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TOURISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION: EVIDENCE FROM APARTHEID JOHANNESBURG

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Abstract: Racial discrimination in tourism has garnered only a limited scholarship with most research concentrated on the United States experience. Apartheid South Africa provides the setting for this examination of racial discrimination in tourism. Using archival sources the unfolding of racial discrimination in tourism is documented for apartheid Johannesburg. Attention centres on issues surrounding discrimination regarding visitor attractions and racially-segregated hospitality services including for accommodation and eating-out options. The study is novel in contributing to the limited historical writings outside the USA on issues of racial discrimination in urban tourism.

Key words: racial discrimination, apartheid South Africa, Johannesburg, visitor economy, accommodation and hospitality services

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INTRODUCTION

Discrimination, as defined by Farmaki and Kladou (2020), represents the practice of treating someone or a particular group in society less fairly than others. The writings of economists and sociologists have demonstrated that discrimination incorporates the spheres of racial attitudes, legislation, social relations, employment, residential patterns, and criminal justice (Lang and Spitzer, 2020; Small and Pager, 2020; Jones et al., 2024). Although there exist multiple potential grounds for discrimination the most commonplace are gender, sexuality, religion, and racial or ethnic origin (Banerjee, 2021). For Bernard et al. (2023, p. 135) race "refers to a social construct and can be defined as the categorization of humans based on their skin tone, physical appearance (ie nose shape or hair texture) and/or language". According to Jernsand et al. (2023, p. 821), however, race "is a socially constructed category with real consequences

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and has historically been used as a mechanism of power, creating hierarchies of privileges". Race functions as a tool to maintain privilege and uneven power relations in societies (Banerjee, 2021). For Arrow (1998, p. 91) racial discrimination "pervades every aspect of a society in which it is found". Li et al. (2020, p. 1) pinpoint that racism is recognized as a key driver of unfair inequalities in power, resources, and opportunities across different racial groups. Stephenson (2004, p. 64) identifies racism as traditionally defined as "a process by which individual and groups popularly categorize and stereotype those whom they feel are inferior" with the result being the production of "a stigma of otherness".

Apartheid South Africa "presents a unique case study within which to study the effects of discrimination" (Pellicer and Ramchod, 2023, p. 1). The racial ideology of apartheid represented one of the most important distinguishing features of South African political and spatial structures, resulting in low levels of civil rights on a world scale, international condemnation, and sanctions. Beinart and Dubow (1995) point out that segregation and racial discrimination have a long history in South Africa and existed long before 1948 which marks the commencement of the apartheid era. Although the history of racial discrimination in South Africa dates to the colonial periods – including of both Dutch and British rule – racial discrimination intensified with the 1948 elections which brought the National Party government to power with apartheid its signature policy.

Under apartheid a series of laws were enacted to formally entrench racial separation and discrimination which spanned every dimension of political, economic and social life (Maylam, 2017). The South African government implemented a comprehensive apparatus of mechanisms for enforcing racial discrimination against 'non-Whites' (Lemon, 2016). The Population Registration Act of 1950 is considered the "first apartheid law" (van Rooyen and Lemanski, 2020, p. 22). It was the lynchpin for the country's rigid system of racial stratification which required all South Africans to be registered and assigned to an official race category. The architects of apartheid racial classification "recognized explicitly that racial categories were constructs, rather than descriptions of real essences" (Posel, 2001, p. 87). The category of 'non-White' encompassed Africans, Coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians. As noted 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 participating in tourism. One major difference related to the everyday (im-)mobilities of the African population which was subject to a battery of controls on movement including through the pass laws and curfews (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2024a).

This study is novel in its intention to address the knowledge gap in historical literature on urban tourism that relates to issues surrounding racial discrimination. The aim is to document the unfolding of racial discrimination and its implications for 'non-White' travellers to Johannesburg, South Africa's largest city. More specifically, the period under scrutiny is the decade of the 1960s, which is sometimes referred to as the years of 'high apartheid' when the implementation of racist legislation and controls was at its most severe. Overall, this article represents a contribution to the somewhat limited international literature from destinations outside of the United States of the impacts of racial discrimination in tourism.

LITERATURE REVIEW

An array of issues surrounding inclusion and marginalization are commanding growing attention within tourism scholarship (Slocum and Ingram, 2023; Khoo et al., 2025). It is evident that marginalization is a consequence of the pervasiveness of discrimination in various forms within the tourism industry. Unquestionably, racial discrimination is regarded as one of the leading sources of marginalization within tourism (Zhou et al., 2022; Bernard et al., 2023). As posited by Dönmez and Aylan (2022) discrimination in tourism can arise from various factors including age, gender, social class, sexual orientation, physical appearance, as well as race. Indeed, race forms one dimension of the myriad factors that generate marginalization in tourism and which in turn coincides with different forms of discrimination (Struwig and Du Preez, 2024). For Kennedy (2013) racial discrimination is one of the most under-analyzed issues in researching barriers to participation in tourism. Likewise, in the opinion of Korstanje (2022: 48), literature which examines "cases of racism in tourism and hospitality does not abound".

