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Racial Discrimination in Tourism: The Record of Apartheid Cape Town³

ABSTRACT

This article contributes to international scholarship on racial discrimination in tourism, a literature dominated by studies on the United States which concentrate on the segregation era of Jim Crow. It is argued the segregation of tourism and hospitality spaces for ‘non-Whites’ in apartheid South Africa parallels the USA during the Jim Crow years. The study focuses on the 1960s decade when the implementation of apartheid measures was at its most intense. The research uses archival sources to document racial discrimination occurring in tourism in the setting of apartheid Cape Town. Evidence is given of the minimal infrastructure of accommodation services for ‘non-White’ travellers, constraints imposed by influx control and visitor permits on the mobilities of Africans, racially segregated hospitality spaces for eating, the near total absence of options for organized leisure tours of the city, and petty apartheid restrictions on access by ‘non-Whites’ to certain places of interest. Racial discrimination was imprinted also on the racialized landscape of beaches and the unwelcoming quality of beach spaces allocated to ‘non-Whites’.

Keywords: racial discrimination, Jim Crow, USA, apartheid, South Africa, Cape Town

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INTRODUCTION

Racism as manifested in racial discrimination is one of the leading sources of disadvantage and marginalization within the tourism and hospitality sector (Benjamin & Dillette, 2021; Zhou et al., 2022; Bernard et al., 2023; Woo & Kim, 2024). Nevertheless, the practice of racial discrimination remains an under-researched theme most especially for understanding the barriers to participation in tourism (Kennedy, 2013; Jackson, 2020; Dillette, 2021; Lee, 2024). One of the earliest research forays relates to the racialised boundaries in travel and tourism which affected ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom as shown for the Black Caribbean community by Stephenson and Hughes (2005). Racialised encounters of ethnic minority citizens in the European Union also have been documented and restrict travel experiences (Stephenson, 2006). In addition, the theme of racism and discrimination in tourism has been explored in the context of Australia by Ruhanen and Whitford (2018). The United States experience is the most well-documented case concerning racial discrimination in tourism (Kennedy, 2013; Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Alderman & Modlin Jr., 2014; Hall, 2014; Lee & Scott, 2017; Bottone, 2020a; Cook et al., 2020; Hudson et al., 2020; Jackson, 2020; Kalous, 2021; Alderman et al., 2022; Slocum & Ingram, 2023; Alderman & Inwood, 2024; Jones et al., 2024; Lee, 2024; Thomas & Love, 2024). As Kenna (2024, p. 33) observes “Jim Crow was the name used to describe a ‘racial caste system’ which many historians identify as beginning in 1877 and ending in the mid-1960s after the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964”. Centred on the Jim Crow era Alderman (2013, p. 376) flags “the highly discriminatory history of mobility and hospitality in the United States”. The stringent application of Jim Crow segregation marginalized the growing African American middle class in the US travel and tourism industry (Kennedy, 2013; Jackson, 2020).

This paper responds to the recent challenge issued by Ndeke (2022) of the need to pursue a wider geographical range of scholarship on the practices of racial discrimination beyond the experience of the USA. Pellicer and Ramchod (2023, p. 1) maintain that apartheid South Africa “presents a unique case study within which to study the effects of discrimination”. Segregation and racial discrimination have a long history in South Africa and existed long before 1948 which marks the onset of the apartheid era (Beinart & Dubow, 1995). Under apartheid, however, the South African government implemented a comprehensive system of racial discrimination against ‘non-Whites’ (Christopher, 1994; Maylam, 2001; Lemon, 2016). At the root of this discriminatory apparatus was the racial stratification that was enacted through the Population Registration Act of 1950 which required that the entire population be classified in terms of race. As is observed by Pellicer and Ramchod (2023, p. 1) to be “classified as ‘White’ as opposed to ‘non-White’ led to radically different experiences in virtually all facets of life”, including for travel and tourism.

The aim in this article is to recover and document the practice of racial discrimination which occurred in tourism during apartheid South Africa using the case of the city of Cape Town. The time period under scrutiny is from 1948—the beginnings of the apartheid period in South Africa—to 1970 with special focus on the decade of the 1960s which the historian Dubow (2015) describes as the era of



‘high apartheid’. This period of high apartheid is considered when the implementation of measures for apartheid segregation was at its most severe. The paper is a contribution to the limited international scholarship on the impacts of racial discrimination in tourism. Within the context of South Africa the research offers a further window on the historical geography of tourism in the apartheid past (Rogerson, 2017; Rogerson, 2019, 2020; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021, 2022; Drummond et al., 2022; Rogerson, 2022; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2023; Sixaba & Rogerson, 2023, 2024). More specifically, the analysis is an original contribution to uncover the challenges that confronted ‘non-White’ South Africans undertaking travel and tourism prior to democratic change in 1994 (Rogerson, 2024; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2024a, 2024b). The remainder of the paper is organized into a literature review section followed by brief overview of methods before presenting the results and discussion on the Cape Town record on racial discrimination in tourism during the period 1948 to 1970.

