BLACK TRAVEL (IM-) MOBILITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE OF HISTORICAL URBAN TOURISM RESTRAINT

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Abstract : The politicization of urban tourism associated with overtourism and the growth of anti-tourism movements are leading issues in contemporary international scholarship on cities as tourism destinations. Policy-makers are challenged either to introduce limits to the numbers of visitors travelling to certain tourism destinations or for enacting interventions to block particular types of tourism. This article contributes an historical perspective to debates around the mitigation and containment of urban tourism. The focus is on South Africa where a battery of policies to restrain the mobilities of Black South African were enacted and only dismantled with the demise of apartheid. The impetus for restraint emerged from longstanding policies of racial segregation which sought to limit severely the travel mobilities of Black South Africans into the country's major cities. Policy implementation involved the regime of 'pass laws', requirements for visitor permits, and the creation of only a minimal infrastructure to support (Black) travellers with racial restrictions imposed on the provision of accommodation services.

Key words: mobilities, urban tourism, influx control, pass laws, inhospitable city

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism in cities has become a major contemporary policy and political issue (Milano et al., 2019, 2020; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021a; van der Borg, 2022; Koens and Milano, 2024). Recently Milano et al. (2024: 5) highlighted "the

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growing politicization of tourism as a vital dimension in urban studies". Among others Murillo et al. (2011: 4) pinpoint that whilst tourist visitation to cities represents one of the earliest forms of travel "it was only during the last decades of the twentieth century that many cities became aware of its economic potential and embraced it as a key sector inside their economies". Before the 1980s Mikulic and Petric (2014: 381) state cities were rarely viewed as powerful receptive destinations for tourism but instead "mainly seen as centres that generated tourism demand towards nature and 'sun-sea-sand' destinations". The decade of the 1980s is identified as a watershed period marked by a "significant shift in attitude by cities towards the tourism industry" (Law, 1993: 1). Catalytic factors for policy interest in tourism were global economic restructuring, ongoing processes of the deindustrialization of cities and the accompanying imperative to introduce new growth sectors. Accordingly, starting during the 1980s urban tourism experienced a fundamental directional shift in many US and European cities where severe economic recession and distress triggered a burst of policy interest in tourism to reinvent and regenerate weakened city economies (Law, 1992, 1993).

From a policy perspective it was evident that "what was new was that cities now saw tourism as an industry of great potential importance and one that should be encouraged" (Law, 1992: 599). The promotion of urban tourism became a highly competitive niche and expanded significantly within the international tourism economy as increasing numbers of cities both in the Global North and Global South began to market themselves as hospitable spaces for tourism development. In several of the most visited urban tourism destinations, however, the pendulum shifted during the 2010s in the context of mounting concerns about excessive visitor numbers and resident protests about 'over-tourism'. Pasquillini (2015) writes of a 'paradigm shift' in urban tourism research with the rise of anti-tourism urban movements asserting residents' rights to the city as a signal of the end of cities' honeymoon with tourism. With global touristification and the transformation of cities into desirable destinations, social structures and place infrastructures have been restructured and fuelling resident protests (Horn and Visser, 2023; Milano et al., 2024). Colomb and Novy (2016) flag the increasing politicization of urban tourism and observe it as a crucible of contention and dispute in destinations such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Lisbon, Prague and Venice.

The politics of urban tourism mobilities (and im-mobilities) are highlighted as of rising academic concern by Milano et al. (2024). It is evident that protest and resistance occurs sometimes against the growth of tourism and its perceived negative impacts per se and in other instances against the appearance of particular forms of tourism which are contested or deplored (Colomb and Novy, 2016; Füller and Michel, 2014; Pasquinelli, 2015). Marked policy shifts have taken place with the former debates about boosterism and urban tourism promotion replaced now by initiatives around the 'demotion' of tourism, 'limits to tourism' and the 'de-growth' of tourism in certain urban destinations (Milano et al., 2020). Questions surrounding the management of visitor flows, placing limits upon or restraining visitor numbers are high on the policy and scholarly agenda (Koens et al., 2018; Dodds and Butler, 2019a, 2019b; Milano et al., 2019; Butler and Dodds, 2022; Milano et al., 2024).

