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## Pan-Africanisation of South African Political Cultural Heritage as Tourist Attraction

Milena Ivanovic<sup>1</sup>, Kganya Ramoshaba<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract:** The most visited tourist attractions in South Africa are the political heritage sites of memorisation of the struggle against apartheid and are regarded as the main symbols of the new post-1994 national identity. Building on the rise of African consciousness known as the African Renaissance and Pan-Africanism, the paper explores the possibility that these famous tourist sites are equally representative of the newly emerging Pan-African identity. The study builds on extensive literature on the African Renaissance movement, the concepts of national and Pan-African identity, and on two dimensions of constructive authenticity, cognitive (learning) and affective (feeling). This mixed-method study explores the differences in the way domestic and African tourists construct the authenticity of their experience of the site. The results of data triangulation confirm the main assumption of this paper that the country's most iconic places of struggle against apartheid are not only representative of the new South African national identity but of newly emerging Pan-African identity too. The findings are valuable for site managers, who should include the Pan African narrative into interpretation and presentation of the sites, and government, who should promote the South African political heritage sites as unique Pan African tourist attractions for the African market.

**Keywords:** Pan-Africanism; cultural heritage; apartheid; South Africa; constructive authenticity

**JEL Classification:** Z32

### 1. Introduction

A fascinating story of South Africa's political struggle against apartheid and country's peaceful handover of power in 1994 led by first democratically elected president Nelson Mandela, turned the country into instant tourism success and "a darling of the world". (Butler & Ivanovic, 2016; Ivanovic & Saayman, 2013, p. 180) Since 1994, the year of South Africa's first democratic election when only 3.9 million tourists arrived in the country (NDT, 2012), the number of international tourists increased to 10.3 million in 2017, of which 73% (7 559 342 mil.) are from Africa. (SAT, 2018, p. 7) A phenomenal post-1994 tourism growth is mostly attributed to the power of Nelson Mandela's personal brand, the "Madiba magic", and the country's miraculous transition from racial discrimination and divisions of apartheid regime to just and equal society. (Rogerson & Visser, 2004) As the eyes of the world turned onto South Africa, the newly elected national government transformed the country's history of struggle into unique new class of tourist attractions not comparable to any other offerings on the African continent and in the world. (Ivanovic, 2008) Marschall (2004, p. 103) alleges that the new democratic government "has become fascinated - if not obsessed - with the identification, celebration, evaluation, reassessment and commodification of "heritage" at places of South African history of struggle against the apartheid. Some of the most famous political cultural heritage

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attractions are: the Robben Island, the World Heritage Site near Cape Town where Nelson Mandela was kept prisoner; Soweto, the South Africa's most iconic township near Johannesburg and the site of the famous Soweto uprising in 1976; and, the Constitution Hill in Johannesburg, where the highest court of new democratic South Africa, the Constitutional Court, was built on the site of the notorious apartheid prison. (NDT, 2012)

