



# Marikana: Opportunities for Heritage Tourism

Unathi Sonwabile Henama  
Department of Tourism Management  
Tshwane University of Technology  
Pretoria, South Africa  
HenamaUS@tut.ac.za

## Abstract

The tragic events on the 16 August 2012 in South Africa, led to the loss of life in Marikana just outside of Rustenburg. These tragic event not only scared the country, but fundamentally changed the future of South Africa. The loss of life seized international headlines because of the relative youth of South Africa's democracy and because South Africa is a popular mining destination. The end of apartheid and the holding of the first democratic elections was an opportunity for South Africa to create a new nation state. The tragic events that occurred at Marikana were a scar in the collective memory of South Africans that blighted that drive. Tragic events have the potential to be created into sites of what are termed dark tourism or justice tourism. South Africa, because of its troubled past has a plethora of dark tourism sites such as Sharpeville. Marikana is therefore a post-apartheid dark tourism destination that should be developed, commodified and commercialized for local and international tourism consumption.

**Key words:** Marikana, dark tourism, Lonmin, Farlam, EFF, AMCU.

## Introduction

South Africa is purportedly a mineral rich country and perhaps a leading mining country in the world as far as the diversity and quantity of minerals produced are concerned (Van Der Vyver, 2002: 126). According to Dywili (2014) mining is an important sector in the South African economy, and it has been reported that in 2012 alone, it brought in \$21 billion. South African mines presently employ about 406 000 workers and contribute significantly to GDP (7.1%), exports (34% of value) and formal employment (6,5%). According to Ben Fine and Sam Ashman (2013) South Africa is known to be the largest producer of platinum, estimated to hold 87% of the world's reserves of Platinum Group Metals. In 2009 it accounted for 76% of the world platinum. Since the early 1990s platinum has been the fastest growing subsector within the mining industry, driven by soaring prices due to a surge in demand for catalytic converters and luxury jewellery. As a result the Bushveld Igneous Area has seen the fastest growth than any other region in South Africa over the past decade with growth exceeding 15% in some years. (Ashman & Fine, 2013). Ashman and Fine (2013) continued to note that in the same period there was significant corporate restructuring in the platinum belt, a sector dominated by Anglo American Platinum and Impala platinum, these transnational corporations have been dominant from the apartheid years. The third largest producer of platinum is Lonmin (where the worker's strike started). These firms successfully managed to convert their old order mining rights and retained firm control over the large part of the Bushveld Igneous Complex (BIC) platinum production by coopting the emerging domestic black capitalist interests. This was a provision made by the MRPRDA for Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). Marikana is part of the Bushveld Igneous Complex, found in the northern part of South Africa, which is the world's largest layered intrusion. The complex plays host to over half of the world's platinum, chromium, vanadium and refractory minerals.

Most workers are employed in gold and platinum mines in Gauteng and the North West Province. Mining also has a multiplier effects on the rest of the economy, which, when taken into consideration, raises the contribution of mining to the GDP to close to 12%" (Hermanus,



2007: 351). Mining has been the key driver of the South African economy for several decades now, from the discovery of the gold in the Boer republics and the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley. According to Elbra (2013:551) "...at the end of apartheid-era rule in 1994, mining and business in general was concentrated in the hands of a small group of companies. Anglo American controlled 43 per cent of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and the top five groups of companies controlled 84 per cent through a complex web of cross holding. With the fall of the Apartheid regime, South Africa's mining industry experienced significant changes, culminating in the 2002 introduction of the Mineral and Petroleum Resource Development Act. The Act was introduced in order to re-direct the benefits of South Africa's minerals to the broader population". The Mineral and Petroleum Resource Development Act was preceded by the Minerals Act of 1991, which had encouraged the alienation of the state as a holder of mineral rights so they could be held by private entities, this placed the state in an equivalent position as any holder of minerals.

