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Navigating racialized tourism spaces: Apartheid South Africa's 'Green Books'

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Abstract. Racism and racial discrimination in tourism are attracting growing interest. The aim is to contribute to an emergent historical geographical scholarship on racism and racial discrimination in tourism. The greatest progress in exploring the historical bases and legacies of racism in tourism surrounds the Jim Crow era of segregation in the United States which has generated a growing literature. This study is novel as it examines the case of apartheid South Africa. The research represents a contribution to the sparse international literature from destinations outside of the United States concerning the geographical impress of racial discrimination in tourism and of how the racialized populations both countered and navigated a discriminatory landscape of exclusion. It is argued that guidebooks produced in the 1960s by the South African Institute of Race Relations served similar purposes to the well-documented 'Green Books' in the USA.

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1. Introduction

Marginalization and the marginalized in tourism are garnering increasing currency in modern tourism scholarship (Slocum, 2023; Khoo et al., 2025). The critical attention of tourism geographers is drawn by Cheer (2018) to issues around social justice and 'geographies of marginalization'. As clarified by Thakur et al. (2023) research concerning marginalization and the marginalized has evolved around different aspects of exclusion. These authors contend that margins are created and maintained in a tourism ecosystem which limit the participation and engagement of the marginalized in becoming beneficiaries of tourism. Among several structural causes of marginalization and exclusion in tourism one of the most significant concerns that of racism and racial discrimination (Jackson, 2020). It has been argued that the impress of racism in the tourism sector is evidenced by the "bias, discrimination and harmful tourist experiences and toxic terrain for black people and people of colour" (Ndeke, 2022: 622). Li et al. (2020) stress that racism is increasingly acknowledged as a key driver of unfair inequalities in power, resources and opportunities among racial groups and represents a social phenomenon that cannot be ignored by tourism scholars.

For Slocum (2023) racial discrimination and prejudice continue to impact deeply the workings of the contemporary tourism industry. Nevertheless, imbued with the belief that tourism mainly promotes peace and political stability, Korstanje (2022: 52) elaborates that, in general, "tourism-related scholars have not paid attention to the problem of racism in tourism and hospitality". According to Seaton et al. (2018: 768) the phenomenon of racial discrimination represents "the behavioural component of racism and includes dominant racial group members' actions" that have negative effects on subordinate racial groups. Broadly speaking, racism involves assigning people negative characteristics based on their 'real or imaginary' difference thus "depicting them as subordinate and using that subordination to legitimate discrimination and hostility towards them" (Memmi, 2000: 172). This said, the operational definitions of racism vary in the literature and can include both individual attitudes, cultural schema as well as structural racism which encompasses society-wide processes that create or maintain racial dominance (Berman & Paradies, 2008; Ellefsen et al., 2022). Ndeke (2022: 621) points out that the "concept of racism and its manifestations of ethnocentric, prejudicial practices may take many forms across time and geopolitical and cultural spaces". Bonds and Inwood (2016: 720) maintain that the concept of white supremacy is "the *defining logic* of racism". Indeed, for Jackson (2020) the concept of white supremacy illuminates the material practices of domination that structure racialized landscapes of tourism.

The past decade has witnessed a groundswell of scholarship around 'racialized geographies' (Fields & Raymond, 2021; Nethercote, 2022). Against this backdrop the aim is to contribute to an emergent historical geographical scholarship on racism and racial discrimination in tourism. The study is novel in its intention to address a particular knowledge gap in the extant geographical literature relating to tourism and racial discrimination. Unquestionably, the greatest advances in terms of exploring the historical bases and legacies of racism in tourism surrounds the Jim Crow era of segregation in the United States which has generated a growing literature including rich contributions by tourism geographers. From the 1880s to the 1960s Jim Crow laws spanned the United States and legalized discrimination against, and the segregation of, African (black) Americans who "were treated as second-class citizens" (Zinkel, 2019: 238). Pellicer and Ranchhod (2023) view South Africa as a classic case study environment in which to analyse the effects of racism and racial discrimination. Apartheid subjected the majority 'non-White' population to a degree of institutionalized racism that is viewed as probably unprecedented in world history (Dubow, 1998). For almost a half century (1948-1991) the South African government implemented a comprehensive apparatus of mechanisms for enforcing racial discrimination against 'non-Whites' (Posel, 1991, 2001a).

For the architects of apartheid race "was to be the critical and overriding faultline: the fundamental organizing principle for the allocation of all resources and opportunities, the basis of all spatial demarcation, planning and development, the boundary for all social interaction, as well as the primary category in terms of which this social and moral order was described and defended" (Posel, 2001b: 58). Importantly, being racially classified as 'White' as opposed to one of three categories of 'non-White' (Africans, Indians and Coloured or mixed race) gave access to a suite of vastly better facilities and opportunities in all aspects of life, including for travel and tourism (J.M. Rogerson, 2017; C.M. Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2025). In a comparative international perspective whilst some analysts write of 'South African exceptionality' in its history of explicit racial segregation (Pellicer

et al., 2019), others draw close parallels between apartheid South Africa and the Jim Crow period in the United States. For example, Zinkel (2019: 240-241) argues that "Apartheid and Jim Crow share many similarities" as both "were institutionalized forms of racism; both were carried out by white citizens and directed at non-white citizens; and both resulted in discrimination that persisted after each institution's respective end". The major difference between the South African and United States historical record is that whereas systematic racism practices were enacted in the United States by a White majority, in South Africa such measures were imposed by a White minority.

Both in Jim Crow USA and apartheid South Africa there emerged racialized tourism landscapes which created barriers of exclusion to the participation of 'non-Whites' (Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Alderman & Modlin Jr., 2014; Bottone, 2020a, 2020b; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020; Bottone, 2023; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2024a; Rogerson, 2025). This article represents a contribution to the sparse international literature from destinations outside of the United States concerning the geographical impress of racial discrimination in tourism and of how the racialized populations both countered and navigated a discriminatory landscape of exclusion. Under detailed scrutiny is South Africa during the decade of the 1960s, a period when the implementation of racist legislation and controls was at its most intense (Dubow, 2017). The research applies historical geographical methods and uses a range of archival documentary sources. The practice of archival research is a valued research method in geography. Archives have been valuable for reconstructing the form, function and meaning of past landscapes and for interpreting the experiences and ideologies of social actors and groups who fashioned those geographies (Alderman & Inwood, 2021). Archives have become a space for historical geographers to rearticulate the production of geographical knowledge in novel ways (Craggs, 2016). The use of archives allows geographers to enter historical worlds and explore how geographical knowledges and spaces can be made sense of in the past when it is not possible to research such worlds by other means (Byron et al., 2024). This research builds mainly upon the documentary material of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) which are lodged at the Historical Papers collections at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and the National Library depot in Cape Town.