These political heritage sites were created to have a twofold function; first to serve the country's new political agenda as part of a new national identity, and second to become major tourist attractions representative of the new post-1994 South African peaceful transition under first democratically elected government. (van der Merwe, 2013) The South African political heritage sites as places of memorisation and commemoration of South African fight for the basic human rights against racial segregation, convey the universal message of human liberation, resistance and freedom which strongly resonate with tourists from all over the world. (Ivanovic & Saayman, 2013; Sather-Wagstaff, 2008; Soudien, 2015) How these sites resonate with African tourists remains an important issue not yet addressed in the academic literature. Are the African tourists experiencing the South African political cultural heritage sites as the symbols of the African Renaissance movement and new Pan African agenda and as such as part of an emerging Pan-African identity, is the question this paper is set to answer. While the African Renaissance movement embodies a conviction of African people that they share a common history and a common destiny (Oginni & Moitui, 2015; Ugwuanyi, 2011), the Pan African agenda builds on solidarity and progress of Africans across the world with the aim of creating political stability and socio-economic growth for all African people. (Magombeyi & Odhiambo, 2016) The two constructs are interrelated and provide a foundation for an emerging Pan-African identity. The site chosen for this study is the Constitution Hill National Heritage Site in Johannesburg. This site is unique as it integrates in the best possible way the old with the new, the notorious apartheid prison site where famous world icons, Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi, were imprisoned, with the new building of the South African Constitutional Court as a guardian of new democratic and free society. (van der Merwe, 2013, 2015) Interestingly, the new South African Constitutional Court is built from the bricks taken from old apartheid awaiting trial block in the prison complex which sends a strong message of the victory over the past inequalities and a hope for the new democratic future of the people of South Africa. (Marschall, 2009; Ivanovic, 2014; van der Merwe, 2013) Since the site has become a strong symbol of new South African national identity based on unity, equality, freedom, just society and togetherness the question still remains to what extend, the site is also representative of the Pan-African agenda. It is therefore the aim of this paper to explore if African tourists experience the South African history of struggle as representative of new Pan-African identity. In particular, the paper is set to explore the subsequent role of each of the two dimension of constructive authenticity, cognitive or affective and related modes of interpretation (audio, visuals, signage, self-exploration, or tour guides) in informing African tourists experience.



**Figure 1. Present day Constitutional Court (Credit: Ciaran Ryan/GroundUp Creative Commons)**

This paper is structured in three sections. The first section offers a discussion on the main theoretical constructs central to this study, followed by the methodology and a discussion of the results, and ending with a short conclusion.

## **2. Literature Review**

The main concepts pertaining to this study, namely national and Pan-African identity, African Renaissance and Pan-Africanisation of South African history of struggle, and cognitive and affective dimensions of constructive authenticity, are further unpacked.

### **2.1. South African (national) and Pan-African Identity**

The role of cultural heritage in informing the national identity is best explained by Graburn (2001) who differentiates between tradition and history seen as “own” story and “owned” story. In terms of South African’s “own” story, as South African people embrace their own culture and history it further binds them together and make them feel the affiliation. Constitution Hill as a symbol of the South African struggle against apartheid offers the story which can take domestic tourists on a memorable journey from trial and tribulation to freedom and democracy. Those with the knowledge of the history should be able to relive the apartheid days while those lacking personal experience should be able to learn from the site. The shared memories of earlier events and eras in the history of South Africa construct a sense of national identity. National identity signifies human groups which are consciously interested in developing communities who share a common culture, common past, and have a clearly defined territory. (Frew & White, 2011; Guibernau, 2004, 2013; Ivanovic, 2008; Yu Park, 2010) The enthusiastic emotions people have about their national identity originates from the level of emotional connection they have for their nation. (Marschall, 2009) When the new national symbols are promoted as a reason to travel, domestic trips can be increased to encourage such feelings of national pride and togetherness. Since South Africa’s history involved a lot of pain which evolved into a glory, this sentiment of pride originates from identifying a self with the new-born nation. (Butler & Ivanovic, 2016)

A history as “owned” story suggests that South African cultural heritage sites must be able to provide an authentic experience to all tourists. The symbolic meanings and representation of the heritage sites should forge a personal connection with the narrative and symbolism of the site and trigger an emotional response. (Ivanovic, 2008; Poria et al., 2003; Poria et al., 2006) In this regard, Constitution Hill as a symbol of people’s struggle for liberation and freedom is expected to be “owned” by all tourists visiting the site, especially African tourists, if the claim of shared history and common destiny of African people is true. When tourists identify with a society, they are usually drawn to communities which share common culture, common past and common idea about the future. Is the South African “own” story also the story owned by all African people as part of new Pan-African identity is an interesting question explored by this paper.