It is against this backdrop of these fluid policy debates around the politics of contemporary urban tourism and of exclusionary practices that the aim in this paper is to contribute an historical case study of the 'restraint' of mobilities and of associated limitations on a particular group of urban tourists. The setting is South Africa where there is a long historical record of restrictions which have been imposed on the mobilities of Black (African) South Africans. The literature review situates the research as a contribution to the limited international research which investigates historical dimensions of urban tourism. The methods and historical sources used in this study are briefly profiled. The results section provides a record of the restrictions which impacted the movements of Africans in both colonial and apartheid (post-1948) era South Africa. Attention then turns to the legislative constraints that led to the racialized landscape of accommodation services that confronted potential Black visitors to the South African city until as late as 1980.

LITERATURE CONTEXT AND METHODS

In major cities tourism is not a new phenomenon; rather it has evolved from the earliest times of civilization following the birth of cities (Murillo et al., 2011; Cohen and Cohen, 2015). This said, the past development of cities as tourist destinations has remained little investigated as urban tourism research remains overwhelmingly 'present-minded' (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019). Certainly, the prime focus of most literature on urban tourism "has been on contemporary developments in urban tourism rather than its history" (Bickford-Smith, 2009: 1765). Among the most notable contributions for North America are the works of Cocks (2001) on the rise of urban tourism in American cities at the turn of the 20th century and by Baum and Mezias (1992) on localized competition in the evolving New York hotel economy. Among European studies that address aspects of urban tourism past are useful contributions on Poland (Klodzinski, 2013), Romania (Badieli et al., 2018) and Spain (Urtasan and Gutiérrez, 2006). Another significant study for understanding patterns of urban hotel location was that by Ritter (1986) whose empirical work of hotel development in Nuremberg, Germany from the start of the 19th century crystallized a model for the evolution of hotels in tourist centres. It was demonstrated that the location of hotels was associated closely with the dominant form of transportation technology of the time and with railways the patterns of hotel development became concentrated around railway stations. With the growth of automobilities locational shifts occurred with the demise in the significance of hotel districts close to railroad stations and instead to the building of large hotels on the outskirts of the city in close proximity to the 'ring road' and access routes leading from the city centre (Shoval and Cohen-Hattib, 2001, 2006).

In their recent major review of international literature relating to the progress of research in the field of urban tourism Page and Duignan (2023: 3) observe that the growth of historical writings on urban tourism is one of the selected 'key developments' that have taken place in urban tourism research since 2011. In scholarship on urban tourism, which is dominated by works on the Global North, the undertaking of historical writings "has remained an area largely detached from mainstream tourism research" (Page and Duignan, 2023: 3). In terms of mainstream urban tourism writings, historical research "has usually been shunted into a siding and regarded, at best, as peripheral" (Walton,

2012: 49). This is especially the case in respect of research on the Global South. In the context of the development of tourism and hospitality studies in the Global South, Adu-Ampong (2019) isolates the paucity of historical research. One striking exception is the case of South Africa where over the past decade there has emerged a vibrant historical tradition in tourism scholarship including investigations surrounding urban tourism. Relevant contributions to urban tourism have been made both by historians and geographers.

For South Africa thematic historical studies exist variously on the changing accommodation services sector (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2018; J.M. Rogerson, 2018, 2020; C.M. Rogerson, 2022a), business and conference tourism (C.M. Rogerson, 2019), heritage tourism (van der Merwe, 2019; Visser, 2023; Rogerson, 2024a; van der Merwe, 2024), and the niche of recreational sea fishing (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2024a). Further urban research writings explore the making of racialized landscapes of tourism, racially segregated tourism spaces (C.M. Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2020a), the employment conditions and life worlds of hotel waiters and bar personnel (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2020) and the struggles against the creation of racialised spaces on South African beaches during the apartheid period (J.M. Rogerson, 2017). In a striking contribution to the social history of urban tourism Trotter (2008) excavates the dockside sex trade of Cape Town and Durban.

The evolutionary pathways of urban tourism are unpacked for several of South Africa's major cities including Cape Town (Bickford-Smith, 2009), Johannesburg (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019, 2021b) and Pretoria (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2022) as well as for Lourenço Marques, now Maputo, Mozambique's capital city (C.M. Rogerson, 2023). Research on the development of tourism in urban areas has extended down the settlement hierarchy to include lower tier small towns. Examples include studies on coastal resorts such as Hermanus (J.M. Rogerson, 2019; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2020b) and Mossel Bay (J.M. Rogerson and C.M. Rogerson, 2023), the spa town of Montagu (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2024b) and Oudtshoorn, the ostrich capital of the world (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2024c). The historically significant small town of Mahikeng which for many years served as the capital for colonial Bechuanaland also has come under scrutiny (Drummond et al., 2021; Drummond, 2024).

