

Heritage tourists' experiences of 'Struggle Heritage' at Liliesleaf Farm Museum and the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum South Africa

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Abstract

Heritage tourism has emerged as an important part of tourism growth in the new South Africa, with a growing interest in 'struggle heritage'. Heritage tourism contributes significantly in demonstrating the diverse cultural offerings that the country has to offer. Struggle heritage is one of the elements within this niche of cultural tourism, which attract tourists to visit South African museums. Using a mixed methods approach of quantitative and qualitative data, this paper explored a comparative study of the motivations, experiences and understanding of heritage amongst 100 local tourists at Liliesleaf Farm Museum (50 respondents) and the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum (50 respondents), both based in Johannesburg, South Africa. This research adds to the debates on how people perceive heritage and how important heritage is to them. The findings suggest that South Africans desire to visit heritage sites but due to the unavailability of information and inadequate communication between museum marketers, local authorities and the public, local tourists are less likely to visit these heritage sites. Overall, this paper suggests that although creating memorable and unique visitor experiences is essential, being in regular contact with repeat and prospective visitors is paramount for the growth and sustainability of the museum and the continued dialogue of 'the struggle', as well as the development and advancement of heritage tourism in South Africa.

Keywords: experiences, local tourists, museums, struggle heritage, tourism.

Introduction

Heritage is a concept in cultural tourism that has gained popularity in the global tourism industry (Huh, 2002; Chhabra, Healy and Sills, 2003 and Daun, 2008). Heritage tourism is considered as significant because of the economic and social benefits it yields in various developed and developing countries (Beeho and Prentice, 1997; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009 and Garrett, 2012). It is believed that heritage tourism contributes significantly in how tourists perceive themselves and the world around them (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Apart from entertainment, Caton and Santos (2007) and Hlongwane (2008) proclaim that curiosity, personal discovery and nostalgia studies revealed that one of the most prevalent reasons tourists visit other places is to experience the cultural offerings found in their travelling destinations. These cultural offerings can include anything from natural, built and cultural landmarks, clothing items, food, values, language expressions, story-telling and other practices considered as unique and cultural (Prentice, 1993; Lord, 1999; Richards, 2007). Various scholars view the concept of heritage tourism differently. Poria, Butler and Airey (2004) argue that the connection of individuals to their ancestry or genealogy is what defines heritage tourism whereas some scholars believe that the element of entertainment and education ought to be considered. For Silberg (1995) any artistic, cultural, scientific or

historical motivations provided by tourists are descriptive of heritage tourism. As a relatively new concept in tourism studies, heritage tourism is considered as distinctive because it has diversified from previously being known as the mere representation of the past in the present to being an all-encompassing concept that includes both tangible and intangible aspects that make up everyday life (Henderson, 2001; Graham, 2002; Timothy and Boyd, 2003; Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot, 2013). In South Africa, the democratic new government has recognised heritage tourism as a pivotal sector that contributes greatly to local economic development where poverty and unemployment rates are high (Binns and Nel, 2002; Rogerson, 2002; Rogerson, 2015). Apart from the economic gains, the tourism sector has used heritage tourism to facilitate reconciliation, inclusiveness, commemoration and national identity formation (Teeger and Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2007; Meskell and Scheermeyer, 2008; Grobler, 2008; Khumalo, Sebatlelo, and van der Merwe, 2014). Since the 1994 democratic transition, much time and attention have been devoted to the installation of heritage institutions related to the 'liberation struggle' aimed at redressing the injustices of the past (Marschall, 2010). According to Hamber (2012) public memory sites, memorials and museums provide an opportunity for the many cultural events and knowledge that South Africa has to be revealed and recognised by all.

For local travellers, heritage tourism means assistance in forming shared experiences with others and creating a culture of travelling among the previously disadvantaged people of South Africa (Nieves and Hlongwane, 2007; RSA, 2011). Despite this, Marschall (2010), and Hamber (2012) mentioned that the initial intentions of these government-sanctioned heritage sites have been raised. In the literature, relatively little research has been conducted on how local people consume and acknowledge heritage sites, therefore this paper thus focuses on the experiences of domestic visitors at liberation struggle sites, the extent which museums meet the expectations of visitors and how museums could improve visitor experiences. This study addresses two research questions. Do museums foster a greater understanding of heritage in visitors? What role do the expectations and experiences of locals play in the growth of museums?

Constructing heritage visitor experiences

Increasingly, gaining cultural experiences has become one of the most leading reasons as to why people visit heritage sites compared to the products offered at the sites (RSA, 2015a; RSA, 2015b; Witz, Rasool and Minkley, 2001). Experiences are held in high regard in heritage tourism because of their capability of creating renewed cultural interests in tourists and assisting with ascertaining how tourists value and perceive heritage (Caton & Santos, 2007). Khumalo, *et al.* (2014) declare that experiences have been seen to leave tourists emotionally charged and well equipped with better knowledge of the heritage of the explored destination. Furthermore, visitor experiences have the ability to boost the image of the museum through added exposure. For example, Park (2014) mentioned that the use of internet by visitors through Facebook, Instagram and Twitter broadens the online community of heritage tourists as well as the popularity of the heritage precinct. Satisfaction levels of tourists are important and have the potential to market a museum in a negative or positive manner (Park, 2014). Hence, museums need to ensure that tourists leave their precincts satisfied. According to McIntosh (1999) and Jewell and Crofts (2002) the first step in ensuring satisfaction during experiences is through finding out what the needs of the tourists are. Mc Kercher, Ho and du Cros (2004) and Fonseca and Ramos (2012) discovered that the primary needs of visitors are often aligned with the appeal of the precinct more than the showcased heritage content. For example, a study conducted on the local development potential of heritage tourism at Constitutional Hill by van der Merwe (2013) suggests that the declining visitor numbers experienced at the heritage precinct were attributed to high reported crime incidences, high travelling costs and weak security measures available for tourists. However, after meeting the need for adequate basic services, Jewell and Crofts

(2002) recommend that needs associated with cultural satisfaction such as identity formation, self-belonging and self-actualisation can be attained.