### **2.2. African Renaissance and Pan-Africanisation of South African History of Struggle**

The African Renaissance movement is a conviction of African people from all over the world that they all share a common history and destiny. (Oginni & Moitui, 2015; Ugwuanyi, 2011) It stresses the significance of being an African so that all nations can work together toward a more unified and prosperous continent. In the same vein, the Pan-Africanism is seen as a symbol of the universal struggle of African people for basic human rights for freedom and liberation from slavery and colonisation. (Ani & Ojokorotu, 2017; Hill, 2015; Kasanda, 2016; Soudien, 2015) The concepts of

African Renaissance and Pan-Africanism have played a role in the history of African nations as the instruments for their fight for freedom and human rights. Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania and a prominent African leader, insisted on Pan-Africanism as the unity of all African states which were otherwise weak when separated. (Ugwuanyi, 2011, p. 356) Nyerere's ultimate idea was to have one powerful centre through a Pan-African political body to protect and direct all African nations.

Nyerere's theory supports the possibility of reaching this goal with the view that, "*there is already a form of emotional unity in Africa, which finds its expression in the concept of "African personality". This emotional unity amongst Africans should be expressed through strong economic and political unity.* (Mutiso & Rohio, 1975, p. 334)

Seen as a platform for newly emerging Pan-African identity, the African Renaissance and Pan-Africanism (Edoze, 2018; Kasanda, 2016; Mutiso & Rohio, 1975; Oginni & Moitui, 2015) come intuitively from shared values and identity between African people. This essentially shows that being African is not necessarily bound by borders but rests on an identity which can be recognised through characteristics, common stories and the desire for freedom, equality and independence. These characteristics are embodied in cultural heritage sites globally and through this, there is a shared horizon of meanings and universal conversations across African boundaries. (Ashworth & Graham, 2005, Cohen, 2011) Countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland to name a few, share a common struggle for independence against colonial rule which was often seen as "freedom struggles" for liberation and democracy of African nations. (Kornegay, 2006) They share the memories of the past political struggles and oppression by foreign colonisers (a collective oppression), even though such effects happened in different regions at different times. (Guibernau, 2004, p. 134) Therefore, the notion of the "struggle" forms common ground for African people whereby African tourists' visit to South African "struggle" sites is a way for them to construct and reinforce this sense of togetherness. The ideology of shared common history and purpose (Alden & Schoeman, 2015; Kasanda, 2016; Oginni & Moitui, 2015) is an emotional investment which fosters bonds of solidarity among the African people, and as such, should play an important role in creating a meaningful experience at South African cultural heritage sites. Constitution Hill, as an important site of South African struggle for freedom and liberation, is expected to strongly resonate with the history of struggle of other African nations for freedom against colonialism and slavery. The need to identify African roots should bring African tourists closer to South African historical cultural heritage as a symbol of African Renaissance and Pan-Africanism.

### **2.3. Constructive Authenticity of Tourist Experience**

Cohen's (1979) seminal work on authenticity of tourist experience forms the theoretical framework for constructive authenticity. In the context of this paper the constructive authenticity (Mkono, 2013) is described as social construction where authentic experience exists only when the tourists consider it so. (Zhu, 2012) Two dimensions of constructive authenticity are explored, namely cognitive (Moscardo, 1996) which assist the learning component, and affective (McIntosh & Prentice, 1999) which relates to the emotional connection with the site. Cognitive dimension, also defined as mindfulness by Moscardo (1996), consists of setting factors (exhibits and displays, guided tours, signage and maps) and visitor factors (authenticity of historical meanings of the place, familiarity with the place, and motivation for the visit).

The affective dimension refers to insightfulness characterised by the ability of tourists to find authenticity through dimensions such as empathy and emotionally charged feelings. (Brunner-

Sperdin, Peters & Strobl, 2012; Nawijn et al., 2018; Wang, 1999) As tourists to a certain extent relieve their own past encounters, the authenticity of their experience becomes uniquely personal and important to the individual. (Wang, 1999) This occurs when a tourist from one culture consumes products or services in another culture. Even though each tourist's mind goes through an individual thought process, there is more common sensory, experiential and emotional response to places, particularly places regarded the universal symbols of human suffering and struggle for freedom and liberation.