Discrimination in the sharing economy has been disclosed in several investigations including on grounds of race (Edelman et al., 2017; Cheng and Foley, 2018; Cui et al., 2020; Farmaki and Kladou, 2020; Bunel et al., 2021; Zhu and Yasami, 2021). In one large-scale international study on Airbnb, it was pinpointed that discrimination impacted the prices that could be charged by hosts and concluded "consumers prefer to stay with White hosts, which allows them to charge higher prices for their listings" (Jaeger and Sleegers, 2023, p. 45). In France discriminatory behaviour towards ethnic origins is documented as highly prevalent in guest houses and camp sites. Using a correspondence test the research conducted across various forms of leisure accommodation services by Bunel et al. (2021, p. 32) concluded that "there is strong discrimination regardless of the type and location of accommodation, based on suggested ethnic origin and reputation of the neighbourhoods where clients reside". Argues Zhou et al. (2022) racism, as manifested in racial discrimination, is one of the major sources of discrimination in the tourism and hospitality sector. None the less, as is observed by Jamerson (2016, p. 1040) critical tourism research around race "appear relatively late to the development of tourism scholarship". Similarly, Jernsand et al. (2023, p. 821) avers that "the intersection between race and tourism has long been neglected in tourism research".

For the tourism sector Ndeke (2022, p. 621) contends that from an historical purview "racism is traceable to the late 19th-century Jim Crow era" in the USA. Kenna (2024, p. 33) states that "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". Althoff and Reichardt (2024) assert African Americans have faced a long history of economic oppression and racial discrimination in the United States. Throughout the country's early history, slavery was legal – until around 1800 in Northern States and until the end of the Civil War (1861-1865) in the South. Following soon after the end of slavery "Southern states created racially oppressive regimes that limited the economic progress of newly freed Black families – a set of institutions known as Jim Crow" which included restrictions on economic and geographical mobilities (Althoff and Reichardt, 2024, p. 2279).

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 (Jackson, 2020). In their overview of the history of tourism and racism in the United States Slocum and Ingram (2023) bemoan the fact that too little research has been conducted around the nexus of tourism and race. This point was reinforced again more recently by Dillette et al. (2024, p.1) who stress "the historical neglect of racial inequity in tourism scholarship". These authors issued a call for greater attention to be given to issues around institutionalized or systemic racism. Pernecky (2024, p. 1202) reiterates recommendations made by other researchers to "do better in acknowledging the invisibility of race within historical and contemporary tourism geographies".

In recent years a small upturn of scholarshiparound racial discrimination is observable and engaged with issues around tourism as context for reflecting on marginalization (Jernsand et al., 2023; Khoo et al., 2025). Racial discrimination in tourism has been under scrutiny in contemporary United States with notable works being Hudson et al. (2020) on the racial acceptance of African-American tourists in South Carolina. In a revealing analysis of recent Filipino travel to the United States Suñga et al. (2022) pinpoint that racial discrimination influences travel behaviour as Filipinos tend to avoid places where there are high incidents of racial discrimination. Baker (2022) applies the concept of a 'racial regime' for examining the ramifications of racial inequalities and discrimination in the United States. A racial regime is defined as a system of rules – formal and informal – based on race and which essentially function to sustain and reproduce racial inequalities in society. How race impacts the tourism industry is a theme of mounting concern most especially in the USA with the emergence of the movements of Black Lives Matter and the Black Travel Movement (Lee and Scott, 2017; Benjamin and Dillette, 2021). According to Peters (2021) the emergence of the Black Travel Movement "is a development that responds to persistent issues of restricted movement and the White racialization of travel".

Scholarship that seeks to understand differences in travel behaviour based on race is on the increase (Philipp, 1993; Lee and Scott, 2017; Lee, 2024). Explanations have been linked variously to concepts of marginality and ethnicity, discrimination and racialized spaces (Floyd, 1998; Jackson, 2020). Benjamin et al. (2024) stress that Black travelers often are treated as a group with homogeneity but like any other racial group American Black experiences are not monolithic. Unquestionably, the record of the United States offers the best documented set of case material and theoretical debates relating to historical racial discrimination in tourism (Alderman and Modlin Jr., 2014; Hall, 2014; Tucker and Deale, 2018; Duffy et al., 2019; Jackson, 2020; Dillette and Benjamin, 2022; Bottone, 2023; Benjamin et al., 2024; Jones et al., 2024; Thomas and Love, 2024). Outside of the United States context much less research has been pursued on racial discrimination in tourism. One of the earliest research investigations related to the racialised boundaries in travel and tourism as affected ethnic minorities, such as the Black Caribbean community in the United Kingdom (Stephenson and Hughes (2005). Questions around racism and discrimination in tourism in Australia have been explored by Ruhanen and Whitford (2018).

In a Global South study, racism is evidenced in tourism promotion linked to indigenous peoples in Brazil (Gonçalves et al., 2022). One of the few historical

investigations for the Global South is Lowrie's (2023) insightful study of the impact of racial discrimination in shaping the colonial landscape of hill stations in interwar Malaya and the Philippines. Discrimination in the setting of South Africa also has attracted some attention from tourism scholars (Musavengane, 2019). In an early contribution Jayne Rogerson (2017) examined the historical struggles around racial segregation on South African beaches during the apartheid period. Cape Town tourism during the 1960s has been the focus of the only city-scale investigation of racial discrimination with findings pointing to discrimination regarding both visitor attractions and accommodation (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2025). A pathbreaking study by Struwig and du Preez (2024) shows that, notwithstanding the abolition of legislated racial discrimination, marked differences continue to exist among different racial groups in destination preference in South Africa. Arguably, they maintain that symbolic boundaries forged due to historical segregation policies, fostered a 'travel habitus' which persists today despite the removal of legislative constraints on mobilities. It is posited that whilst discriminatory policies may have been removed, the symbolic impact of such practices remains and affects activity and destination preferences (Struwig and du Preez, 2024).

