‘Who is a heritage tourist?’ a comparative study of Constitution Hill and the Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, Johannesburg, South Africa

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Abstract

Heritage tourism is a fast growing global sector of the cultural tourism industry. The National Department of Tourism has suggested that heritage tourism should be an important contributor to South Africa's economy. Liberation or ‘struggle’ heritage tourism is growing in popularity. This paper, through a mixed methods approach, using both quantitative and qualitative data, sought to investigate heritage ‘struggle’ tourism in South Africa through a comparative analysis of two iconic heritage sites: Constitution Hill and The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum, both in Johannesburg. This comparison espoused: establishing a basic demographic profile of 'who a heritage tourist is'; explored visitor perceptions of heritage and its importance for tourism in South Africa; and investigated some possible reasons for why South Africa’s heritage is so popular; as well as outline some obstacles people think hinder the heritage tourism industry in South Africa. This research is thus a precursor to better understanding and exploring the economic potential of heritage tourism in South Africa. The results show that heritage tourism is a growing phenomenon in South Africa, but remains a diverse and complicated industry and needs careful planning, effective management and innovative marketing strategies. Moreover, this paper posits that various stakeholders must work together to successfully take this South African tourist industry forward in the future.

Key words: Heritage; Tourism; Heritage Tourism; Local Economic Development; Responsible Tourism; Sustainable Tourism.

Introduction

Heritage is important in the New South Africa, “the word 'heritage' has a clear and relatively simple relationship with the concept of inheritance... ‘that which has been, or may be inherited’... ‘circumstances or benefits passed down from previous generations’... and includes group heritage and heritage which may not have a physical form” (Howard, 2003, p.6).

Tourism is also an emerging concept in a democratic South Africa, and is broadly defined as “the theory and practice of touring, or travelling for pleasure” (OED), although “it is argued that a definition suitable for general tourism scholarship (of what tourism is) has not yet emerged” (Leiper, 1979, 391). Various socio-economic, holistic, technical; and geographic aspects of what tourism means, exist (Leiper, 1979; Smith, 1988). The most widely accepted definition of tourism is related to what we mean by the term ‘tourist’, the World Tourism Organisation defines a tourist as “any person residing within a country, irrespective of nationality, travelling to a place within this country other than his (or her) usual place of residence for a period of not less than 24 hours or one night... the motives for such travel being (1) leisure (recreation, holidays, health,
Heritage tourism states that: “Public heritage spaces, museums and the like have a very specific historical genealogy that derives from a very particular set of imperatives and conservative means of looking at things” (Weiss, 2007, p.414). Heritage therefore is the complete variety of our innate culture, traditions, customs, monuments and historical items. Most imperatively, this notion is the variety of modern behaviour and activities that we draw meanings from. It is our way of living that includes preserving and restoring a collection of our ancient historical valuables regardless of whether they are concrete or a set of ideas and memories in forms of folklore, songs, dances, language or other elements that makes us who we are and how we identify with ourselves and our own beliefs in relation to other people and their differences (Graham & Howard, 2008; Weiss, 2007).

Heritage tourism can be viewed as an emotional experience which gives both domestic and international guests an opportunity to feel, experience and understand the unique customs of a particular constituency’s heritage while enjoying and exploring the history of that people or country (Graham & Howard, 2008), again for others it is a trip where they are given an opportunity to just scrutinize differences of that particular area as opposed to where they come from (Weiss, 2007). Heritage tourism has great significance for South Africa, as our country is considered the ‘Rainbow Nation’ – being very cosmopolitan and of interest
Heritage Tourism and Representation

A tenuous relationship between politics and heritage tourism exists, a few elements spark tension, “one example is social collective amnesia, which refers to selective memory in relation to certain events and people, or a purposeful course of ignoring history” (Timothy & Boyd, 2006, p.3).

Many scholars ask what the appropriate criterion used in the selection of what can be referred to, as a heritage resource, should be. In answering this question a process of discrimination is evoked because one heritage resource may favour a particular ethnic group or race.