The role that museums play in heightening visitor experiences has led to much conflict and debate. Although meeting visitor needs is beneficial in ensuring visitor satisfaction and meeting expectations, there have been instances where experiences have been tailored excessively to accommodate the needs of tourists over those of the community (Richards, 2007; Gunlu, Yagci & Pirnar, 2009). The use of heritage for tourist gain has caused the values, opinions and customs of tourists to overpower the traditions of the visited community (Newland and Taylor, 2010; Joshi 2012). For example, in Tanzania, the Masai people have expressed how their accommodation of foreign visitors has caused societal discomfort as the younger generation of the Masai people have allegedly abandoned their agricultural activities and adopted western behaviours such as alcoholism, prostitution, drug-taking and smoking (Kalavar, Bunzinde, Melubo & Simon, 2014). With reference to tourists, the works of Nuryanti (1996), McIntosh and Prentice (1999), and Miller (2013) acknowledge that the issue of highly structured experiences becomes problematic when illusionary and false expectations are created for visitors through exaggerated marketing tactics unrepresentative of the true nature of the heritage site.

Consequently, structured tours may leave tourists feeling disappointed, alter the 'real meaning' and 'initial message' of heritage and potentially disrupt the growth potential of heritage tourism (Joshi, 2012; Miller, 2013). Overall, museum marketers and managers need to be careful with how they present heritage without compromising their trust with tourists and the community. In a different view, some scholars such as Nuryanti (1996) and Daengbuppha, Hemmington and Wilkes (2006) argue that good and memorable experiences are not solely driven by the museum but by the visitor too. The visitor's interpretations, expectations, motivations to visit, engagement levels and attitudes are some of the factors that drive experiences (Nuryanti, 1996; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Daengbuppha *et al.*, 2006). According to Graburn (1977) the decisions tourists take whether to glance, study, accept or dispute the content on display has the ability to turn a pleasing experience into an unpleasant one. Graburn (1977) alerts museum managers to the need to take into consideration that museums may appear as strange places for visitors hence the attitudes of visitors are not always warm and welcoming. In support of this, the theory of interpretive communities recently used in contexts of museums could explain why some visitors find the museum setting as boring and disconnected.

According to Buffington (2005) and Watson (2007) the theory of interpretive communities proposed by Stanley Fish (1980) states that an individual interprets texts or objects based on the knowledge and assumptions gained from a particular social group (interpretive community) they belong to. For example, when people meet, they often exchange ideas and thoughts about a particular subject, which leads to the formation of common intellectual frameworks, skills and interpretive repertoires (Watson, 2007). Therefore, with culture associated with the exchange of meanings among different social groups, tourists tend to arrive at museums with some knowledge about the history they will encounter. On that note, Kerstetter, Confer and Graefe (2001) observed that contemporary tourists range from general to highly specialised tourists based on their record of repeat visits and knowledge on heritage. In relation to how tourists feel throughout their exhibit, Hooper-Greenhill (2005) states that if exhibitions only speak to the interpretive community that the curator belongs to, unless visitors share in those interpretive frameworks, they will not gain understanding or feel comfortable in the museum setting. However, this could explain why some tourists run through information boards and rush to the end of the tour. This theory clarifies how different stakeholders and visitors who come from different social backgrounds are able to share similar expectations and experiences in museums. Taking into consideration the role that museums play in shaping the collective values, perceptions and social understandings of the public, the theory of interpretive communities can be used to better understand the

responses of visitors toward heritage sites, and planners can attempt to create better exhibitions understandable to both the visitor and the museum.

Who visits liberation struggle museums?

According to Phaswana-Mafuya and Haydam (2005) the survival of cultural tourism resources is dependent on the ability of promoters to attract large numbers of tourists. However, South Africa has been struggling to attract its people into the tourism market. Considering the history of the country, the apartheid system has caused many South Africans not to have a diversified travel culture apart from the dominant form of travel associated with visiting friends and family. Geographically speaking, the visibility of other available cultural attractions in the country has been poor which has made the identification of heritage tourists challenging. Researchers are trying to ascertain who heritage tourists are Khumalo *et al.* (2014); and Rogerson and Lisa (2005) found that local research lags behind in understanding who the domestic tourists are, and what it is they desire from their travel. The difficulty of tracking who domestic tourists are and lack of up to date national statistical records contributes to the existing gap. In comparison, added attention is placed on international tourists because of their contribution to the economic status of tourism by spending more during their holiday trips than domestic tourists.

Currently, some of the vehicles the government used to attract local tourists to tourism have been through schools and museum visits. Marschall (2009) identified that the largest group of heritage sites visitors are often school groups travelling through excursions. School groups are said to be one of the largest contributors to the sustainability of museums (van der Merwe, 2014). However, Phaswana-Mafuya and Haydam (2005) state that as school children tend to be passive tourists, careful consideration should be taken by museums when catering to tourists because the needs and expectations of school-groups differ from those of adult domestic or foreign groups. With museums used as one of the platforms intended to help South Africans to deal with their traumatic past, Meskell and Scheermeyer (2008) argue that instead of focusing on which audience museums should predominantly serve, museums should aim to address multiple interpretive communities (inter-generations, the previously empowered or marginalised, individuals and groups) so that all people can be fully lured into the democratic process. As part of the transformation agenda, the goal of museums should be to strike a balance when narrating both South Africa's white and black histories (Manwa, Moswete, and Saarinen, 2016). Instead of completely removing characters associated with the past, the country needs to learn how to effectively engage with their inherited heritage whilst building new identities (Manwa *et al.*, 2016).

