

The “Green Book” and a Black Sense of Movement:
Black Mobilities and Motilities During the Jim Crow Era

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Abstract

Mobility is one of the most ubiquitous aspects of daily life around the globe, and is facilitated by various objects and spaces. The concept of motility, or the factors that contribute to the potential for movement, represents a holistic lens through which mobility can be examined. In the United States, black Americans have a particularly laborious relationship with mobility, as their movements have been regulated and constrained since the first enslaved Africans were brought to the country. Yet, African-Americans have struggled and worked to construct and perform their own movements in the face of a white supremacist society. This dissertation, therefore, seeks to investigate the relationship black Americans have with mobility by exploring examples of motility constructed during the Jim Crow era, a period of intense structural racism. Specifically, I use the *Green Book*, an African-American travel guide, to examine how black mobility and motility were enacted to create resistance and resilience to white supremacy. The first chapter seeks to develop a new framework for understanding black mobilities and motilities, termed a “black sense of movement.” Through a discourse analysis of the advertisements and essays published in various editions of the *Green Book*, I demonstrate how a “black sense of movement” is embodied in the guidebook and can better capture dialectical constructions of black geographies. The second chapter explores the intersection of black geographies and critical GIS through the spatial data collected within the pages of the *Green Book*. By (re)mapping spaces of black travel, I demonstrate how the *Green Book* served as a “counter map” that facilitated black travel within the city of New Orleans, Louisiana. The final chapter of this dissertation looks at a certain type of business listed in the *Green Book*, tourist homes, to understand how these private spaces rented to travelers aided in enabling black mobility and motility. I specifically employ the metaphor of hospitality as resistance to understand how

welcoming black travelers into private homes subverted white supremacy. Overall, this dissertation provides a critical intervention in black geographic literature by centering the role of movement and developing a framework for understanding black mobilities.

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Introduction

Mobility, or the ability to move, is an essential part of daily life. Movements at a variety of scales influence the ways people live, work, and access resources. Scholars of mobility have recognized the importance of mobility at all scales, including as small-scale bodily movements as eye motions and shifting in seats (Merriman, Revill, Cresswell, Lorimer, Matless, Rose, & Wylie, 2008) to larger bodily movements like walking (Jones & Evans, 2012) to the movement of people facilitated by automobiles (Celsor & Millard-Ball, 2007) to global movements of both people and goods via airplanes (Adey, 2008). Such movements, no matter the scale, provide individuals and groups opportunities to create, gain, and exchange economic, social, and cultural wealth. Therefore, the more mobility that one has, the greater their access to these resources and the greater their chance to increase wealth and life outcomes. Scholars have also recognized the importance of static spaces in facilitating or limiting movements (Kaufmann, 2002; Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006). Through the concept of motility, the *potential* for movement, mobility studies have demonstrated how “moorings” provide opportunities and access to movements (for example, see Moos, Prayitno, & Revington, 2017). Immobile objects, such as roads, hotels, and books, can expand an individual’s motility, expanding their ability to move and their access to the resources that mobility provides.

As a result of the benefits mobility can provide, the right to move is often contested. Efforts to limit the mobility of individuals and groups have become a key component in socially controlling those deemed the “other.” In the last two decades, scholars have begun to investigate how such social constructions of identity have contributed to the performance of mobility in differing socio-historical contexts, a development labeled the “mobilities turn” and the “new mobilities paradigm” (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Cresswell, 2011; Sheller, 2017). Through this new

paradigm, mobility is shown to be controlled through power structures, where certain populations are granted more mobility and more freedom of movement than other groups (Cresswell, 2010). A key aspect influencing the access to mobility for certain groups is race and its social construction: as Hague (2010) states, “the right to mobility [is] fundamentally intertwined with the construction of racial identities” (p.331). In order to create a society where power is held by one group, mostly in order to reap the profits offered by a capitalist economic system, some sort of divide is needed to show difference and allow for the subjugation of group by another. In Western society, this was accomplished by the creation of a color line, where whites from Western Europe declared themselves superior to the “primitive” and “sub-human” black bodies encountered in Africa and the Americas (Painter, 2010). By constructing such a divide, white Europeans and their descendants, including white Americans, ensured the survival of a system that valued bodies of color less than white bodies through the creation of power structures and relationships that eternally subjugated blacks to the dominant white hegemony, such as chattel slavery, sharecropping, and apartheid (Winant, 2001). Although no biological difference between races exists, the dominant white hegemony and its resultant white supremacy has created a racial divide still felt today, including in access to mobility. Therefore, as critical geographers have argued, movement itself is a racialized process (Cresswell, 2008; Cresswell, 2010; Hague, 2010; Alderman & Inwood, 2016b).