This study supplements the buoyant historical tradition in South African urban tourism scholarship. It elaborates upon the politics that underpinned Black mobilities and constrained their movements into urban areas. Our research uses historical methods which are wedded to a detailed examination of existing literature and documentation on mobilities in South Africa. Several scholars classify historical approaches as one of the beneficial and innovative approaches towards undertaking tourism and hospitality studies (Olya et al., 2020). The practice of archival research is a vital research method in geography with research investigating historical influences on contemporary places (Wideman, 2023). The political geographer Dallen Timothy (2012: 403) observes that "archival data help develop understandings of how tourist destinations grow and decline", including here for urban tourism. The study draws upon primary documentary sources obtained from the Historical Papers collections at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg where use is made of the collection relating to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). This material is supplemented by reports and articles appearing in The Bantu World newspaper, which was a weekly outlet published from the 1930s and targeted at

the readership of the emerging middle classes and black elite (Switzer, 1988). The Cape Town depot of the South African National Library provides access to this newspaper.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results and discussion are structured into two sub-sections of discussion. The first section turns to elucidate the battery of policies and legislation which were implemented in the colonial and apartheid periods which served to restrain the mobilities of Black South Africans. The second section turns specifically to highlight the further constraints imposed by the unpromising arrival infrastructure for Black travellers to South African cities during the colonial era and the apartheid period.

Legislative Constraints on Black Mobilities

Constraints on the travel mobilities of Black South Africans were introduced long before the programme of apartheid was implemented from 1948. As Frankel (1979: 200) points out "South Africa's notorious pass laws predate the coming to power of the National Party by almost 200 years: the notion of controlling black movement in the interests of social order, to prevent crime and over-urbanization, or to channel black labour from rural to urban areas, originates as far back as 1780". Prior to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 each of the four provinces had laws which applied to 'non-whites' and Africans in particular in order to control vagrancy and labour flows into particular areas. The legislation which applied to African mobilities was broadly styled as 'the pass laws'. Kahn (1949) documents that following Union in 1910 this term was applied to cover a wide variety of documents including contracts for workers, tax receipts, certificates of exemption variously under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, the Native Administration Act of 1927 and a series of other laws "under which it has been estimated that the African was required to carry as many as 27 different identifying documents in connection with work, travel and residence" (International Commission of Jurists 1960: 28).

Influx control measures contributed to the control and 'management' of the urban Black population including with the effect of restricting the movement from rural into urban areas mainly to workers (Hindson, 1987a). Added encroachment upon the right to movement of the African population occurred through the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidated Act of 1945 as amended. This legislation accorded wide powers to magistrates to regulate the movement and employment of Africans in and about urban areas. More specifically, in terms of this legislation an African had to obtain permission to be in a 'proclaimed area' and such permission "could be refused:

- If there is a surplus of Native labour in said area,
- If the African cannot prove that he has complied with all pass regulations, or
- If by his documents, it is indicated that the African is domiciled outside the area
- has not obtained a release from the previous employer" (International Commission of Jurists, 1960: 29).

In terms of the 1945 Act the restriction was introduced also that "no African is allowed to remain for more than 72 hours in a proclaimed White area or in an area in which he (sic.) is not employed" (cited in Keyter, 1962: 58). This

meant that African visitors to so-termed 'proscribed' (ie urban) areas wishing to stay for more than 72 hours required an official visiting permit which "must indicate the purposes for which, and the period during which he may remain in the area" (Keyter, 1962: 58). This visitor permit had to be secured prior to undertaking any such travel.

The period after 1948 witnessed a draconian extension of existing controls over the geography of African mobility (Crush, 1992). Hindson (1985: 402) points out that on coming to power in 1948 the National Party began implementing an urbanization policy which was premised on measures "which would slow down and eventually reverse the movement of Africans into White-controlled urban areas" and further with the long-term apartheid goal "to settle all Africans in territorially segregated areas on an ethnic basis" and which were planned "to be developed into economically and politically independent units". From the 1950s South African urbanisation policy was framed by the objectives of 'territorial apartheid' as official policy sought to restrict the flow of Africans into the white urban areas by means of influx control and to channel 'surplus labour' to the rural 'Homeland' areas (Hindson, 1987b). The freedom and mobilities of Blacks were constrained further by the ironically named Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act of 1952. This legislation (theoretically) abolished 'passes' as part of its consolidation of existing laws but required instead that both African men and women now be in possession at all times of 'reference books', essentially a standard pass (Frankel, 1979; Davenport and Saunders, 2000). Such 'reference books' included detailed information about places of origin, employment history, tax payments, employers' evaluations, information about criminal records as well as photographs and fingerprints. Overall, the reference book contained "the Africans employment contract, tax receipt and other references of which proof was formerly required in the form of a separate pass" (International Commission of Jurists 1960: 28) It was a requirement that such reference books be carried on the person by Africans and be produced upon demand with failure to do so deemed as a criminal offence (Rabkin, 1975).