METHODS

This study was undertaken through the application of different research methods. First, a bibliographical analysis was conducted of existing literature on racial discrimination in tourism. As is demonstrated in the previous section the body of current scholarship around contemporary issues of racial discrimination in tourism is dominated by studies in the United States. Beyond that literature, research and writings on racial discrimination in tourism are relatively sparse. A critical influence upon the strong scholarship in the USA is the historical legacy of the Jim Crow era. Rogerson and Rogerson (2020, 2024b) identify certain similarities of tourism and travel between the period of Jim Crow segregation in the USA and that of apartheid South Africa.

Second, the research on Johannesburg applies primary documentary source materials drawn from archives. Unquestionably, the practice of archival research is a valued research method in geography most especially in respect of research investigating historical influences on contemporary places (Wideman, 2023). For political geography studies Byron et al. (2024) interrogate the utility of archives. These authors argue that archives invariably are incomplete records. They therefore point to the merits of attending to the 'gaps' and finding 'fillers' such as newspaper reports to supplement the archival record. In the view of the political geographer Timothy (2012, p. 403) "archival data help develop understandings of how tourist destinations grow and decline". Moreover, archival material can shed valuable insight into issues surrounding the 'darker' aspects of tourism development, including in this case around racial discrimination.

This research builds upon primary documentary sources obtained from the Historical Papers collections at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg where use is made of the archival documents of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). Additional historical documentation has been sourced from the manuscripts of the Harold Strange Collection of African Studies, Johannesburg Public Library. For this investigation 'fillers' to supplement the archival material include reports and articles which appeared in

The Bantu World newspaper, which was a weekly outlet published in Johannesburg from the 1930s and targeted at the readership of the emerging black African elite and middle classes (Switzer, 1998; Rogerson, 2024a).

FINDINGS

As is documented in several investigations racial discrimination permeated every facet of life for Africans in Johannesburg and most especially during the period of high apartheid in the 1960s and into the early 1970s. Across the spheres of housing, education, employment, public transportation and urban rights everyday life in Johannesburg was conditioned by the imprint of racism and discrimination (Pirie and da Silva, 1986; Pirie, 1986, 1992; Crankshaw, 2005; Wood, 2023; C.M. Rogerson, 2025). Crush (1992, 1994) highlights the notable contributions which have been made by South African historical geographers towards excavating the hidden spaces and worlds of marginalized racial groups as well as the lives of the common people in Johannesburg. Pirie (1986, p. 41) avers "the historical geography of the dominated classes in urban South Africa features planning to achieve the ideological and material ends of race-tainted capitalism". The study findings are organized in terms of three sub-sections of discussion. The first gives a context of Johannesburg's emergence as a tourism destination. In the second and third sub-sections attention narrows to document the effects of racial discrimination upon the landscape of urban tourism respectively for (a) visitor attractions and, (b) accommodation and hospitality services in Johannesburg.

JOHANNESBURG AS TOURISM DESTINATION

The dramatic transformation of the settlement of Johannesburg from its foundation in 1886 as a dusty mining camp to South Africa's leading manufacturing and commercial heart occurred within a short time-span of four decades (Van Onselen, 1982). Prosperity was anchored upon the economic base of gold which attracted investors, opportunists and workers as the city became a site of unprecedented modernity within a few decades of its genesis as a mining camp. Johannesburg's development trajectory was unlike that of other South African cities because, as Foster (2012) points out, it did not originate as an agricultural centre or colonial entrepôt, but as a gold mining settlement camp. The city's mining-driven economy experienced a spectacular boom such that it could be observed that Johannesburg entered the 1920s and 1930s with a "bravura supporting an appetite for the construction of modernist multi-storey buildings, upmarket retailing and impressive skyscrapers with the city being styled a 'Wonder of the Modern World' (Grundlingh, 2022, p. 775).

By the onset of the apartheid era, gold mining – the raison d'être for Johannesburg's foundation in 1886 – was declining in significance. During the post-World War 2 years the city consolidated its position as South Africa's largest manufacturing centre and leading focus of national commerce and finance (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021). Within this expanding urban economy, only a minor contribution was made by tourism. This situation mirrored the sector's limited role at this time in the national economy. Promotion of Johannesburg as a tourism destination was undertaken by the municipal-funded Johannesburg Publicity Association which was founded in 1925. The limited activities of this organisation included the running of a visitor bureau as well as producing tourist handbooks and guides (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2019).

In the 1950s and 1960s the association continued to build and extend its ongoing publicity initiatives for encouraging the further development of (mainly) leisure tourism in the city (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021).

