



Planning for a Township Tourism Destination: Considering Red Flags from experiences in Atteridgeville, South Africa

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Abstract

Planning for a Township Tourism destination can be an exciting exploration and a rewarding revelation of the raw materials that are required to deconstruct and re-construct in order for a successful destination to be created. In 2007, in the background of favourable numbers of domestic and international tourism arrivals and the heightened expectations of the FIFA 2010 World Soccer Cup tournament, the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) i.e. Pretoria, sought to determine what Atteridgeville Township, amongst others, could offer the tourist as a destination. By 2014 none of the planned recommendations had been realized. The objective of this article is to forewarn the planners of the 'red flags' that one needs to look out for when planning for a township tourism destination. The study design consisted of primary and secondary source analysis and reflection. The products proposed for tourism are listed and their 2007 and 2014 conditions are contrasted with each other. A discussion follows that itemizes 'red flags' issues from the broad perspectives of ideology, policy and the environment. The conclusion is that, built environment professionals (BEP) should accept the challenging opportunity to plan for slum/ township tourism but must be aware of the underlying 'red flags' for every item they propose so as to realize their objective and make it sustainable.

Keywords: Township Tourism, Built Environmental Professionals, Atteridgeville, 2010 World Cup, Red Flags,

Introduction

Virtually all townships in South Africa are characterized by historically leading personalities, with either 'liberation struggle' credentials, a rich architectural heritage, or black enterprise that was 'throttled' by the system of apartheid and spatial locations far removed from city centers. In 2007, the Department of Finance of the CTMM awarded three tenders to GPS Architects (Pty) (thereafter GPSA) to study '*Product Development for Townships as Unique Tourism Destinations*' in respect of the townships of Atteridgeville, Soshanguve and Mabopane in Pretoria. The researcher, a town planner and urban designer, was one of the two principal leaders of a team of five specialists and ten town planning interns of the University of Pretoria, who were employed to study the three townships in question. The study tasks were accomplished and reported back to the CTMM after six months of research. The Destination Slum 2 Conference at Potsdam, Germany in 2014, provided an opportunity to revisit Atteridgeville and to determine what the CTMM had accomplished in terms of GPSAs' plans for township tourism.

This article is concerned with the issues a BEP should consider in advance or when engaged in studies broadly aimed at determining individual items in a neighborhood or



a whole settlement, as a potential Township Tourism destination. In April 2014, the researcher returned to Atteridgeville and found no evidence of any action having been taken by the CTMM or other tourism stakeholders to put into effect the development of GPSAs' 2007 township tourism proposals. Accompanying searches of the Tshwane Municipality Tourism and Gauteng Tourism websites in 2014, further confirmed that that township tourism did still not feature in their tourism offerings. Interviews of CTMM officials in August 2014 pointed out the issues that had halted any tourism work in the township from 2007.

The aim of the article is thus to convey to BEP indicators of problematic areas that may be faced as they develop township tourism plans in the future. In other words, BEP need to be wary, not only of the signs of inconsistencies, but also be far more sensitive to the environment of the project sponsors as well as to the dynamics that underlie all decisions that are proposed or made. The challenges and possible contradictions of this type of plan are referred to as the 'red flags' in the balance of this article. The objectives of the 2007 Atteridgeville study were to determine the features that had the potential for the development of township tourism and to make recommendations on how to realize them. Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) 2006, indicated the acceptable levels of domestic and international tourist arrivals in South Africa. In addition, there were high expectations of arrivals and tourist expenditure from the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup tournament that was still then three years away and was to take place at nine venues in South Africa.

Following this introduction is an outline of the research design. That is followed by the profile of Atteridgeville, the domestic and international tourism outlook in 2007, Atteridgeville's products with the potential to be developed for township tourism, tourism development strategies at 2007, GPSA recommendations, the impacts of the FIFA World Cup 2012, CTMM Plans in 2014, the Red Flags, the discussion, conclusion and references.

Research Design

The research approach was multifaceted. The study objectives entailed the gathering of primary and secondary information. Primary data collection involved field visits and verification of site conditions. It sketched, mapped and updated as many features of the township as possible. In-depth structured interviews of CTMM officials, individual stakeholders, product owners and special interest forums were undertaken. Hundreds of still images and a digital video disk (DVD) footage that captured Atteridgeville's features and facilities was produced. The secondary sources of information aimed at building a picture of the general situation of Atteridgeville as well as those to features, with the potential for tourism. This involved the search through national, provincial and local government, tourism stakeholder and the CTMM databases. Secondary data bases and information were accessed through electronic, hard copy reports and articles. In the 2014 update, a field reconnaissance of the planned features was undertaken and followed by a structured interview of current CTMM tourism officers.

A Profile of Atteridgeville

The greater part of Atteridgeville consists of undulating hills. Its lower northern limit stands at 1,370 meters above sea level (masl). Its southwest rises to a dolomite ridge that is 1,490 masl. Atteridgeville is located 13 km to the south west of central Pretoria and is connected to the city center by three major vehicular routes, i.e. the N4, W.F. Nkomo Street (ex-Church Road) and Maunde Street. There is a metro commuter



railway with a station each in Atteridgeville and Saulsville that links the township with central Pretoria. Atteridgeville is distinctly a residential entity. The CTMM Main Place Atteridgeville census returns places its size as an area of 9.84 km². However, for the purposes of the 2007 study Saulsville, the neighbouring township to its west was included in the survey. In close proximity are the Vlakplaas Farm, West Fort Heritage Village and West Fort. These were incorporated as part of the study, although they are technically not part of the township.

Although an outcome of apartheid planning, Atteridgeville itself was planned on the lines of a typical European post war suburb of residential areas interspersed with community facilities that includes schools, halls, churches, transportation nodes, street markets, shopping areas, sports fields, open spaces, cemeteries etc. However, the original house types are nothing like the large free standing bungalows or flats as in a European suburb. To the west and south of present Atteridgeville are rapidly growing informal settlements of Jeffville, Phomolong and Concerned. There are substantial areas of open spaces that have conservation status to the south of the township that are under the Tshwane Open Space Framework (TOSF). These have been described as 'part of the high ecologically sensitive areas around water courses, ridges and protected areas'. The above area which is ecologically sensitive, is also where informal settlements are densely concentrated.