The structure of the remaining discussion is as follows. In the next section the study is contextualized in literature on racial discrimination in tourism as a whole and in particular about the African-American response in the United States to segregated landscapes through the use of the 'Green Books'. There follows an analysis of the challenges faced by 'non-White' travellers in South Africa against the backdrop of the country's long history of institutionalized discrimination and the making of a racialized landscape of tourism which consolidated in the post-1948 apartheid period. In assisting 'non-Whites' to navigate the hostile racialized landscape of apartheid a critical role was assumed by the South African Institute of Race Relations, an influential 'liberal' research organization. The SAIRR's major intervention was the production during the 1960s of a series of dedicated travel guides for 'non-Whites' which are likened to the US Green Books.

2. Racism and racial discrimination in tourism

Kennedy (2013) observed that racial discrimination was an "under-analyzed" aspect of tourism development. A decade later Korstanje (2022: 48) could still maintain that tourism scholarship has "not given a prominent place to racism and prejudice". Most recently, Dillette et al. (2024: 1) stress "the historical neglect of racial inequity in tourism scholarship" and call for greater attention to issues around institutionalized or systemic racism. Over the past decade, racism has appeared slowly on the radar screen of tourism scholars (Jamerson, 2016). Dönmez and Aylan (2022) identify tourism as an economic sector in which racial discrimination and racism are widespread. In Australia racism is a critical barrier to the sustainable development of certain destinations (Ruhanen & Whitford, 2018). Evidence of racial discrimination as an element of the 'dark side' of the Airbnb and the sharing economy is given by Abramova (2024). Certain observers contend that racial discrimination in tourism should be viewed as a human rights issue (Härkönen, 2021). It is argued ample evidence exists from a cross-section of international experience to show that historical racial discrimination in tourism results in groups that are discriminated against adapting their travel patterns in order to avoid situations where they might encounter discrimination in their travels. The influential pioneer studies of Philipp (1993,1994) pinpointed that racial prejudice and discrimination account for differences in travel preferences.

The largest amount of scholarly writings on racism and tourism relate to the United States. According to Livengood and Stodolska (2004) post-September 2011 concerns about racism influence the visits and leisure patterns of American Muslims in domestic travel within the USA. Hudson et al. (2020) record that the travel choices by African-Americans (Blacks) are impacted by perceived patterns of racial tolerance and prejudice. The historical legacy of racial discrimination from the Jim Crow era of segregation affects the travel preferences and destination choice of many African-Americans. Jackson (2019, 2020) stresses that in the USA restrictions on both the freedom of movement and access to public accommodation and leisure facilities were real for those identified as 'non-white' until the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. Using Bourdieu's concept of habitus Lee and Scott (2016, 2017) identify that for middle class African-Americans travel behaviour is linked to an acute fear of racism and potential racial discrimination. It is evidenced that many African-American travellers continue to participate in travel behaviour which was moulded during Jim Crow segregation. Dillette (2021) contends travelling with fear is not just a distant memory for African-American travellers in the USA. Lee (2024) reveals that whilst nature-based recreation areas are among the most visited destinations for tourism in the USA because of enduring racial oppression African-Americans were deemed far less likely to visit these areas as compared to White Americans. Early research by Washburne (1978) attributed the limited participation in such leisure activities to the lower-socio-economic status of African-Americans as compared to white Americans. This argument has been rebutted by recent literature which demonstrates that African-Americans are not primarily constrained by socio-economic status but historical anxieties rooted in fears of racial discrimination whilst travelling (Floyd, 1998; Jackson, 2020; Dillette, 2021). Among others, Alderman (2018: 717) observes "a lengthy history of tourism and hospitality being a site for racialization within the United States" and that "African-American marginalization, if not outright exclusion, was foundational to the modern, white-dominated American travel industry".

The consensus within the extensive international literature on racism is that the most effective action to mitigate or combat racial discrimination is through civic organizations and social movement protest action and the role of public interventions in anti-racist initiatives (eg. Bonnett, 1999; Elias et al., 2021; Killingray, 2024). Among the most important institutional measures is the enactment of government legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the United States or the 1975 Racial Discrimination Act in Australia. In the absence of legislation to counter institutionalized discrimination the racialized can resort to a range of 'everyday anti-racist measures' as opposition and resistance to racism (Bonnett, 1999). Bolles (2024) maintains that the socialization of racialized people includes modes of behaviour that allow them to navigate through the oppression of a racist society. By ascribing responses to racism as 'resistance' Ellefsen et al. (2022) elucidate how racialized people engage in an array of active responses towards racism as opposed to a stance of passive adaptation. In the tourism literature the active responses of African-Americans to Jim Crow laws provide evidence of everyday resistance to racial discrimination. During the Jim Crow era African-Americans "faced major roadblocks while travelling and continued threats of violence induced by the deeply embedded history of racism in the country" (Dillette & Benjamin, 2017: 1).

Alderman and Inwood (2016: 598) highlight the imperative for geographers to examine "mobility as a form of African-American resistance and self-determination in the face of rampant discrimination". Jim Crow legislation made travel in the USA both difficult and dangerous for African Americans through legal precedent and socially sanctioned racism (Jackson, 2020; Briscoe, 2024). According to Alderman and Bottone (2024: 27) "movement was one facet of life where the consequences of Jim Crow were especially visible". The Jim Crow era – from 1877 to 1964 – "was a time when the racial status quo of white supremacy was particularly enforced in terms of mobility" and when "white supremacist institutions and customs were implemented in attempts to keep African-Americans immobile and limited in opportunities for economic and social gain" (Bottone, 2020a: 2). Geographers have documented that "Jim Crow was a spatial system as well as a social one" because white supremacy "required the making of places and other geographic expressions of control that legitimized the power and authority of whites, reinforced the supposed inferiority of African Americans and maintained the wide chasm between the races" (Alderman & Inwood, 2014: 69). Alderman and Modlin Jr (2014) emphasize that segregated environments were spatial expressions of control that buttressed white privilege and legitimized racial segregation and inequality. The concept of racialized landscapes is viewed therefore as an expression of how "spatial parameters reflect

and produce power relations and racial hierarchies, thereby fostering differentiated mobilities" (Kalous, 2021: 15).