One indicator of Johannesburg's rise as an urban tourism destination was the growth in the number of accommodation service establishments in the city. The listings of hotels in the annual Rand-Pretoria Directory signal a steady – if unspectacular - expansion in the growth of hotel accommodation in the city from a total of 84 hotels in 1950, to 93 by 1955 and reaching 103 by 1960 (J.M. Rogerson, 2018; Rogerson and Rogerson, 2018). In urban tourism destinations the extent and condition of accommodation infrastructure and facilities usually represents an important influence both on visitor experience and on local competitiveness (Mandić et al., 2018). Although the need for establishing an appropriate tourism infrastructure for visitors had been acknowledged by the municipal authorities in Johannesburg, the city's hotels, restaurants and visitor bureaus were used by mainly domestic tourists, city residents, and a small flow of international visitors to the city (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021). The racial hue of these visitors was almost exclusively white.

The actual state of tourism infrastructure that conditioned the experience of 'non-White' visitors to Johannesburg during the first two decades of apartheid was unpromising. Most African visitors to Johannesburg stayed as guests of friends and relatives who were living in the city and therefore outside of the network of commercial accommodation services. Exclusion was reinforced by apartheid legislation around job reservation which blocked a large section of Africans from better paying jobs and therefore of them even being enabled to afford the means of travel for leisure purposes. It was in response to a growth during the 1950s and 1960s in the flows of African travellers and of their 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 'non-White' travellers in South Africa (Keyter, 1962; Suttner, 1966, 1967; South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968). For casting light on racial discrimination in Johannesburg tourism the most useful are two national guidebooks produced in 1962 (Keyter, 1962) and 1968 (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968) and the two guidebooks specifically on Johannesburg (Suttner, 1966, 1967). In this analysis these four SAIRR guidebooks provide insight into the impact of apartheid legislation and racial discrimination as reflected in visitor attractions and accommodation and hospitality services in Johannesburg.

ATTRACTIONS – PLACES OF INTEREST

The earliest marketing guides for Johannesburg stressed the excitement for visitors to enjoy 'the sunshine city of gold' and experience the city's exhilarating climate (Johannesburg Publicity Association, 1931). During the 1930s and 1940s the activities of the publicity association were geared primarily to serve domestic visitors coming into Johannesburg for business, visiting friends and relatives, or increasingly for leisure purposes. In addition, the agency assisted the small flow of international (mainly American) tourists who were stopping over in Johannesburg usually en route to Victoria Falls having arrived by ocean steamship at Cape Town (Wolf, 1991).

It is observed that the places of interest which were marketed for these white tourists comprised visits to Johannesburg City Hall, the public library, geological museum, the Union observatory, sports events and the city's rich theatre, music and cinema offerings (Johannesburg Publicity Association, 1957). Further attractions that were highlighted included the annual Easter agricultural show as well as Christmas shopping. For international travellers the opportunities for underground visits to gold mines and on Sundays to experience the spectacle of 'native war dances' at a gold mine were given considerable attention (Johannesburg Publicity Association, 1947). During the first decade of apartheid, despite national government's lack of interest in tourism promotion, the agency continued its activities of promoting Johannesburg as a (mainly) leisure tourism centre (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021). The places of interest pinpointed for domestic visitors included now the local Zoological gardens, parks, shopping and nightlife; for international tourists the list included the potential for visits to diamond cutting factories, gold mines and 'tribal dances' (J.M. Rogerson, 2018).

Although ignored by the promoters of the visitor economy of Johannesburg there is evidence from as far back as the 1930s of the appearance of flows of 'non-White' visitors into the city (C.M. Rogerson, 2024). The reasons for this growth were similar to those for white visitors and indeed were typical of any large multi-purpose urban tourism destination, namely a growth of travel for leisure, business, health and visits to friends and relatives. It is observed that the list of places of interest in Johannesburg which were recommended in the SAIRR guides for African visitors to the city showed some similarities as well as certain noteworthy differences to those suggested for groups of white domestic tourists or international visitors. The guidebooks proclaimed that "Johannesburg is a city rich in places of interest to suit every taste" (Suttner, 1967, p. 27). The city's prime tourist attractions were profiled as the Johannesburg Zoo and several museums, most notably the African Museum, Geological Museum, War Museum, Transport Museum and the Art Gallery. Other sight-seeing places of interest in Johannesburg included the Albert Herzog Tower, the Stock Exchange, the Planetarium at the University of Witwatersrand, and the historical mining exhibition about gold, diamonds, coal and copper hosted by South Africa's largest mining concern, the Anglo-American Corporation. A wander through the various municipal parks of Johannesburg was another recommended activity for 'non-White' visitors. Another listed place of interest was Jan Smuts Airport, the only international air terminal in South Africa, where visitors could watch "the numerous departures and arrivals from and to South African towns and countries outside its borders" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968).

Apartheid discrimination was evidenced in various of the listed places of interest. The guidebooks cautioned potential visitors to these tourism assets of Johannesburg of the specific times and days which were available for 'non-White' visitors. For example, Thursday was their only allocated visiting day to the Albert Herzog Tower and Tuesday for the Planetarium. At the airport there was a designated separate viewing gallery for 'non-Whites' and with refreshments obtainable in "a special non-White lounge" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968, p. 76). For visits to municipal parks, it was cautioned that most facilities in these parks were reserved exclusively for white patrons. Indeed, at the popular Zoological Gardens in Johannesburg no refreshment

facilities were open for purchase by Africans of food or drinks as the one former kiosk dedicated for sales to Africans had been closed (Suttner, 1966).