LITERATURE REVIEW

During the 1870s the Jim Crow period of American history commenced as a “racial caste-like system” and it continued until the 1960s victories of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement (Alderman & Inwood, 2014, p. 68). The core principle underpinning Jim Crow segregation was to prevent contact between white and black people as equals and thereby to establish the supremacy of whites above black people (Jackson, 2020). The period between 1877 and 1964 “was a time when the racial status quo of white supremacy was particularly enforced in terms of mobility” and “white supremacist institutions and customs were implemented in attempts to keep African-Americans immobile and limited in opportunities for economic and social gain” (Bottone, 2020, p. 2). Slocum and Ingram (2023) view Jim Crow as a method of promoting segregation and the oppression of minorities in American society. The racial caste system encompassed the adoption of both official laws as well as customs that put restrictions on African Americans in terms of their mobilities (Kenna, 2024).

According to Kennedy (2013, p. 3) Jim Crow legislation in the USA derived from the southern antebellum plantation and received support from the Supreme Court in rulings which effectively sanctioned an environment defined by racial segregation and discrimination. Ndeke (2022) argues that racism in tourism is traceable to the period of the late nineteenth century Jim Crow era following the decision that racial segregation did not violate the US Constitution. As stressed by Benjamin and Dillette (2021) the decision of the US Supreme Court in 1896 which institutionalized segregation in public accommodations until 1954 particularly affected the way that African Americans could travel. Under that decision it was permissible to set apart separate public spaces and places for whites and African Americans variously on railroad cars, lunch counters, schools, public drinking fountains and accommodation establishments. Jim Crow was “the nomenclature of the social environment created by the discrimination and segregation of place and space that ensued” (Kennedy, 2013, p. 12).

In the Southern states “the Jim Crow laws permeated all facets of civil society; segregated churches, libraries, schools, housing complexes, employment, restaurants, hotels, public transit, hospitals,

orphanages, and jails were ubiquitous” (Jones et al., 2024, p. 3). Although in the Northern and Western states legal structures were not as formalized, many communities practiced *de facto* segregation. For Alderman et al. (2022, p. 202) whilst there has never been a historical period when the movements of African Americans in the USA were not subject to white control the Jim Crow era was one when “the apartheid politics of mobility were particularly intense”. Accordingly, from the late 19th 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 busses and the third-class compartments of trains, and were kept from moving freely in public spaces” (Kalous, 2021, p. 14).

As Alderman and Modlin Jr. (2014, p. 278) state during the Jim Crow era “African Americans endured separate (and unequal) schools, transportation and public accommodation, deprivation of political and economic rights, and a hypersegregated society that criminalized racial mixing”. Kennedy (2013, p. 2) observes for “African Americans traveling by automobile during the Jim Crow era meant preparing food baskets and packing blankets with pillows to accommodate not being able to eat in a whites-only restaurant or to sleep in a whites-only motor lodge”. Further, Black travellers were not allowed to use the clean restrooms at filling stations, but sent to primitive privies around the back and forced to stop by the side of the road (Chio et al., 2020). At restaurants they had to order their food through the side window as they were denied sitting with white patrons in the same dining room. The racial exclusion from resorts, hotels and certain beaches led to the creation of alternative recreation and tourist spaces for the African American traveller (Bottone, 2023). As summed up by Benjamin and Dillette (2021, p. 2) the old Jim Crow segregation laws were “separate but (un) equal”. The writings of geographers affirm that Jim Crow was a spatial as well as a social system and stress that White supremacy and corresponding black subjugation “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 idea of a chasm between the races” (Alderman & Inwood, 2014, p. 69).

