schechner (2002:238) argues that 'Much tourism feeds on the needy, and depends on a sharp imbalance of economic opportunity.… As globalized industries, the money is unevenly distributed because agencies, organizers, and local operators take the lion's share'. Clearly, in Botswana and specifically in reference to the Kuru Dance Festival of the Basarwa, there are custodians of culture and marketers of culture. The indigenous performers enact the past, thereby embodying collective Basarwa knowledge and cultural economy. The festival organisers and patrons market and reconstruct the past and use it for commercialisation. Regrettably, there is little documented evidence of an investment on the performers in terms of rewarding them as heritage tourism performers. In spite of their creativity and cultural power, these indigenous communities remain perpetually vulnerable.

## Strategic Cultural Entrepreneurship

Is there such a thing as an 'authentic' indigenous performance? Is it possible to capture the 'authentic' in a performance for tourists? What gets exchanged at the site of cultural touristic enactments? These questions are central to discussions on notions of authenticity, representation, cultural heritage performance, and domestic and global tourist economies. Touristic enactments staged in Botswana work in tandem and in tension with cultural imaginings and sensibilities surrounding an 'authentic' culture. On the one hand, cultural performers cash in on these indigenous traditions when they perform for tourists in order to earn an income. On the other, they sell out by creating further myths about an overly-exoticised African landscape, made accessible and consumable for world tourists.

The connection between staged authenticity and the commoditisation engendered through cultural heritage tourism requires further interrogation. Of particular importance is the notion of gaze. Recuperative practices stage scenarios where Africa performs for Africa. Here, the object of the gaze is traditional Botswana, as demonstrated through the Sedibelo Heritage Festival. From the perspective of cultural recuperation, the 'authentic' is demonstrated by performed collective memories of Botswana's past. More pointedly, Sedibelo festival offers participatory tourist experience. Generally, tourists become 'spec-actors' (Boal 1995:13) or 'reflexive performers' (Perkins and Thorns 2001:192) in that they actively engage in the action physically (dancing, ululating, and cheering on) as well as gazing. In this context, what is more relevant and significant is watching, participating in, and transmitting remembered traditions. This scenario of heritage tourism thus contradicts John Urry's (1990) gaze metaphor, in which as Perkins and Thorns (2001) observe, tourist experience (narrowly conceptualised as gazing) remains passive and unreflexive.

The selling of myths facilitated through the Basarwa cultural heritage performances, in comparison, manifests Africa performing for the world. The object of the gaze is the pre-modern, exotic 'Other' as they re-enact perceived Basarwa authenticity. Tourist experience here is largely spectacularised and gazed upon, because it is less participatory. Performance here valorises and markets that which has been normalised and gazed upon as genuine. Perceived authenticity generates revenue (Chhabra *et al* 2003). The heritage tourism facilitated at the Kuru Dance Festival presents Basarwa staged practices that are strategically constructed to sell in order to navigate real landscapes of precariousness. As noted earlier, in their marketing of 'authentic' *indigeneity*, the Basarwa heritage tourism performances inadvertently perpetuate the sale of myths about Africa that circulate in Euro-American media entertainment culture. Yet, they function significantly as sites of cultural capital that could economically impact the sustainable development of communities that practice them.

In contrast to Euro-American commercial films and cinema which figure as structures of economic cultural imperialism in their representation of Africa, the indigenous, recuperative performances investigated here attempt to re-present 'authentic' histories, experiences, and identities. The performances examined in this article demonstrate the dialectic of the economies of reproduction and consumption; of appro-

priation and sale, and of the popular (indigenous) formations vis-á-vis mass media entertainment. Through cultural revival forms, performers wrestle control of the global entertainment space to re-present Africa. African cultural recuperative performances attempt to interrupt these stereotypical and essentialised media traffics by underscoring indigenous values. This is animated by performers at the Sedibelo Heritage Festival. These practices are read in this paper as cultural transactions by which performers strive to participate in the global trafficking of cultural commodities and performance traditions.

Further, Botswana performance traditions reinforce the value of indigenous knowledge, innovations, and aesthetics to navigate contemporary social challenges. For example, the Basarwa music and dance festivals feature not only as cultural heritage preservation and entertainment sites but also as zones for the creation of economic value. Thus, African performance traditions should not only exchange the value of cultural integrity, but should also inform policy-making on the cultural dimension of development, and cultural transactions of economic diversification for sustainable development in Botswana. They should play a more prominent role in Botswana's initiatives of economic diversification and empower local performers and communities. As the idiom in the epigraphs indicates 'Culture is an inheritance'. Thus, social dramas, musical traditions, and other expressive acts of Botswana intangible cultural heritage could strategically become 'marketable' heritage (UNESCO 2009). This marketable and bankable commodity should benefit communities that produce it. In accordance with the country's developmental instruments such as Botswana's national Vision 2016 (Republic of Botswana 1997) and the National Policy on Culture (Republic of Botswana 2001), the promotion and preservation of cultural heritage should contribute towards the building of sustainable communities through diverse economies. In the case of the festival scenarios examined here, the bankability and benefits to the community of performers is pertinent and should be demonstrated so as to demonstrate the development of Botswana's culture sector.

## Conclusion

Two festivals from Botswana –the Sedibelo Heritage Festival and the Kuru Dance Festival –have been used to corroborate the arguments made in this article. Performance practices re-presented during the Sedibelo Heritage Festival are staged within the backdrop of cultural revival and heritage preservation for posterity. These are acts of cultural recall and retention that perform collective cultural and historical agency. The practices elaborate the notion that tradition and culture are continuing processes. As revitalisation projects, the Sedibelo Festival and similar heritage festivals also attempt to interrupt essentialised and commercialised representations of African-ness globally. However, their recuperative effects are visible only to domestic Botswana audiences. These imaginings do not travel globally; instead they remain domestic cultural economies with limited international impact. Thus, their goal of colonial reversal and interrupting the mythologising of Africa on a global scale remains elusive.

Cultural heritage festivals that support the cultural enterprising circuit in Botswana have increasingly become zones for the creation of economic value. Expressive formations that sustain cultural heritage touristic enactments such as those exhibited during the Kuru Dance Festival are specifically packaged for the global market, and are thus strategically generating local cultural enterprises. What gets exchanged at the site of these touristic cultures are recreations of further myths about Africa alongside strategic enterprises that capitalise on these myths. These practices of cultural memory, re-enactment, and exchange are read in this article as acts of *strategic cultural enterprising*.

The Basarwa cultural performances demonstrate how indigenous African populations can benefit financially from the circulation of African myths and bear the brunt of those stereotypes. Performances here recall an *exoticised Africa* of the colonial and transnational imaginary, here reinvested with economic value. As cultural zones of expressivity, the Basarwa performances of cultural heritage tourism dramatise how the post-colonial exotic (Huggan 2001) is at once a site for cashing in and selling out on what is per-

ceived to be 'authentically' African. As practices that corroborate the notion of strategic cultural enterprising, the touristic performances examined here give insight into the exigencies of economic precariousness in the post-colony.

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