The reception of heritage tourism in South Africa

For South Africa, the growth potential of tourism has recently been recognised since the transformation in government (Nieves and Hlongwane, 2007; Ivanovic and Saayman, 2013; Khumalo *et al.*, 2014). Pre-1994, the industry was anti-developmental in nature and characterised by scenic beauty of wildlife and beaches (Visser and Rogerson, 2004). Since then, the government has identified tourism as one of the main pillars of economic growth with concepts such as pro-poor tourism and township tourism established to promote South Africa as culturally diverse and an inclusive destination (Rogerson, 2006; Booyens, 2010; RSA, 2011; RSA, 2015b). For the previously disadvantaged, the recent democratic change means freedom to travel anywhere and gain expertise on how to be a tourist, which was supposedly absent when people's movement was controlled by repressive apartheid laws (Marschall, 2013b). Despite this, research shows that there has been a decline in the number of domestic trips taken (RSA, 2012a). The National Department of Tourism (RSA, 2012b) and van der Merwe (2014) attributes this to poor marketing strategies used to reach out to wider audiences and the lack of full implementation of heritage tourism products and activities into the mainstream tourism arena.

In one view, the perceptions that the public has toward tourism could be the cause for the declining tourist volume. Some people perceive tourism as a waste of money where individuals find it difficult to meet basic survival needs at home (Marschall, 2013a). Others feel that there is 'no reason' for them to take a trip in this country and some do not regard themselves as tourists whenever they take church trips or visit friends and family (RSA, 2012a; Marschall, 2013b). In addressing public perceptions, campaigns such as the Sho't Left campaign and the 2010 International Football Federations (FIFA) Soccer World Cup were used to raise awareness on the cultural offerings in South Africa but these attempts were short lived and left some people disappointed (Rogerson and Lisa, 2005; van der Merwe, 2014). Not everyone yielded from the benefits of South Africa hosting the World Cup in 2010, and heritage tourism remains 'foreign' to many people, for example: the residents of the Kliptown informal settlements witnessed the development and upgrading of the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication tourist attraction whilst problems of inadequate sanitation and housing development are still prevalent in their local area (Rankin, 2013). The lack of proper public consultation has led to conflicting receptions of tourism and if museums persist in isolating communities, museums will see themselves continually dealing with issues of vandalism, theft and violent protests (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009; Marschall, 2012, Marschall, 2013a). In the South African context, heritage resources recently were under threat because people demanded to see the speedy transformation of the country's heritage cultural landscape. The removal of Cecil John Rhodes' statue and unlawful defacing of the Louis Botha, Paul Kruger and the four Burghers statues were reflections of how people have conflicting perceptions of the inherited heritage (Essop and Malgas, 2015; RSA, 2015b). In such cases, how can the government and museums facilitate changing the public's perceptions and attitudes regarding heritage? du Cros (2009); Khumalo *et al.* (2014) and van der Merwe (2013) suggests that strengthening collaborations and communication between local government, heritage stakeholders and the public will assist in reaching the desired goal of an all-inclusive heritage and combat the challenges of the modern tourist market. Fulfilling promises made by management to visitors will attract more visitors to partake in the dialogue on transforming the society (Goudie, Khan and Kilian, 1999; Marschall, 2013a).

Liliesleaf Farm Museum and the Hector Pieterse Museum & Memorial – representations of struggle sites in Johannesburg

Located in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, Liliesleaf Farm Museum (Figure 1) in Rivonia, captures a unique story of how diverse people from different racial backgrounds united under one vision during apartheid to emancipate South Africa. The newly 2008 established museum was once used as the headquarters of secret meetings held by the African National Congress' military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) for discussions on how to overthrow the apartheid government. On the 11th of July 1963, a police raid broke out at the premises where prominent political leaders such as Walter Sisulu, Sir Bob Hepple, Lionel Bernstein, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and Ahmed Kathrada were arrested and sentenced for sabotage in the Rivonia Treason trial. Liliesleaf Farm as a museum grants visitors a sense of the actual underground movement of the MK and encapsulates the fundamental principles that the new South Africa is built upon. The museum is significant in heritage tourism today because it goes beyond merely educating tourists about past events but encourages dialogue about how tourists can carry the legacy of the liberation movement in their lives to deal with today's contemporary issues. In contrast, the Hector Pieterse museum and memorial is located in Soweto (Figure 1). This national heritage site commemorates the lives of 575 student protestors who marched on the 16th of June 1976 against the use of Afrikaans as the official language of instruction for non-language subjects in high school education for black people. The story of the Soweto Uprisings represents the radical transformation that South Africa underwent almost two decades after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre and the arrests of political leaders in the treason trial. Inside the Hector Pieterse Museum, the names of the other victims who were involved in the struggle

are displayed and the museum provides a broader understanding of the causes that led to the uprising (Marschall, 2006, 2009). The museum provides information about the historical event and it can be argued that the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum is more of an interpretation centre than a museum (Marschall, 2016). It can be argued that the precinct does not collect and conserve artefacts but predominantly shares information.

An interpretation centre is defined as the presentation and communication of heritage with the objective of promoting the use of cultural, educational and social and tourism purposes (Tugas, Tresseras and Matamalla, 2005). Unlike museums, Tugas *et al.* (2005) says interpretive centres do not collect, conserve and study objects but enable visitors to gain a deeper appreciation of the site's natural and cultural values by providing the necessary information". Even so, Watson (2007) states that the term museum is now used to include a wide range of heritage projects that bear little resemblance to the concept of an institution established to collect and conserve cultural material within its walls. Today, the museum is known as a popular tourist attraction that draws both international and local attention because of courageous acts of the youth of 1976 and the iconic photograph of Hector Pieterse that raised awareness on the apartheid system (Grundlingh, 2006). Overall, both the Hector Pieterse museum and Liliesleaf Farm museum are cornerstones of the new nation's collective memory and identity and are considered as actual sites of confrontations, granting visitors a first-hand experience of the events. Both heritage sites attract a large number of international and domestic tourists annually and play an important spiritual role for visitors through the presence of memorial sites, which acknowledge the lives of those who died and went missing for freedom (Marschall, 2013a).