The University of Pretoria Library Services hosts a detailed history of human occupation in the present vicinity of Atteridgeville and the surrounding areas. Evidence shows that communities inhabited the area in the Early Stone Age 200,000 years ago and collected eatable plants, used crude stone implements and lived in caves. By 1200 AD, black farming communities which had migrated from central Africa had domesticated animals, kept pottery and smelted iron for weapons and tools and lived in the area. Between 1200 and 1850 the Tshwane, Sepedi, Bakwena and Ndebele speaking peoples lived in the vicinity of present day city. In 1855 Marthinus Pretorius, a *Voortrekker* leader founded the settlement that eventually became known as Pretoria. In 1929, Sausville was established as a white residential area. The Slums Act of 1934 and the Native Trust and Lands Act of 1936 displaced the rural African population from their land. Further policy developments in 1936 resulted in Pretoria's First City Plans. This amongst others established a black location to the west of the city. This became the nucleus of the present townships in this area. Atteridgeville was established in 1939. The locality was referred by the native population as 'Motsemogolo', meaning 'a large town', however, they later nicknamed it 'Phelindaba' which means 'all arguments are over'. In 1940, the study area was renamed 'Atteridgeville' after former City Council member Mrs. M.P. Atteridge. Between the 1940s and the 1950s schools, a polyclinic, post office and the Atteridgeville railway station were built.

The 1970s and the 1980s were the era of administrative experiments to manage the township in the face of deteriorating race relations in South Africa. The Board of Central Transvaal took over the management of Atteridgeville in 1973. In 1978 Atteridgeville Community Council was established and in 1982 the Atteridgeville Town Council was established. In the 1980s boycotts by school pupils and urban unrest took place. The Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984 was enacted to enhance black city councils. In 1987 plans for the extensions to Phomolong, Jeffville and Concerned were approved. By the 1990s Atteridgeville was an integral part of the Mabopane – Centurion Development Corridor. In December 2000 Atteridgeville became part of the CTMM.

The 2011 national population census returns for 'Main Place Atteridgeville' was 64,425, with density of 6,550.00 persons per km². There were 16,456 households with a relatively high density of 1,673.06 households per km². There was a more or less balanced gender representation with females at 51.77% and males at 48.23%. Black Africans made up 99.09 % of race groups. Saulsville is an area of 8.66 km². The census returns for 'Main Place Saulsville' indicates a population of 105,208 (2011) giving it a higher density than that of Atteridgeville of 12,146.35 per km². Saulsville had 37,430 households with a density of 4,321.33 per km². Saulsville had a gender division of 53.25% male and 46.75% female. At the time of the original study the breakdown of the level of education showed that 91% of Atteridgeville residents had between eight (primary) to 16 years (tertiary) levels of schooling. This was considered by the study team as a positive factor of the population, as such people, it was reasoned, are likely to be open to the kinds of innovative thinking required to be part of a township tourism undertaking.



Image 1. Materpieces Moripe Stadium

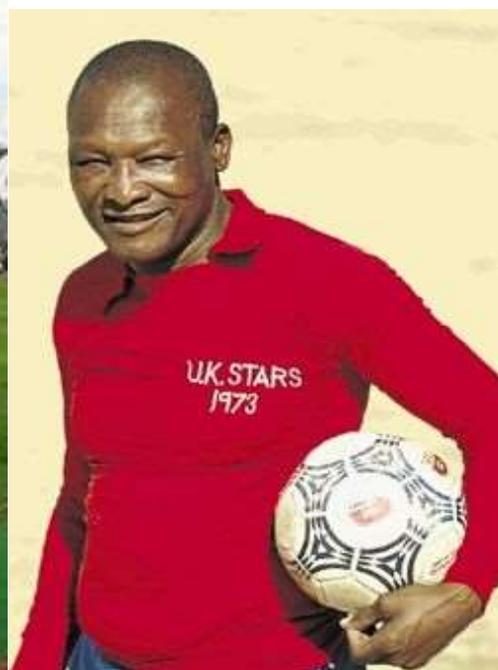


Image 2. The legend

Source of Image. 1: <http://showme.co.za/pretoria/tourism/tourism-in-atteridgeville/>

Source of Image. 2: <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/incoming/>

In 2006, Mr. Sam Shilowa, the Premier of Gauteng Province, stated that Atteridgeville was to be part of the 'Gauteng Twenty Priority Township Programme' that essentially aimed at upgrading township infrastructure. However, the study noted that in 2007 access to infrastructure was already high. Atteridgeville's population had the following levels of access; telephones 77.5%, electricity 99%, piped water 96.7% and sanitation 99.1%. There was a solid waste removal system in place that covered the formal houses but missed out in the informal settlements. In a survey by Investment Environment (IE) the total number of businesses in Atteridgeville was estimated at 561. These businesses were classified as follows. The dominant types of businesses in terms of the total number of businesses were real estate and businesses that stood at 38.6%, wholesale and retail at 30.8%, construction at 11.4% and others at 19.2%. Secondly by the contributions to annual turnover were wholesale and retail stood at



44.3%, real estate and businesses at 23.4%, social and personal services at 13% and others at 19.3%. The contribution to annual salaries and wages were; real estate and business at 29.6% wholesale and retail at 25.4% and social and personal services at 17.5%. The above was most likely an underestimation of the totality of business, as it did not take into account the contribution of the informal sector.

Statistics South Africa 2006 showed that the occupations of Atteridgeville's residents was made up of 24.5% elementary, 15.9% service workers, 13.9% clerks and 13.9% craft and related livelihoods. These are not high paying occupations. The weighted average income (WAI) for the township stood at R 2,369 per month. However, about 28% of its population received more income than the WAI. This implies a population with low disposable incomes. From the afore-going, it was concluded that Atteridgeville was a typical South African township, predominantly a residential dormitory, with high levels of unemployment at 45.5%, a labour force dominated by 'low' occupation types, low personal incomes but with a relatively well developed infrastructure.