In the United States specifically, the movements of black Americans have been a popular target of constraints and regulations, as power structures developed through white supremacy seek to maintain this racial hierarchy (Hague, 2010; Cresswell, 2016). The Jim Crow era, which lasted from 1877 – 1964, was a time when the racial status quo of white supremacy was particularly enforced in terms of mobility and motility. Through the humiliation and

discrimination of segregation on public transit (Kelley, 2010) and the potential for violence if traveling unguided and alone (Alderman, Williams, & Bottone, 2019), white supremacist institutions and customs were implemented in attempts to keep African-Americans immobile and limited in opportunities for economic and social gain. Yet, despite these attempts, black Americans were able to push back against these attempts to constrain their movements. By working and laboring to create spaces and information that could facilitate movements (in other words, increasing their motility), black Americans resisted white supremacy and developed their own mobility practices (Alderman & Inwood, 2016a; Alderman & Inwood, 2016b). Through these resistant mobility tactics, African-Americans fought for opportunities of work, pleasure, and resources that accompany the ability to move. Such tactics allowed black Americans to survive and be resilient in the face of Jim Crow, creating chances for economic and social uplift that were otherwise stifled by white supremacy.

One example of the ingenuity and work that black Americans performed to increase their motility and mobility was the *Green Book*. Formally titled *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, this travel guide, created and edited by Victor Hugo Green, and later his wife, Alma Duke Green, was published between 1936 and 1967 and offered black travelers a list of welcoming accommodations they could take advantage of while traveling (Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Mitchell & Collins, 2014; Taylor, 2020). Green developed his guide by identifying businesses and sending them letters asking if they would accept black travelers; positive responses were listed in the *Green Book* by city and state, along with the address of each location. Information for later versions of the *Green Book* was collected using Green's contacts in the postal workers' union, travel agents, and the suggestions of his own readers (Alderman & Inwood, 2016a; Taylor, 2020). By providing the location of businesses, such as hotels, restaurants, and gas

stations, that were accepting of black travelers, Green and his contributors performed antiracism mobility work, a form of resistance, that contributed to safe travel of black Americans, especially through the hostile Jim Crow South. However, with the end of formal segregation and discrimination in 1964, the *Green Book* quickly became moot and stopped publishing two years later. Despite its quick end, the guide provided many African-Americans with the confidence needed to travel to unfamiliar locations and allowed for the successful planning of both business and pleasure trips

While the *Green Book* was not the only resistant tactic used by black Americans to move and facilitate mobility during Jim Crow, and not even the only guidebook, it remains as a significant moment in the history of black movement. Resulting from its almost 30-year publication span, the *Green Book* captures an enormous amount of geographic information that provides an incredible look into the landscapes and contexts of black travel during a period of intense discrimination and segregation. The *Green Book* also embodies much of the mobility and motility work performed by African-Americans in this time, given the efforts required to collect geographic information, operate a business, and navigate travel under Jim Crow. As such, the *Green Book* represents an excellent jumping off point for exploring and understanding the relationships black Americans have with mobility, specifically within the context of white supremacy, one of the founding principles of the United States. Therefore, investigating how mobility and motility are constructed both *by* and *against* black Americans can provide potential solutions for present-day issues surrounding the continued contestations of racialized movement in America.

To gain a better and more nuanced understanding of the construction of mobility and motility by black Americans during the Jim Crow era, this dissertation seeks to answer the following questions, using the *Green Book* as a case study:

1. How did the *Green Book* create and sustain a “black sense of movement” in African-American communities during the Jim Crow era? (Chapter 1)
2. Where were sites listed in the *Green Book* located; specifically, where inside individual cities? How did the locations of these sites change over the time of the *Green Book*’s publication? (Chapter 2)
3. In what ways did black-owned businesses, specifically tourist homes, facilitate mobility and motility through the *Green Book*? (Chapter 3)

The following chapters provide an in-depth look into the interconnections of mobility studies and black geographies, specifically as viewed through the lens of the *Green Book*.