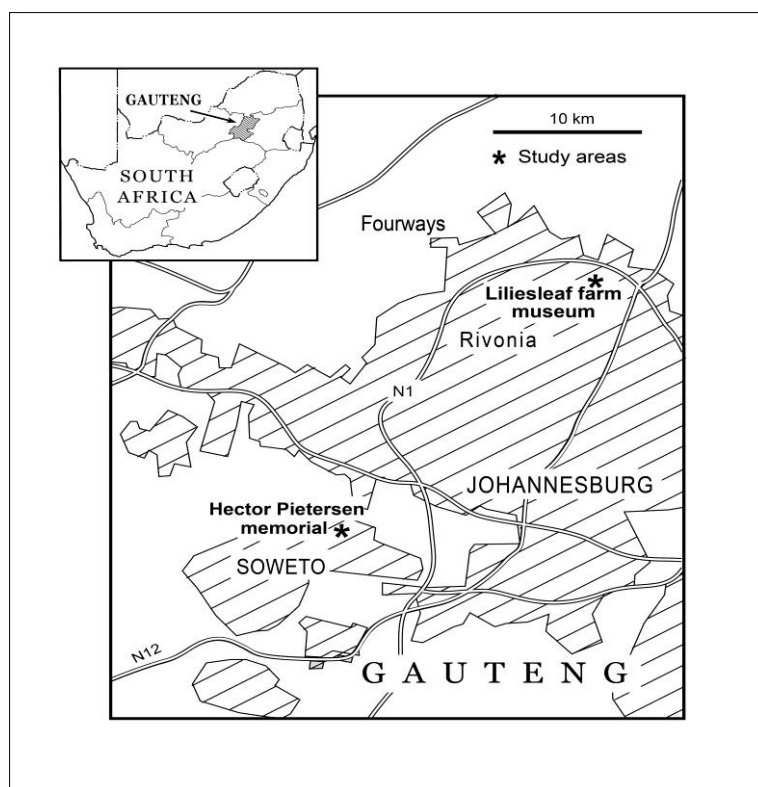


Figure 1: The location of Liliesleaf Farm Museum (Rivonia) relative to the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum (Soweto). (Source: Wendy Phillips, University of the Witwatersrand).

Methods

A comparative case study of Liliesleaf Farm museum and the Hector Pieterse museum has been chosen to provide systematic and in depth details about the heritage tourist motivations

and experiences at these 'struggle sites'. According to Yin (1984) the strength of case studies lies in the ability to withstand a full variety of evidence ranging from artefacts, documents, observations and interviews. A mixed methods approach of qualitative and quantitative research has been adopted to gather information about tourists' experiences. Marshall (1996) claims that the use of both research strategies compliments the weaknesses and strengths of one another, strengthens the overall research design, and provides more convincing evidence. Two semi-structured questionnaires were developed for local tourists and museum management. Similar to McIntosh (1999), museum managers were also interviewed in order to establish the difference between what they think is important and what visitors think to be important, thereby highlighting any conflict of purpose. Patton (2002) says using semi-structured interviews makes room for the researcher to control the interview and to permit any other themes unbeknownst to the researcher, to surface. Both questionnaires were largely qualitative in order to bring about the rich, diverse, unique and complex nature of the research (Marshall, 1996; Ritchie, Lewis & McNaughton-Nicholas, 2013). Open-ended questions dealt with the tourists' understandings of heritage, their overall museum experience and their expectations of the tour while closed-ended questions were used to attain the demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Overall, a total of 100 questionnaires were completed (50 at Liliesleaf Farm and 50 at Hector Pieterse). At both sites, the interviews were conducted in English for museum stakeholders and visitors. A non-probability, purposive sampling strategy was used to select the participants for this study. Individual domestic tourists between the ages of 18 and 75 were chosen as the most suitable candidates. Domestic tourists were chosen because international tourists are often propelled to visit South African museums because of the major historical role that Nelson Mandela played in liberating South Africa (Visser & Rogerson, 2004). Also, Rogerson and Lisa (2005) found that domestic tourism in South Africa has been largely under-researched and is supposedly difficult to track. Arguably, Timothy and Boyd (2003) says that researching domestic tourists meant that the participants could be more motivated to visit struggle museums for reconciliation and building national pride which might be difficult for international tourists to connect with. Furthermore, individual tourists rather than tour groups or adults accompanied by children were chosen because of the time limit that tour groups are allocated by tour guides and the difficulty adults with children experience in taking the time to complete the questionnaire (Packer & Ballantyne, 2002).

Phaswana-Mafuya and Haydam (2005) mention that interviewing individuals is more advantageous as they often had more leisure time on their hands to pause and reflect on the material due to the self-directed nature of the tour. Vulnerable groups such as children were excluded due to their passive nature to follow parent or teacher instructions during the tour. The candidates were made up of both males and females, young and old. According to Packer (2008) age and gender has the ability to influence the type of experiences that visitors will have in heritage sites therefore by classifying participants according to age groups will help with the discovery of who frequently visits heritage sites and to whom heritage spaces appeal to the most. This is done in order to gain the perspectives of the elderly as well as young people with regards to visiting heritage sites. The youth of South Africa has been criticised for not being as politically aware as the youth who fought in the apartheid struggle (Baines, 2007; Hamber, 2012) thus a comparison of the age groups will assist in verifying the assumptions made. Their educational, employment and residential information was gathered to gain the perspectives of the exact tourists who visited struggle museums. Some studies seek to ascertain the profile of heritage tourism in South Africa (Khumalo *et al.*, 2014; van der Merwe, 2013, 2014).

The study took place over a two-month period from June to July in 2015. Conducted during the week and also on weekends, the tourists were approached in the mornings and afternoons to participate in the study. Upon entrance, the researcher asked the tourists

whether they were local or international tourists and if they indicated that they were local tourists, they were briefed about the purpose of the study and asked if they would spare some time after the tour to answer a few questions. Packer and Ballantyne (2002) and Packer (2008) took a similar approach in their studies. The interviews took 10 to 20 minutes to complete. With regard to the environment, since the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum is not confined by walls and people freely pass in between the memorial and the museum, only tourists who entered the museum were approached instead of those who gazed at the memorial only. This was done to gain the overall museum experience. Through observing the memorial alone, we believe that the in-depth story of the June 16 events is arguably not discovered which would require a visit inside the museum to see the rest of the memorial built for other students and how the story of the uprising transpired.