International and Domestic Tourism in 2007

Tourism trends at the time justified a positive attitude to the suggestion of making Atteridgeville a township tourism destination. The World Tourism Barometer noted that in terms of international tourism in 2007, South Africa was one of Africa's leading and the 25th most visited tourism destination in the world. It was estimated that South Africa was a tourism destination with 8.4 million foreign visitors. At a briefing to tourism stakeholders in 2007 in Johannesburg, Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA) gave what it stated were unofficial estimates of the levels of tourism. GTA stated that there were 12 million domestic tourists making approximately 37 million trips and that there was a 13% rise in international arrivals. Tourism brought in R 64.5 billion in earnings. Foreign expenditure in leisure was R 26.9 billion; Total Foreign Direct Spend was 40% on shopping. Business travel brought in R 20 billion and business tourism R17.6 billion. However, there was a decline of R 15 billion from its dominant African tourist markets of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique. Noted was that there was a higher yield in terms of tourist numbers from its African markets than European markets. The performance from the USA was considered good with the great potential from China noted. It was estimated that nationally the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup would attract an additional 1.3 million tourists of, which 817,000 would be domestic and 243,000 would be international tourists. Post 2010 FIFA analysis was to prove these figures as being somewhat over-optimistic.

Tourism within Gauteng Province in which Atteridgeville is located, has the potential to impact positively in any well-organized destination. It was estimated by the GTA that the province received 5.7 million international and domestic tourists spending R 5 billion in 2005 and that the figure would grow during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup by 104,495 tourists. Of South Africa's leading ten international tourism attractions two, Sun City in the North-West Province is 140 km away and Gold Reef City in Johannesburg is 70 km away from Tshwane. GTA's website only listed the 'Soweto Tour', possibly the largest township tourism destination in South Africa, out of a total of eight tours offered on the site. In 2007, according to GTA a tour of Pretoria typically included the following themes. (i) Tours of museums and monuments dedicated to tracing South Africa's extraordinary heritage, (ii) Pretoria the Jacaranda City, (iii) the Voortrekker Monument, a monument to early white settlers in the region, (iv) Kruger Museum of President Paul Kruger of the former Transvaal Republic, (v) Church Square and (vi) the Union Buildings. From the above GTA list, the absence of any mention of township attractions was noted by the study.



In 2006, Euromonitor International (EI), a market intelligence firm in its report 'Travel Tourism in South Africa', (this document is no longer available on the website) made no mention of township tourism as an existing or even as an emerging brand. In the same year EI reported that Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe were yielding higher tourism growth rates for South Africa than Europe's leading sources. However, despite the increase in the numbers of African tourists, the levels of expenditure generated by the poorer African tourists could not compensate the amount of income generated by their European and American counterparts. This is one of the reasons given by the South African Government for targeting the promotion of tourism in the richer nations in the West in order to re-establish per capita increases of tourism expenditure. The forecast of arrivals by the Euromonitor International Report was optimistic. Arrivals were expected to rise over the 2006-2010 period with an accumulated growth of 29%. Their analysis showed that arrivals would peak with the FIFA Soccer World Cup.

With regards to domestic tourism at the time of the Atteridgeville study EI showed that there was a swing towards a demand for tourism within South Africa by its citizens, because international tourism was getting too expensive for South Africans. Nevertheless, industry felt that South Africa was still expensive for the domestic tourist. There was the view that there was a lack of affordable accommodation and tourist attractions. However, the increase in disposable incomes and investments in marketing had been yielding dividends. Apart from the airline industry and mainstream tourism organizations, the study noted that the South African travel and tourism were still not sufficiently mature enough in using the Internet as a highly effective marketing tool and platform.

'Sho't Left' is a tourism promotion initiative mainly directed at the domestic tourist. At their 2007 website there were 51 destinations of which only 15 were related to 'cultural discoveries'. Township destinations are conspicuous by their absence. Tourism within the CTMM in 2007 was decisively positive in outlook. It was believed that the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup would bring in an additional 78,375 tourists into the city. In Tshwane Tourism Information Centre (TTIC) website, 'Things to do in Tshwane' was adopted by the study as an indication of tourism offering in the municipality. The range of activities included the Performing Arts (13%), Art Galleries and Exhibitions (49%), Shopping Centers (8%), Children's theater (2.6%), indoor and outdoor adventure, nature, sports facilities and other places (2.6%). There were no township destinations of the 85 places recommended under 'Things to do in Tshwane'. Mike Gcabo depicted aspects of the Tshwane Tourism Master Plan 2006 that touched upon the issues of township tourism. The mandate of the municipality towards tourism included amongst others; to provide responsible and sustainable tourism development, to ensure the incorporation of previously disadvantaged communities and individuals in the tourism mainstream in a sustainable manner, to encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in matters of local government tourism and to transform the tourism industry. However, there was no mention of township tourism plans.

In conclusion, it may be stated that in 2007 there were a number of factors in the tourism industry that favoured tourism. These included South Africa as a leading tourism destination in Africa, tourism was earning the country reasonable financial returns, FIFA's 2010 World Soccer Cup was an opportunity to market South Africa, and Tshwane was set among the richest concentration of wealth in South Africa and Africa. The study noted that South Africa's largest component of international tourists was 'shopping tourists' from neighbouring African countries. It was the study's opinion that the African tourist would be at home with township culture and relatively poor

infrastructure that Atteridgeville offers. However, with hindsight and from the above policy narratives township tourism was not a contender in tourism offerings in Gauteng Province or CTMM in 2007.

Atteridgeville's products with the potential for tourism

GPSA identified the characteristics of Atteridgeville that could become the basis of township tourism. The approach was straightforward as they conceptualized a variety of potential township 'tourisms' that were evident in South Africa. Themes included the potential for 'liberation struggle tourism', 'historic military tourism', 'ecclesiastical tourism', 'gastronomical tourism', 'sports tourism', 'architectural tourism', 'cultural tourism' and local 'nature tourism' etc.

The task involved identifying features of potential interest to tourist that were in the environs of Atteridgeville, and make recommendations of how these could be evolved into structured township tourism destinations. The GPSA identification procedure pointed out; (i) natural features, (ii) cultural/ historic heritage features and (iii) services that would support the needs of tourists. Refer to figure 1 below for the study scheme. The schematic compartmentalization was to aid ease of analysis. In the original study 31 different types of features/ facilities were studied but this paper has been selective in what it has presented.

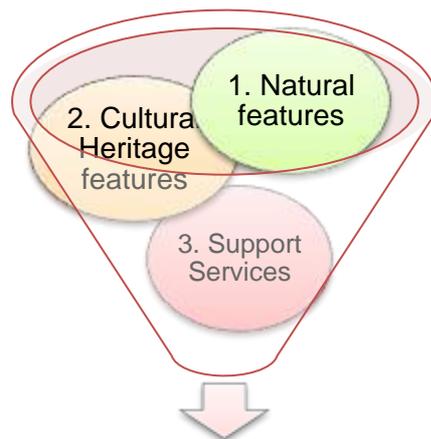


Fig. 1 Basis of Township Tourism (authors own)

To facilitate the ease of comparisons between the 2007 and 2014 conditions of the features, GPSA studies for township tourism are presented in the following descriptions. The first paragraph refers to the conditions in the study period and the subsequent paragraph to the findings in 2014.