Accordingly, far from abolishing the burdensome passes this 1952 Act merely solidified the structure of the pass system. In addition, it extended for the first time in comprehensive manner the requirement that African women be in possession of such documents (Yawitch, 1984). It was stated that the "net effect has been to introduce a new form of pass and to subject a greater percentage of the African population to powers of summary arrest and abuses thereunder" (International Commission of Jurists, 1960: 28). Any African whose pass was not in order or who failed to produce it on demand was liable to imprisonment and to be 'endorsed out' to the 'tribal rural homeland' (Rabkin, 1975: 14). A direct consequence of the tightening of pass laws was that hundreds of thousands of African continued to be imprisoned each year and treated as common criminals. In 1953 it was reported that a total of 110 427 Africans were sentenced for offences against curfew regulations or regulation of documents and 43 951 for offences against pass laws. By 1956 a total of 1 760 237 Africans were arrested for such offences.

Arguably, for Frankel (1979: 206) "the pass laws are the most tangible expression of racial discrimination since they subject blacks to a series of laws carrying a criminal sanction which do not apply to the white community". Indeed, the reference book, still called a 'pass' by white and black, "was to

become the physical symbol of white oppression and exploitation" (Rabkin, 1975: 14). If African workers were beaten and robbed by tsotsis (gangsters) in townships often they would plead for the return of the passbook the only defence against imprisonment, forced labour on farms or 'repatriation' to the rural areas (Rabkin, 1975). Resentment was strong against the obligation to carry at all times these reference books. This prompted the African National Congress to adopt the 1952 Native Abolition of Passes Act as a major focus for protest and campaign against 'passes' (Frankel, 1979). These pocket-sized identification books therefore served to radically constrain the mobilities of Black South Africans.

According to Hindson (1987b: 586) the measures for influx control into South African urban areas "were applied more comprehensively and effectively in the 1960s than in the 1950s". Influx control was exercised in terms of the Urban Areas Act through the mounting of roadblocks, street - and transport - related checks and night raids into the townships and white suburbs where servants quarters were inspected for illegal lodgers. In all these instances "the onus is on a pass bearer to prove his or her right to be in an area by producing the passbook on the spot, and satisfying the inspecting officer that it contains the necessary endorsements" (Hindson, 1985: 403). According to Frankel (1979: 200) influx control was applied to regulate black entry and exit from South Africa's major urban areas on a nationwide basis and argues the pass laws were integral to the collection of instruments "employed by the white minority to absorb blacks into the economy while maintaining political domination". This regime of control "ensured that all Africans, regardless of whether they had temporary or permanent resident permits, or were legally or illegally in an area, would be vulnerable, and periodically subjected to harassment, punishment and humiliation under the pass laws" (Hindson, 1985: 404).

For Davenport (1998) also the decade of the 1960s is viewed as the period when the most systematic application occurred of apartheid legislation. In 1964 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development declared that a reference book was to be issued in the place where it was applied for. This policy was amended and tightened in 1965 to allow the issuance of reference books only in the area where individuals were lawfully domiciled. The crushing of organized African resistance to the pass system in the early 1960s cleared the way for the extension and streamlining of the administrative machinery of pass control which laid the basis for a more determined and ruthless implementation of territorial apartheid (Hindson, 1987b). From the early 1960s to the early 1970s, the implementation of measures for influx control therefore was greatly intensified (Hindson, 1985). The Black Sash (1974: 1) observed that the "pass laws are being evermore rigidly applied and more and more people are being affected by their implementation". This was founded on government policy which sought to reduce the number of Africans residing in 'prescribed' (urban) areas and ensure that as many as possible of workers are migrants. Accordingly, the implementation of territorial apartheid was advanced and consolidated – "in the white urban areas, African township housing construction slowed down, and eventually came to a standstill" and only "single-sex hostel accommodation was expanded to meet the ever-growing needs of industry, commerce and service sectors for African labour" (Hindson, 1985: 405).