It was set within this hostile environment that we witness the appearance from 1936 of the *Negro Motorist Green Books* (henceforth Green Books). The Green Books were named after their creator, Harlem (New York) postal worker Victor Green (Jones et al., 2024). The Green Book was a traveler’s guide published to assist African Americans avoid discriminatory accommodation and hospitality services in the Jim Crow era. It “provided African American motorists and tourists with information about safe places to eat, sleep, tour, have fun, go to the rest room, get gas during the era of segregation” (Jackson, 2020, p. 1). According to Thomas and Love (2024, p. 87) the guidebook represented an effort “to, quite literally, extend the reach of hospitality nationwide so that Black travelers were included”. From the initial publication in 1936 Victor H Green assembled and collated a guide of careful listings to give travel information that would allow African American to avoid difficulties and embarrassments and thereby make travel more pleasurable. The desire to assist the rising African American middle class to enjoy the freedom of the open road, to eat a hot lunch at the counter, or to

spend the night resting in a motel bed convinced the New York postal worker Victor Green to publish such a travel guide specifically for African Americans. This said, it is evident from the tone of Green's writings in the introduction of various issues that "he disliked the fact that a publication like *The Green Book* was necessary" (Kennedy, 2013, p. 6). Green made clear that he looked forward to the day when a publication like *The Green Book* would no longer be relevant or needed for the United States travel, tourism and hospitality industry (Jackson, 2020). The era ended in 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination in public places such as service restaurants, hotels and at various public recreation and amusement sites, therefore removing most of the hindrances to African American leisure movements (Carter, 2008, p. 265).

On the road during the years of Jim Crow the Green Books could be purchased at Esso petrol stations as these were the only ones that actually welcomed African American motorists (Algeo, 2013). The publication provided listings organized by state and city, of accommodation facilities, restaurants and other services that welcomed the patronage of African Americans. In the Jim Crow era traveling as an African American "was a risk due to legal and geographic constraints and the threat of racial violence" in order to counter that danger African Americans ensured their accommodation choices were safe by utilizing the Green Book (Davison, 2019, p. 1). Likewise, according to Weigel et al. (2024, p. 42), the Green Book "which was published almost every year from 1936 to 1967, was used by Black travelers to guide them to tourist accommodation and other safe spaces during the Jim Crow era of racial segregation and discrimination". Importantly, as pointed out by Jones et al. (2024, p. 3), rather "than listing establishments that would simply serve African Americans, albeit as second-class citizens, Green's objective was to provide a directory of establishments that would treat African Americans with dignity and respect". African Americans created an entirely separate tourist infrastructure and travel agencies that directed travelers to places and spaces where they would be welcome without fear of humiliation (Kalous, 2021). None the less, whilst the Green Book identified places where black travellers would not face discrimination often these establishments were markedly inferior to those available for white travellers, a point which was dramatized in the Oscar-winning movie of the same name (Chio et al., 2020).

Pesses (2017, p. 677) states that the Green Books "were references for black motorists on road trips to help them avoid dangerous towns, racist establishments, and the effects of a segregated America". Further, Hall (2014, p. 307) asserts that the Green Book "was a publication that mobilized race discourse and foregrounded alterity (difference) to designate cities and sights/sites as 'black-' or African-American friendly". Overall, Kalous (2021, p. 25) contends that the guidebook "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". For tourism researchers the guidebook offers an important historical window on the extent and workings of racial discrimination in tourism and hospitality economy of the United States.

METHODS

This study was informed by different research methods. One, a bibliographical analysis of extant scholarship on racial discrimination in tourism was conducted. As is demonstrated in the above section of review the existing literature is concentrated on the United States experience of the era of Jim Crow. As Rogerson and Rogerson (2020) stress there are certain parallels in terms of tourism and travel between the period of Jim Crow segregation in the USA and of apartheid South Africa. Two, the research on Cape Town uses the methods of historical geographers, including primary sources materials from archives. The term archives refers to a place with an accumulation of historical records in the form of documents, reports, notes, photographs and so on which represent ‘traces of the past’ (Alderman & Inwood, 2021). Several scholars have flagged the value of archival research for human geographers (Craggs, 2016; Beckingham & Hodder, 2022; Hodder & Beckingham, 2022; Wideman, 2023). For historical geographers of tourism the merits of archival investigations are demonstrated in a number of works (Algeo, 2013; Rogerson, 2017; Bottone, 2020b; Rogerson, 2020, 2022, 2023; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2024b, 2024c). Alderman and Inwood (2021, p. 193) elaborate that archives conventionally have been used by geographers as a valuable resource base “to reconstruct the form, function, and meaning of past landscapes and to understand the experiences and ideologies of social actors and groups who created and inhabited those geographies”. In other works by historical geographers the archives provide a valuable entry point into the hidden histories of marginalized populations, the everyday worlds of ordinary people and of traditionally silenced subaltern groups (Crush, 1992; Rogerson, 2025).