Two tourism products were specifically recommended for African visitors. First, was the broadcast house of Radio Bantu, which provided ethnically organised services in Zulu, Xhosa, South Sotho, North Sotho, Tswana, Venda and Tsonga languages. The South African Broadcasting Corporation launched Radio Bantu in 1960 as a fully-fledged radio station for African listenership, albeit intended as the apartheid state's propaganda channel, its vernacular radio found resonance among African listeners (Lekgoathi, 2009). Second, was a recommendation for Dorkay House, described as a place which "African visitors, in particular, will enjoy" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968, p. 76). This building was a cultural centre, the headquarters of the African Music and Drama Association as well as of Union Artists, which provided instruction on various arts and where, with permission, visitors could watch play rehearsals (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968). Dorkay House was located adjacent to the Bantu Men's Social Centre, a central social space for African recreation and learning in Johannesburg (Badenhorst, 2003). The Bantu Men's Social Centre assumed vital social, political and cultural roles in the lives of (Black) South Africans from its foundation in 1924 until its forced closure in 1971 as a consequence of its location which fell foul of the restrictions of the Group Areas Act. In 1970 a similar fate befell Dorkay House which was forced to seek new premises for the production of African plays because of the Group Areas Act zonings (Maine, 1970).

The silences in the SAIRR guidebooks on Johannesburg for African visitors are equally of interest. It is observed that for 'non-White' visitors to the city the SAIRR guidebooks of the 1960s provide little mention of the city's night-time economy, a theme stressed as an asset in the marketing of Johannesburg which was directed at white visitors (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021). Likewise, there is no focus upon the city's shopping and entertainment attractions which again were highlighted as a major drawcard for (white) domestic visitors to the city as well as for visitors to Johannesburg coming from the surrounding colonial territories of Rhodesia and Mozambique. Finally, it is not surprising to note that visits to gold mines, opportunities to experience 'Native life' and of organized 'war' dances performed by migrant workers at mines, which were heavily marketed to international tourists - were not among the attractions of interest in the SAIRR guidebooks which were produced for the (mainly) middle income group of 'non-White' travellers to the city during the 1960s. That said, it is interesting that the national guidebook produced in 1968 by SAIRR did make mention that "On Sunday mornings visitors can see the well-known tribal mine dances, held at various mine compounds in turn" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968, p.76).

HOSPITALITY SERVICES

In Johannesburg the implementation of apartheid legislation created a challenging policy environment for urban tourism accommodation and particularly for the operations of the city's hotels (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021). The confluence of the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities legislation resulted in racially designated spaces being demarcated across South African urban areas, including Johannesburg the country's economic heart (Kirkby, 2022). Together these two pieces of apartheid legislation

re-cast the foundations for hotel development in the city by requiring the provision of separate accommodation service facilities for 'non-Whites' (Africans, Indians, Coloureds) as opposed to 'Whites' (C.M. Rogerson, 2020). This separation would be achieved through their establishment and operations in spatially discrete Group Areas and for Africans in designated township areas. During the 1950s government policy made clear that accommodation facilities for Africans in urban areas could be provided only in segregated township spaces. By the early 1960s the majority of Johannesburg's 90 hotels were situated in or around the central areas of the city and remained for the almost exclusive use either by white domestic visitors or the small numbers of international tourists. On rare occasions the city's upmarket Langham Hotel fulfilled the special function of discreetly hosting 'non-White' visitors from abroad but only at the specific behest of national government (Keyter, 1962). This situation was occasioned because of the limited number of 'non-White' hotels that existed in Johannesburg and the complete absence of any such accommodation in Pretoria, the national capital (C.M. Rogerson, 2020).

For 'ordinary' African leisure or business travellers to Johannesburg the commercial accommodation service options were minimal. In 1962 the South African Institute of Race Relations issued the first of its national guides on holiday and travel facilities for 'non-Whites'. At this time, it was stated there were only two hotels which catered for 'non Whites' in the entire Transvaal province. The seven-bedroom two-bathroom New Yorker Hotel offered accommodation for all non-Whites and on Thursday and Friday evenings organized dances and social evenings. The hotel was located 20km from Johannesburg city centre at Kliptown a multi-racial area of freehold settlement and one of the few surviving places where Africans in urban areas of apartheid South Africa could own property. Until 1970 it lay outside of Johannesburg municipal boundaries and therefore beyond the reach of municipal authority (C.M. Rogerson, 2024b). In this hybrid urban space (now part of Soweto), a place where different racial groups lived, the hotel opened its doors to guests in 1959. The New Yorker represented one of the small cohort of 'non-White' hotels which were newly established in city areas of apartheid South Africa in response to the introduction of legislation requiring racially-segregated hotel spaces (C.M. Rogerson, 2020).