Much research interest has concentrated upon analyzing the contents of one influential guidebook, *The Negro Motorist Green Book* (hereafter The Green Book) which assisted Black Americans to "navigate through the hostile landscape of the United States during a period of discrimination and segregation" (Duffy et al., 2019: 2430). From the late nineteenth century to the 1960s "institutionalized racial segregation systematically delimited Black Americans' opportunities for travel, as they encountered discrimination on the road, were relegated to the back of the busses and the third-class compartments on trains" (Kalous, 2021: 14). Under Jim Crow many hotels, motels and resorts would not admit African-Americans thus creating a geography of racial restrictions on where African Americans might find a safe place to eat or rest. In response Victor Green, a Harlem postal worker, in 1936 launched The Green Book, a guidebook that detailed accommodation services and locations that were not discriminatory and spaces that were safe for African-American travellers. This guidebook, published between 1936 and 1967, offered African American travellers a list of welcoming accommodations that they might patronise whilst on road journeys. Briscoe (2024: 2) stresses that it "provided African American families a chance for recreation while alleviating the pressures of racism".

The Green Book furnished African American travellers "with the information necessary to journey comfortably and safely during the era of segregation" (Jackson, 2020: 12). Moreover, it provided solutions to the problem of segregation faced by African American travellers. For Duffy et al (2019: 2430) its importance is underscored by the fact that it provided answers to critical basic questions such as "*Where can I eat, Where can I sleep? Where can I service my vehicle? How dangerous will this travel be? Will my family be safe*" (Duffy et al., 2019: 2430). The travel guide represents "an archived record of places that were open to and welcoming of Black travelers" and demonstrates how they travelled "in spite of laws aimed at denying them access to leisure spaces and limiting their freedom of movement" (Jackson, 2020: 12). The goal was to identify safe spaces in terms of places that did not discriminate on racial grounds (Bottone, 2023). The Green Book therefore accorded African American travellers "the opportunity to navigate through potentially hostile territories and enact movements across the United States" (Bottone, 2020a: 113). Kalous (2021: 13) elucidates how the guide encouraged African Americans to travel and claim public spaces and illuminates the ways in which The Green Book "encouraged Black travel and challenged the existing conditions that curtailed the mobility of African Americans".

Jackson (2020: 1) contends the establishment of safe spaces "for recreation and leisure by and for Black people was a show of resistance and also a site of power". It was apparent that a need existed for a resource of this kind during this period of American history and that The Green Book helped African-Americans "avoid being victims of exclusionary practices and unsafe conditions when they travelled" (Jackson, 2020: 9). Arguably, The Green Book helped to challenge the status quo. It "testifies to the many ways the movement of Black people was restricted, yet it also illuminates how people resisted and challenged the circumscription of their mobility" (Kalous, 2021: 14). Hall (2014: 307) maintains that The Green Book "provided African-American travellers a tool with which to subvert and avoid racial discrimination in twentieth-century American leisure travel". Likewise, Bottone (2020a: 3-4) asserts that "by providing the location of businesses, such as hotels, restaurants and gas stations that were accepting of black travelers, Green and his contributors performed anti-racism mobility work, a form of resistance, that contributed to safe travel of black Americans, especially through the hostile Jim Crow South". Further, Kalous (2021) identifies the Green Book as a means of resistance for challenging the existing conditions that curtailed Black mobility as well as a force for mobilizing Black Americans. Unquestionably, The Green Book "remains an important document that bore witness to the courageous struggles and triumphs of African American travelers in their defiance of segregation and racial discrimination" and allowed them to venture into White-dominated spaces and thereby challenge the racialized spatial order (Kalous, 2021: 25). By the 1950s and 1960s Briscoe (2024) records that the guide was not just a travel handbook, but also a covert guide for civil rights organizations, leaders, activists, supporters and protesters. Overall, its collective editions can be interpreted as a "tool of resistance developed to spatially subvert white supremacy" as well as a significant road map which reveals previously hidden black travel geographies in the USA (Bottone, 2020b).

3. South Africa's racialized landscape of tourism: contours, challenges and navigation

The South African research findings are presented in three sub-sections of material. The first provides the apartheid institutional and legislative context which conditioned the country's racialized tourism landscape. The second provides analysis of racialized spaces and of racial discrimination that everyday impacted and challenged 'non-White' travellers and tourists. The third section turns to unpack the activities of the South African Institute of Race Relations which produced a set of guidebooks designed to assist 'non-Whites' traverse the complexities of the apartheid tourism landscape of the 1960s.

3.1. The institutional context

Historically, the racialization of governance in South Africa stretches back beyond the 20th century. The two colonies (Cape and Natal) and the two Boer republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) that merged in 1910 to form the Union of South Africa "all had their own litanies of legislation based on race" (Posel, 2001a: 89). This included an arsenal of measures designed to control the movement of Africans into urban areas (Savage, 1984). The 'pass laws' represented a system of internal border control that functioned as a regulatory security apparatus to maintain racial segregation and dispossession within a white supremacist state, whilst also securing the provision of cheap African labour (Frankel, 1979; Savage, 1984). Following Union, the 1923 Natives Urban Areas Act provided the legislative foundations upon which the apartheid system of influx control was erected. At the heart of influx control was the Stallardist doctrine that urban areas were the preserve of whites and the presence of Africans there could be justified only in so far as they served "the white man's needs" (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2024b). Sub-section 10 (1) of Act 25 of 1945, the Natives Urban Areas Act of South Africa, deemed that Africans were not allowed to stay for more than 72 hours in a proclaimed White area or in an urban area in which they were not employed. For visits exceeding that time it was mandatory to secure a visitor's permit from the local authority with the permit showing purpose of visit and sanctioned duration of stay.

Everyday life in pre-1948 segregationist South Africa was subject to powerful racial hierarchies (Posel, 1991, 2001a). During the segregation era, the governance of daily existence assumed an increasingly racialized character "as access to work, urban space, political office, public transport and leisure facilities became subject to racial surveillance" (Posel, 2001b: 59). Segregation was driven by successive governments to manipulate South Africa's economic, social and political geography thus to maintain white political and economic supremacy (Rallis, 1993). Overall, in the international historical context of race-based discrimination it is observed a distinctive aspect of South Africa was the range and extent of its colonial legislation as many "facilities and services - from education and health, to transport and recreation - were progressively restricted and divided on a racial basis more tightly than under the 'Jim Crow' laws in the United States" (Beinart and Dubow, 1995: 4). With its electoral victory in 1948 the National Party moved swiftly to forge a new legal and bureaucratic machinery for implementation of its apartheid policies.