The state only collected royalties in respect of mining rights where the state was the holder of the applicable right to the minerals. The Minerals Act of 1991 was the first to place the state in a position where it doesn't directly direct the mining control, but control was vested with private mining capital. Prior acts that were promulgated by colonial and apartheid regimes such as the Land Settlement Amendment Act of 1917, Precious Stones Act of 1964 and the Mining Titles Registration Act of 1967 consistently empowered the state to be the strict regulator of the mineral resources of the country (Schuyff, 2012). The South African economy has been disproportionately dependent on extraction industries to drive the economy. There challenge with concentrating on a single industry is that when there are challenges to that single industry, it does have disastrous impacts on the country. In an article titled *International tourism in Cuba: Can capitalism be used to save socialism?* Taylor Jr and McGlynn (2009) acknowledge that Cuba moved from a heavy dependence on sugar plantations to embrace tourism as a means of economic diversification. Henken (2000) notes that tourism has rapidly become the island's number one export, recently pulling ahead of both sugar and hard currency remittances. Tourism has provide economic diversification, ensuring that countries can mitigate the economic decline of mining, as mining has continue its jobs shedding in South Africa.

### **The Legacy of Apartheid**

As a result of the social engineering policies of apartheid, South African has one of the highest levels of inequality. State sponsored underdevelopment for the non-Europeans was the ideological centre of apartheid and this is best captured by Loots (1997) where he states that that Black communities were deprived of their land and where forced into reserves and locations where poor economic conditions prevailed. After 1996, when South Africa adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) as a neo-liberal macroeconomic strategy, the country experience jobless growth, where the economic growth of the country did not create new employment opportunities, whilst major industries such as mining, agriculture and manufacturing where becoming increasing capital intensive. This created the conditions for what can be said to be a 'perfect storm', where the country has skills shortages in the major sectors such as welding, accountancy to name a few, whilst the unemployed have a set of skills set not required by the economy. This meant that the unemployed, become poor as a



result of lack of employment, and this led to the challenges of inter-generational poverty and its associated social problems.

When the African National Congress (ANC) took political power in 1994, after the first democratic elections, it sought to address the structural challenges in the economy. The government's efforts to remove poverty were irritated by the continued shedding of jobs from the formal economy (Aliber, 2003:473). South Africa had recently 'opened up' after years of being segregated from the global economy, and this happened at the time when the force of globalization was in full swing. The South African Communist Party (SACP) had criticized the tendency of the ANC government to focus on chasing narrow "BEE scores" whilst neglecting the conditions of workers and has been stated as been one of causes of the Marikana tragedy/massacre. The migrant labour system created by the mining houses or group producers in the mineral revolution in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, remains intact, this was fused with Afrikaner finance capital in the 1960s, and diversified out of the minerals and energy core, coming to dominate the entire economy by the 1970s. The concentration of both industrial and money capital in the MEC rested both on the state supporting key industries (through giant parastatals and favourable tariffs and pricing policies) and the extreme exploitation and national oppression of the black majority (Nzimande, 2012).

### **The Events at Marikana**

Bruchhausen (2014) noted that Marikana is a small town in the North West Province of South Africa. "Marikana is about 35 kilometres east of Rustenburg. It is surrounded by more than 30 mines, north, east and west" (Kaonga & Kgabi, 2009: 272). On the 16<sup>th</sup> August 2012, South Africa witnessed one of the most tragic post-apartheid events, the South African Police Service (SAPS) shot at heavily armed striking miners, killing 34, and wounding 78. The SAPS was able to arrest an additional 270 striking miners at the site of the tragedy. The events of Marikana led to political polarization, which the emergence of two contested realities of the day, one calling it a 'massacre' and another calling it a 'tragedy'. In the lead up to the 16 August 2012, there were the deaths of about 10 people, which included two police officers of the SAPS. The other casualties included innocent mine workers that lost their lives at the hands of the striking miners, on their way to work. According to South African History Online (2012) the unrest at the Lonmin began on 10 August, as more than 3 000 workers walked off the job over pay issues in what management called an illegal strike.