In seeking to provide insight and perspective on racial discrimination whether in the settings of Jim Crow USA or apartheid South Africa archives can provide signposts for researchers to better understand racialized landscapes and the racialized history of places. This research draws upon material extracted from several archival sources. It builds upon primary documentary sources secured from the National Library depot in Cape Town and most especially of collections there of documentary material of the South African Institute of Race Relations. In addition, further relevant sources were accessed at the Historical Papers of the African Studies Library at University of Cape Town and at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

RESULTS

The findings are presented in terms of two sub-sections of discussion. The first locates the case study destination within the changing context of the roll-out of apartheid legislation which impacted leisure and recreation. The second turns to explore the effects of racial discrimination upon the tourism landscape of Cape Town.

Cape Town and the rise of apartheid legislation

As Cape Town entered the apartheid era it was evident that the city was consolidating its status as an increasingly popular leisure tourist destination. It was reported by the city's official guide which was produced in 1950 that since the formation of the Cape Peninsula Publicity Association, the first such organization in South Africa, that the "Holiday-Tourist industry of the Cape has developed into a major industry of staple economic importance for the whole community" (City of Cape Town, 1950, p. 77). Although accurate tourism numbers are unavailable, it was estimated that the annual number of visitors to Cape Town was in the order of 160 000 in total. These tourists, mainly domestic travellers but with a steady flow of international arrivals by ocean steamship, were attracted by the city's unparalleled natural beauty, its glorious bathing beaches, Table Mountain and its cableway, and historical attractions such as Groot Constantia, The Castle, and the national Botanical Gardens at Kirstenbosch (Pirie, 2007; Bickford-Smith, 2009). As described in the 1950 city guide: "No matter how the visitor reaches Cape Town, he will recognize that scarcely another city in the world can rival the beauty of its setting". It continued as follows that "Whether he comes by ship, by car or by plane, the giant bulk of Table Mountain is there to welcome. At its foot lies Table Bay and behind it the incomparable beauty of the Cape" (City of Cape Town, 1950, p. 77).

No detailed composition of visitors to Cape Town is available for the early apartheid period. However, it is known that international visitor flows were rising but dwarfed by the expansion of domestic tourism occurring in the 1950s (Ferrario, 1978). Further, based upon several studies conducted of the post-World War II development of the tourism industry, it is evidenced that the increasing holiday movement in the South African domestic market was overwhelmingly white in its racial complexion (Silva & Butler-Adam, 1988; Rogerson & Lisa, 2005; Rogerson, 2015). Butler-Adam (1988, p. 210) observed that "Disposable income, occupation, taste, patterns of association and other factors of class culture are the factors which shape the tourism and recreation landscape in most countries of the world". In South Africa, however, these variables have been shaped also "by the spatial and social patterns created by the legislation and apparatus of apartheid" (Grant & Butler-Adam, 1992, p. 210). A battery of legislation was implemented post-1948 that impacted and reshaped the tourism and recreation landscape of urban South Africa over the following two decades.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 is viewed as the "first apartheid law" (van Rooyen & Lemanski (2020, p. 22). This Act would represent the cornerstone for the country's rigid system of racial stratification, requiring that all South Africans to be registered and assigned to an official race category. The category of 'non-White' encompassed Africans, Coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians. In October 1953 the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (Act 59 of 1953) was promulgated. The Act provided that a person in charge of any public premises or public vehicle might reserve these for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race as defined by the Population Registration Act. Importantly, it was pointed out that the "legislation stated that such action, whether past or future, might not be ruled invalid on the grounds that provision was not made for all races, or that facilities

provided for the different races were not substantially equal” (Silva & Butler-Adam, 1988, p. 16). The white minority parliament passed this Act “after existing laws that had been used to facilitate the racial segregation of public facilities hitherto were declared invalid by the highest level of the judiciary” (Kirkby, 2022, p. 58). In Parliament the Minister of Justice stated that he found the court’s decision as ‘curious’ in light of what he regarded as the South African ‘tradition’ of enforcing segregation where ‘necessary’ (Kirkby, 2022, p. 72). Accordingly, by passing Act 59 of 1953 government circumvented the court’s ruling.

Essentially therefore the apartheid government sought to enforce the racial segregation of public facilities—Jim Crow style segregation—without the pretence that this could be done without foregoing an equal treatment of different racial groups. As Kirkby (2022, p. 73) makes clear the “new legislation asserted that facilities would be duly segregated with no harmonisation in neither the quantity nor the quality of the amenities that were allocated to each race”. This measure expressly sanctioned discrimination in public places of South Africa and made legally acceptable the doctrine of ‘separate and inherently unequal’ (Govender, 1990). Following its adoption and policy rollout, micro-level segregation became common across South Africa. The Act was most heavily implemented in South Africa’s urban areas to and in which the movement of Africans was regulated by influx control legislation and most especially the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and amendments (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2024a). Among others Kirkby (2022, p. 81) notes that the infamous pass laws were reinforced in the early apartheid years most significantly by the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act 1952, which spawned the reviled ‘reference book’ that Africans carried and were required to produce on any occasion for law enforcement to ensure they had the right to be in an area at any given moment (Hindson, 1987). The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act aligned closely with the Group Areas Act of 1950 the intention of which was to institutionalize the separation of different race groups into different residential spaces (Maharaj, 2020). The goal of apartheid planners was that different racial groups should preferably be allocated facilities within their racially designated spaces (Kirkby, 2022).