In contrast, Liliesleaf Farm Museum is situated within confined walls, which meant tourists were approached after paying at the ticket office. Data on the tourists' perceptions about heritage and their experiences in museums was analysed using thematic content analysis. Thematic analysis is a process used with qualitative information (Boyatzis, 1998) and allows the researcher to identify (through coding) recurring themes on the subject matter and any content noticeably different from the rest (Patton, 2002). The codes can be a list of themes, a complex model with indicators and qualifications that are causally related (Boyatzis, 1998). Alhojailan (2012) says that with thematic analysis, concepts are constructed to give the full picture of participants' views and actions. Some scholars see the approach as being poorly demarcated, yet widely used (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Direct quotations were used to retain the quality of the results and to allow expression. According to Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) quotes are one of the primary forms of evidence to support the author's representation of data. Quotes are essential in defining key concepts, help assess validity and show the reader that the findings presented are based on what participants have said (Guest *et al.*, 2012). In confidentiality of the participants, their names were not divulged but individuals were rather referred to as respondent one, two, etcetera. The limitations of this study were the length of the questionnaire for the local tourists. Some respondents conveyed that the number of open-ended questions were too much which lead to some people providing one word answers towards the end of the interview. Also, in both museums, due to the availability of South African tourists on weekends, the amount of time allocated to collect data was exceeded. Therefore, the time for data collection had to be expanded. Overall, tourists and management at both sites were willing to partake in the study judging by the low refusal rate and despite the study being undertaken in winter, heritage tourists were willing to share their experiences.

Results and discussion

For this paper, the results are reflected as a combination of the two sites and in order to acknowledge the different experiences of each heritage site, individual results of both sites is presented. Responses were coded and for confidentiality, the quotations of the participants are indicated by (R # L/H = Respondent # Liliesleaf Farm or Hector Pieterse).

1. Demographic profiling of heritage tourists

In terms of gender distribution, the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum was visited by 74% females and 26% males whereas Liliesleaf farm had an equal proportion of males and females. Combined, the number of female visitors outweighed the number of male visitors corresponding with the findings of Khumalo *et al.* (2014). Liliesleaf Farm Museum mainly attracted visitors who are middle aged between ages 40-50 (32%). Arguably, this result can be attributed to the timing of the raid, which occurred 52 years ago at the time where middle-aged visitors lived to hear and experience the events of the Rivonia Trial first hand. In contrast, the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum attracted a higher proportion of young people within the age range of 18-39 (34%). Also, due to the history of the museum being

centred on the role of young people in the struggle, younger people are seemingly drawn to the museum. Interesting to note, the racial groups that were dominant in visiting both sites are black people. At the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum, 14% were white whilst 56% were black, and 30% being other race groups. This indicates that the proportion of white visitors at the precinct has dropped contrary to Khumalo *et al.* (2014) observation. This also means that the marketing efforts made by the government to attract black people into the tourism industry RSA (2012a) are working but the industry needs to be careful not to lose the attention of the previously empowered in the process. A balance between black and white histories needs to be reached as Manwa *et al.* (2016) proposed. For Liliesleaf Farm, although the number of white people visiting the museum is 40%, there is not much of a difference to the number of black people visiting which is at 38%. 22% being other race groups. For both heritage sites, the minority racial groups by visitation were Indian (Asian) and coloured people.

This means that greater marketing efforts need to be made to attract these groups so that everyone can be drawn equally into the process of being a unified rainbow nation. In terms of education, visitors to both heritage sites can be described as well-educated with 26% (Hector Pieterse museum) and 20% (Liliesleaf Farm museum) having a postgraduate degree. The general visitor employment status at both precincts suggests that respondents are well secured with 70% and 60% of the respondents at Hector Pieterse and Liliesleaf Farm working full-time. This result coincides with Marschall's (2013b) findings that heritage tourists are generally more affluent and highly educated. For equal accommodation, future research can look into how the tourism industry can attract less educated and poor people to visit heritage sites.

Addressing geographical spread, van der Merwe (2014) said that accessing tourist attractions between provinces of great distances tend to be difficult to reach in a day's trip. This finding however concurs with the results found in this study where provinces of great distances such as the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and the Free State had the lowest proportion of tourists originating from there (see Figure 2 below). Therefore, it is of paramount importance that ties and linkages between museums across provinces of great distances are strengthened because the expansion of domestic tourism has the potential to augment the economy outside existing tourism nodes (Rogerson and Lisa, 2005). Given, the South African National Council has spearheaded the Liberation Heritage Route (LHR) project to expose thirteen iconic sites that portray different heritage offerings and the story of the struggle across South Africa but more projects like this one needs to be established for added exposure (Bialostocka, 2014).