The criticism of the Marikana massacre in the political and academic discourses have been largely premised from the Marxist characterization of the state, where it is said that the state is an executive that manages the affairs of the ruling elite. Lenin in his classical exposition titled *The state and revolution*, characterized the state as an instrument of force used by the ruling class to radically suppress the contending classes. The Advocate representative of the miners in the Farlam Commission Advocate Dali Mpofu characterized these events as a "toxic collusion" between the police, the state, and capital (domestic and international). The former leader of the ANCYL, and now the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters, followed suit in this criticism and added that the link in this collusion was the political elite in the form of Cyril Ramaphosa who holds a 9% stake in Lonmin. Cyril Ramaphosa, who is the Deputy President of South Africa, in a series of e-mails sent to the then Minister of Police characterized the strikers as criminals and called for "concomitant action". The dominant narrative has been that



the state acted, according to some commentators, to protect the interests of capital, consistent with the apartheid and colonial state which acted to protect and entrench the interests of the mining capital in the 1913 white miners Rand strike in which the then South African Police was brought in to quell the violent situation and the result was the deaths of 22 white mineworkers and a further 88 were wounded after being shot (Lenin, 1917).

### **The Aftermath of Marikana**

The tragic events of Marikana occurred whilst the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was holding its 32<sup>nd</sup> summit in Maputo, Mozambique. The South African Government News Agency (2012) noted that President Jacob Zuma cut short his attendance of the SADC Summit to attend to the violence that had erupted at Marikana. Lonmin, the world's third largest platinum producer experienced a share price depreciation on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). The immediate aftermath of the tragic events at Marikana was the development of two streams that competed with each other. On the one hand, there were members of the so-called *Fourth Estate* that called it the Marikana Massacre, whilst on the other hand, there are members of the *Fourth Estate* linked to the state that called it the Marikana Tragedy. The news that the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) had decided to charge approximately 270 Marikana miners with the murder of their 34 colleagues shot dead by the police, relying on the criminal law doctrine of common purpose, caused outrage. In the aftermath of the tragedy at Marikana, there have been comparisons to the Sharpeville Massacre that occurred under the period of high apartheid where unarmed African citizens of Sharpeville and members of the Pan African Congress (PAC) descended on a police station to burn their *dompas* (A restriction of movement document). According to Stupart (2012: 1) "Critics have been quick to point out that Sharpeville-in the detail of the event-is nothing like Marikana".

The Sharpeville protestors were directly challenging the abomination that was the apartheid state. An unambiguous contradiction is that the events at Sharpeville occurred under apartheid, under a racist minority led government, whilst Marikana occurred under a democratic state led by a black government that was voted in after the first democratic elections of 1994. The peaceful protest that occurred at Sharpeville led to a nearby police station where the protesters went to burn their passes, that prescribed that any black person must have a pass to reflect that they had a right to be in a particular area.

The significance of Marikana has largely been translated into a launchpad for the third largest political party in South Africa in the form of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Subsequently the ANC government was criticized as the defenders of capitalist interests. It can suffice to say that certainly in the long term, Marikana will be used as a barometer against which future developments in mining and wider South Africa will be measured for the many years to come.

### **Marikana Anniversary**

News24 (2013) noted that the first anniversary of the shooting at Lonmin's Marikana mine was marked by a commemoration rally. The governing party, the African National Congress did



not attend the one-year anniversary of the Marikana killings. Moneyweb (2013) noted that the 1<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the events at Marikana was to be a day of unifying prayer and reflection, which the government did not attend, hours before the commencement of the event.

The anniversary has become a major commemoration day in South Africa, with scant government support. During the 2017 commemoration event, calls were made that the day be declared a public holiday, as thousands of workers on the platinum belt down tools on that day to commemorate the event. The commemoration events are held yearly at the *koppie* (small hill) in Marikana and this event gets major media attention and is televised live. This yearly commemoration event, and the Marikana site has immense potential to be used a dark tourism, and heritage site that could diversify the economic base of Marikana from an overdependence on platinum mining to tourism.