The apartheid state's racial ideology cast Africans "as fundamentally rural and cut off from modernity, solely allowed in the city to provide labour" (Fleishman, 2023: 529). Arguably, most of the battery of racially-discriminatory legislation of apartheid was introduced between 1949 and 1953. The enactment of core legislation such as the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 radically impacted the daily existence of 'non-White' South Africans and influenced where they could live as well as where they might travel for leisure and recreation (Rogerson, 2020). Although some of this legislation was new, much in these Acts extended legislation that had been in existence before 1948 and codified what previously had been "more customary segregation than legislative injunction" (Dlamini, 2020: 183). According to Luiz (1998: 52) "the backbone for apartheid was laid in 1950 with the Population Registration Act". This required the statutory classification of all people into mutually exclusive racial groups each of which had varying degrees of state support, legal rights and geographic mobility (Posel, 2001b; Pellicer and Ranchod, 2023). What made the apartheid racial classification system notoriously distinctive was its panoptic scope as every South African was compelled to register as a member of an officially designated racial group "on the understanding that this classification would inform every aspect of that person's life" (Posel, 2001a: 89).

The 1950 Group Areas Act built upon race classification and is considered one of the most controversial statutes in South African history as it embodied the essence of apartheid at an urban scale. The Act constituted the foundation for urban

racial-spatial zoning and "drew upon the former legislation and administrative apparatus to provide for the comprehensive racial replanning of all South African cities" (Christopher, 1990: 427). As the initial legislation proved defective in terms of implementation measures it was only after 1957 that the machinery was set in place to re-engineer the urban spatial landscape. The Act applied to White, Coloured and Indian communities as the segregation of the African population into separate township spaces proceeded under amendments to the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 which sought the virtually total segregation of the African population from the remainder. This element of apartheid spatial planning "serves as a prime example of spaces that were produced by those in power to control and manage populations" (Bezuidenhout, 2010: 26).

The third critical piece of legislation was the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. This Act enforced the racial segregation of public facilities. Kirkby (2022: 73) stresses that the "legislation asserted that facilities would be duly segregated with no harmonization in neither the quantity nor the quality of the amenities that were allocated to each race" thus expressly sanctioning discrimination in public places and making legally acceptable the doctrine of 'separate and inherently unequal'. This Act is regarded as "the official starting point for the structuring of recreational space" (Bezuidenhout, 2010: 26-27). Among several recreational spaces that were racially-segregated much controversy surrounded beach apartheid following the amended Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 10 of 1960 which empowered local authorities to implement the racial segregation of beach space (Rogerson, J.M., 2017).

3.2. Racialized tourism spaces

Overall, the combined provisions of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act served to institutionalize separate racialized tourism spaces for 'non-Whites' during the 1950s. Under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act hotels were not required to serve more than one racial group and hospitality services in terms of restaurants were segregated (Higginbotham, 1994). The implementation of this racially discriminatory legislation made imperative the development of a separate travel and tourism infrastructure to service the needs of 'non-White' travelers and tourists. One symbol of the racialized spaces of tourism was the establishment of a network of 'non-White' hotels as a separate infrastructure of lodging services and set apart geographically from the hotels that served the needs of white South Africans and international tourists (Rogerson, 2020).

Using archival sources a national audit was undertaken to establish the infrastructure of commercial hotels available for 'non-Whites during the apartheid decade of the 1960s. The findings are shown on a provincial basis on Table 1 and the detailed geography of 'non-White' hotels presented on Figure 1. Several points must be noted. First, the results confirm the minimal infrastructure of accommodation services available for 'non-Whites' as compared to white tourists. For the whole of South Africa in 1967-1968 there is recorded a total of only 45 small 'non-White' hotels (Table 1). This total should be compared to the extensive infrastructure of services which was available to whites and for international tourists. In a 1965 national guide the number of licensed establishments recorded in major centres was 188 hotels in Cape Town, 131 in Durban and a total of 124 hotels in Johannesburg, South Africa's major commercial hub (The Hotel Guide Association, 1965). It is observed the small coastal city of East London offered 42 hotels, an accommodation infrastructure that nearly matched that of all 'non-White' hotels for the entire country.

Second, the audit confirms that the apartheid period experience for 'non-Whites' travelling and touring was not monolithic. African travellers were the most disadvantaged racial group (Rogerson, 2025). Of the available 45 designated 'non-White' hotels 44 would accommodate Coloureds, 41 would accept Indian visitors but only 27 were available to Africans. The sole 'non-White' hotel in the Orange Free State was reserved only for Africans. Three, the geographical availability of hotel accommodation was uneven. On a provincial basis Table 1 shows that 87 percent of available hotels were situated in the coastal provinces of the Cape and Natal. The inland provinces of the Orange Free State and Transvaal offered sparse facilities for 'non-White' visitors. The detailed geography of 'non-White' hotels reveals the largest clusters of hotels in the leisure coastal centres of Cape Town and Durban and its surrounds. In Johannesburg, South Africa's most vibrant commercial centre, only four small hotels were operating for 'non-White visitors' (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021). Three, important is the striking absence of any infrastructural facilities for the accommodation of 'non-Whites' across much of South Africa. Accommodation deserts for 'non-White travellers' encompassed the important road corridor connecting Johannesburg with Kruger National Park as well as the northern area of the Transvaal stretching to the border with colonial Rhodesia. Notable urban spaces in South

Table 1. Licensed Hotels for 'Non-Whites' c. 1967-1968 questions from EVS/WVS

Province	Number of Hotels	Details
Cape Province	19	Coloureds could stay at all 19 hotels. Indians could stay at 16 hotels as they were excluded from the two hotels in Transkei and at King Williams Town. Of the 19 hotels only 11 provided accommodation for Africans. At Paarl, Africans required permission from the Department of Bantu Administration to stay there.
Orange Free State	1	This hotel situated in the provincial capital would accommodate only Africans.
Natal	20	Indian and Coloured visitors could stay at all hotels. Of the total 20 hotels 12 would accept African visitors.