More often than not this tends to be the case in multi-racial and diverse countries. “These groups have at some point in history been oppressed by the ethnic group in power, which has resulted in their pasts having been de-emphasised or even written out of official history in some cases, however – fortunately, this situation is changing, as the world begins to demand accurate and balanced descriptions of history” (Timothy & Boyd, 2006, p.3). More knowledge is required to fill in the gaps of the subjugated ethnic groups, which entails a move to a valid and reliable presentation of history (and heritage) (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009).

“While many countries are embarrassed by the cruelties performed against racial minorities (and sometimes majorities) throughout history, special interest groups and proponents of heritage commemoration are forcing legislators and other public officials and organisations to acknowledge the atrocities of the past and commemorate them” (Timothy & Boyd, 2006, p.3).

Heritage tourism encompasses the cultural; industrial as well as liberation/struggle heritage of many countries throughout the world – and in South Africa this is a pertinent area in which to bring about healing and restitution, which interests tourists visiting our country. “South Africa’s political transition has been accompanied by attempts to renegotiate the meaning of the country’s past and validate the post-apartheid order” (Baines, 2007, p.301), both the Constitution Hill Precinct (See Figure 1) and The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum (see Figure 2) were built for this purpose, and today are both considered iconic heritage sites within South Africa.

Township tourism has been a popular theme, where issues around local economic development and the pro-poor benefits of tourism have been investigated (Booysens, 2010). What heritage tourists think about heritage and the site itself is increasingly important in tourism circles, Bonn et al (2007) have begun exploring aspects of tourist perceptions of heritage, resources and sites (Bonn, Josephs-Mathews, Dai, Hayes, & Cave, 2007), and have shown that ‘heritage tourism centres on historic, natural and cultural resources’ (Booysens, 2010), but more work needs to be done in this regard.
Many scholars are also interested in the potential of tourism for sustainable community development (Manavhela & Spencer, 2012), and this was a worthwhile question implicit in our research, as this influences whether or not it benefits the locals as well as remains a profitable business venture itself. How people’s identity is reflected and portrayed in a post-apartheid South Africa is a fundamental theme for heritage tourism (Bakker & Muller, 2010; Marschall, 2006). “We must always remember that memorials don’t serve to commemorate the past; they serve to commemorate an interpretation of the past” (Marschall, 2006, p.185).

“South Africa has only recently begun to commemorate neglected interpretations of the past (Marschall, 2010, p.185) – this is representative of both Constitution Hill and The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum. Heritage tourism has been explored in an urban context by many (Booysens, 2010; Rogerson, 2008; van der Merwe, 2013) exploring aspects such as shared growth, responsible tourism and the limits to urban heritage tourism; but very little work of a comparative analysis in a South African context of looking at who heritage tourists are, and what they perceive heritage tourism to be, exists – this has many implications for sustainable management and marketing of heritage sites in the future.
Constitution Hill and The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum – heritage sites in South Africa

Constitution Hill is a national heritage site situated northeast of the Central Business District of Johannesburg (see Fig. 3). Spatially, Constitution Hill houses the Old Fort (where white prisoners were housed), which was erected by then President of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (South African Republic), Paul Kruger, the African Jail (Section 4 – where blacks were kept) and lastly, the women’s prison (which was also segregated by race). The primary purpose for the construction of the Old Fort was, originally a military garrison, built by the Boer Republic, ultimately a place of surveillance, control and defiance – a garrison against the threat of British access to the gold reefs. During the late 1800s the Old Fort served as a jail for housing criminals who defied the Afrikaner regime, alternatively, in the early 1900s the Old Fort became a British bastion and was primarily used to ridicule Afrikaners and also propel them to surrendering.

At a later period Section 4 was utilised to house African politicians who defied the Apartheid regime, the captives included Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela, as well as many ‘common criminals’ of the day.

![Map of Johannesburg and Soweto](image)

**Figure 3**: The location of Constitution Hill (Johannesburg) relative to The Hector Pieterson Memorial and Museum (Soweto).