Natural features

The Kwaggasrand caves and sinkholes were deemed to be the only significant natural feature with the potential for development into a tourist attraction. The caves and sinkholes are located on the ridge to the south and south west of the township. The subterranean caves are reputed to stretch from Pretoria towards Centurion, a subterranean distance the study could not determine. It is believed that during recent wars, the caves were used as storage space for munitions. On the slopes of the ridge lies Mshongville informal settlement. Access to the caves and sinkholes is via several very steep rocky footpaths. In 2014, the surprising aspect is that the informal



settlements that were feared would engulf the caves and sinkholes did not take place in the preceding seven years. Although there were additional informal houses, they did not fringe on these sinkholes and caves. Meanwhile, no developments to enhance these features took place in the intervening seven years.

Cultural/ Historical Heritage Features

Cultural/ historical heritage features were considerable in numbers and variety within and in the vicinity of Atteridgeville. These are briefly described.

Vlakplaas

Vlakplaas is 10 km south of Atteridgeville on a 99-hectare farm. It was the headquarters of the apartheid South African Counterinsurgency Police. It became a Special Police base in 1979. Some of its atrocities were unearthed in 1989. The work of the counterinsurgency police were later further exposed during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) established under the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995. During the study, the GPSA team was unable to get access into the place. Not much knowledge is in the public domain about the place. Vlakplaas is a place of national, security and historical importance.

Vlakplaas in 2014 still resembled an ordinary run-of-the-mill farm. There was however, still no 'public' access to its buildings from the main road through road the 'farm'.

West Fort/ Daspoortrand

Fort Daspoortrand is 10 kilometers to the north of Atteridgeville. It is located on Boerkscheur farm. It is one of the four forts that were built around Pretoria before the commencement of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899 - 1902). Fort Daspoortrand was pentagonal in design and was built in 1889. The fort had officer and soldiers' rooms, kitchens, hospital, machine and telegraph rooms, ammunition and stores for provisions etc. The British built a blockhouse after they occupied the fort. Panagos of the South African Military History Society and Van Vollenhoven have written up detailed histories of these four forts in Pretoria. However, unlike the other three forts that are maintained and are tourist attractions, Fort Daspoortrand has deteriorated. Acts of vandalism and soil erosion to its north had added to its demise in 2007. In 2014, the West Fort / Fort Daspoortrand Fort was more or less in the same state as previously observed. Furthermore, there was no evidence of vehicle tracks and aerial photos indicate continued weathering and soil erosion.

West Fort Heritage Village

West Fort Heritage Village is part of the 'Country and Heritage Village' in Tshwane. It lies 9 km to the north of Atteridgeville and approximately one kilometer south east of West Fort. The village was founded in 1880 and building was started in 1893 to relocate leprosy patients from Robben Island off Cape Town. The Fort West Heritage Foundation (FWHF) was founded in 2003 to promote the heritage and cultural activities related to West Fort Village. FWHF had a calendar of programmes, functions and events/ festivals. Since the abandonment of its hospital function and contested ownership, by 2007 the Village had been invaded by possibly, over a thousand, homeless people of all races. There were disputes with the municipality that disconnected water, electricity, waste collection and sanitation services. At the time of the 2007 survey a large proportion of the village was a cesspool of human waste!



Despite the above, West Fort Heritage Village was an amazing amalgamation of diverse heritage products, such as the hospital buildings, the original villas, several churches, the village square, public art, workers' dormitories, boarded and occupied grand houses of administrators and doctors.

In 2014, the West Fort Heritage Village still housed the homeless and it had no electricity, sanitation or waste removal services. Water tankers ferried and distributed water for the village from neighbouring residential areas. The surrounding scrubland was extensively littered with solid waste. The fabric of buildings had markedly deteriorated and an outdoor iron locomotive sculpture at the village square had disappeared.

Madiba Kwena

Sited along Maude Street in Atteridgeville, Madiba Kwena was a dilapidated administrative office and beer hall dating from the early 1970s. In the mid-1980s it was burned down. It was one of several beer halls in Atteridgeville that were scorched by the disillusioned youth during the uprising against apartheid. Beer halls were seen as symbols of apartheid repression in townships and mainly as such, by the youth. In 2007, it stood as a symbol and memorial to the struggle heritage of Atteridgeville.

In 2014, the Madiba Kwena was no more. It had been demolished and in its place was a pile of building rubble and there was no signboard to suggest what was going to be erected in its place.

Ga-Mothaga Resort

This resort is located along Pitse and Tlou Street in Atteridgeville. The resort large open grassed space consisted of a large swimming pool and children's splash pool, a youth camp; bird-watching facilities; picnic areas with braai (barbecue) facilities. Ga-Mothaga also commemorates the sinking of the SS Mendi. Makhubela narrated in 2012 how the sinking of SS Mendi is one of South Africa's worst military disasters. It is reported by the Defense Department that during the First World War on 21 February 1917, SS Mendi was transporting 823 members of the 5th Battalion, South African Native Labour Corps to France where she was cut almost in half by the SS Darro in the English Channel in a collision. 616 South native Africans and 30 British crew members lost their lives in the incident. Memorial services of remembrance are held annually under the auspices of the South African Legion and the South African Defense Force. In total, there are two memorials at Ga-Mothaga Resort one to the above tragedy and another to World War II. In 2014, at the Ga-Mothaga Resort there were no signs of new investments. The lack of organised parking space prevailed and access to a central pavilion was improvised.