### **Tourism in South Africa**

The development of tourism in South Africa began its upward trajectory at the end of apartheid and the first democratic elections in South Africa. South Africa was once again open for business, and international tourism grew to explore this new destination. In fact, pre-1994 tourism industry in South Africa was anti-developmental due to apartheid legislation which ensured that the industry catered solely to whites (Henama, 2013: 230). "Tourism in South Africa entered a new growth phase with the end of apartheid, the hosting of the first democratic elections in South Africa. South Africa was able to embrace sports tourism by hosting the 1995 IRB World Cup and the 1996 African Nations Cup" (Henama, Janse van Rensburg & Nicolaidis, 2016: 2). South Africa also hosted a successful 2010 FIFA World Cup, which improved South Africa's global image. When South Africa concluded its structural adjustment program (SAP), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), export promotion was identified as a means of growing the economy. Tourism grew widespread recognition as a major industry when it was combined as one of the industries that could assist countries that were under structural adjustment programmes initiated by the IMF and the World Bank (Henama & Sifolo, 2014: 110). Tourism was also identified as an industry that could assist the state to advance export promotion. Export growth has the potential to improve the balance of payments of a country, which has a weak and fragile economy, with limited export potential.

Tourists undertake travel to a destination and import their foreign exchange into the destination country, just like exported product. Tourism is like an export product which is produced and consumed at the destination (Apleni, Vallabh & Henama, 2017:2). "Tourism is essentially a service product offering that is intangible, and simultaneously produced and consumed at the destination area because it is characterized by fixed location" (Tauoatsoala, Henama & Monyane, 2015:2). Because of this character, the majority of value adding can occur at the destination area. This is divergent from the extraction industries, which export raw material with little or no local beneficiation. The tourism industry is sought after by both developing and developed countries since it has developmental ability (Henama, 2013: 231). Almost all countries have jumped on the tourism bandwagon, which has increased competition in tourism globally. One of the major reasons why tourism is so significant for less developed countries is that the original source countries cannot put protectionist barriers against the destination countries as noted by Henama (2013). The arrival of tourists at the destination area, is



supposed to increase the demand for goods and services if the tourism industry is developed to be 'pro-poor'. According to Apleni, Vallabh & Henama (2017) the consumption by tourists of several products and services therefore raises the gross national product of the destination. Tourists can be taxed at the destination, when they consume a multiplicity of products and services, which means that tourism taxation can swell the state coffers.

The tourism industry is regarded as an industry 'without chimneys', because of a lower carbon footprint. Tourism is an industry does not have a higher carbon footprint when compared to other industries such as for example, mining, manufacturing and electricity production through thermal power stations (Apleni, Vallabh & Henama, 2017:3). According to Apleni, Vallabh and Henama (2017) tourism has grown in South Africa to become a leading sector that creates jobs in the country. Tourism has been an economic messiah for South Africa, as perennial job losses has resulted in the increase of poverty associated with unemployment. Tourism has been used by countries as a form of economic diversification and tourism in South Africa can be regarded as the "new gold, as the traditional economic driver of the economy has been gold mining, with deep vertical and forward linkages. The decline of mining production has created widespread unemployment and destroyed the economic prospects of the single industry towns, which depended on mining, as the major economic activity" (Strydom, Mangope & Henama, 2017:2). Henama (2014b) noted that tourism is labour-intensive, therefore any growth in tourism is associated with growth in employment. The tourism industry also provides many entry-level positions that would have not existed in other industries in the economy (Henama, 2013: 232). The growth is always associated with the growth of jobs, because of the labor-intensive nature of tourism. This makes it an attractive means of creating job opportunities for a developing country such as South Africa, which has a high rate of unemployment.