There is an agreement among scholars that “because of the lack of research into visitor experience, as opposed to consumption, the nature of visitors and their subjective interaction with heritage attractions are not fully understood”. (Daengbuppha, Hemmington, & Wilkes, 2006, p. 368; Yu Park, 2010, p. 118) Timothy and Boyd (2006, p. 2) suggest, “there is a need to delve deeper into understanding human experiences at places of historical importance”. Wang (1999, p. 349) strongly advocates further empirical evaluation of how authenticities are exposed and distributed among tourists to determine why the preferences occur. Evidently, the nature of the interaction between tourists and heritage attractions and the nature of the resultant tourist experiences are the issues which are not yet understood, especially among African tourists, and therefore require further research.

The main assumption of this paper derives from Ivanovic (2014, p. 503) that “it is therefore of interest to explore if the historical past depicting the history of apartheid is presented in such a way that its representation and symbolism generate authentic tourist experience and if the places are perceived as authentic by tourists regardless of their country of origin”. Therefore, the paper explores if the universal message of liberation of human spirit against any kind of oppression disseminated by the South African political heritage sites is so strong and universal that it equally informs the South African national identity as well as collective memory of unity and solidarity amongst all African people. This study is the first to apply two dimensions of constructive authenticity, cognitive (learning) and affective (feelings, emotional response) to statistically test if there is a difference in the way African and domestic tourists construct the authenticity of their experience of the cultural heritage site. If there is no statistical difference between the two groups, the main assumption of this paper of Pan-Africanisation of South African history of struggle will be confirmed.

### **3. Methodology**

Methodologically this is a mixed-method study grounded in constructivist paradigm and triangulation of quantitative and qualitative results. The quantitative data is collected by means of survey based on close-ended questionnaire. For a qualitative study, the tourists narratives are derived from an open ended question at the end of the questionnaire. Applied correlational exploratory design investigates the differences in constructive authenticity between the two groups, domestic and African tourists. The study further investigate whether these differences are predominantly in cognitive or affective dimensions of constructive authenticity. The final sample N=298 is regarded representative of the population of 47 000 visitors annually to Constitution Hill site.

The survey was carried out over a period of 4 months, from September to December 2014. A questionnaire was handed out at the exit of the woman's jail site at Constitution Hill where the tour ends for tourists. The tourists were asked a qualifying question if they are African or South African (domestic) tourists to ensure equal representation of two groups under study (African n=148 or 49.7%; Domestic n=150 or 50.3%). The questionnaire consists of two sections, namely demographic,

and the 1-4 Likert scales (1-4, strongly disagree to strongly agree) which explore the two dimensions of constructive authenticity. The forced choice Likert scale was used not to allow for a neutral answer. The scales were derived from the case studies by Poria et al. (2006), Cohen (2011), and Prentice et al. (1998).

#### 4. Discussion of the Results

This section presents the results of descriptive, non-parametric and parametric statistics.

##### 4.1. African and Domestic Tourists Profile Characteristics

The summary statistics of demographic characteristics of African and domestic tourists visiting Constitution Hill is presented in Table 1 below.

**Table 1. Summary statistics of African and domestic tourists profile characteristics**

	African%	Domestic%
Main age groups		
>15	2.8	24
16-19	11.4	22.2
20-29	44.8	37.8
30-39	21.4	6.2
40-49	12	4.8
50-59	5.2	3
60>	2.4	4.4
Gender		
Male	56	48
Female	44	52
Highest education		
Primary	6	28.2
Matriculation	24.8	28.8
Bachelor	40	23.8
M & D	19.2	12.8
Other	10	6.4

N=298

The majority of tourists fall in the age group of 20-29, which is in line with worldwide studies on the profile characteristics of cultural tourists (Richards, 2007). It is interesting to note that the next largest number of domestic tourists came from two of the youngest age groups, 15 or younger (24%) and 16-19 (22.2%). This is owing to school field trips that are arranged to educate the next generation of South African youth about their national identity. The younger tourists are very important for domestic tourism because visiting cultural heritage sites in young age has the potential to influence their future behaviour. (Richards, 2007) In terms of the reasons for visiting the site, 40% of African tourists came to learn about the history of apartheid in South Africa while 66% domestic tourists visited because of their own interest in the site.