Lucas Masterpieces Moripe Stadium and Steven Makone

Located along Maude Street is the Lucas 'Masterpieces' Moripe Stadium formerly, 'Super Stadium' that was built in the 1950s. The Stadium has a seating capacity of 28,900 and serves as part-time home stadium of Premier League Soccer clubs. South Africa History Online has a detailed piece on Moripe in whose honor the stadium was renamed in 2010. However, the stadium has another famous and earlier footballer linked to it. Steven Kalamazoo Makone is a legendary footballer nicknamed the 'Black Meteor', similar to Portugal's great Eusebio, from Mozambique, who was nicknamed



the 'Black Pearl'. Makone made Super Stadium famous because of his association with it. He is recognised as the first black South African to play professional football in Europe. Reportedly South Africa's 'Soccer Maserati'; at age 16 he was already a South African football star before signing up for Coventry City in England in 1955, and thereafter played for the Dutch club Heracles and later for Torino in Italy. By 1959 he was rated as one of the top soccer players in Europe. Makone received the 'Order of Ikhamanga' - South Africa's highest honor for achievement in the creative and performing arts and sport in 2003 by ex-President Thabo Mbeki. In 2007/2008, extensive renovation work was underway for the 2010 World Cup. Lucas 'Masterpieces' Moripe Stadium was the training venue of the German national football team during the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

In 2014, there were no obvious changes at the Lucas Masterpieces Moripe stadium itself. However, within approximately one hundred meters from its west was a new large modern statue celebrating the world cup as well as a busy new shopping Plaza.

Atteridgeville and Sausville Cemeteries

South African cultures dictate that the body of the deceased is buried and a tombstone is erected in his or her memory and honor. There are elaborate rituals around the dead and thus Atteridgeville and Sausville Cemeteries are continually fulfilling these important spiritually significant societal roles. From a 'liberation struggle heritage' point of view within the graveyards lie some significant people who were part of the uprising against the apartheid regime. In the Atteridgeville cemetery rests Emma Sathege, who was the first victim to experience police brutality during the 1976 school uprising. A police vehicle ran over her during a charge at David Helen Peta School. Also significant is the grave of Titus Dladla who was ambushed with two other *uMkhonto we Sizwe- the Spear of the Nation* (MK), (the ANC's underground military wing cadres) by the apartheid regime security forces in 1982. He was secretly buried in Mpumalanga Province and was re-interred at Atteridgeville in 1997. In the Sausville cemetery we also find the grave of Jan Shoba who was blown up by dynamite on the orders of the security forces of the apartheid government. Jan Shoba was the first Azania Peoples Liberation Army (APLA) Commander from Atteridgeville to be buried there. (APLA was the underground military arm of the Pan African Congress (APLA was disbanded).

In 2014, there were welcome signs at the Saulsville and Atteridgeville Cemeteries. Given that the overgrowth of vegetation was being maintained, relatives of the deceased were observed cleaning and polishing tombstones, which is a common cultural undertaking in Southern Africa. People interviewed at the cemetery had no idea where the graves of struggle heroes lay or indeed, who they were.

The first Saulsville Bungalows

At the corner of Moroe and Sompane Street are six bungalows that were built by white South African owners who lived at the locality between the 1930s and 1940s. This was before Saulsville was proclaimed a black area in 1949. GPSA were concerned that these were a piece of architectural heritage that may be overlooked by CTMM. In 2014 of the six Historic Saulsville Bungalows, only one at the corner of Moroe and Sompane streets was in its original design and construction materials. The rest had been drastically modified. This shows a complete unawareness, disregard, misunderstanding or the blatant contravention of South Africa's Building Conservation and heritage policies.



Churches

In the original study the following churches received in-depth scrutiny: (i) AME Church – the Ebenezer Temple, (ii) the Methodist Church, (iii) the Uniting Reformed Church, (iv) the Swiss Mission Presbyterian Church, (v) St Bernard Mizeki Church, and (vi) the Evangelic Lutheran Church. The above was a small sample of churches in the study area. In the case study church buildings varied in their architecture as in their histories. The Swiss Mission Presbyterian Church was the first built church in 1942. Some like the Ebenezer Temple had strong African ornamental design. Others are of brick and stone structures like the Methodist church. The church congregants transported the building materials from their former church which was demolished in Marabastad, approximately 6 kilometers away, to rebuild the new one in Atteridgeville. Other churches such as St. Bernard Mizeki Church are proud of their roles during the struggle against apartheid. The Evangelic Lutheran Church was built from German Plans in the 1950s. A tour of the churches in 2014 did not reveal any significant architectural modifications, demolitions or altered landscapes.

Mphebatho Hotel

Situated on 7038 Moroe Street, Mphebatho hotel is reputed to be the first hotel built in a black township in South Africa. The hotel is strategically situated about 150 meters from the Atteridgeville Railway Station. However, this historical hotel offered no services in 2007 and was in need for minor restoration. In 2014, the Mphebatho Hotel's compound was clean that implied someone took care of its ground. But the reception was closed as in 2007 and there was no sign that this hotel was operational. However, an informant indicated that 'native beer' was sold from the premises.

Sausville Hostels

'Men only' hostels were a common feature of housing African workers in South African towns. The men's hostels in Saulsville were completed in 1957. The hostels housed hundreds of workers that worked in the nearby industrial area approximately 3 km to the east of Atteridgeville that included the industrial giant South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (ISCOR). At the time a number of hostels were being reconstructed as family dwellings. By 2014, the new family houses of the Saulsville Hostel complex were fully occupied. However, the majority of the people still lived in the original but cleaned up hostels.

Fish Pond and Basil

Externally attractive the Fish Pond and Basil consisted of two sections, a retail shop with public phones on the ground level, and an Internet Café lounge on the first floor that offered great views of the townscapes of Atteridgeville. For the study team, Fish Pond and Basil's handcrafted wooden sculptures and Ndebele murals were very attractive and presented a relaxing décor that complemented its exterior. Furthermore, this establishment had made contact with an organization that ensured they were annually visited by youth from Norway. By 2014, the Fish Pond and Basil had closed down and the building reverted back to a residential occupancy. We could not trace any account of what happened to the business or its owners.

Support Services



In the 2007 study, support services included searching for accommodation, i.e. hotels, hostels and bed and breakfast establishments as well as food and drink outlets that included restaurants, 'shebeens', food stalls, 'spaza' shops and 'buy & braai'. Support services were investigated to determine the potential of the township to accommodate and feed tourists. Support services were products that the tourist would require to enable comfortable and a safe stay as well as to experience local food, drink and township life styles. A survey was undertaken of all known major establishments. The extent to which support services increased or diminished could not be readily determined in the time of the 2014 revisit. What was significant from a shopping point of view, is that a small shopping 'plaza' was built at the geographical center of Atteridgeville, along Hlahla Street next to the Police Station and Lucas Masterpieces Moripe Stadium. By 2014 a larger shopping mall was also constructed to the east of Atteridgeville along Khoza Street. These developments provided for a variety of services that would have been sourced in the neighbouring Pretoria West shopping centers or central Pretoria.