Therefore, Constitution Hill as a heritage site is based on the education of tourists about the injustices of the Apartheid past, furthermore, this is also an instrument to unite all South Africans in the new democracy; housing the highest court of the land – the Constitutional Court of South Africa (van der Merwe, 2013). Constitution Hill differs from other historical sites because it does not represent a biased perspective about historical events or the discrimination of one group by another. “Instead, its heritage is interpreted as being emblematic of a change in national values by emphasising human rights rather than having to compete against an Apartheid heritage site at the same location” (King & Flynn, 2012, p.71). Furthermore, Constitution Hill differs from sites such as the Voortrekker Monument and Freedom Park axis in Pretoria, which could be criticised as being one-sided and which emphasise local values of the Afrikaner and African people respectively. Whilst on the contrary, Constitution Hill emphasises the suffering of humanity (both of white and black people), which could be universalised, as a heritage site it therefore acts as a reparatory system for...
addressing the social ills and also acts as a mechanism for conflict resolution in the diverse nation of South Africa (King & Flynn, 2012). Constitution Hill can be understood as one of the heritage sites that are in accordance of what heritage tourism is based on; the present-day use of the past, which encompasses both tangible and intangible elements of history and culture (van der Merwe, 2013). As a result the development of heritage sites is a direct act to preserve history (oral or written) of humanity, and to educate both domestic and foreign tourists who visit heritage sites.

Lionel Mtshali (then Minister of the Legacy Projects) had this to say about heritage representation in the new South Africa: “these projects were conceptualized to fill an important but regrettable vacuum in the presentation of history and heritage of this country. Our argument is that while we have no intention of removing any statues, existing monuments or heritage symbols, the priority should now be to redress the gaps left by colonialism, Apartheid practices and sheer greed on the part of some of those who went before us. The time has come for those matters of heritage to be treated with dignity that befit their stature, which is the restoration of the human self” (King & Flynn, 2012, p.72).

In a different part of Johannesburg, The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum is positioned at the corner of Pela and Khumalo streets in Orlando West, Soweto (see Figure 3, above). This is exactly two blocks away from where Hector Pieterson was shot and killed on the 16th of June 1976 when the Soweto students’ uprising against the introduction and use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in the African system of schooling in South Africa was set to be implemented. The location where the museum was erected, is the most significant geographical area of the ‘history’ that the museum carries, as it displays the honour that is given to that particular event, to Hector Pieterson and all the students that were involved in the struggle and events of that time.

Though he was not the only student (or rather the first one) to die on that particular day, he became the most popular and most iconized due to the power of photography that made such an event a globally memorable one. As opposed to other students like Hasting Ndlovu, Pieterson became the inspiration of the memorial and that is the reason why his name still resides in the streets of Soweto through the museum. It was one of the first museums to be opened in Soweto, and over the last decade it has become an important stop in this exciting part of Johannesburg. The museum is an extension of the memorial and it commemorates the 566 people who died during the student uprisings (Gauteng Tourism Authority, 2013).

Therefore, the purpose of both Constitution Hill and the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum as heritage sites is to diffuse the sense of disinheritance amongst South Africans; and to educate and inform tourists and visitors that the sites belong to everyone who utilises their resources. Even though, there seems to be disputes over the representation of history and varying perspectives, the development of Constitution Hill and the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum is ultimately to highlight social and political significances of the past beyond any cultural value the sites develop amongst their various visitors (domestic and/or foreign) – see (King & Flynn, 2012; Newbury, 2005).