Tourism is a fragmented industry, which means the purchase of one includes the purchase of products from several establishments. This associated with the fact that the majority of tourism enterprises are small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) means that the tourism industry can benefit the local economy much deeper. The top end of the tourism industry is dominated by large multinational companies that include principals such as major airlines, hotel groups and tour operating companies (Henama & Sifolo,2014: 111). The growth of tourism has caught the attention of government, which created a standalone Ministry of Tourism for dedicated attention. The growth of tourism will continue its upward trajectory as tourism consumption is part of a dominant consumer culture. Another important advantage is that tourism is a product that has potential to be consumed over the lifetime of an individual as new destinations are visited and old ones are revisited. The institutionalization of the vacation as a normal part of society as people move up the social strata is imperative as it has increased the number of tourists as many countries have experienced rapid economic growth, wealth and associated normal middle class consumption that includes tourism (Henama, 2014a:2). Henama and Sifolo (2017) noted that the consumption of tourism is located within the prevalent consumer culture. The fashionalisation of tourism consumption has increased the institutionalisation of holidays.

Tourism consumption can benefit locals, as state investments to cater for tourists and locals, can increase visible policing, and infrastructure and super-structure development. Tourism infrastructure can be shared by the locals and tourists, in addition, the consumption of tourism by tourists can speed up the delivery of infrastructure for a locality, benefitting the locals.



According to Tauoatsoala, Henama & Monyane (2015) the tourism industry creates facilities that are consumed by tourists and locals such as airport infrastrucure.

In South Africa, tourism is currently endorsed as the cure-all of all ills, associated with development, employment and income generation (Marshall, 2004: 103). According to Apleni, Vallabh and Henama (2017) tourism is not a panacea for all the developmental challenges that face localities.

## Heritage Tourism

The growth of sub-cultures in the demographic variables of society has also led to the rise in special interest tourism, which is different from mass tourism ( Apleni, Vallabh & Henama, 2017:4). The growth of tourism has also been associated with the growth of Special Interest Tourism (SIT) or niche tourism. “Niche tourism are important to the South African tourism industry as they contribute to the National Department of Tourism’s objectives of increasing length of stay, and spend, widening geographical distribution, increasing volumes, reducing seasonality and driving transformation in the sector. Niche markets offer huge potential and opportunity” (George, 2013: 204). Heritage also arguably plays a fundamental role in enhancing the identity of a region or nation, and can be considered a key vehicle for articulating both national and regional harmony and unity (Viljoen & Henama, 2017:3). Cultural heritage and cultural landscapes are the most ubiquitous and the most consumed classes of tourism products in destinations globally (Ivanovic & Saayman, 2013:175). Because of the tragic history of South Africa, the dominant face of heritage has been colonial and reflective of South Africa’s apartheid past. “In post-apartheid South Africa, there are many new memorials, statues and heritage sites” (Steyn, Spencer & Jessa, 2016:462). According to Marshall (2006b) the erection of public monuments and statues in the nineteenth century in Europe was in the emergence of the national state and such acts were associated with the development of the state. In the case of apartheid state, the nation was reflected as being white as first class citizens, and other races where relegated.

Because heritage is an expression of state power Autry (2012) has noted that during the colonial and apartheid period, most White South Africans could easily identify with national cultural symbols that constructs them as insiders, while constructing the majority population as national outsiders. In South Africa, as in other countries, heritage and cultural tourism is an industry closely related to the nation’s historical past. This past is in many respects turbulent and characterized by intergroup contests for supremacy, military conflict, economic exploitation and cultural suppression (Grobler, 2008:164). South African heritage is marked by two eras, an era before 1994, and an era after 1994. According to Crooke (2005), post-apartheid South Africa has seen the development of many new museums that have challenged the established idea of the museum. “In the case of South Africa, it is the memories of the colonial experience and especially the apartheid past that are now forcefully harnessed for the purpose of nation-building and identify construction” (Marshall, 2006a: 176). Soweto is a top heritage attraction because it was the site of the June 16, 1976 march and the resultant massacre. According to Simbao (2007) on June 16, an estimated 10, 000 to 15 000 students took to the streets of Soweto with placards displayin slogans such as “Away with Afrikaans” were gunned down on their way to Orlando Stadium.



Grundlingh (2009) noted that the 1976 clashes between police and students, led to spillover revolts through the country, and also led to a 27 percent decrease in tourism.