Accommodation Facilities

This category of accommodation facilities included a count of (i) bed and breakfast, (ii) hotels and (iii) hostels. Atteridgeville as a whole had a single hotel, the Mphe batho Hotel that was not operational. There were however many hostels in Saulsville. In 2007, the older original hostels were closed but there were some people living in the dilapidated buildings. At the same time, other hostels were being converted into family accommodation. The 'Ekhaya E Pitoli' was the only Bed and Breakfast establishment in Atteridgeville that was identified in 2007.

In 2014, *Ekhaya E Pitoli* Bed and Breakfast was no more. Its B&B signboard was removed and was now a private residence. What is surprising is that *Ekhaya E Pitoli* is still listed on the Internet as offering B&B services.

Food and Drink Facilities

A survey of 63 food and drink facilities along the major vehicular and pedestrian routes in Atteridgeville, indicated the following: (i) 22 taverns / shebeens, (ii) seven food stalls, (iii) six restaurants, (iv) 18 spaza/ tuck shops and (v) 10 'buy and braai' (barbeque) stalls. There were many smaller neighbourhood and street food and drink outlets in the township that were not surveyed. In 2014, the main food and drink facilities were still sited by Atteridgeville's main vehicular traffic spine, i.e. Maunde Street and other routes (distributors) that criss-cross its residential areas. A quick count did not seem to suggest a drastic increase in these facilities.

Other attractions

Other potential attractions that were noted include the Atteridgeville and Saulsville Metrorail Stations. These and especially the Sausville station, are a hive of activity with township open air food markets selling local versions of 'take away' food and drink stalls, vegetable market, live chicken, retail and wholesale outlets and hair salons. Other Atteridgeville attractions included food and drink establishments that must run into the hundreds, townscapes and streetscapes, heavily treed informal settlements and the adjacent rural landscapes. In 2014, there was no activity at Atteridgeville station other than boarding and disembarking from the many trains. Saulsville Metrorail station was still more active as it was in 2007 than the Atteridgeville station. This is probably because it was the terminal station and thus informal sector retailers had a



more or less captive market. Investigations of Atteridgeville's township in 2007 indicated that it had the raw materials with the potential to be developed to attract township tourists. In support of these were many food and drinking 'holes' in the area but there were one or two facilities dedicated to overnight accommodation. However, the support facilities need much attention if they are to be offered as tourism destinations.

Tourism Development Strategies

In view of the absence of concrete township tourism development platforms from the GTA, the CTMM and the Tshwane Tourism Master Plan in 2007, the study felt that a strategy needed to be in place that tied the interests of service providers, the communities and tourism stakeholders in exploring the possibilities of township tourism. The strategy proposed by GPSA was the fusion of local Tourism Forums with external assistance and external exposure. The ideas behind the three approaches are briefly outlined as follows.

Tourism Forums

In 2007 Atteridgeville service providers had a Tourism Forum. However, at two stakeholder meetings held at the time of the initial study, it was evident that the organization was weak and inarticulate and service providers expected at meetings did not show up. There appeared to be a multiplicity of interpretations of a possible development agenda and a clash of expectations. A more robust strategy was required to draw the interest of service providers and make them aware of the greater picture and the possibilities of their own growth and the responsibilities that entailed with external assistance in terms of support, training and mentorship. Also in 2014, arising from the lack of the tourism destination planning activity, the tourism forum more or less went into hibernation.

External Assistance

South Africa's mainstream tourism is growing and diversifying as a result of a sound underlying organizational policies and structures. The structures referred to include governmental, corporate, NGO, cooperative and family trusts etc. There is no shortage of government-backed schemes that encourage, finance and mentor the class of small to medium enterprises (SMME) that would be appropriate in Atteridgeville. The schemes assist service providers' entry into the field. Aspirant township tourism service providers in Atteridgeville would need to be aware of the stakeholders and what assistance can be forthcoming from the many tourism and business stakeholders. Interviews of support service providers (restaurateurs, B&B etc.) in 2007 indicated that the sources of savings that was the basis of their enterprises were either family or privately sourced funding. Awareness and applications for SMME assistance would appear to be low. The 2014 situation was not determined.

External Exposure

In 2007, this strategy was based on the idiom that 'seeing is believing'. The skeptical and struggling SMME owners should be made aware by giving them the opportunities to interact with best practice in Southern Africa and internationally. This should be a regular practice for the township entrepreneur. As already noted above external exposure also included the requisite training, mentorship so that township people grow



to accept the idea that 'outsiders' are also interested in their lives, their stories and their environments and are prepared to pay for the privileges of interacting with them.

GPSA 2007 Recommendations

The following are the recommendations that were made in 2007 with regards to the realization of township tourism in Atteridgeville:

- (i) That Township Tourism Forum (TTF) should aim to market their respective attractions and accommodation offers to domestic and international tourists. For tourists from the Southern African region, it was recommended that townships must develop strategies that target the dominant black 'shopping tourist' from Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe Mozambique and further afield in Africa. Furthermore, accommodation owners must take cognizance of the transport mode of black shopping tourist, to offer 'bag pack' type accommodation, catering facilities, secure parking space, shopping information and shopping tour guides. With regards to tourists from high-income countries, it was recommended that the township forum must develop unique products that the tourist could relate to.
- (ii) Township tourism forums must take part in government and private sector tourism promotions in the richer tourism source nations. In respect of tourists expected for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, it was the recommendation that Atteridgeville product owners must place themselves to exploit the perception that their market was more affordable than mainstream tourism service providers.
- (iii) In terms of linking tourism and the Internet, the recommendation was that there would be the need to establish a township tourism website to link individual service provider websites to market Atteridgeville as a 'single destination'. That such websites should be in turn linked with mainstream tourism service providers.
- (iv) The recommendations relating to caves and sinkholes, were that studies should be conducted on the geology, morphology and suitability of the caves and sinkholes as a possible tourist trail.
- (v) There was the political and technical need to control the sprawl of informal human settlements and the management of environmental pollution also requires consideration.
- (vi) That Vlakplaas was required to conduct a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), with the aim of the restoration and maintenance of the site and buildings to a prior state, in what was a significant period in South Africa. Explorations are required as to which additional facilities would best serve the site.
- (vii) For Fort West, it was recommended that a Heritage Impact Assessment Study for the ruins be carried out. In addition, there was the requirement to



develop a conservation plan and for appropriate tourism infrastructure if such a requirement would arise.