**Materials & Methods**

A visitors’ survey was designed to attain basic demographic and characteristic information about tourists visiting both heritage sites; and open-ended questions were used to ascertain visitor perceptions of ‘heritage’ and what they thought of heritage tourism in South Africa. The questionnaire was administered through two research assistants – being stationed outside both Constitution Hill and The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum over a 3-month period in 2013. Tourists were interviewed on various days of the week and at different times of the day, with
a sample of 42 and 43 respondents forming part of the research group at each site respectively, both sites agreed to the research process being undertaken and voluntarily participated in the project. Various stakeholders at both sites were interviewed as well; visitor statistics or footfall obtained and management at both sites were consulted for input into the day-to-day running and administration of the heritage sites. The following aspects were investigated:

1. ‘Who is a heritage tourist?’ – the research created a basic demographic profile of visitors to each site. Gender; age; race; nationality; household income; and permanent residency were recorded. This information could better inform the heritage tourism marketing strategies in South Africa – who should most likely be ‘targeted’ as potential heritage tourists in future.

2. Visitor perceptions of heritage and its importance for tourism in South Africa were also gauged. People were asked how important heritage is to them; what makes heritage tourism so popular in South Africa; and what obstacles they thought exist, which prevents people visiting South Africa as ‘heritage tourists’ – this should better inform all stakeholders within the industry on how to better plan and manage sites.

Results & Discussion
Both Constitution Hill and The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum are popular visitor and tourist attractions. Table 1 shows the number of visitors from 2008 to 2012 at each site, unfortunately the records were lost at The Hector Pieterson Memorial for the year 2008 – but we were assured that it was in the region of 130 000 people (Gule, 2013).

Table 1: Footfall of visitors for the heritage sites, 2008 to 2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Constitution Hill</th>
<th>The Hector Pieterson Memorial &amp; Museum</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>68 645</td>
<td>No data available (about 130 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>52 325</td>
<td>141 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>47 214</td>
<td>169 716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>49 134</td>
<td>147 006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>66 908</td>
<td>136 266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Marketing Departments at Constitution Hill & The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum.

Interesting to note, that 2010 (the year South Africa hosted the FIFA Soccer World Cup), was the lowest recorded visitors at Constitution Hill – whereas the highest number to visit The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum. Although visitor numbers seem to be increasing at Constitution Hill from 2010 to 2012, there seems to be a decline in numbers of people going to The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum, which needs some further research and clarification as to why this is happening. Although both places form part of South Africa’s Liberation/Struggle Heritage – each offers a ‘unique’ tourist experience. The results of this research forms part of a sample of 85 respondents interviewed (42 respondents at Constitution Hill and 43 respondents at The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum). The results of the data are presented as an aggregate of the two sites together; as well as both sites individually – as distinct places in their own right, for comparison purposes. A summary of the key characteristics of the data follows:

1. A basic demographic profile of visitors: Gender; age; race; nationality; household income; and permanent residency
It seems that slightly more women visit heritage sites, than men (see Figure 4). Although when disaggregated, significantly more women visited Constitution Hill whereas slightly fewer women than men were encountered at the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum. In terms of age (see Figure 5), it is interesting to note that overall, most visitors to these heritage sites were between the ages of 18-25 years of age, and that the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum had a larger proportion of ‘younger’ people visit compared to Constitution Hill (remembering that the sample was almost the same size). Interesting is that almost an equal proportion of ‘middle-aged’ people (36-45 years of age) visited both heritage sites. This has significant implications for marketing purposes.

In terms of racial distribution of visitors (see Figure 6, overleaf), a larger proportion of white people visited these heritage sites, compared to Africans; then coloured people; and finally Indian people. The National Department of Tourism (NDT) is very concerned over fewer or less black people undertaking tourist activities (RSA, 2012a) and this research shows that this is indeed the case. How the tourism industry (and heritage sites in particular) go about attracting more African people to visit sites as ‘heritage tourists’, remains a interesting and formidable
challenge – the Domestic Tourism Strategy aims to “create a holiday culture among previously disadvantaged groups” as part of its broader aim to improve and grow the domestic tourism industry (RSA, 2012a, p. iii).