The official 'rationale' for national policy around influx control was revealed in the statement issued in 1967 by the Secretary of Bantu

Administration of the apartheid government that Blacks "are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic, for as long as they offer their labour there" (cited in Savage, 1984: 29). Overall, the battery of legislation around influx control, including the need for Africans to be in possession of visitor permits for stays exceeding 72 hours, was one of several factors that would ensure that throughout the 1950s and 1960s the numbers of Black arrivals would be restrained in the emerging tourism economy of South African cities. The next section narrows to focus on the racialized landscape of tourism and the unpromising arrival infrastructure that faced potential Black visitors to urban centres.

The Unwelcoming Arrival Infrastructure

There exists a recorded history of independent travel by Blacks in South Africa which goes back to the start of the twentieth century (Sixaba and Rogerson, 2019; Dlamini, 2020). The growth of such travel mobilities was only small-scale in volume and it was led by the mainly urban-based elite who valued the educational aspects of travel. Nevertheless, these travellers confronted a set of major difficulties beyond the legislative controls on mobilities introduced through the pass laws. The core challenges surrounded the absence of a travel and tourism infrastructure geared to the needs of Africans as travellers.

The limited infrastructure and travel difficulties can be understood at one level if examined through the lens of the emergence and development of the tourism industry in South Africa. The establishment of an infrastructure for the growth of tourism in South Africa occurred in the early decades of the 20th century and it owed much to the promotional marketing initiatives of South African Railways (SAR) (Pirie, 2011; C.M. Rogerson, 2024b). The developing infrastructure of travel and tourism was oriented almost exclusively to support the growth of domestic leisure travel of White South Africans and very importantly to attract international tourists, especially from Europe, to the country. As Dlamini (2020) reflects, from the perspective of the SAR Black travellers on trains should be only migrant workers heading to the cities – especially the gold mining centres around Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand. Importantly, in the early development of tourism in South Africa for SAR publicists' Black travellers "should have been outside being viewed through the window by local and overseas white passengers as the train went by" (Dlamini, 2020: 116).

Arguably, gazing upon 'Native life' was one of the prime attractions for tourists in South Africa during the early decades of the 20th century (C.M. Rogerson, 2022b). The advertising of South Africa emphasized the country's untouched and 'primitive' attractions (van Eeden, 2011). Grundlingh (2006: 111) stresses that deeply embedded in the initial marketing of South Africa as a tourist destination was "the juxtaposition of the 'primitive' and the 'modern'". Rassool and Witz (1996) also point to the long history of tourists being attracted to visit South Africa because of opportunities to view 'native life in its tribal state' as manifested in 'authentic African settings'. During the 1920s, a time of the beginnings of marketing for visits to South Africa from the USA, it was recognised that "with natural beauty, a comfortable climate and, not the least important, an exotic, indigenous non-western people South Africa was a natural for the tourist trade" (Wolf, 1991: 101). In 1936 a major national

survey of the country's tourism industry highlighted "the bounteous gifts South Africa has to offer in the way of varied scenic beauty, of her fauna and flora, and of her native life in all its attractive picturesqueness" (Norval, 1936: 128). The publicity material of SAR portrayed Africans in an exploitative, demeaning fashion and dehumanized people by treating them as objects. Typically, in one publication produced by the Railways in 1936 'native life' was described as contributing 'novel allure' to make South Africa "a veritable tourist paradise" (Uys, 1936: 5). The pamphlet highlighted various aspects of 'Native life' that might attract visitors, including traditional marriage ceremonies, the craft production of ornamental weapons, musical instruments, and the activities of witchdoctors (Uys, 1936).