- (viii) With regards to the Fort West Heritage Village, the conduct of a Heritage Impact Assessment Study for this historic hospital complex was recommended. Complementing the above would be the development of a conservation plan and perhaps a focus on a range of Western, Oriental and Indigenous 'wellness' themes for the restoration of the village.

Impacts of the FIFA Soccer World Cup 2012

Extensive statistics were collected regarding the actual impacts of the FIFA Soccer World Cup on South Africa. The probable impacts on Atteridgeville started with the question - was GPSA correct in selecting the African tourist from neighbouring countries as the segment that township tourism should focus on?

The statistics from 'the impacts of 2010 FIFA World Cup' confirms that this assumption was the correct one. Africans traveling by land, primarily for the World Cup were the highest component of tourist arrivals at 32% of the 309,554 tourists who came for the World Cup. Another 6% of World Cup tourists were Africans who flew in. Foreign tourists spent R 3.64 billion in South Africa. African land tourist spent an average of R 6,000 each whilst the average for all tourists was R 11, 800. African land tourists spent 30% on shopping, (their primary tourist activity), 19% accommodation, 13% food and drink, 18% leisure, 12% transport and 7% others. Gauteng hosted over 50% of tourists during the World Cup with 223,039 visitors. Atteridgeville accommodation, food and drink could have made gains especially if they targeted the African tourists and the German soccer supporters more.

Atteridgeville would not have gained significantly from the World Cup tourist activities that were topped by shopping 96%, sporting 92% and nightlife 91%. There was no potential for these three leading activities in the township, as it did not have the infrastructure that supported these activities. About 90% of World cup visitors and 98% African land base visitors considered visiting South Africa in the future. FIFA World Cup created the highest levels of awareness at 37% of information regarding tourism in South Africa. This implies that the South African 'brand awareness machine' had a negligible impact internationally speaking. Last but not least, based on tourist who had never visited South Africa the drivers for future visits were cultural experience 60%, beautiful scenery 67% and safari 56%. Again, Atteridgeville was not favorably placed in respect of the above. General concerns for future visits were identified as the costs of flights, safaris and hotels.

CTMM Plans in 2014

In 2014, the City of Tshwane Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2012 was checked for any planned developments alluding to township tourism. What emerged was that Atteridgeville and Saulsville were part of an 'Urban Core' that would be the beneficiaries of the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG). The NDPG aimed 'to support neighborhood development projects that provide communities infrastructure and create the platform for private sector development and that improves the quality of life of residents in targeted areas.' Here is no evidence of any planned neighbourhood interventions that would usher in township tourism. The 'City of Tshwane Vision 2055' was also scrutinized to find out if township tourism



featured in its plans. However, conceptually 'Vision 2055' is a broad and strategic painting of what is wished for the city. It does not, and it is not, the type of document that would detail such a programme.

Red Flags

The meaning of the 'red flag' has already been outlined in the introduction. It is a metaphor for taking a cautious approach and reflection on part of the planner when preparing a township tourism destination plan as in the case of Atteridgeville. These 'red flags', are the result of the benefit of hindsight on the part of the author as one of the principals of the Atteridgeville product development as a township tourism destination.

It is noted in the introduction that the initial study took place in 2007, and that in 2014, a revisit of the situation indicated that none of the study recommendations were implemented. A meeting with the CTMM was set in late 2014 and the reasons for the non-implementation of the project became clear. Essentially the following contributed to the stalled situation;

- (i) CTMM had absorbed a neighbouring municipality and consequently the focus was extensive restructuring and integrating that placed many projects on hold between 2010 and 2012.
- (ii) The Atteridgeville, Soshanguve and Mabopane township tourism studies among others was intended as a basis for seeking funding from national stakeholders, i.e. the National Department of Tourism to implement the project. These funding requests were not realised.
- (iii) Mamelodi (located to the east of Pretoria) was the only township tourism destination project in Pretoria that received funding for three small proposals.
- (iv) It is only now (2014) that the CTMM feels that they were in a position to revisit the three cases of Atteridgeville, Soshanguve and Mabopane township tourism.

Ideological Red Flags

This red flag is interpreted to signify the alignment or otherwise of the destination plans with the prevailing ideology or ideologies of the State or the parties in control of a municipality.

- (i) The lack of action to develop Vlakplaas and to conserve West Fort/ Fort Daspoortrand might arise from the fact that Government and specifically the African National Council (ANC) party may be facing the ideological difficulties of accepting the celebration of what is perceived as the artifacts of the 'old enemy'. Although the construction of Freedom Park in Pretoria celebrates all the previous conflicts and wars in South Africa for the first time, the energy in conservation are centered around ex-President Mandela and the ruling party, the ANC. In Pretoria, the ideological inclination is evident in the concentration on Mamelodi township projects around mainly ANC heroes.



Policy Red Flags

This refers to the need on part of the township tourism planner to study policies and determine the extent to which they may inhibit desired outcomes of a plan. In the Atteridgeville product development three policy red flags can be identified:

- (i) **Tourism Plans.**
The various plans from national level such as Sho'Left, the provincial plans by the Gauteng Tourism Authority and local CTMM tourism plans all pointed to the fact that township tourism was not in their present set of destinations nor were there plans to make township tourism a policy choice. This was a clear caution that township tourism in Atteridgeville was still a process that was not even contemplated at the higher levels of tourism policies.
- (ii) **Government Secrecy.**
It became apparent that after almost two decades of the New Dispensation in South Africa, the proposal for the development of the Vlakplaas Farm may still be a very sensitive subject. Therefore, its proposal as a museum of reconciliation perhaps equivalent to the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda or the Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland is still many years away.
- (iii) **Conservation Policy and Awareness.**
The alterations of the first six Saulsville Bungalows, shows the tenants/owners are unaware of the significance of the heritage of the buildings they live in. It also shows that the CTMM may not have the human, technical and advisory heritage preservation resources needed to comply with national conservation regulations. The lack of interventions in the Mphebatho Hotel, the wholesale plans to convert Saulsville Hostels, the complete lack of conservation of West Fort/ Fort Daspoortrand and Fort West Heritage Village would appear to indicate a lack of awareness for architectural and heritage conservation.