Marginally closer to downtown Johannesburg was the 18 room Marabe Hotel in Orlando township (part of Soweto) which provided 16 single rooms and two double rooms and offered bed-only rates but meals on à-la-carte basis (Keyter, 1962). Unlike the Kliptown New Yorker Hotel, no organised entertainment was made available to guests. Beyond these two establishments the Salvation Army Home in Orlando, a youth hostel that catered only for Africans, was willing to take in "temporary visitors who are unable to find accommodation elsewhere" (Keyter, 1962, p. 36). The important caveat was given that such temporary visitors would be accepted only after they had obtained the required visitor permits from the registration officer at the city's Non-European Affairs Department. This visitor permit requirement dated back before apartheid to 1945 and was an element of South Africa's influx control legislation (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2024a). Under this legislation for racial control of movements, Africans visiting an urban area outside of their normal residential areas were required to obtain such a permit within 72 hours of arrival – in this case – in Johannesburg.

Unless staying with friends and relatives the only remaining options for Africans to secure accommodation in South Africa's commercial heart was at one of the dreary single-sex hostels which were built primarily to accommodate flows of migrant workers into Johannesburg. The historical growth and spatial development of these hostels in Johannesburg is detailed by Pirie and da Silva (1986). In 1962 four of these hostels did offer temporary spaces, often in bunk-bed style accommodation with typically up to ten persons a room. The four men's hostels were those at Denver, Wemmer, Wolhuter and George Goch. The Wemmer Hostel accommodated 2800 men with four or more inmates per room and catered only for Africans and accepting "temporary visitors to Johannesburg who are unable to find accommodation elsewhere" (Keyter, 1962, p. 36). Similar provisions applied at the even larger hostel at Denver which hosted 3300 residents once again with four to ten persons a room. At Wolhuter Men's Hostel the restriction was imposed that only relatives of permanent residents of the hostel would be offered temporary accommodation which was generally free of charge. For African women visiting Johannesburg the nearby Wolhuter Women's Hostel was available for temporary accommodation albeit with a charge of 5 cents a night and no meals supplied.

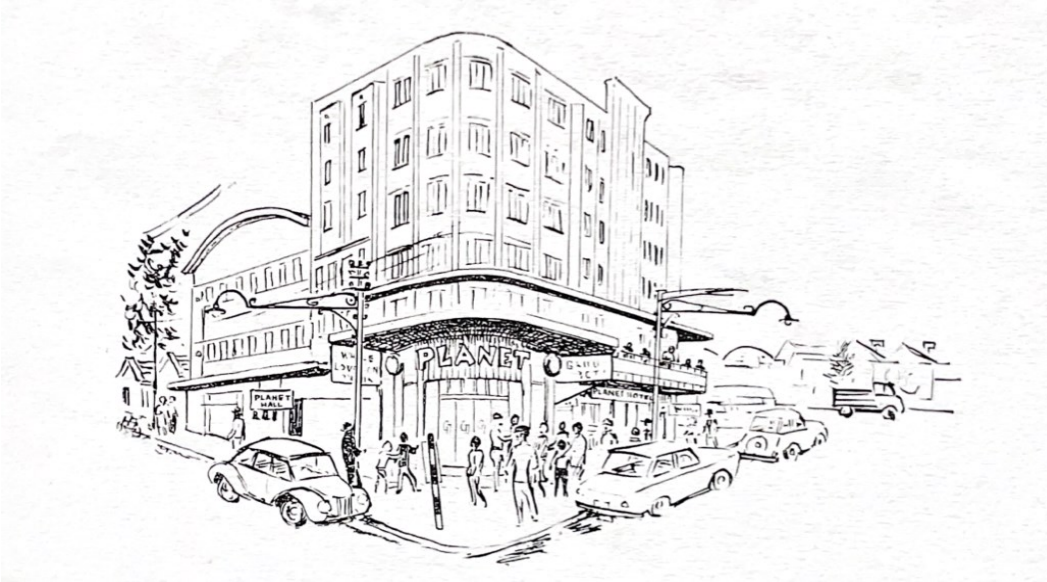


Figure 1. The Planet Hotel, Fordsburg, Johannesburg
(Source: Suttner, 1967, p.1)

The working-class suburb of Fordsburg, a designated Group Area for Indians close to the inner-city of Johannesburg, was the location for the first tourist quality standard accommodation accessible for 'non-White' visitors (C.M. Rogerson, 2020). In an historical account of the development of Fordsburg Rugunanan (2022, p. 97) highlights the area's vibrancy during the 1960s when it was a mixed society of Africans, Coloureds and Indians. The opening of the Planet Hotel took place in 1964 and was described in press reports as "like a touch of the Orient" (J.M. Rogerson, 2018, p. 8). The accommodation facilities at this hotel included two suites, six rooms with private bathrooms, 32 rooms without private bathrooms and 18 additional bedrooms. The hotel boasted five

floors with lifts to all floors and with a first-floor dining room and second floor with public lounges, private lounge facilities and an entertainment hall (Figure 1). In the basement the Planet Hall functioned as a social venue and could accommodate 500 people. On the ground floor was the reception and a travel agency – one of the few in the South Africa available to assist 'non-Whites' (Suttner, 1966).