Arguably, the separate amenities legislation “became the regulatory device with which racial separation was guaranteed despite the necessary ‘evil’ of allowing ‘non-whites’ to be in urban areas” albeit only in so far as they ministered unto the needs of whites. The sphere of recreation was important for the provisions of this legislation as the Act “applied only to spaces that were not institutionally segregated or segregated by other laws” (Kirkby, 2022, p. 81). Sites for leisure and relaxation purposes therefore were prime spatial targets for the Act in order to forge racially exclusive spaces. These racially-designated spaces were imprinted on all South African urban areas and not least in evidence in the city of Cape Town during the 1960s ‘golden years’ of high apartheid oppression (Dubow, 2015).

Unfolding racial discrimination in Cape Town's tourism landscape

An important source of information into racial discrimination in the Cape Town tourism landscape is the suite of publications which were produced in the 1960s by the South African Institute of Race Relations, a politically 'liberal' research organisation that focused on a range of issues seeking to improve the state of race relations in South Africa. Although it is often stated that 'non-White' tourism began only with the demise of apartheid there is increasing evidence for a history of 'non-White' tourism that pre-dates the 1994 democratic transition. The work of Dlamini (2020) is of critical importance in shattering the myth of the absence of any substantial 'non-White' travel mobilities in South Africa prior to the 1980s. Dlamini (2020) concentrates his attention on the growing number of the black 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. Beyond the pioneering work of Dlamini (2020) which centred on travel to Kruger National Park other studies have documented the emergence of 'non-White' domestic travel mobilities to city destinations, including Cape Town (Rogerson, 2024).

It was a response to this growth in the flows of travellers of colour and the need for information on navigating the hostile apartheid landscape of tourism that the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) researched and produced a series of guidebooks specifically targeted to provide tourism and travel information to the 'non-White' traveller in South Africa (Keyter, 1962; Suttner, 1966, 1967; South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968; Parks, 1969a, 1969b, 1969c). Between 1962 and 1969 this organisation produced several guidebooks which can be likened to The Green Books in the USA. Of relevance to highlighting the racialized landscape of tourism in Cape Town are material contained in two national guidebooks produced in 1962 (Keyter, 1962) and 1968 (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968) and three city guidebooks on Cape Town which appeared in 1969 respectively for Coloureds (Parks, 1969a), Africans (1969b) and then collectively for Coloureds, Africans and Indians (Parks, 1969c). The introduction to the Cape Town guide for Africans states that its intent is to assist tourists in recognition of the fact that: "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).

The SAIRR guidebooks portray the impact of apartheid legislation and of racial discrimination in tourism accommodation services in Cape Town. In 1965 a national guide to hotels listed 206 establishments operating in Cape Town and the surrounding Peninsula area; of this total, 202 establishments were for the exclusive accommodation of white visitors; (Hotel Guide Association, 1965). One minor concession was that 55 of these establishments provided 'special rooms' for non-White domestic servants or drivers travelling with white hotel patrons. The constrained situation of commercial accommodation options available to independent 'non-White' leisure travellers is starkly apparent. In 1962 there was a total of only four 'non-White' hotels in the city of Cape Town and its immediate surrounds (Rogerson, 2020). Confirmation is given of the steady increase in demand for accommodation despite legislative constraints on African mobilities. For example, in the 1962 guide we note that the 24 bedroom Hotel Tafelberg in Cape Town, a licensed establishment which catered