Robben Island's fame is largely built on its association with former President Nelson Mandela, who spent 18 of the 27 years that he imprisoned on the island according to Grobler (2008). Robben Island (Shackley, 2001) was declared as a World Heritage Site in 1999 and is considered to be a sacred site such as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial, graveyards related to the First and Second World War, all sites related with the Holocaust and the slave trade. Strange and Kempa (2003) notes that the experience of tourists at Robben Island is associated with sadness, admiration and respect for the courage for the prisoners and forgiveness. According to Shearing and Kempa (2004) Robben Island was used as a prison, and was designed as a place that would cultivate a sensibility of hopelessness. Soweto and Robben Island are top heritage 'must see' attractions in South Africa, and both these attractions can be regarded as sites of dark tourism.

Marikana has the potential of being the third 'must see' heritage tourism product, if it is properly developed to meet the needs of tourists. According to Cameron (2010) heritage preservation and commodification has primarily been practiced by the West, with the major lead in non-Western regions in the post-colonial period. The growth of international tourism has also assisted the commodification of heritage sites for tourism consumption. The promotion of a heritage tourism as noted by Shackley (2001) a recent phenomenon in South Africa. This can be related to the fact that South Africa's practically opened up for tourism after the first democratic elections in 1994. The site of Marikana must be promoted as a heritage tourism site, primarily as a dark tourism destination. Dark tourism has been variably termed 'morbid' or 'black spot' tourism or 'milking the macabre' and is almost interchangeable with the term *thanatotourism*.

*Thanatotourism* and *dark tourism* "...can include visits to sites of executions, massacres, assassinations, cemeteries, mass graves, memorials, prisons, concentration camps and battlefields" (Miles, 2014: 136). According to Mudzanani (2014) dark tourism refers to travel to sites associated with human tragedy. "Dark tourism has become a widespread phenomenon that attracts an increasing numbers of travelers worldwide" (Famaki, 2013: 282). "First, dark tourism allows death to be brought back into the public realm and discourse, thus acting as a de-sequester that allows absent death to be made present. Secondly, the consumption of dark tourism may aid the social neutralization of death for the individual, either implicitly or explicitly, thereby reducing the potential sense of dread that death inevitably brings and permitting a search for, and a purchase of, ontological security" (Stone & Sharpley, 2008: 589). In addition, dark tourism offers immense opportunities for an educational and emotional experience. Because of the deaths associated with Marikana, the development of the Marikana heritage site, would therefore be commemorating the dead. As a consequence, dark tourism will be associated with the development of the Marikana heritage site. Those that lost their lives at Marikana came from the rural hinterlands of South Africa, a reflection of the migrant labour system that operates in the mining industry of South Africa. Several of those that lost their lives, came from neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. This means that the Marikana heritage centre must reflect the migrant labour reality which ensures that many of those that work at Marikana would have two homes, one home at the place of employment, regarded as a temporary dwelling and the sites of retirement, usually in the rural hinterlands, where family would be located. The vast majority of those that lost their lives,





where buried in the rural hinterlands and this means that these rural hinterlands are potential sites of sites of dark tourism in the periphery, associated with the centre at Marikana.

## Conclusions

Marshall (2004:106) asks the question “Can tourism indeed become a lifeline for embattled heritage in a contested landscape of memory”. The answer is that tourism can be the incentive for the creation of heritage sites, especially in the traditional black townships, which on average have lagging tourism economies specifically, and low economic prospects generally. “The critical challenge in cultural tourism development is therefore is the need to manage heritage assets to become successful tourism products, mostly not originally intended for tourism consumption” (Ho & McKercher, 2004:257). The success of a heritage site at the Marikana site requires private and public sector collaboration between the state and Lonmin. It is probable that the current administration may shy away from participating in the Marikana heritage site because Marikana remains an undesirable stain in the record of the post-apartheid state. Lonmin has been at the forefront of developing a Marikana heritage site. According to Ivanovic and Saayman (2013) the main role of cultural heritage in tourism is about learning about the past. The development of the Marikana Heritage Site must be seen within the broader need to erect a monument that would remind South African’s the tragedy that was Marikana so that it never happens again, and secondly the monument must be designed to increase tourism consumption at Marikana, to make the site the economic growth for the area using tourism.