The majority of African tourists interviewed at the site are coming from the neighbouring countries, namely Zimbabwe (17.4%), Swaziland (12%), Democratic Republic of Congo (11%) and Zambia (10%). As the learning about the site is the main motivation for a visit it corresponds with a preference for a guided tour; African tourists showed more preference towards having a site guides (84%) comparing to domestic tourists (48%). Interestingly, authenticity was equally important for both African (58%) and domestic (58%)

**4.2. Influence of Interpretive Media on Cognitive and Affective Dimensions**

The results presented in Table 2 below clearly show that both Africans (40%) and domestic tourists (42.3%) learned the most (cognitive dimension) from visual cues (pictures and buildings) and not from the story told by professional site guides. Even when accompanied by a site guide, African tourists learned the most from visuals (42.8%) and not from the guide (12.1%) as expected. (van der Merwe, 2015) The same applies to domestic tourists (visuals 42.3%, site guide 25.5%). It is concerning to see that even though both groups choose to have a site guide, they gained more educational experience from pictures and buildings.

**Table 2. Influence of interpretive media in informing cognitive and affective dimensions of African and domestic tourist authentic experience at Constitution Hill**

Cognitive: I learned the most from.....							
	Visuals (pictures, Buildings) %	Audios (recordings, songs) %	What I explored on my own %	Display panels (written) %	Story told by a site guide %	None	Total
African tourists	40	17.1	13.6	16.4	12.1	.7	100
Domestic tourists	42.3	8.1	13.4	8.7	25.5	2	100
Mean	41.2	12.5	13.5	12.5	19		
Affective: I had the most emotional response to.....							
African tourists	29.5	18.9	13.9	15.6	14.8	7.4	100
Domestic tourists	21.7	22.4	25.2	8.4	18.9	3.5	100
Mean	25.3	20.8	20	11.7	17		

N=298

The same surprising results are evident for emotional triggers, which are coming from the same visual sources (29.5% African and 21.7% domestics) and not from the story told by site guides (African 14.8%, domestic 18.9%). It is evident that the story told by professional site guides was not convincing or interesting enough, and neither triggered a desired emotional response nor contributed to learning about the site. Despite the fact that the role of site guides in generating authentic tourist experience from political cultural heritage sites is outside the focus of this paper it should be noted that evident lack of skills remains a problem and as such should be addressed by site management. (Jiang et al., 2017)

For African tourists, visuals (29.5%) and audios (18.9%) contributed the most in creating an insightful experience. Authentic buildings of the prison site and pictures and life stories of the prisoners evoked empathy and emotionally charged feelings. For domestic tourists what they explored on their own (25.2%) and audios (22.4%) triggered an emotional response. The fact that 25% domestic tourists' emotional response was stimulated by what they explored on their own proves the assumption that they have an existing pre-attachment and knowledge of narrated history as part of national identity. The affective dimension facilitated an emotional response through insightfulness pointing to the fact that the authentic experience at Constitution Hill was uniquely personal, authentic and important to both groups of tourists. Clearly, the African tourists shared the memories of the past political struggles and oppression by foreign colonisers (a collective oppression), even though such effects happened in different regions at different times. (Guibernau, 2004, p. 134)



**4.3. Descriptive Statistics of Tourist Responses**

Table 3 presented below illustrates each group’s response to four items of cognitive dimension (symbol C) and two items of affective dimension (symbol A) of constructive authenticity on the four point Likert scale. The results show more similarities in constructive authenticity between two groups than differences. For example, 50.7 % Africans and 57.1% domestic tourists were in an agreement with the statement that “it was a thought-provoking experience”. The same can be said for responses to the statements “It was a very emotional experience”, “I do feel for the prisoners”, and, “I can now understand what the freedom struggle is all about”. It is evident that the symbolism and aesthetic value at the site provoked a thought process for the tourists to emotionally relate to the history of the site.