Theoretical Framework

As this study seeks to understand black movements in relation to the *Green Book*, my research is heavily informed by the epistemology of black geographies. Stemming from the work of early scholars like W.E.B. Du Bois (1899) and Frantz Fanon (1968), studies of black geographies “seek to highlight black agency in the production of space and black geographic experiences in the articulation of black geographic visions of society” (Allen, Lawhon, & Pierce, 2019, p.1002). Instead of focusing on spatial projects from a white, hegemonic point-of-view, black geographies “valorize and center black spatial experiences and visions in geographic research” (Allen, Lawhon, & Pierce, 2019, p.1002). By centering these experiences, scholars can (re)place marginalized communities and their actions within historical context to understand how African-Americans lived, worked, and traveled during the oppressive Jim Crow era that sought

to emplace white strategies and regulations on black spaces. As “studies of black geographies acknowledge overlapping and contradictory spatial imaginations and experiences” (Allen, Lawhon, & Pierce, 2019, p.1003), using this epistemology to frame my study of black mobility and motility will develop an understanding of how multiple, and oftentimes opposing, conceptions of place led to the establishment of spaces that facilitated black movements.

Within the epistemology of black geographies, recent scholars have pushed for engagement with place theorizations, including the idea of a “black sense of place.” Katherine McKittrick (2011) identifies a “black sense of place” as “the process of materially and imaginatively situating historical and contemporary struggles against practices of domination and the difficult entanglements of racial encounter,” leading us to understand places constructed by African-Americans through the racial relationships that shape them (p.949). These black places were/are developed through “diverse spatial practices – wherein the structural workings of racism kept black cultures in place...as these communities innovatively worked within, across, and outside commonsense cartographical and topographical texts” (McKittrick, 2011, p.949). Examining the innovative and creative methods utilized by black Americans to create place in a society that wanted to keep them placeless must include the dialectical mobilities of black life that work to (re)produce and (re)construct space, such as the *Green Book*.

Through the lens of black geographies, this dissertation examines how the information and the work embodied in the *Green Book* can be used to understand black mobility and motility during the Jim Crow era and beyond. Other theoretical frameworks can be influenced by and entwined with the epistemology of black geographies, including critical mobility and tourism studies, to further investigate power differentials and their effects on marginalized populations. For instance, critical mobility studies investigate how hegemonic forces use power and space to

regulate the movement of those deemed inferior through social constructions (Cresswell, 2010); a lens of black geographies lets us view these regulations in the context of white supremacy and recognizes the innovative and successful mobility practices performed by African-Americans to create black spaces and places in light of these constraints. Critical tourism, a closely related paradigm to critical mobility, critiques the dominant epistemologies of tourism studies and seeks to include “marginalized and underrepresented voices [that] clamour to be heard in tourism’s essentially inward-looking and conservative academy” (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007, p.13). As the *Green Book* features advertisements for many travel-related businesses and provided suggestions for black travelers, this document gives voice to the marginalized and underrepresented that have been excluded from previous tourism and hospitality studies. Connecting critical tourism studies with black geographies also “highlight[s] black geographic thought, visions, and practices of (re)claiming and (re)making” spaces and places associated with the tourism and travel industry, including the spaces that facilitated black movements (Allen, Lawhon, & Pierce, 2019, p.1012). Under the framework of black geographies, these paradigms can be utilized to understand black mobility and motility, employing the *Green Book* as a geographic source and indicator of both.

Methods

To apply the framework of black geographies and critical mobility and tourism studies to explore black mobility and motility within the *Green Book*, this research uses a combination of discourse analysis and critical geographic information systems (GIS). The first portion of this research, which focuses on addressing the first and third research questions, makes use of discourse analysis, a method employed by many critical scholars to uncover the social construction of words and texts, as well as their contextual nature (Dittmer, 2010). Through an understanding of the discourses (re)produced in the guidebook, we can develop a sense of how

listed locations, the individuals who performed antiracist mobility work, and the *Green Book* itself facilitated and enabled black movements. Furthermore, a discourse analysis focuses attention on the words and ideas of marginalized African-American voices, another key aspect of the black geographic epistemology. For this discourse analysis, I examined multiple issues of the *Green Book*, which are held in the digital collections of the New York Public Library and available online for free. While all information in the *Green Book* provides some understanding of black life during the Jim Crow era, I specifically chose to focus my attention on the advertisements that featured businesses from across the United States. These advertisements display both text and pictures that communicate information to the reader about listed establishments, information that was specifically chosen within the context of black resistance to white supremacy. By critically reading the advertisements of the *Green Book*, we can develop a sense of movement and a black geographic that was created by African-Americans in spite of the harsh impositions of Jim Crow laws. Further, we can understand the nuances of historical black life, work, and travel that were important for surviving and thriving in a white-supremacist society.