Notwithstanding the narrative contained in the marketing publications of South African Railways that Black South Africans role was to be the object and attraction for tourism it is evident by the 1930s that there had emerged and consolidated an incipient movement of Black tourism (Sixaba and Rogerson, 2019; Dlamini, 2020). This travel was mainly driven by visits to friends and relatives and with smaller components for purposes of leisure, business and health considerations (C.M. Rogerson, 2024c). Analysis of the social pages in The Bantu World discloses a record of travel movements by the country's urban elites especially of those based in Johannesburg, South Africa's 'golden city' and economic heart (Rogerson, 2024c). In addition to being an important source of travellers Johannesburg was a notable destination for Black travellers during the 1930s. In the 'Who's Who in the News This Week', a social page of The Bantu World we learn that Miss Elizabeth Tlabane "left the city [Johannesburg] for a week's holiday in Potchefstroom. She will be the guest of her sister who is a Nurse" (The Bantu World, 31 March, 1934). Another entry in the social pages disclosed that "Mrs M. Mahamo of Ladysmith has left for home after spending a month in the city [Johannesburg] with her relatives" (The Bantu World, 4 November 1933). Further examples of the travel comings and goings of the emerging Black elite included that "Mr L.G. Leshe of Pietersburg, an old Lovedalian, is spending a holiday on the Rand and will return to Pietersburg after a fortnight" (The Bantu World, 24 December 1932) and "Mr Sol of the Crown Mines Native Hospital has arrived from Mafeking after spending a fortnight holiday" (The Bantu World, 23 September 1933). Similar reports of mobilities were reported regularly in The Bantu World throughout the 1930s and continuing after the close of World War Two. For example, in July 1945 it is revealed that "Miss Dorothy Mogoyane of the City will be leaving for Hoopstad on holiday at the end of the month" (The Bantu World, 21 July 1945).

It is evident that the vast majority of these Black travel movements occurring in the 1930s and into the 1940s involved stays at the homes of friends and relatives. This pattern of accommodation was inevitable in the wake of the limited infrastructure of commercial accommodation services that existed for Black travellers at this time. During the so-termed 'segregation' era in South Africa prior to the introduction of apartheid in 1948 "the overwhelming majority of commercial accommodation establishments in South Africa did not accept 'non-Whites'" (C.M. Rogerson, 2020: 37).   As a result of informal racial segregation of accommodation, a major shortfall existed in an infrastructure of hospitality for the emerging cohort of Black travellers. One historian likewise confirms "the absence of respectable eating and sleeping places" (Dlamini, 2020: 90). A response came from the small number of Black entrepreneurs who set up

their own infrastructure of hospitality services. Sixaba and Rogerson (2019) document the operations of several of these pioneer Black entrepreneurs opening hospitality businesses in the 1920s and 1930s in small Eastern Cape centres such as King William's Town or Queenstown.

Dlamini (2020) draws attention to the annual lists of African-owned hotels and boarding houses as published from 1930 in the annual African Who's Who publication which was seen as a collective biography of the black elite during colonial times. This publication "told black travelers in colonial South Africa where they could stay and eat" and as such it was likened to the annual Negro Motorist Green Book which was a travel guide in the USA specifically produced for African-Americans in the era of Jim Crow segregation. This important guidebook sought to provide "African-American travellers a tool with which to subvert and avoid racial discrimination in twentieth-century American leisure travel" (Hall, 2014: 307). In the pages of advertisements that appeared in The Bantu World newspaper during the 1930s occasional advertising occurred of new Black-owned accommodation establishments. One such example is the advertisement which appeared for boarding and lodging offered by the Abantu Hotel in Durban. Of note is that marketing stressed that this establishment was for "educated and civilized Africans" and indicated in particular the elites of commercial travellers, ministers of religion and teachers (The Bantu World 23 July 1932).

The limited colonial accommodation infrastructure for Black tourists was further constrained by the legislative constraints which were enacted post-1948 following the electoral victory of the National Party and its implementation of apartheid policies. Under apartheid planning the informal segregation that existed of accommodation services that prevailed in the pre-1948 years was replaced by a formalized and institutionalized segregation of accommodation services. The two most critical pieces of apartheid legislation were the Group Areas Act of 1950 and The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. As a consequence of the strictures in these two Acts the operations of hotels in South Africa were formalised now for the exclusive use of Whites as opposed to patronage by 'non-White' tourists (C.M. Rogerson, 2020). For urban areas the Group Areas Act introduced in 1950 essentially legislated for the extension across South Africa of the racial apportionment of land which had long been applied in rural areas. It "drew upon the former legislation and administrative apparatus to provide for the comprehensive racial replanning of all South African cities" (Christopher, 1990: 427). This Act provided apartheid with its ideological and material substance and was one of the key instruments for enforcement by implementing strict segregation in urban areas of the four official 'race' groups (White, Coloured, Asian, African) which were recognised in terms of the Population Registration Act.