**Table 3. Responses of African and domestic tourists to items of cognitive (C) and affective (A) dimensions of constructive authenticity (AT=African Tourists, DT=Domestic Tourists)**

	Strongly disagree		Disagree		Agree		Strongly agree	
	AT%	DT%	AT%	DT%	AT%	DT%	AT%	DT%
(A) It was a very emotional experience	4.8	6	21.1	18.8	61.2	61.7	12.9	13.4
(A) I do feel for the prisoners	2.1	2	11.6	4.7	60.3	51	26	42.4
C) I now understand what the freedom struggle was all about	2.7	2.7	7.5	5.4	58.2	55.4	31.5	36.5
(C) It was a thought provoking experience (made me think)	2.1	3.4	13	9.5	50.7	57.1	34.2	29.1
(C) I want to learn more about South African history	2.1	4.1	19.6	16.2	67.1	53.4	11.2	26.4
C) I learned more than what I expected	2.8	3.4	14.8	12.1	49.3	51.7	12.1	32.9

Africa n=148; Domestic n=150

Evidently, the shared common history between African and domestic tourists’ generated an insightful and affective nature of experiences which caused empathy and memory in relation to the past, as proven in the case of this site. Not only that emotional experience is common to both groups, but a very close and consistent agreement between two groups proves it unlikely that they construct authenticity of their experience in a different way.

**4.4. The Results of Statistical Tests**

The independent sample *t*-test was conducted to further test if there was a significant difference in the means values of constructed authenticity of tourist experience scores for African and domestic tourists. The results clearly show that African tourists ( $M=3.04, SD=0.461$ ) and domestic tourists ( $M=3.11, SD=446; t(296) = -1.390, p=0.166$ , two-tailed) range of responses was similar and equal variances could be considered. The magnitude of the differences in the means (means differences = -0.07310, 95% CI:-0.17661 to 0.03041) was small,  $d=0.161$  according to the Cohen’s *d* which varies as follows, 0.2=small effect, 0.5=medium effect and, 0.8= large effect. (Pallant, 2013) The results of the Lavene’s test showed that constructive authenticity variances were equal for African and domestic tourists ( $F=0.001, p=0.166$ ) while the results of the *t*-test indicated that there are no significant differences in construction of authenticity between the two groups ( $t(296)=-1.390, p=0.166$ ). In addition, the results of Mann Whitney *U* test ( $U= 10191, z=-0.123, p=0.219, r=-0.07$ ) confirm that authentic experience between the two groups was not achieved differently at Constitution Hill. The calculated Cohen’s (1988) *r* value is -0.07 which is a small effect (0.1=small effect, 0.3=medium effect and, 0.5=large effect) according to Pallant. (2013, p. 238)

The results of statistical tests presented so far clearly demonstrate that South African political cultural

heritage attractions represent collective pasts and common African identities which African and domestic tourists share and equally relate to.

## 5. The Tourists Narratives

One open-ended question was used to validate the outcomes of statistical analysis. The open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire asked the following: “If you felt a connection to the history of apartheid in SA would you please tell us why”.

The various answers from majority of African tourists were as follows:

- *“As a black African I believe that our common struggles make it difficult to not feel a connection to the terrible apartheid system in this country”, (Zambia, 20-29, Male, Bachelor’s degree)*
- *“It made me think about the struggles people went through”, (Swaziland, 30-39, Male, Bachelor’s degree)*
- *“Freedom came at a price”, (Zimbabwe, 20-29, Female, Bachelor’s degree)*
- *“Freedom is key to all our histories progression”, (Nigeria, 30-39, Male, Postgraduate degree)*
- *“I can relate my country went through something familiar”, (Zimbabwe, 20-29, Male, Bachelor’s degree)*
- *“I felt a connection because apartheid really affected a lot of lives negatively and all the people were trying to do was fight for their human rights”, (DRC, Male, 20-29, Bachelor’s degree).*