for all non-White visitors records “an average of 112 visitors a month, mainly Coloured (70) and African (36), but some Asiatic (6)” (Keyter, 1962, p. 1). In 1962 the largest establishment was Cape Town’s 29 room Athlone Hotel, which catered only for Coloureds and Indians. This was described as “very popular, and holiday-makers are advised to book accommodation in advance” (Keyter, 1962, p. 3). The Athlone hotel was described as located “in a typical middle class area” and as “clean and well kept, built on modern lines, and has one big lounge, a dance hall and private lounge on the ground floor” (Keyter, 1962, p. 3). Facilities included opportunities “for playing darts and table tennis” and the hosting of “variety shows, talent contests and pick-a box shows” and with dancing arranged for Friday and Saturday evenings (Keyter, 1962, p. 3). The Retreat Hotel, 12 miles from the city centre and established in 1957, catered mainly for Coloured patrons who constituted 80 percent of visitors; the other 20 percent were Indians. Hotel Reo in Elsie’s River – established in 1954 and described as in a middle class area – was styled as “one of the modern ones in Cape Town” with its main patronage from Coloureds and “Indians from Durban” (Keyter, 1962, p. 5). This hotel boasted a beer garden and “its own orchestra which plays at concerts and dances by groups and companies in the surrounding area” (Keyter, 1962: 5).

The opening page of the city guidebook for Africans was headed with a warning about influx control legislation and the need for visitor permits: “Africans are reminded that, unless they are in possession of the necessary documents, they are not allowed to remain in the area of the City of Cape Town or the Cape Divisional Council for longer than 72 hours” (Parks, 1969b, p. 1). The infrastructure situation of accommodation and hospitality services was especially unpromising for African travellers and made very difficult by the implementation of the Group Areas Act across the City of Cape Town. As a result of the declaration of the central area of Cape Town as a white Group Area the only non-white hotel that existed there—the one-star Hotel Tafelberg—was forced to close and thus “disqualified” for patronage by Africans. The guidebook could offer only three commercial service establishments: one licensed and 10 miles out of the city and two unlicensed establishments in the City Council area one of which was the YMCA hostel for (only) men aged between 17 and 34 years. The short listing of restaurants attested to the bite of petty apartheid legislation with only nine recommended establishments four of which were in the distant townships of Langa or Gugulethu. In addition to the restaurant at Cape Town’s only non-White hotel (the Hotel Reo) the guide profiled the two restaurants in the city’s railway station, one in the main line section, the second a cafeteria in the suburban section.

Evidence of racial disadvantage was presented in terms of constraints on tours and travel options for ‘non-White’ travellers to Cape Town in the 1960s. In the 1962 national guide the presentation of places of interest was given under the heading of ‘general information’ and opened with the listing of two local travel agents “willing to arrange local trips and give advice” (Keyter, 1962, p. 20). For outings and touring the city it was made clear, however, that “if you are travelling by car then these outings are easy, provided you take a lunch basket and refreshments with you” but that “If you are not travelling by car, then it becomes more difficult”. The two travel agencies and the Visitor’s Bureau



could offer “information of any trips which might be available for Africans” and the Golden Arrow Bus Services would be available “to arrange special bus trips for groups of people who club together to take such a trip” (Keyter, 1962, p. 20). The places listed as recommended outings close to the city centre were the South African Museum, Table Mountain and the cableway, the botanical gardens, the historic Castle, National Gallery and Cultural History Museum. Further distant were recommended trips to the Cape Point Nature Reserve, the extreme southerly point of the Cape Peninsula, with the caveat that there “are no restaurant facilities for Africans, so visitors should take their own refreshments with them” and that there “are picnic sites clearly marked for white and non-white people” (Keyter, 1962, p. 24). The guidebook continued that if “readers have cars this trip is well worth while” but if Africans did not have a private vehicle “it is suggested that one of the travel agents be contacted for information as to when bus trips for Africans take place” or alternatively to get a group together to hire a bus from Golden Arrow. Similar recommendations and practices were given for Chapman’s Peak Drive, a world famous drive around the Peninsula with “fantastic views between mountain and sea” (Keyter, 1962, p. 24).

The advice was again to “Take your own refreshments” and if not travelling with a private vehicle again to contact a travel agent or Golden Arrow (Keyter, 1962, p. 24). In the 1968 national guide the message similarly was re-iterated that tours of Cape Town were not offered on an organised basis for non-white travellers. It was advised that “groups of people who do not possess cars may arrange bus tours by getting in touch with the Golden Arrow Bus Company” and that “Groups must be of one race only” (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968, p. 11). At certain key places of interest petty apartheid restrictions were enforced such that whilst cable car access was allowed at the top of Table Mountain “non-whites are not admitted to the restaurant for meals, but may buy cool drinks, ice-creams, hot dogs and hamburgers” (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968, p.12). The guidebook therefore advised visitors to take a picnic basket if they wished to spend a few hours at the top of Table Mountain.