The Planet Hotel became the base for visiting 'non-White' celebrities to Johannesburg – both international and local - including sports men and entertainers (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2021). During its 1960s heyday also "the hotel was a venue for dinners and dances" (Mayat, 2013, p. 61). As a centre for social interaction and entertainment, people congregated "around the Planet Hotel, which hosted jazz sessions" (Rugunanan, 2022, p. 97). The hotel's important role in African society is marked by its commemoration in the poetry of Oswald Mtshali, whose works mirrored the harshness of everyday experience during the hostile years of high apartheid. For example, in The Detribalised, a sarcastic commentary on Africans who had lost their traditional link with life-giving tribal cultures and became politically uninvolved, Mtshali (1971) reflects on the lifeworld of one such urban African with a wife, two children and a girlfriend:

> He takes another cherie
> to the movies
> at Lyric or Majestic.
> They dine at the Kapitan
> And sleep at the Planet (Mtshali, 1971, p. 66).

Throughout the 1960s restricted options continued for accommodation for African leisure visitors as well as for growing numbers of commercial travellers coming to Johannesburg. During the latter half of the 1960s at the Marabe Hotel in Soweto potential visitors were advised of challenges as this establishment which catered for Africans but had no telephone. Potential visitors were informed that "the proprietor can be contacted at the Marabe Garage, Orlando East, by dialling 981 and asking for 86" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968, p. 74). Beyond the three 'non-White hotels' in Johannesburg, visiting Africans to the city could only obtain accommodation through the network of hostels. The SAIRR Guidebook entry for the Denver Bantu Men's Hostel noted it had 3300 residents with four to ten men a room and indicated that temporary residents "may be accommodated at 7 cents a day for a maximum of three weeks but only if visiting Johannesburg for medical treatment" (Suttner 1966, p. 3). Likewise, at the city's Wolhuter Bantu Women's Hostel where two to ten persons were accommodated per room, temporary stays were possible if accommodation was available. The caution was made, however, that in these municipal hostels beds were provided but (except in the women's hostel) "no mattresses, pillows or bedding" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968, p. 75).

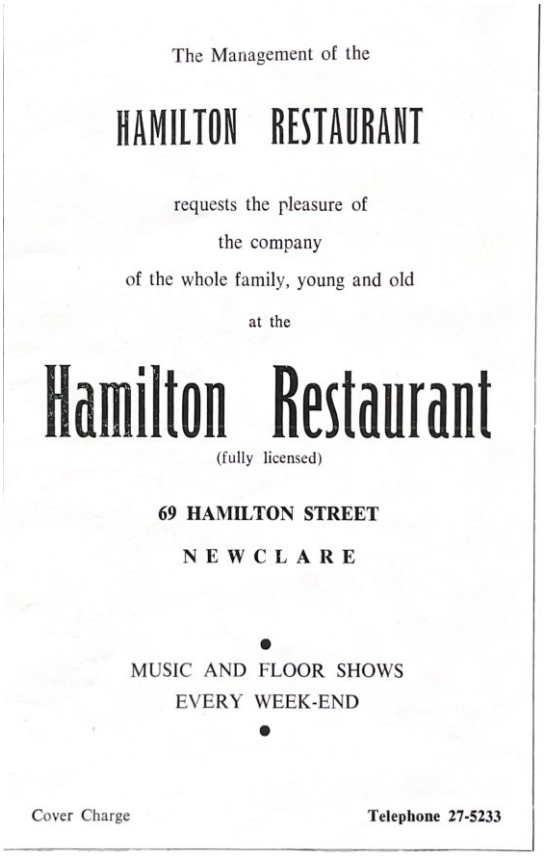
By the mid-1960s the racial unevenness in facilities for White as compared to non-White visitors to Johannesburg was stark. In a national guide of accommodation establishments produced in 1965, 124 accommodation suppliers were listed for Johannesburg with a total available capacity of 7718 bedrooms all of which was for use only by White patrons (The Hotel Guide Association, 1965). By comparison, for 'non-Whites' a total of 81 bedrooms could be accessed in four licensed hotel establishments. It should be added that of the

124 white establishments listed in the guide 22 hotels (17 percent) indicated in their entry under 'facilities' that alongside garages, telephones in bedrooms and allowing dogs to overnight was that provision might be made for stays by "non-white servants" mainly drivers or domestic nannies. In short, the inequality of available accommodation service facilities exemplifies once again racial discrimination and the making of the racialized landscape of urban tourism forged in the years of high apartheid when the application of racist legislation was at its most stringent across South Africa. The 'inhospitality' of the arrival infrastructure in Johannesburg towards persons of colour visiting the city is most evident and in marked contrast to the mass of hotels in Johannesburg which offered an openly hospitable space and welcome mat for potential white guests.

The state of the infrastructure in terms of a racialized landscape of hospitality was equally unwelcoming for Africans and their visitors to Johannesburg. The enactment of petty apartheid restrictions in terms of the Separate Amenities legislation impacted the operations of the city's racially segregated restaurants. The potential options for eating-out by middle class or elite African visitors to Johannesburg were reduced and increasingly sparse (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968). Of special mention was Kapitan's restaurant in central Johannesburg, which was an apartheid oasis and one of the few social environments where racial intermingling occurred. This (South African) Indian-owned restaurant was patronised by Indians, whites, coloureds and African professionals including Nelson Mandela among its regular clientele (Hanes, 2006). The SAIRR Egoli guidebook highlighted the eating possibilities available at the Non-White concourse of Johannesburg's Park station which "is fast becoming a centre of Non-White social life as well as the transportation nerve-centre of the community" (Suttner, 1966, p. 17). It was described that this location "has become the meeting place of non-White businessmen, journalists and others who appreciate first-class service" (Suttner, 1967, p. 17). At the hub of this elite social centre was a large modern restaurant with 200-250 person-capacity in a garden setting and with tables "set with soft napery and gleaming silver" (Keyter 1962, p. 39). The 1968 national guidebook further recommended the Non-White concourse at Johannesburg railway station to visitors for its popular restaurant which had consolidated as "a meeting-place for business and professional men and others" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968, p. 75).