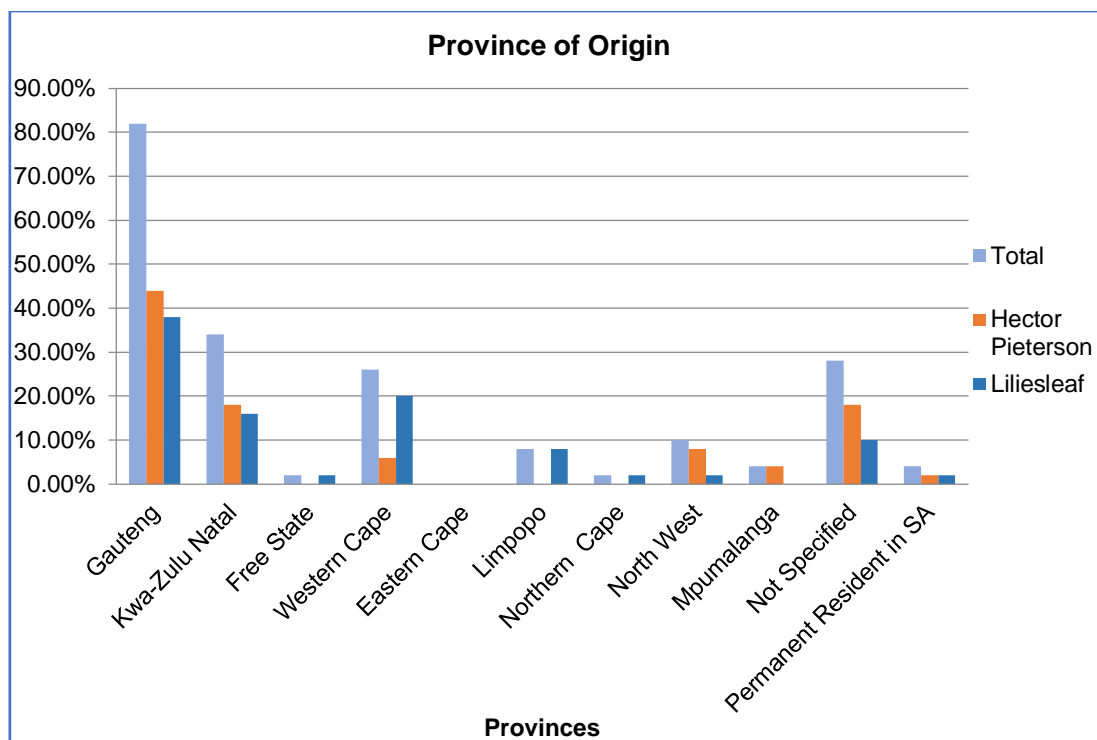


Figure 2: South African provincial distribution of tourists by origin.

2. Understanding visitor experiences in ‘struggle’ museums

In order to gain insight into the expectations and overall experiences of visitors in museums, this study briefly looked at the motivational factors that propelled tourists to visit Liliesleaf Farm museum and the Hector Pieterse museum & memorial. Combined, Figure 3 indicates that 88% of the tourists mentioned that word of mouth (influence by friends and family) was the predominant method used to find out about the museum. In a world where technology has developed significantly and interaction through the Internet has increased, Liliesleaf Farm Museum (4% social media: 4% newspaper/magazine) and the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum (6% social media: 6% newspaper/magazine) have least used these media avenues to promote themselves. Both museums lack the capacity to reach out to the public in terms of marketing and advertising. The results reaffirm the findings of a study conducted by Musinguzi (2007). Considering that historical and cultural resources are one of South Africa’s best tourist selling points, Phaswana-Mafuya and Haydam (2005) suggest that museums ought to consider adopting the above mentioned communication platforms to stimulate a greater desire in people to visit museums. Using the theory of interpretive communities, which emphasises the role that social groups play in shaping the intelligibility skills of an individual, heritage sites should be careful not to rely excessively on word of mouth as a major promotion tool so that any negative perceptions that could have culminated from previously unsatisfied customers would not be sold to prospective visitors.

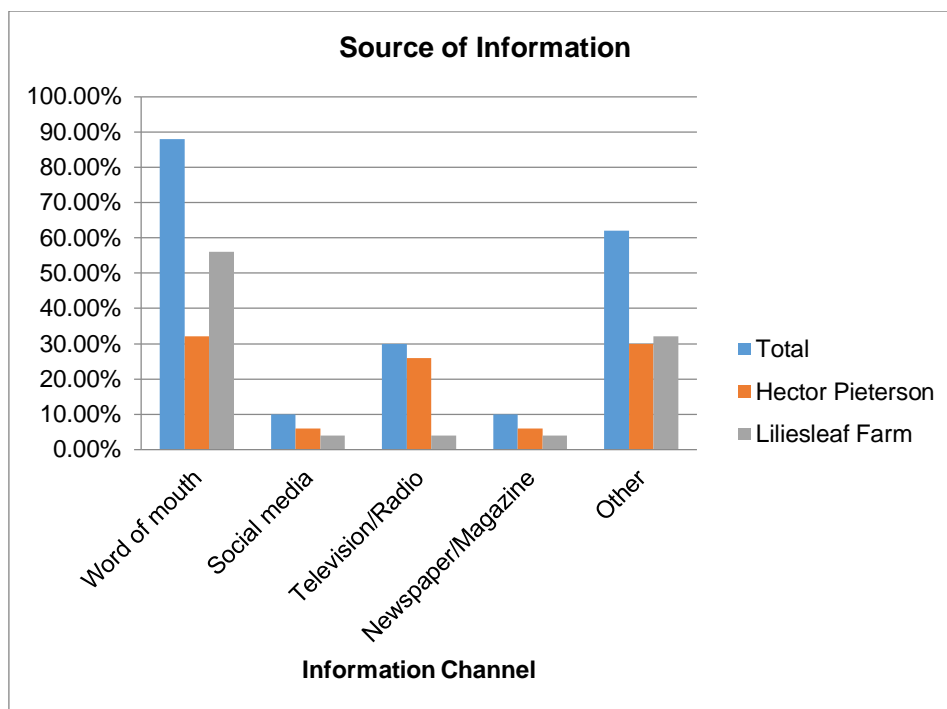


Figure 3: Means by which local tourists heard about heritage sites.

Some of the other reasons that propelled tourists to visit heritage sites came from the general interest of individuals to know more about history and to gain deeper insight into the events of the South African apartheid struggle.