Racial-spatial separation did not, however, mean equality with the promulgation of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act in 1953 (Kirkby, 2022). This Act mandated that separate facilities be provided for each of South Africa's different racial groups and in their respective geographical areas on the grounds of minimizing racial contact and friction. All races were compelled by the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 1953 to use separate public amenities in every sphere of life. Chimere-Dan (1992) views the separate amenities legislation as one of the pillars of apartheid planning. Promulgation of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (Act 59 of 1953) occurred in October

1953. 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 judicature" (Kirkby, 2022: 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: 72). Accordingly, by passing Act 59 of 1953 the government circumvented the court's ruling. It is noted that this legislation was enacted with the support of the British Governor General's office in Cape Town (J.M. Rogerson, 2017). This office informed Ministers in South Africa that "in Her Majesty the Queen's name, he assents to the Bill to provide for the reservation of public premises and vehicles or portions thereof for the exclusive use of persons of a particular race or class" (Office of Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, 1953).

The Separate Amenities 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 1950 Population Registration Act. Importantly, it was pointed out that the "legislation stated that such action, whether past of 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 and Butler-Adam, 1988: 16). Essentially therefore the apartheid government sought to enforce the racial segregation of public facilities without the pretence that this could be done without foregoing an equal treatment of different racial groups. As Kirkby (2022: 73) makes clear the "new legislation asserted that facilities would be duly segregated with no harmonisation in either 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). This doctrine was imposed on hospitality services during the 1950s and subsequently extended in the 1960s to forge racially segregated beaches (J.M. Rogerson, 2017). Møller and Schlemmer (1982: 3) observe that whilst beach segregation was practiced voluntarily or by convention in South Africa throughout the 20th century it "was only strictly enforced after the National Party came to power after 1948". Indeed, the rise and enforcement of beach apartheid must be interpreted as another fragment of the complex architecture around the institutionalisation of segregated racialised spaces throughout the apartheid era (J.M. Rogerson, 2017).

In terms of travel by Black South Africans the battery of apartheid legislation ushered in severe restrictions on the further development of an adequate infrastructure for supporting travel and tourism throughout the 1950s and most especially into the 1960s, the decade of so-termed 'high apartheid'. Apartheid society was constructed to be hostile, not hospitable, towards Black South Africans with racialized tourism spaces unwelcoming to them. The restraints on Africans as urban tourists are most starkly evidenced in relation to examining the commercial economy of accommodation services. The Group Areas Act and Reservation of Separate Amenities legislation re-cast the foundations for hotel development in South African cities by requiring separate accommodation service facilities for 'non-Whites' (Africans, Indians, Coloureds) as opposed to 'Whites'. This separation would be achieved through their establishment and operations in spatially discrete areas. For those categorised as 'non-White' under South Africa's racial classifications of the Population

Registration Act the commercial accommodation options related to the apartheid creation of the 'non-White hotel' (C.M. Rogerson, 2020). But many of these 'non-White' hotels were themselves further restricted in their operations for use only by those South Africans classed as Indians or Coloureds (mixed race). The most limited facilities therefore were those for use by Africans.
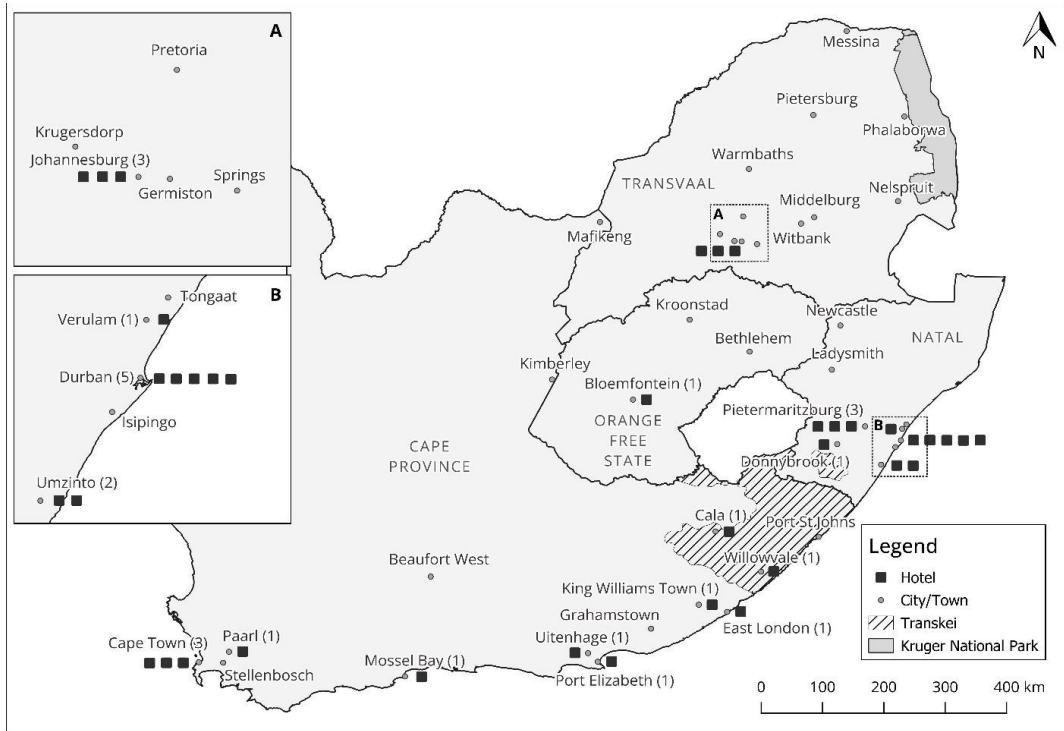