The guide to Cape Town for Coloureds (Parks, 1969a) and the guide published for Indians are almost identical in content (Parks, 1969c). Issues covered included transport (bus and train), cinemas, public conveniences, sport facilities and organisations, cultural activities, advice centres, medical and welfare services. The sections of greatest relevance for visitors were those surrounding where to stay, places to eat, picnic spots and most importantly access to beaches and their amenities. Unlike the guides produced for Africans in Cape Town, there is no discussion and listing of places to visit and major tourism attractions. For commercial accommodation services six licensed and one unlicensed hotel now were available, albeit with the implementation of Group Areas Act, one of the hotels situated in the city centre was under threat of closure. All the establishments catered for both Coloured and Indian visitors and offered bed and breakfast accommodation with most indicating that food was halal. At the larger establishments such as The Athlone Hotel in Athlone other facilities included entertainment halls, public and private lounges and organised dances on Friday and Saturday evenings. The Hotel Reo in Elsies River listed that rooms with private bathrooms were provided, à la carte meals were

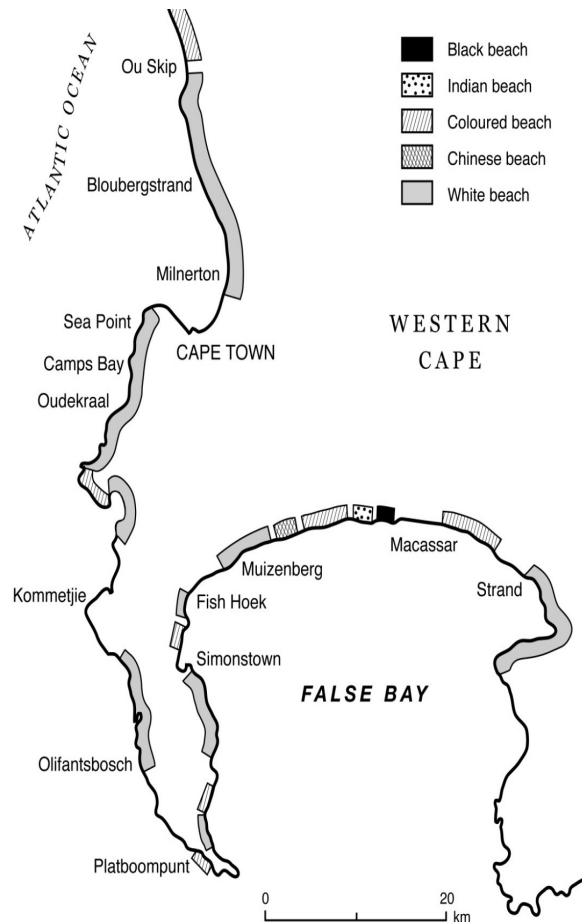
available, as well as provision made for special luncheons, dinners and wedding receptions. Beyond the hotels three hostels also offered accommodation facilities but at one of these hostels the YWCA in central Cape Town as a result of the area's zoning as a white Group Area the hostel would "have to move out of Cape Town in the near future" (Parks, 1969a, p. 3). Hospitality services in terms of places to eat included a listing of 18 restaurants as well as nine cafes or eating-houses. Among the hospitality businesses were The Stadium in Athlone which was described as catering for all sportsmen and specialized in sea foods and Mother's cooking, and Khayyam Muslim Restaurant in Woodstock which advertised its specialities of "home-made Eastern and Western dishes" (Parks, 1969a, p. 4). Recreational sites for picnics included recommendations for several dams and nature reserves as well as access to Table Mountain via the aerial cableway.

The three city guidebooks devote considerable space and detail to the opportunities and restrictions relating to beaches in Cape Town. During the 1960s as Jayne Rogerson (2017) documents the implementation of measures for beach apartheid was aggressively pursued. This development was aligned to the enactment of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 and other apartheid legislation which mandated racial-spatial segregation in beaches (Kirkby, 2022). By the late 1960s, the time of the publication of the SAIRR city guides on Cape Town, the racialization of beach space was advancing in the city with the demarcation of separate beach spaces for Whites, Coloureds, Africans, Indians and even a small beach space allocated for use by Chinese persons. The prime beach spaces and largest share of Cape Town's beach leisure spaces were reserved for use by Whites (Figure 1). In several other publications from the SAIRR the discrimination in allocation of beach space is given considerable attention. It was reported several Coloured beach spaces were not only difficult to access but were "dangerous in terms of swimming and bathing" (Horrell, 1967, p. 300). The unequal allocation of beach facilities for different race groups is well illustrated by the area of Simonstown part of the Cape Peninsula. In Simonstown the following description was given: "The non-white sea shore is an unattractive stretch with limited access, because it is bounded by a fenced railway line. At high tide only two small beaches in this area remain uncovered: at one of these a factory discharges effluent, while at the other untreated sewage and garbage is washed ashore from ships. The beaches are unsuitable for bathing, fishing, diving or recreation of any kind... (the beaches) lack all amenities and have no shade or grass" (Horrell, 1965, p. 347).