“I felt as if I didn’t know enough about the struggles and fights that the country and our leaders went through” (R-9L)

“To know more about our past and how it really happened at the strike” (R-3H)

For this reason, some tourists felt that as a part of social justice, it is mandatory for them as South African citizens to visit struggle heritage sites. Closely linked to that, some local people felt that they wanted to be part of a shared experience and to gain a first-hand experience of the events that reminded people of the struggle. This implies that people are ready to come to terms with their inherited history and work towards a reconciled society. To some people, their visit was business related, event driven (inspired by Youth Day) and fell under a ‘bucket list’ of places to go to when visiting Johannesburg. This demonstrates that entertainment plays an important role in attracting visitors. Heritage attractions should bear in mind that their products need to contain an element of education and entertainment in order to draw large numbers of visitors. With regard to expectations, the management of both precincts were asked if the expectations of tourists are practical and attainable. Conference co-ordinator Zulu (2015) from Liliesleaf Farm Museum said: *“Yes indeed as we do not allow ourselves to fall short of the higher expectations. Tourists come to learn from us”*. Similarly, Hector Pieterseon’s museum guide, Twala (2015) expressed that the reports that the museum receives from tourists are positive which signify that the expectations of tourists are met at the precinct. This suggests that both precincts are very much aware of the needs of consumers and are interested in fulfilling them. On the same note, visitors were then asked what their expectations were coming into the museums and most (68%) respondents at Liliesleaf Farm expressed that they had an idea of the arrests but expected to gain detailed accounts of what happened in Rivonia and how other activists from different racial backgrounds were involved in the liberation movement. Some were curious to see how Liliesleaf Farm has transformed from an old farmhouse into a national heritage site. In

comparison to the Hector Pieterse museum and memorial, tourists expected to see more tangible artefacts such as school uniforms and burnt tyres on display.

"I would see more visual items used on the day 16th June. Tyres or other items to portray the day" (R-27H)

"To see everything almost in detail and see things they actually used in the strike" (R-3H)

This particular expectation shows that some tourists visit museums without gathering enough information as to what they might encounter upon arrival. On the other hand, this expectation of more tangible artefacts could have stemmed from the false illusion that the Hector Pieterse precinct is a 'museum', which by definition collects and conserves artefacts than an interpretive centre, which shares information and knowledge instead. The marketing manager of the Hector Pieterse museum and memorial could look into what defines the precinct as a museum rather than an interpretive centre. Questionably, how institutions define themselves is key to creating an idea of what tourists may or may not encounter upon arrival.

To explore the experiences of visitors at both heritage sites, Figure 4 indicates that overall, 55% of the tourists expressed that their experiences were excellent (or good, 37%) with a small proportion of visitors perceiving their experiences as fair (7%) or poor (1%). This finding reveals that despite the occurrence of any disappointing events during the tour, more than half of the respondents were satisfied. Attributing to satisfaction levels, the presence and use of audio-visual materials at both sites highly impressed visitors. Despite some of the electronics not working due to load-shedding (the interruption of electricity supply to reduce the amount of strain on the entire power system in South Africa, which results in power outages), the volume of information tourists gained compensated for the trouble. For example, respondents felt that they gained more information about the history of the struggle that has not been mentioned in school-based curriculums or the media.

"There is more to our struggle that we are led to believe by the media" (R-43L).

Future research could investigate and compare the different narratives that exist about the country's liberation struggle heritage from both the media and the museum perspectives to measure authenticity within heritage tourism. Furthermore, how can the heritage sites market themselves to locals that feel that they 'already know' about the struggle history and feel that there is no need for them to visit? For added experiences, the need for tourist guides was mentioned. Although Liliesleaf Farm Museum provides guided tours for tourists, that option is only made available for larger groups. As part of job creation, more tourist guides can be recruited to accommodate individual visitors too. In contrast, the Hector Pieterse Memorial & Museum allows tourists to arrive with their own tourist guides (found through tourism agencies or local residents acting as tour guides) for job creation purposes but 16% of the respondents requested that compulsory tourist guides should be made available by the museum. One respondent said:

"They must not leave us to go for the tour by ourselves; they need to help us, give a full experience..." (R-30H).

Graburn (1977) suggests that visitors touring by themselves tend to be overwhelmed or bored as they progress throughout the exhibit. According to Radder and Han (2013) one way of sustaining heritage museums is to provide quality and ensure high levels of customer satisfaction.

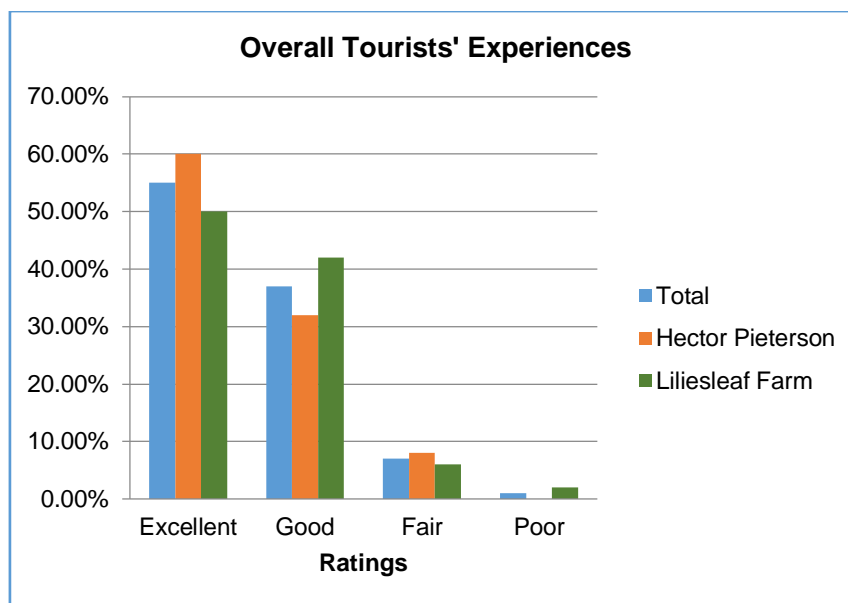


Figure 4: Total experiences of local tourists at Liliesleaf Farm Museum and the Hector Pieterseon Memorial & Museum.