Figure 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial distribution of visitors</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRICAN</td>
<td>41.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLOURED</td>
<td>5.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIAN</td>
<td>3.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE</td>
<td>48.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>1.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH</td>
<td>44.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td>38.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52.38%</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.00%</td>
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More ‘white’ people visited the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum compared to ‘black’ people, and vice-versa for those visiting Constitution Hill – this is an interesting phenomenon and may be attributable to more foreigners visiting Soweto compared to their counterparts (as part of the more dynamic tour operator influence in Soweto compared to urban tours), although this may change with the Red Bus Tour having the Constitution Hill Precinct as a chief stop on their tour routes – in future? Within the sample of 85 people – 55 (64, 7%) were South African and 30 (35%) were foreigners. In both cases (of each heritage site) an equal proportion of South Africans to foreigners were observed – although the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum had slightly more foreign visitors by comparison. The spread of South Africans to foreigners was as follows: Constitution Hill (72% South African: 28% foreigners) and Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum (57% South African: 43% foreigners). Nationalities across both heritage sites (from largest to smallest proportions) included: New Zealanders; Americans; Australians; British; and a spread of African Nationals; like – Congolese; Gabonese; Swazi and Zimbabweans.

In terms of household income (a question only South African Citizens were required to answer), some interesting trends emerged, and most people visiting the heritage sites earned between R10001 – R20000 per month (see Figure 7, overleaf). In general people earning less than R20000 p/m seem to invest in visiting heritage sites and ‘being a local tourist’ compared to the higher earning categories of people. Very ‘rich people’ earning more than R40000 p/m also visit heritage sites – but more so The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum (compared to Constitution Hill). This gives a basic sense of ‘who a heritage tourist’ is according to some general demographic characteristics, and helps in some small way to ‘profile’ heritage tourism in South Africa – further research is needed in this regard, which a doctoral study currently being undertaken by one of the authors, hopes to elucidate.
2. Visitor perceptions of heritage and its importance for tourism in South Africa

What people think about heritage and heritage tourism is important for how we market and develop this industry. Responses were coded and various means of content analysis applied to peoples' comments to the questions in this section of the questionnaire. Quotes are all anonymous and indicated by (R# = Respondent). People were asked four questions: how important is heritage to you; what do you understand by the term 'heritage'; in your opinion, what makes South Africa’s heritage so popular for tourists; and; in your opinion, what significant obstacles exist for heritage tourism in South Africa? Responses varied and the findings are summarised as follows: of the 85 respondents (43 at Constitution Hill; and 42 at The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum) – using a Likert Scale – people’s perceptions of how important they found heritage to be, was recorded as follows:

Table 2: How important is heritage to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Both Sites</th>
<th>Constitution Hill</th>
<th>Hector Pieterson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Importance</td>
<td>1,1%</td>
<td>0,2%</td>
<td>2,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly Important</td>
<td>2,4%</td>
<td>4,8%</td>
<td>0,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>8,3%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Important</td>
<td>17,6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Important</td>
<td>70,6%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly a significant number of people (88, 2%) indicated that heritage is moderately to very important to them – this seems to suggest that heritage tourism would appeal to the majority of the population. Very small proportions of people were either neutral or thought that heritage was of slight-to-low significance to them (only 3, 5% of the sample). Visitors to The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum seemed to think heritage very important (95, 4%) compared to their counterparts (81%) at Constitution Hill. This raises some fundamental questions – why is it? Hopefully some further research can delve into this… is it related to the fact that urban tourist attractions (see van der Merwe, 2013) are situated in very different spaces (Constitution Hill in the CBD of Johannesburg; whereas the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum is in a township – Soweto)? People perceive the South African inner city to be dangerous (crime & grime) and would rather participate in touristic activities in suburban areas, like Soweto.
“What do you understand by the term ‘Heritage’?” – yielded a number of diverse responses. The various responses were coded into themes and are summarised as follows: Just less than half (48%, 2%) of people defined heritage in terms of it being about ‘my history and culture’. 66% of respondents at Constitution Hill and only 29% of respondents at the Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum defined heritage in this manner. “Heritage is the legacy left behind by the generations that have come before us” (R-45); “understanding the methods and manners about a certain culture or belief – how things were done” (R-70); and it is “things like important historical places or buildings” (R-85). Most people were thus able to signify that heritage is both tangible and intangible and appeals to people in many ways.