Tourism Development Strategy Red Flags

This is a caution to be aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the kinds of strategies and platforms proposed for the development of township tourism. Hidden in the strategies and forums are a diversity of interpretations that may generate conflicting and irreconcilable expectations.

- (i) One could easily determine that members of the Atteridgeville Tourism Forum had different agenda and there was a low level of agreement on the way forward.
- (ii) There are a reasonable number Government and sector specific support systems in South Africa. However, these sources of support harbor negative reputations in terms of their lack of transparency and training and financial allocations ending up with the wrong people.



External exposure is a sound strategy but those who require this are usually the same people who are required full time at their enterprises.

Physical Environment Red Flags

This red flag relates to the physical challenges that may inhibit certain desired developments in a destination.

- (i) In Atteridgeville the un-surveyed caves and sinkholes present dangers of people falling into their dark depths. The rough, narrow and steep access to the caves and sink holes excludes those who are not physically fit. It also denies access to those on wheel chairs etc.
- (ii) Uncontrolled informal settlement expansion may lead to social and environmental challenges to a plan.

Behavioral Red Flags

Behavioral Red Flag are cautions related to how local people accepted behavior may conflict with what tourists expect and therefore may generate compromising situations.

- (i) In Atteridgeville as in other townships, smashing beer bottles on a hard surface is a common activity in taverns /shebeens and restaurants.
- (ii) Vandalism of unsecured property is another red flag behavioral trait. Madiba Kwena, West Fort/ Fort Daspoortrand and Fort West Heritage Village are examples of the lack of respect of private and public property.

Infrastructure Red Flags

These are conditions that call for caution in planning in relation to infrastructure.

- (i) In Atteridgeville the lack of sanitary infrastructure in certain parts of the township means that uncontrolled human waste disposal takes place. This is the case around the routes to the caves and sink holes and at Fort West Heritage Village.

Private Property Red Flags

This is a caution not to place too much investment or reliance on private property that at one point or another is part of tourism. Private property cannot be held ransom for tourism development and can and does move on to other uses arising from changing circumstances of the owners or users.

- (i) Mphebatho Hotel, Fish Pond & Basil and Ekaya e Petoli are examples of private properties that were operative in 2007 and were shut down by their owners by 2014.



Discussion

A SWOT analysis of Atteridgeville's features was undertaken in the original 2007 study and the following characterization emerged; Atteridgeville offered spiritual and sacred places, historic artifacts of national and local importance, unique fort architecture, panoramic views, diversity of church architecture and buildings and monuments, large stretches of open land for development, restoration to new functions, high visibility, a recreational magnet, monuments that acknowledges a national, world class football stadium, historic and heroic personalities, worthy liberation struggle credentials, embedded in local history, aesthetic pleasant rendition of African architecture etc.

A study of the potential of a tourism destination is not bound by time. All one requires is information related to policy, the characteristics and dynamics of place and tourism trends. However, as the previous sections illustrate there are 'red flags' that the planner should take note of in the process of planning.

The timing of the Atteridgeville study was opportune as tourist numbers were stable and the segment of the African tourists from Southern Africa was its largest component. These I argued, are a township's ideal clients. The 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup heightened local interest in all matters touristic. But strictly speaking, at a Gauteng Tourism Authority media briefing in 2007 in Johannesburg, already referred to above, the audience was informed that service providers who had not aligned with FIFA and GTA requirements were considered to be late in their bid to benefit from the event. And the truth of this statement was reflected in Atteridgeville where potential gains were not realized. FIFA's branding excluded South Africa's hawkers from displaying their craft and wares within the vicinity of World Cup venues. This was a surprise to many arts and craft people, which implies that branding rules were not communicated properly. I feel there were no mistakes made regarding the identification of features that could attract tourists if developed. With hindsight, the shortcomings or red flags may be considered as follows:

Firstly, the caves, sick holes, churches, cemeteries, monuments, food and drink facilities, the historic fort, monuments, and the heritage village, were simply not in a physical state that could pass them as viable tourist destinations without further expert studies followed by dedicated developmental interventions. Some of these would be 'quick fix' and others would run into several years of work.

Secondly, from an organizational viewpoint individually or collectively the features were never part of any private, local or provincial tourism offering. In other words, they were not reflected on any service provider's tourism destination. This is a big red flag. In other words, check and contrast what one is asked to do and what related or linked organizations are doing about it.

Thirdly, even though there was a local tourism forum in Atteridgeville, a Tshwane Municipality Tourism Master Plan and the Gauteng Tourism Authority, none of these organizations had strategies to rapidly develop and incorporate township tourism features into existing mainstream tourism plans. This is another red flag.

What strategies exist that successfully drive township tourism development? There are no foolproof approaches to successful township tourism. On hindsight in South Africa it is clear that the national government is able to intervene and oversee the management of museums and founding of new monuments of a national stature, e.g.



Freedom Park in Pretoria. However, a close inspection of the leading tourism destinations shows that these were in most cases are the efforts of private individuals in cooperation with financial sponsors gestating the product over a long period of time. To have expected CTMM to make a difference in a relatively short time period was unrealistic.

There may also be the under-researched challenge of the political acceptance of saving artifacts such as an Anglo Boer War fort or an apartheid counterinsurgency police field station that do not resonate with the credence of 'liberation struggle' history of the ruling party. However, even liberation struggle artifacts, especially buildings are being wasted by weathering, vandalism and indifference by the national government's arts, culture and heritage department. There may be the inertia to undertake certain projects, but real causes of this may not be clear and are beyond the scope of this paper. The bottom line is that service providers must find the means to enhance their offerings, because they are optimally placed out of self-interest with professional assistance to drive township tourism initiatives.

The capacity of local government to deliver township tourism is doubtful. Township tourism is not, and has never been a political priority; it is not a tourism priority. The majority of South Africa's people expectations are focused elsewhere in climbing out of the poverty traps, marginalization and unemployment with expectations anchored around free services such as a house, electricity, water and sanitation. Prince Mashele and Mzukisi Qobo have detailed a narrative of corrupt relationships at all levels of Government, the misallocation of resources and the failure to deliver basic services to the people.

Conclusion

What this article points to, is that built environment professionals with the interest and passion for advancing township / township tourism plans must explore the approaches that successfully identify, programmes and implement relevant and functional strategies. However, there is the need to be more aware of, or at least be highly conscious of, the underlying ideological, policy, strategy, physical, infrastructure, property and behavioral red flags that may compromise a plan and thus stifle it.

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