Table 1: Perceptions of heritage tourists about the sites

Variables	Hector Pieterseon Museum	Liliesleaf Farm Museum
Prior Visit		
Yes	26%	20%
No	70%	80%
Unspecified	4%	0%
Were your expectations met?		
Yes	90%	92%
Yes	6%	8%
No	2%	0%
Unsure	2%	0%
Unspecified		
Are museums necessary?		
Yes	98%	100%
No	0%	0%
Unsure	2%	0%
Would you visit again?		
Yes	90%	90%
No	8%	4%
Unsure	2%	6%

Therefore, understanding what causes customer dissatisfaction, positions museums to learn from their mistakes and provide better and quality experiences next time. In this study, a few tourists at both heritage sites mentioned that the communication levels of the staff were unsatisfactory. Visitors suggested that the staff should be more welcoming “*To make the host more friendly and polite*” (R13-L). In response to this, Liliesleaf tourist guide Sewela (2015) and Hector Pieterseon tourist guide Twala (2015) conveyed that language posed as a huge problem as some tourists could not understand English. Twala (2015) revealed that “*Not following the rules, damaging of the artworks*” sometimes causes contention between the staff and the visitors. On that note of communication, tourists at Hector Pieterseon museum and memorial felt that their inability to take photos inside the museums was disheartening. The museum staff needs to communicate with visitors as to why photography is not allowed inside the museum. Overall, the heritage experiences of tourists were deemed

as satisfactory in both museums as 90% of the respondents stated they would visit again and 99% deemed the presence of museums as necessary (see Table 1, above).

3. Visitors perception of heritage through visiting museums

The role that museums play in enhancing perceptions of heritage among local tourists is clear. The findings in this study indicate that tourists gained details about what happened on the 11 July 1963 and the 16 June 1976. Their heritage experiences were not only insightful about the past but encouraged them to ponder on their current life circumstances. Respondent R-8L felt *"Huge respect for the then leadership and sadness that their expectations and sacrifices have been squandered by the present regime"*. Similarly, R-11H felt *"A change of attitude and a willingness to contribute towards South Africa"*. This demonstrates how visiting heritage sites has the ability to leave people emotionally and mentally charged as shown by van der Merwe (2014). A deeper sense of the courage and challenges that previous political activists endured was felt among the visitors. Others left the museums with the realisation that the journey to a better South Africa is still a long process going forward and that the onus is upon them to act against the injustices of today. The detailed personal accounts and the involvement of other activists from different racial backgrounds caused visitors to be filled with humility, guilt and respect. This is evident in the reaction of respondent R-1H who felt *"A profound sense of sadness, guilt and that we are all responsible for what happened. Even if we just kept quiet and did not speak up."* In answering the question what heritage meant to tourists, varying outcomes were expressed. Some felt that it was nothing but added problems whereas others thought that heritage calls for people to celebrate and appreciate the journey to democracy with all its achievements. *"Heritage in the new RSA is a reminder of our painful past and a motivating factor to correct past injustices"* (R-11H).

"It's difficult. So much progress has been made over the past 20 years, but now it feels like our heritage is being used by corrupt politicians to keep the masses voting them back in power even if they don't deliver on their promises..." (R-1H).

"It is almost as if our heritage has started anew even though we must not forget where we come from. It is important to use this time in the New Democratic South Africa to start a heritage where everyone is equal" (R-30L).

These remarks suggest that heritage sites act as institutions that remind people where South Africa comes from, where it is now and where it is possibly going. Also, they allow tourists to apply the lessons learnt from their heritage experience and apply them to change their current circumstances. The curator of the Hector Pieterson museum, Gule (2015) concurs with the above-mentioned statement as he said *"The best way to teach heritage though is not to just shove it down the people's throats but to deal with whatever those people are living through and show how those things are related"*. In other views, Sewela (2015), Twala (2015) and Zulu (2015) believed that constant sharing of information and communication is one way of ensuring that authenticity is kept alive in people's minds as well as in the museum. Overall, both the Hector Pieterson museum and Liliesleaf Farm museum expect to see tourists leave their premises with the full story of the liberation struggle, the involvement of various activists in the fight for freedom and to know that anything is possible if they are willing to stand up as a collective and fight for what they believe in.

Conclusion

Tourism in South Africa has been used as one of the catalysts to recreate the image of the country as a popular go-to destination since the emancipation of the country and as a tool for local economic development (Rogerson, 2006, 2015; RSA, 2015a, 2015b). Heritage tourism

has been identified as one of the vehicles that have been successful in promoting the cultural features of the new South Africa (Witz, *et al.* 2001). This study focused on the niche area of liberation or struggle heritage in museums. By focusing on the experiences of tourists in heritage sites, this study affirms the important role that museums play in enhancing the understandings of heritage among tourists but due to the lack effective marketing and sufficient communication between museums and prospective visitors, heritage institutions fall short of their potential to attract tourists. If the aim of the industry is to reach the full potential of domestic tourism, the issue of geographical spread needs to be prioritised as this study shows that this issue is still persistent. With the government attempting to encourage increased travelling behaviour among local people (RSA, 2012b; RSA, 2015), the tourism industry needs to learn how to engage with its inherited heritage whilst establishing new national identities that accommodate both black and white people of South Africa. By using the conceptual framework of interpretive communities, this study reinforces the need for museum stakeholders to meet tourists at the point of the tourists' understandings to ensure that their experiences are satisfactory and that tourists can feel comfortable to ask any questions related to the history on display. This would allow the museum staff and visitors (who may possess similar expectations and experiences) to share in the same narratives of the struggle for authenticity purposes, social cohesion and collective identity formation. Through the tourists' experiences, it can therefore be concluded that local tourists are willing to share their experiences of heritage with others and that they have gained better knowledge of the liberation struggle heritage of South Africa than they initially came with. It is hoped that a better understanding of how local tourists receive heritage tourism has been provided and since inadequate marketing has been identified as one of the inhibiting factors of local heritage consumption, an investigation of the differences between privately funded and public-funded museums would be valuable for future research (Mason, 2005).

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