Source: author construction based on South African Institute of Race Relations 1968

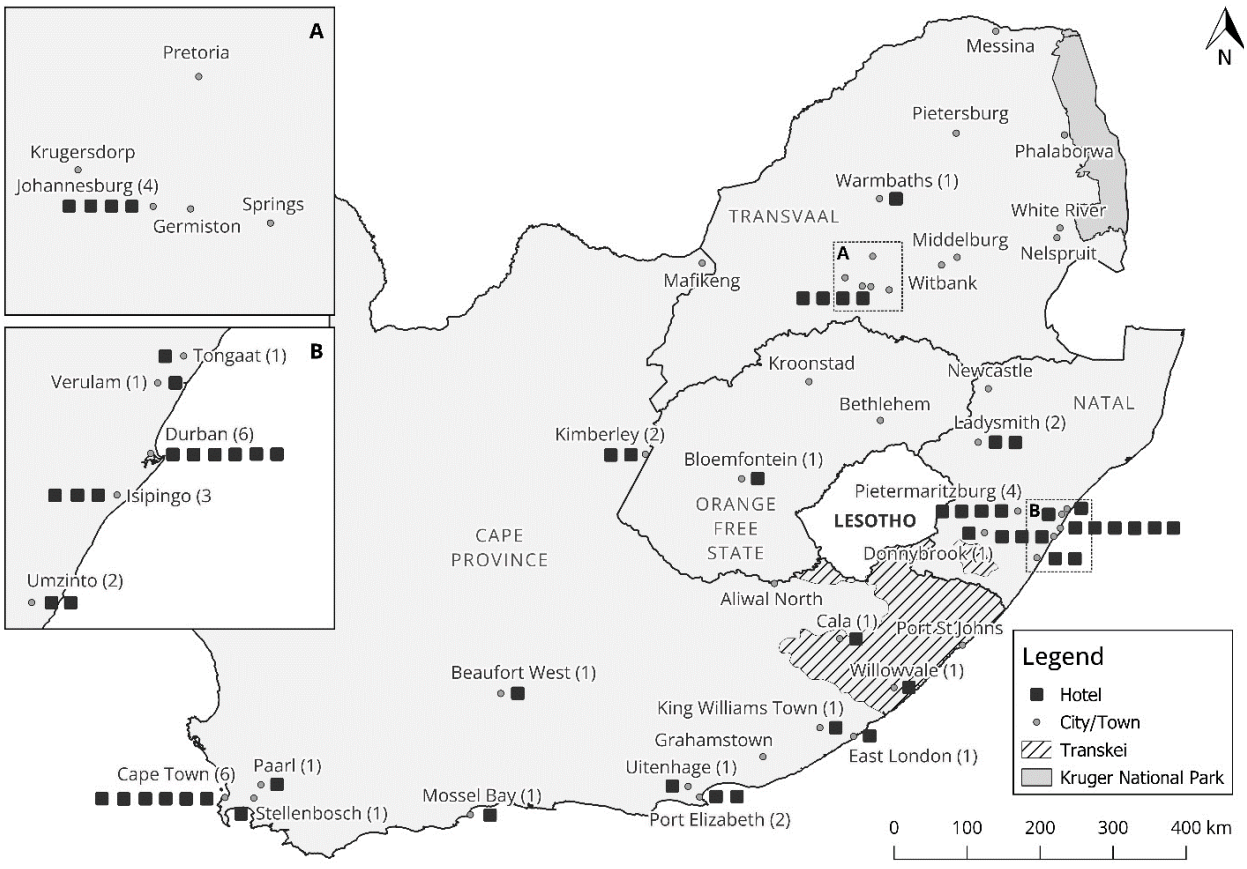

Fig. 1. The Spatial Distribution of 'Non-White' Hotels in South Africa, 1967-1968
Source: author construction based on South African Institute of Race Relations 1968

Africa with no commercial hotel accommodation for 'non-Whites' included much of the Witwatersrand, Pietersburg, Middelburg, Nelspruit, White River and, most remarkably, Pretoria, the national capital city (Fig. 1). Travel was especially taxing in small towns where across most of South Africa almost no commercial options existed for the accommodation of 'non-White' visitors. Spaces of accommodation deficits and particular difficulties for Coloured and Indian travellers included the Orange Free State and for Indians also the self-governing (from 1963) territory of Transkei.

The lodging challenges facing 'non-White' travellers impacted not only those engaged in leisure but of expanding flows of 'non-Whites' involved in business travel. During the 1960s the largest share of this group were male drivers many employed by local and international leisure tourists and others by domestic commercial travellers. In addition, the cohort of female domestic servants/nannies who accompanied white families to look after children on holiday travels experienced accommodation challenges. Again, the difficulties of lodging for these two groups of 'non-White' business tourists were especially acute outside the major cities and particularly in small towns. The problems facing tourists in the 1960s who employed 'non-White' drivers were raised in national House of Assembly Debates. In May 1965 it was recorded as follows: "Tourists who use drivers, usually a Coloured man and often a Bantu, to drive the motor-car they have hired, to tour the country, in the same way that a commercial traveller employs a non-White driver, arrive at an hotel in the country and find that there is no accommodation for the driver at all" (House of Assembly Debates 14 May 1965 col. 6059). This issue was observed as especially problematic for international tourists seeking to navigate the racialised landscape of accommodation services as the "man who is born and bred in this country and has been on the road for many years as a commercial traveller is familiar with the requirements of the law, but the tourist is not, and he does not understand that there is no accommodation in most rural hotels for their Coloured drivers. The law limits the number of Bantu on non-Whites on the premises to five, but in most cases that accommodation is occupied by staff employed in the hotel and it often happens that the people concerned have no place to sleep" (*House of Assembly Debates* 14 May 1965 col. 6059).

The difficulties for African drivers were particularly challenging. In terms of 1960s legislation Africans were compelled to "find accommodation in the nearest Bantu village or location" and if "he arrives there at sundown, there is no office open for the local authority to give the White man a permit to take his driver into the location to sleep, an(d) if he enters it without a permit, it is a crime" (House of Assembly Debates, 14 May 1965, col. 6059). The alternatives were equally problematic and especially that of the commercial traveller giving the car to the driver to return the following morning. The danger of the car standing "in the open all night" was theft of samples and goods. Another possible option was viewed as hazardous: "if the White man decides to go into the location and drop his driver there and come back with the car, he finds that when he goes back in the morning and he is seen driving out of a location at 7.30 a.m. he is an object of suspicion under other laws" (*House of Assembly Debates* 14 May 1965, col. 6059-6060). The 'other laws' refer to suspicion about legislation banning inter-racial sex. If some accommodation might be secured for 'non-Whites' in small towns the quality of such hospitality services was inferior. The accommodation provided was "usually of the type of being one room, into which, they are all herded, and they sleep in bunks, one above the other" (*House of Assembly Debates* 14 May 1965 col. 6060). With no facilities available for storing personal possessions, in many cases valuables were lost or stolen. The issues relating to accommodating female 'nannies' in small towns were perhaps the most serious. It was stated that when local "tourists travel with non-White maids in charge of their children, the position is even worse, because there is no accommodation for non-White females in these hotels right throughout the length and breadth of the country" (*House of Assembly Debates* 14 May 1965, col. 6060).