Other themes of what people thought heritage to be, which emerged, were the preservation of historic sites; and ancestry. In terms of why people thought South Africa’s heritage was so popular for tourists – most people (42%) identified our political history (Apartheid & the Struggle for Freedom; as well as the legacy of how we achieved a democratic state) as the main reason. Other reasons included: our natural beauty and moderate climate; the ‘Rainbow Nation’ – our cosmopolitan nature and uniqueness as a country of diverse people; and Nelson Mandela – a true international icon, hero and much-respected idol. “The struggle against Apartheid inspired so many of us…” (R-67); “your diversity, based on historical events of a united country without discrimination or violation of human rights… heritage tourism in South Africa is acknowledged and celebrated in these sites” (R-65) – are some of the sentiments of people in relation to why South Africa’s heritage is so popular for tourists.

One respondent seemed quite cynical about this question, however, and said: “I am not sure that it (South Africa’s heritage) is important… I certainly wouldn’t have visited Soweto and these sites if I wasn’t on a tour which included them” (R-45). This suggests that the heritage tourism industry still has some inroads to make in getting people to visit heritage sites (without necessarily having to be part of a tour operator’s guided visit).

As far as ‘obstacles that exist for heritage tourism in South Africa, the majority of people identified issues that could be summed up as a lack of awareness; or an ignorance; or shortage of information about heritage and heritage sites in South Africa, as the chief problem. Other concerns included: crime; lack of safety; lack of marketing; high entrance fees to sites (for locals); and low levels of black ownership in tour operations. These issues will require further research in future but could signal areas for local government and all stakeholders in tourism to begin thinking about and engaging with these issues.

Heritage tourism is a rather complex undertaking and will require multi-dimensional and inter-sectoral participation and involvement, if it is to be a sustainable and effective part of our tourist economy. South Africa needs to seriously address the negative perceptions that people have about us in terms of high levels of crime and the lack of safety – if they are to feel comfortable coming to visit and tour the various heritage sites that we have to offer. More diverse means of marketing and creating a greater awareness of heritage tourism is also a pressing issue.

Conclusion & Recommendations

South Africa has a vested interest in developing and more effectively marketing this segment of both its domestic and international tourism industry. “Culture and heritage tourism has been identified as one of the major growth markets in global tourism” (Tlabela & Munthree, 2012, p.1). In 2012, The National Department of Tourism identified the potential of this niche of tourism within South Africa and has invested a great deal of time and money into developing The National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy (RSA, 2012b). Heritage is “the sum total of wildlife and scenic parks, sites of
scientific and historical importance, national monuments, historic buildings, works of art, literature and music, oral traditions and museum collections and their documentation which provides the basis for a shared culture and creativity in the arts” (White Paper on Arts & Culture, 1996, as cited in RSA, 2012b, p.6). Heritage sites like Constitution Hill and The Hector Pieterson Memorial & Museum thus have a large part to play in the preservation and showcasing of our heritage through tourism.

The NDT concedes that “the value and impact of this segment of tourism has not been fully realised, particularly the economic potential of heritage and cultural tourism products” (RSA, 2012b, p.10). However, as argued in this paper, before the economic benefits and potential of heritage tourism can be measured or further explored, policy-makers and heritage site managers need to understand ‘who a heritage tourist is’, so that we can correctly and sustainably market and administer heritage tourism in South Africa. It is hoped that this research has begun that process and shed some valuable light into profiling heritage tourists and better understanding their perceptions and the importance they attach to heritage and ‘heritage tourism’ in the South African context. Sustainable and responsible tourism practices within this emerging niche of cultural tourism is important to get right, so that South Africa can reach the maximum economic benefit for all stakeholders involved in ‘liberation’ or ‘struggle’ heritage tourism.

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