The dismal quality and often dangerous character of the beaches allocated to 'non-Whites' is highlighted further in the city guides produced by SAIRR. In terms of beaches for Coloureds and Indians this was evidenced in the seven pages of often critical descriptions given to their allotted beach areas and facilities. At the Paarden Eiland Beach temporary use of the beach had been offered until 1971 albeit its unwelcoming character was described as follows: "It is a noisy area, with rubble on the beach and at times a dangerous undertow in the water. Camping is not possible. The public conveniences are some distance from the beach" (Parks 1969a, p. 18). The facilities at Sunset Beach and Maiden's Cove were viewed more favourably with the existence of clean, well-kept changing rooms, available life-saving equipment and a wide stretch of beach suitable for picnickers. At Soetwater close to the

‘white space’ of Kommetjie the Coloured beach was rocky in places and “open sea bathing can be dangerous at times”. Although the fishing opportunities were seen as good it was considered that at this beach “conditions are particularly unpleasant when a south-easter is blowing” (Parks, 1969a, p. 20).

Figure 1. Racially demarcated beach spaces in Cape Town, 1969



Note: Black beach refers to exclusive use by Africans. Source: Rogerson, 2017.

In the Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve, the southernmost tip of the Cape Peninsula, two camping and picnic sites were available for Coloureds and where “visitors can climb the mountain to watch game” (Parks, 1969a, p. 21). For Africans the implementation of spatial zoning of the city’s beaches produced only one beach – at Mnandi – for their patronage (Parks, 1969b). Overall Mnandi was described in positive terms as “a pleasant beach (when the south-easter is not blowing too hard) which provides safe bathing within the demarcated area” (Keyter, 1962, p. 12). For individuals without their own private car, however, access could be secured only in season with buses operating to the beach from the townships of Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga.

Beyond the considerable attention devoted to beaches as recreation spaces the SAIRR guide for Coloureds (and likewise for Coloureds and Indians) provided information on transport services as well as available sport, recreational, social facilities and cultural activities (Parks, 1969a, 1969c). In the latter category visitors were advised of the Children’s Art Centre at Woodstock, the activities of

the Cape Choral Unions, the Gilbert and Sullivan Society with its headquarters at St Raphael Church in Athlone, the Spa Bona Orchestra and directed to many other social, cultural and recreational facilities provided by churches or held on church premises. Listings were provided also of several social organisations, youth movements (girl guides, boy scouts, youth centres) and the location of available educational and medical services across the city of Cape Town. Finally, appearing almost as a footnote of the 51-page guide, the guidebook for Coloureds provided details of three travel agencies, one situated in Woodstock (Parkers Travel Agency), a second in central Cape Town (Goolam's Travel Agency) and the third based at Athlone, the Automobile Owner's Club which provided "a country-wide serviced to all members" (Parks, 1969a, p. 47). Notably, the major services offered by the two travel agencies related only to air, sea, rail and Haj bookings as apartheid restrictions in the late 1960s made difficult the booking of any local tours and accommodation for Coloureds or Indians.

CONCLUSIONS

As pinpointed by Mitchell and Collins (2014) geographers have much to offer towards an understanding of how space is divided or governed by racial characteristics both historically and in the present-day. This article contributes to the historical geographical scholarship on racial discrimination in tourism, a literature which is dominated by studies on the United States where the focus is on the segregation era of Jim Crow. Arguably, the segregated tourism spaces created for 'non-Whites' in apartheid South Africa exhibit close parallels with those that emerged in the USA during the Jim Crow era. The study concentrates on the period of the 1960s when the implementation of apartheid measures was at its most intense. Racial discrimination in tourism in apartheid Cape Town was evidenced variously in the minimal infrastructure of accommodation services available for 'non-White' travellers, constraints imposed by influx control and visitor permits on the mobilities of Africans, racially segregated hospitality spaces for eating, the near total absence of options for organized leisure tours of the city, and petty apartheid restrictions on access by 'non-Whites' to certain places of interest. Above all, racial discrimination was imprinted on the racialized landscape of beaches and the unwelcoming quality of beach spaces allocated to 'non-Whites'. Of significance are the activities of the South African Institute of Race Relations in producing a series of guidebooks during the 1960s to provide information and assistance to the flow of 'non-White' visitors allowing them to navigate a pathway through the inhospitable racialized landscape of tourism.

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