Outside of the railway station only a small number of restaurant options existed in Johannesburg inner-city that could be accessed by Africans during the apartheid 1960s. In Fordsburg two so-termed 'first-class' restaurants were available at the Planet Hotel, one served meals à la carte, the other with a daily set menu. Close-by also in Fordsburg was 'Gaylords' which advertised "exclusive meals and entertainment in cool candlelit surroundings" (Suttner, 1967, p. 11). At the Hamilton restaurant in Newclare 'non-Whites' were welcomed and with the weekend attraction of music and floor shows (Suttner, 1967, p. 8). The elevated status of these two restaurants in the hospitality landscape is signalled by their marketing activities in the 1960s (see figure 2). Cheaper eating-out options for the mass of Johannesburg's African residents and visitors existed with the city's network of so-termed 'Native eating houses' which were situated mainly on the urban periphery, near industrial areas or close to mines. The origins of these establishments can be traced back to the earliest days of

Johannesburg as a gold mining settlement (Rogerson, 1988a). The mass of these licensed eating-houses provided meals for lunches and suppers; the most common food offered was porridge and meat served in various ways. Prices varied dependent on size of portion and type of dish that was selected (Suttner, 1966). Overall, the evidence is that the food served was generally unpleasant and availed in unhealthy conditions which made the Native eating houses an unwelcoming option except for patronage by those geographically marginalized or on lowest incomes (Rogerson, 1988a).


The Management of the

HAMILTON RESTAURANT

requests the pleasure of
the company
of the whole family, young and old
at the

Hamilton Restaurant

(fully licensed)

69 HAMILTON STREET

NEWCLARE

MUSIC AND FLOOR SHOWS
EVERY WEEK-END

Cover Charge Telephone 27-5233

Figure 2. Restaurant Marketing for 'Non-Whites' in Johannesburg
(Source: Suttner, 1967, p.8)

The shortcomings of the hospitality offerings provided by the eating house trade created market opportunities for hospitality providers in the informal economy (Rogerson, 1988b). Most important was the initial example of a fast-food trade which was the business of the coffee-carts (Cobley, 2021). The chequered history of the rise and fall of coffee cart trading in Johannesburg extends over three decades from the trade's initial emergence in the 1930s to its demise in the late 1960s (Rogerson, 1986). The coffee-carts were small mobile stalls which were daily trundled through the streets of Johannesburg from inner township areas such as Sophiatown to trading pitches in the 'white' city. Typically, the carts would be constructed of the detritus of an industrializing city

using three-plywood from discarded tea-chests, short lengths of galvanized iron from cases, scraps of roofing material and pieces of former sacking and packaging cases. During the 1950s the distances between black residential areas and the downtown area of Johannesburg increased as a result of the forced removal of residents from inner-city areas, most notably from Sophiatown to the distant townships of Soweto (Lodge, 1981; Hart and Pirie, 1984; Pirie and Hart, 1985; C.M. Rogerson, 2025).

One consequence of spatial distancing was a structural transformation in the carts as the wheels came off. Following the implementation of urban apartheid population removals, the formerly mobile cart became a fixture as immobile kiosk on Johannesburg sidewalks (Rogerson, 1986, 1988b). In the apartheid years Johannesburg authorities took a hostile attitude towards the growth of this African-owned informal trading which functioned in areas of so-termed 'white space' in the city. The municipality waged a vigorous campaign and destroyed the coffee-cart trade in 1965 therefore putting a further constraint on the hospitality service options for African residents as well as their visitors in the racialized tourism landscape of Johannesburg.

CONCLUSION

Unquestionably, racial discrimination is one of the critical factors which contribute towards marginalization in tourism (Slocum and Ingram, 2023). The extant international scholarship on the workings of racial discrimination in tourism mainly concentrates upon the United States. The implementation of apartheid planning in South Africa from 1948 provides the setting for this investigation of racial discrimination in the urban environment of Johannesburg. The study is therefore novel in contributing to the limited historical writings outside the USA on issues of racial discrimination in tourism and fills a gap in our understanding of its ramifications in South Africa's major city. The mining of archival source material has been demonstrated as a valuable base for providing insight into the racialised tourism landscape of apartheid South Africa. It has been shown in this analysis that racial discrimination meant that, in many respects, Johannesburg was an inhospitable and unwelcoming destination for 'non-White' travellers during the 1960s. African travelers in particular experienced discrimination in terms of reduced access to attractions in the visitor economy, difficulties in securing commercial accommodation and of limited options for eating-out in South Africa's major city. In final analysis, this research underscores a need for conducting further historical studies into racial discrimination concerning urban tourism.

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