Strauss and Lord (2001) noted that tourism’s economic benefits comes from ‘new’ money that comes to be spend at the locality through the export of recreational services. According to Stone and Sharpley (2008:589),

“Firstly, dark tourism permits death to be brought back into the public realm and discourse, thus acting as a de-sequester that permits absent death to be made extant. Secondly, the consumption of dark tourism may assist the social neutralisation of death for the individual, either indirectly or overtly...thereby reducing the possible sense of fear of death, inevitably brings and permitting a search for and purchase of, ontological security through a new social institution. Finally, this new social institution (dark tourism) facilitates the reconstruction of a meaning system for individuals in the face of reflexivity, desacralisation and institutional sequestration, thus creating an opportunity for confront and contemplate ‘mortality moments’ from a perceived safe distance and environment. This in turn, allows for some immunity and reassurance from the actual death or macabre event with has been (reproduced through dark tourism)”.

What is imperative is that the story of Marikana must be politically balanced when the Marikana heritage site is created, so that it does not create conflict. The commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre in Sharpeville is always an embarrassment for the ANC-government because there are sections of the political opponents of the ANC that feel that the Sharpeville Massacre memorial park presents a skewed reflection of history about what happened at Sharpeville.

It is therefore imperative that the Marikana heritage site and its interpretation centre presents the full story of what occurred at Marikana. Heritage production in as much as it can be



political, requires that its presentation for local and tourist consumption be depoliticised. There is immense potential for the usage of heritage to increase tourism consumption in South Africa. One of the biggest challenges is that the heritage product of South Africa is dominated by the apartheid and colonial heritage. "The diverse cultural perspectives of South African society reflects the disparate ways in which Afrikaner hegemony contrasted the lived experience of the black majority" (Mistry, 2001: 1). Parts of this heritage are allowed to decay and become delapidated, instead of being used as a form of development through tourism consumption. The fact that Lonmin is leading the heritage project at Marikana is imperative to ensure that the heritage site does not get captured by political interests. Heritage can become a money spinner, if its properly presented to meet the needs of customers who are increasingly demanding worthwhile experiences.

The Marikana heritage site must be developed for multiple uses, to meet the needs of a customers during the day and become useful for the Night Time Economy as a site of entertainment. The Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria, has been transformed from a heritage site, to become a site of leisure, attracting divergent customers who consume the heritage product at different intensities. This has ensured that Voortrekker Monument remains relevant and this is reflected in increased tourists arrivals, meaning that entry fee income continues to increase.

The appropriate commodification and commercialisation of the Marikana heritage site would diversify the economic base of Marikana and create much needed jobs located within the tourism industry. The use of state of the art audiovisual displays of the tragedy and the integration of virtual reality would do much to enhance the experience at the Marikana heritage site. "The development of interpretation centres which include multimedia representations and audiovisual material such as pictures, music and film has done much to enhance the heritage experience, mixing it with entertainment for the enjoyment and benefit of tourists" (Viljoen & Henama, 2017:9). The integration of museums guides that speak multiple foreign languages such as French, German, Spanish and Mandarin, would increase the marketability of the site. The Marikana heritage site must be integrated into the itineraries of travel operators that conduct visits to Sun City, and the Hartbeespoort Dam area. Marketing outlays must also ensure that a visit to the Marikana heritage site is a definite 'must-do'.

According to Viljoen and Henama (2017) social media platforms such as for example, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, LinkedIn, Pinterest and various others may increasingly play a role in tourism and can be instrumental to reach the majority of people and particularly the young people who have neither an awareness of nor ever visited a heritage site. This may mean the creation of experiences at the Marikana heritage site that would be interpreted as being 'cool' and 'vibey', so that it fits into the consumption patterns of especially the youth. The Marikana heritage site would become an economic growth point for the greater Marikana economy, and this would attract investment into the area.

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