The tourists’ response with such emotion stems from the constructivist approach reflective of constructive authenticity. It suggests that a sense of authenticity can come from past experiences or familiarity to give meaning to the site. (Chang et al., 2014; Cohen, 2011; Hartman et al., 2009; Sather-Wagstaff, 2008; Wang, 1999; Zhu, 2012) This is also associated with the fact that an emotional experience is derived from a message which is personally relevant and which has something to do with the life and interest of the tourist. The use of significant universal concepts such as *health, love, food, and death* guarantees the interests of writers of the messages - regardless of culture, sex, or nationality. The connection to what African tourists expressed their experience at Constitution Hill suggests that something personally relevant was triggered through the universal concepts of *struggle, history, pain, freedom and liberation* to name a few. It is evident that all these concepts are an integral part of the shared common history as Africans and as such serve as the building blocks of their authentic experience and enhanced sense of togetherness and ‘owned’ Pan-African future. Comments such as *“I can relate because my country went through something familiar”* emphasises emotions triggered by revelation at the site. The quest for authenticity, which stimulated the want to discover and learn about the history of South African apartheid, further validated the values of togetherness rooted in the African Renaissance movement and Pan-Africanism. (Kasanda, 2016; Oginni & Moitui, 2015) Although oppression for some African countries is still a reality, it is encouraging that African responses voiced a determination to move forward and not backward.

## **6. Conclusion and Recommendations**

The results presented in this study have shown that the African tourists visiting Constitution Hill have a strong connection with the story of liberation and struggle that the site represents. A reference to tourists own built-in patrimony assisted both groups, African and domestic, to meaningfully connect to the site. This connection, which stretches beyond the tourist individual experience of authenticity of the site, is part of a universal cultural system that distributes knowledge and experience through political cultural heritage sites into a sense of ‘identity’ and a sense of the “here and now”. (Stylianou-Lambert, 2011) Accordingly, tourists begin to identify not only nationally but with the rest of the world. The results of this study have shown that post-1994 political heritage sites in South Africa have these universally recognised symbols which contribute to global citizenship, Pan-African identity and in essence, to tourist authentic experience. (Delmont, 2004) It is suggested that people who identify as Africans have a mentality that sees Africa as their home (Brunell, 2013) while the sites with universal message of democracy, liberation and struggle, such as Constitution Hill, encourage this uniquely African mind-set.

The results of statistical tests, namely parametric independent sample *t*-test and non-parametric Mann Whitney *U* test, support the fact that domestic and African tourists experience the message of struggle for liberation and democracy embedded in Constitution Hill in the similar way. The validity of the statistical tests is also confirmed by triangulation with narratives expressed by African tourists.

The results of this study confirmed the ability of the site to offer an authentic experience to African tourists, who presumably have no personal connection with the South African history of struggle. Furthermore, the individually negotiated nature of constructive authenticity through affective (McIntosh & Prentice, 1999) and cognitive dimensions (Moscardo, 1996), demonstrated that African tourists strongly relate to the site experienced as a symbol of new Pan-African identity. (Ani & Ojatorotu, 2017) What African tourists expressed about their experience from the site suggests that something personally relevant was triggered through the universal concepts of struggle, history, pain, freedom and liberation to name a few. There is no doubt that the shared common history as Africans clearly represented in Pan-African movement is a building block of their authentic experience.

The paper presented a strong evidence of Pan-Africanisation of South African political cultural heritage sites which serves as proof of the belief in a common history. This is a valuable finding for the South African government who should exert more control over the process of Pan-Africanisation of historical heritage by effectively integrating the Pan African agenda into South Africa’s image formation as tourist destination. (Butnaru, 2017) The findings also have a potential in promoting South African political heritage as part of an emerging Pan-African identity to African tourists who account for a staggering 73% of all international tourists visiting the country. Finally, site managers should take cognisance of the fact that tourists mostly rely on visual media to learn about the history of the site and also to experience an emotional connection with the site. The fact that site guides could not find a way to relate to tourists is worrisome and should be further unpacked and addressed by site managers. Finally, it is suggested that the study should be replicated on other major political historical sites in and around Johannesburg for the results of this study to be verified.

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