Beyond the difficulties of securing adequate sleeping accommodation several other challenges impacted the experience of 'non-Whites' travelling during the 1960s period of high apartheid. The most significant perhaps was the racial discrimination in tourism services that they confronted at their destinations. A prime example was beach apartheid and the demarcation of separate racialized beach spaces after the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1960 extended apartheid to the sea, seashore and beaches. Throughout the 1960s the demarcation of separate beach spaces for different race groups was advanced. The best beaches and most beach leisure spaces were reserved for exclusive use by whites (Rogerson, 2017). In the case of Cape Town the poor quality and often dangerous character of the beaches allocated to 'non-Whites' was documented with detailed descriptions. For example, on the Atlantic Coast at Melkbos Strand Coloureds were allocated an undeveloped 300-yard stretch of beach where there are "no amenities such as shelter, water or a

bus service, and there may be a dangerous undertow" (Parks, 1969a: 17). Likewise, the beach space allocated to Coloureds close to Hout Bay was dismissed as "of little practical value", "no access road", "on the exposed side of the coastline", "has no sandy beach whatsoever", "slippery boulders" and "no bathing or even paddling is possible" (Parks, 1969a: 18, 20). Further, at Strand the half-mile stretch of beach which was allocated to 'non-whites' was criticized as "not a very pleasant one; no sandy stretches exist at the water's edge, there are sharp rocky outcrops of needle-like formation and a rubbish and nightsoil disposal works is in the vicinity" (Parks, 1969a: 23). Finally, at destinations and visitor attractions across South Africa 'non-White' visitors experienced discrimination as compared to white tourists. For example, petty apartheid resulted in the absence of facilities for 'non-Whites' to secure refreshments at kiosks the top of Table Mountain in Cape Town or on visits to Johannesburg zoo. At several visitor attractions in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg only select days were available for the separate segregated tours offered to 'non-White' patrons. The multiple challenges and complexities faced by 'non-White' travellers because of the roll out of apartheid measures in the 1950s and 1960s attracted the attention and promoted interventions by the South African Institute Race Relations.

3.3. The South African Institute of Race Relations

The foundation of the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1929 as a research body is considered an important moment in the history of liberal politics in South Africa (Webster, 2018). The historian Paul Rich (1981) situates the SAIRR's origins within the broader international context of colonial debates – especially taking root in Britain - around the general problem of 'race relations'. The establishment and activities of the organization reveal a set of intellectual and financial connections aligned "to a broader transnational network of imperial liberalism and colonial governance in Britain and the United States" (Webster, 2018: 6). Connections occurred between the early 20th century histories of 'race relations' in South Africa and other parts of the world. Indeed, Webster (2020: 367) contends the SAIRR "was directly modelled on interracial organizations and councils established in the American South during and after the First World War to 'reduce racial tension' and smooth the way to interracial cooperation" in the USA. Arguably, during the 1920s vital influences within South African liberalism were the many 'joint councils' that functioned as community associations. These joint councils hosted multi-racial conferences and gatherings throughout South Africa to facilitate greater inter-racial understanding, harmony and cooperation (Rich, 1981). These racially-mixed local organizations generally comprised white liberals and leaders from African communities (Webster, 2020). In many respects therefore SAIRR's birth is viewed an offshoot of the joint council movement.

The constitution of the SAIRR as adopted in 1932 defined the organization's objective as "to work for peace, goodwill, and practical cooperation between the various sections and races of the population of South Africa" (Krige, 2014: 501). For its operations the Institute relied on overseas sources for funding, most importantly from two American philanthropic associations, the Carnegie Corporation and Phelps-Stokes Fund, and the Rhodes Trust in Britain. As a vital conduit of knowledge flows between the United States and South Africa about race relations the SAIRR functioned "as a node within a sprawling transnational landscape of liberalism, empire and settler colonialism" (Webster, 2018: 26). Its leadership stressed commitment to present 'hard facts' and raise awareness about the social and economic conditions of disadvantaged groups in South Africa (Hellmann, 1979). Specifically, through its research and policy work which investigated and reported on socio-economic conditions in South Africa, the SAIRR sought to improve race relations between the dominant white group and the 'non-White' groups, namely the African, Coloured and Indian populations. Hellmann (1979: 4) describes the SAIRR as the "first national multiracial organization specifically established to promote interracial goodwill and to conduct investigations bearing upon race relations". Unquestionably, the SAIRR was "one of the liberal establishment's most important think-tanks" (Webster, 2018: 12).

One significant dimension of the SAIRR research work was the production and dissemination of publications around different facets of race relations. Through the mediums of its research publications, lectures and conferences the Institute shaped social scientific knowledge about race relations (Webster, 2020). Of special significance was the publication of the organization's *Annual Survey* of race relations in South Africa which first appeared in 1947. In addition, the Institute produced a series of Memorandum on different issues, one of which in 1946 highlighted the difficulties experienced by visiting persons of colour from other countries in finding hotel accommodation in South Africa. This document marked the first engagement of the

SAIRR with tourism-related matters and included a recommendation that in certain cases hotels be approached with the view to relaxing their colour bar. As noted by Silva and Butler-Adam (1988: 15) the memorandum indicated a need for introducing 'international guest houses', 'tea rooms where different members of different races might meet' and 'adequate public transport and public conveniences' among other things. Such suggested innovations, however, were taken off the policy agenda with the apartheid elections. From 1948 the possible accommodation options for 'non-Whites' became constrained as they were excluded increasingly from coastal areas where formerly they had the right to camp and picnic.

According to Rich (1981: 84) at the commencement of the apartheid era "the Institute had established a degree of political credibility as a central pillar of the South African liberal establishment". The organization's core mandate continued to be research, analysis and information provision about socio-economic conditions and race relations in South Africa (Hellmann, 1979). In the 1950s the SAIRR re-engaged with issues surrounding the travel difficulties and leisure-related challenges impacting the growing flow of 'non-Whites' who were travelling despite apartheid restrictions. Dlamini (2020) draws attention to the ''non-White' elite for whom particularly after 1950 mobility and tourism became a way of 'enacting modern ways' and engaging with the land of South Africa and its landscape. These 'New Africans', included African, Indian and Coloureds, who self-consciously connected leisure travel to freedom, mobilities and improvements. They opted to travel and spend some of their limited funds on leisure pursuits despite the racial hindrances they encountered (Dlamini, 2020). Among this group were political leaders, journalists, and other professionals such as teachers, doctors and nurses (Turner, 2020). Although freedom, leisure consumption, modernity and automobility were mainly the privilege of whites, during the 1960s the ownership of motor-vehicles by 'non-Whites' expanded and confirmed by the activities of two dedicated motoring associations supporting their travels (Pirie, 2013).