Figure 1. Distribution of Black Hotels in South Africa

The unpromising state of accommodation facilities for African travellers in the 1960s can be examined through the inventories of hospitality services that were undertaken by the South African Institute of Race Relations (Keyter, 1962; South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968). During the 1960s this organization produced two national guidebooks to provide comprehensive information on facilities available to the growing cohort of 'non-White' travellers in search of welcoming hospitality spaces. The rationale for producing the two national guides was given as follows, namely "to bring useful information to the notice of all those who are planning holidays" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968: 1). The geographical distribution of commercial hotel facilities available to Africans was mapped using the 1968 national guidebook. The spatial distribution of hotels that would accommodate African visitors is provided on Figure 1.

Several points must be noted. First, the national total of hotels for Africans was only 27 establishments, a confirmation of the minimal infrastructure available for African travellers. Second, the largest number of hotels for Africans existed in coastal centres (17 in total) with eight establishments in Durban and its environs and three hotels in or around the city of Cape Town. Three, most

striking is the limited supply of hotel accommodation services across large swathes of the interior of the country. During the mid-1960s Johannesburg, South Africa's largest city, had 124 accommodation suppliers with a total available capacity of 7718 bedrooms all for use only by White patrons – domestic or international visitors. By contrast the city had only three (very small) hotels that accommodated Africans. In Pretoria, South Africa's capital city, there were no hotel facilities available for Africans. Likewise, in other major towns on the Witwatersrand towns – Benoni, Krugersdorp, Germiston, Boksburg – no facilities existed to supply accommodation to African travellers. In the northern Transvaal once again no facilities for Africans in Pietersburg, and none along the major transport artery from Johannesburg to the Kruger National Park. In the Eastern Transvaal towns of Middelburg, Nelspruit or White River there existed no hotel facilities. Most of the towns in the interior of South Africa offered minimal or no hospitality services for Africans.

CONCLUSION

Over the past decade significant progress has been made concerning research on cities as tourism destinations (Van der Borg, 2022; Page and Duignan, 2023). At the cutting edge of much contemporary scholarship are issues around the politicization of urban tourism and the growth of anti-tourism movements associated with overtourism. One outcome has been the growing calls for policy-makers to either set limits to the numbers of visitors travelling to certain tourism destinations or for enacting interventions to block particular types of tourism.

It is within this context that this article contributes an historical perspective to these debates around the mitigation and containment of urban tourism under circumstances which surround overtourism (Dodds and Butler, 2019a). In the case of South Africa overtourism was not the trigger for the introduction of policies of urban tourism restraint. The impetus emerged from longstanding policies of racial segregation which sought to limit severely the travel mobilities of Black South Africans into the country's major cities. Policy implementation involved the regime of pass laws, requirements for visitor permits, and by the creation of an inhospitable environment for (Black) travellers with racial restrictions on the provision of accommodation services. Yet during the apartheid period these constraints on black mobilities and tourism flows occurred at the same time as initiatives were in place to energetically foster the domestic tourist flows of White travellers and of international tourists into South Africa's cities. The particular historical form of urban tourism restraints introduced in South Africa was part of the making of racialized landscapes of tourism. The dismantlement of this apparatus of urban tourism restraints occurred only in the closing years of apartheid and the transition of the country to democratic rule in 1994.

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