During the late 1950s and early 1960s several reports appeared in the Annual Survey about the opening of new segregated accommodation services ('non-White' hotels) and hospitality facilities. Apartheid legislation determined that a separate racialized infrastructure of tourism be consolidated. To facilitate the rising leisure travel movement of 'non-Whites' the SAIRR produced two national holiday guides in 1962 and 1968 (Keyter, 1962; SAIRR, 1968). In addition, it issued five specific city guides, two for visitors to Johannesburg and three for Cape Town. The rationale for the two national guides was explained as follows, namely "to bring useful information to the notice of all those who are planning holidays" (SAIRR, 1968: 1). The 1962 booklet was the first holiday and travel guide for 'non-Whites' in South Africa with 61 pages covering the main holiday, travel and recreational services at that time available to the 'non-White' traveller and holiday maker (Keyter, 1962). In addition, the guide provided critical information on the mobility restrictions that impacted African and Indian travellers.

Dlamini (2020: 183) observes that when this 1962 guidebook appeared "the places in which Africans could play and to which they could travel were fast shrinking". A major difficulty related to the absence of organized tours because local travel agencies "offer no organized tours to Africans, or to any non-Whites for that matter" (Keyter, 1962: 58). It was further detailed that whilst organized group tours could be arranged by chartering buses that "agencies are reluctant to do this because of accommodation difficulties" (Keyter, 1962: 58). It was elaborated that agencies "find themselves at a loss as far as arranging accommodation is concerned, partly because of the inadequacy of these facilities and partly because of the ignorance of their whereabouts" (Keyter, 1962: 58). As a result the few agencies that would cater to 'non-Whites' dealt only with train and air bookings. The 1962 report stated that "as far as is known, there are only four Non-White agents in the country, three catering for Indians, and one for all Non-Whites" (Keyter, 1962: 59). All struggled with the issue of lack of accommodation facilities for 'non-Whites'. For Indians travel challenges surrounded inter-provincial movements which were restricted except by a permit system. This was costly, cumbersome and inconvenient with the severest difficulties experienced by Natal Indians wishing to travel by road to the Cape. Inter-provincial travel for Indians was especially difficult as Indians were barred from spending a night in the province

In 1967 reportedly SAIRR was involved in preparing "a comprehensive holiday guide to South Africa for non-whites" and to be published by a commercial firm and "probably with the title *Information Please*" (Horrell, 1968: 325). The planned arrangements for issuing this guidebook shifted. It was advertised that a forthcoming SAIRR publication would be available in early 1967 now titled 'South African Holiday Guide for Non-Whites'. Eventually in 1968 the Institute published

its 92-page guidebook with a further name change: *The South African Holiday Guide Especially for Africans, Indians and Coloured* (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968). The production of this larger national guide was a response both to the developments which had occurred since 1962 as well as the need to include certain additions particularly concerning shifts in racial re-zoning of beaches under apartheid. It was hoped that with its appearance this national guide would "pave the way to happy, carefree holidays for its readers" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968: 1). The 1968 guide was primarily intended for drive tourists as it offered advice and recommendations for travel and facilities at many parts of South Africa that were inaccessible by rail (Fig. 2).

At the city level the SAIRR issued five city guides for 'non-Whites', three for Africans, one for Coloureds and one in Cape Town for all 'non-Whites' including Indians. The first city guides were produced for Africans in Johannesburg (Suttner, 1966, 1967). These guidebooks sought to offer assistance and advice on the problems of daily living in the city, including how to navigate the city in terms of where to stay, eat and spend leisure time (Fig.3). The two Johannesburg booklets set the pattern and acted as catalyst for the preparation of similar guides for Cape Town. These appeared in 1969 respectively for Coloureds (Parks, 1969a), Africans (1969b) and then collectively for Coloureds, Africans and Indians (Parks, 1969c). The regional director of the Western Cape division of the SAIRR was prompted to offer an extended justification why the organization produced such publications. The director made clear the non-racial commitment of the SAIRR which "has never recognized race, colour or creed as a barrier to advancement and communication between the people of this country" (Wollheim, 1969: v). Nevertheless, he continued as follows:

> In spite of its efforts the question of racial origin has been forced on the Institute's attention in greater degree year by year and the Institute cannot ignore the fact that the land in which it must function has become ever more separated into racial camps by legislation which it has no control and by administrative and customary practices which it has

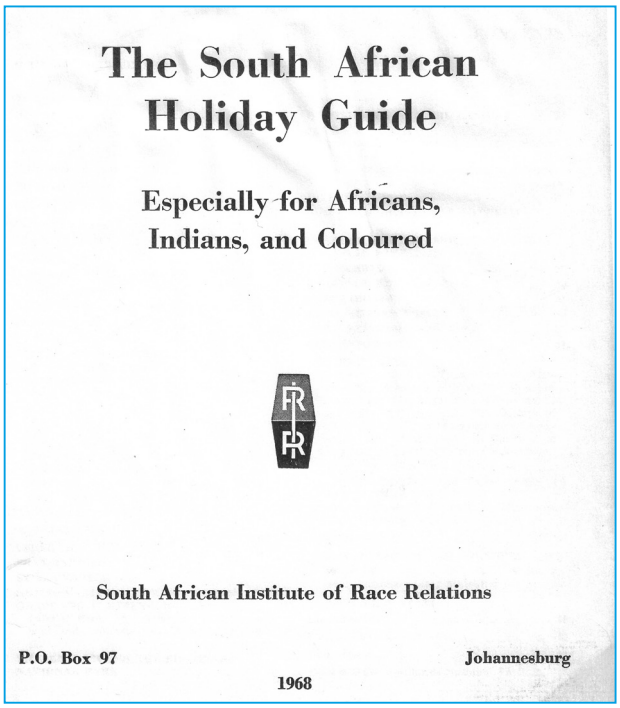

Fig. 2. The National Guidebook produced in 1968 by the South African Institute of Race Relations
Source: National Library Cape Town

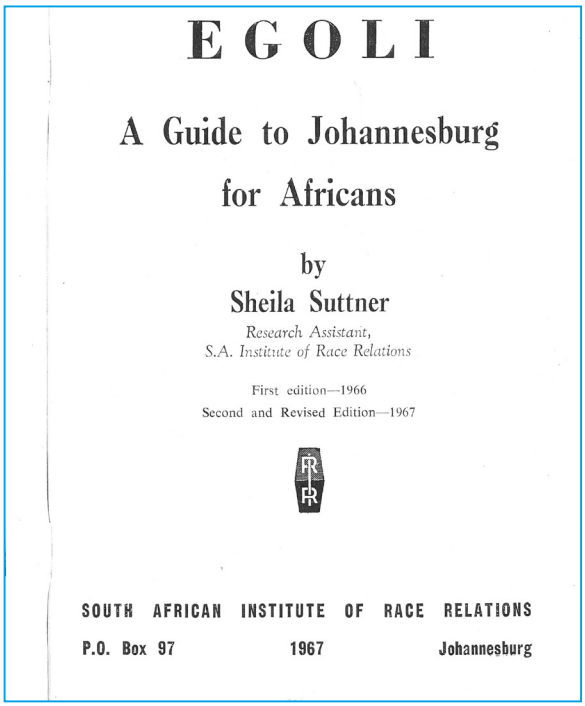

Fig. 3. The Johannesburg guidebook for Africans
Source: University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers

> not been able to stem. Amenities such as beaches, parks, playgrounds, recreation halls and theatres which at one time might have been open to everybody irrespective of colour are today segregated and are available for use according to the race of the user… In this spirit, therefore, the Institute presents this booklet. In increasing numbers people not classified as White visit Cape Town and its environs. It is difficult for them and even for Capetonians to know where they may go without offending some law or ordinance or regulation. It is even more difficult for them to know where they may go for entertainment, sport and recreation. The compilers of this booklet, while deploring the necessity for writing a book for one race group only, nevertheless feel that a useful purpose will be served by it (Wollheim, 1969: v).

Similar comments were given to introduce the booklet to assist African visitors to Cape Town which was deemed as undertaken "in a spirit of service and helplessness and the hope that its appearance will make life a little easier for those who are excluded from so much in this land" (Parks, 1969b). The position was reiterated that the "Institute does not recognize race, colour or creed as being justifiable criteria on which to divide people from each other, yet the laws of the land are such that these criteria do in fact divide people". Accordingly, it was stated that "the Cape Western Regional Committee of the Institute felt that the time had come to produce a booklet giving as much information about Cape Town especially for Africans as they could find" (Parks, 1969b). Most especially, it was made relevant because a "steadily increasing number of Africans visit Cape Town these days, some to visit friends, some to attend a conference or synod, a few to do business and the remainder to have a holiday" (Parks, 1969b). In the third booklet covering travel by Indians as well as Africans and Coloureds the content was almost identical as apartheid accommodation and recreational facilities which were accessible for Indians closely aligned to those for Coloureds.

Arguably, the collection of seven guidebooks which were researched and published by the SAIRR between 1962 and 1969 were useful in a period of major change and the continual enactment of a maze of legislation designed to advance racial separation. Dlamini (2020: 182) regards the 1962 booklet as "both relevant and necessary". The updated national guide of 1968 was equally relevant as it enabled individuals or travel agents to book accommodation as well as pinpoint places where there might be available refreshments in terms of eating-houses or restaurants. Essentially the informative character of the SAIRR guidebooks – both at national and city level - endeavored to do away with ignorance and in so doing, akin to the US Green Books, to guard 'non-White travelers from potential hurt or unnecessary embarrassment (Dlamini, 2020). In final analysis, unquestionably given the uncomfortable and hostile apartheid policy environment of the 1960s, South Africa's 'non-White' travelers needed them.

4. Conclusion

Butler (2024: 1) reminds us of the value of an historical perspective which is "something often lacking in tourism". The existing historical scholarship on racism in tourism is dominated by the rich literature on Jim Crow USA. The original contribution of this paper is shifting the historical debates around racism and tourism away from the United States experience and to interrogate racialized spaces and discrimination in the setting of South Africa. Posel (2001b: 58) observes that: "Apartheid's principal imaginary was of a society in which every 'race' knew and observed

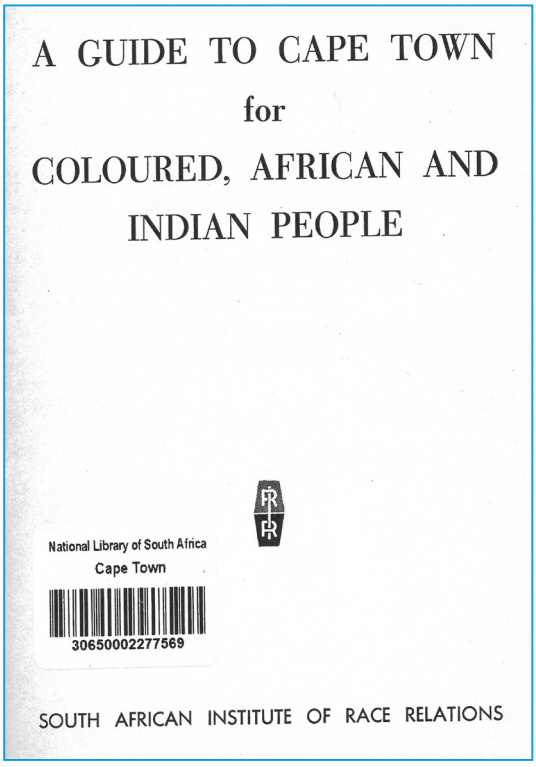

Fig. 4. Cape Town Guidebook for Africans, Coloureds and Indians
Source: National Library, Cape Town

its proper place – economically, politically and socially". During the 1950s race-based policies were implemented with zeal by the minority white government to the detriment of the majority 'non-Whites'. The implementation of apartheid ideologies in the production of South African space can be viewed as a classic example of white supremacy "the presumed superiority of white racial identities, however problematically defined, in support of the cultural, political and economic domination of non-white groups" (Bonds & Inwood, 2016: 719-720). Pellicer and Ranchhod (2023: 1) point out that in South Africa during the 1950s and 1960s to be racially-designated as "'White' as opposed to 'non-White' led to radically different experiences in virtually all facets of life", including tourism.

As is documented in the research findings the vision of apartheid planners was extended into and impacted the sphere of recreation and tourism in South Africa and most especially in the 1960s, the decade of high apartheid. Despite the considerable barriers that were imposed on the mobilities of 'non-White' South Africans during the 1950s and 1960s the volume of travellers increased. The multiple challenges confronting 'non-White' travel galvanized the attention of the South African Institute of Race Relations which sought to provide information on available facilities and restrictions. Collectively the appearance and content of the SAIRR guidebooks to assist ''non-White' South Africans navigate the maze of apartheid regulations are similar in intent to the The Negro Motorist Green Book travel guidebooks which assisted African-Americans to travel more safely and reducing the dangers of embarrassment or humiliation. Arguably, in the annals of tourism scholarship on racism and racial discrimination in tourism some recognition should be accorded to the South African experience and the positive interventions made by the SAIRR.

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