The second chapter of this dissertation, which explores the second research question, uses methods of critical GIS to discover where *Green Book*-listed businesses were located in New Orleans, Louisiana, and how these landscapes changed over the time of the guide's publication. First developed through what has been termed the "GIS and Society" debates of the early 1990s, critical GIS "[investigates] the impacts of GIS upon participation, power relations, and existing inequalities in access to spatial data and technologies, and [theorizes] how these impacts occur" (Elwood, 2008, p.177). As actors with power are more likely to own and use the technology needed to create knowledge, such as printing presses, computers, and GIS software, they create

what is recorded, how it is represented, how data is analyzed, and who is included (and excluded) in these processes (Elwood, 2008). Therefore, besides creating landscapes through socio-spatial processes, powerful and dominant agents are able to determine what is worthy of knowing and who can access this information. However, understanding the existence of these power relations and the spatial impacts they produce can lead to resistance against them and the empowerment of marginalized populations. Grounded in the epistemology of critical social theory described above, academics working in the field of critical GIS aim to examine how GIS constructs and reproduces knowledge, as well as exploring how GIS technology is utilized by extant power structures to exclude or include certain populations and logics (Elwood, 2008). Developed as a response to critiques that GIS research was too positivistic, proponents of critical GIS studies seek to include forms of data that may have been previously thought of as useless (i.e., qualitative data) or excluded purposefully as they were deemed subversive to the dominant discourses (Kwan, 2002; Pavlovskaya, 2006).

To begin the critical GIS study, I scraped all addresses for New Orleans, Louisiana, from all editions of the *Green Book* available. I collected all information associated with each address, including the year it was listed, the type of business represented, and any additional notes included with the listing, such as advertisements or *Green Book* official recommendations. Once the geospatial data was gathered, the addresses were geocoded (given spatial coordinates) through ArcMaps. Geocoded addresses were truthed by comparing available Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps to my created maps, and adjustments were made accordingly to ensure accuracy. The addresses were then mapped and analyzed against census data, available from the IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System, to determine what was the racial makeup of the neighborhoods in which listed businesses were located. This analysis helped to reveal how

black travelscapes associated with the *Green Book* changed over the time of publication and further helped to demonstrate the important networks of mobility and motility developed by black Americans to resist and be resilient against white supremacy.

Positionality & Subjectivity Statement

First, I identify as a 28-year-old white, non-disabled, cisgender, heterosexual male, born into a lower-middle class family. I hold a bachelor's degree from the University of Mary Washington (a small public liberal arts college) and a master's degree from Ohio University (a large state school), and am currently completing my doctorate at the University of Tennessee. I understand that both my ascribed identities and my achieved identities do not align with most of the participants who utilized the *Green Book* during the Jim Crow era. Those who used the guide for travel were mostly black (as the guide was meant for African-Americans) and faced the struggles of institutionalized racism, something that I have never had to deal with. This is the biggest difference between the participants and I, and the one I struggle with the most. Will I be able to tell the story of these people who lived such different experiences than I? I believe my achieved identities help to answer this question, as I have been exposed to research techniques and theoretical backgrounds that make me aware of my shortcomings and allow me to view black travel and travelers through a new lens. However, I also understand that the participants most likely did not hold advanced degrees the likes of which I have, due to the institutionalized racism experienced during the Jim Crow era.

With my ascribed and achieved identities, I believe that I hold power over the participants who used the *Green Book*, as I can shape and tell the story that has been left out of many history books. As a researcher, I must make decisions about what to include, what to interpret, and how to interpret it. These decisions have consequences, as people who read my

studies will make interpretations based upon what I write or do not write about. As such, I feel a great responsibility to the best that I can to tell an accurate narrative about black travel and how it may have changed over time, while respecting the viewpoints of those who actually traveled using the *Green Book*.

This dissertation topic is somewhat personal to me, as I pride myself on being a traveler. I love to go visit and explore new places, especially when history is involved. If something historical happened there, I'm there. As such, exploring how historical traveled occurred means a lot to me, and I want to do my best to represent the topic as well as I can. I utilize places similar to those listed in the *Green Book*, such as hotels, restaurants, and gas stations, while I'm traveling, so I can understand a sense of comradery with those who used the guide or others like it. I was first introduced to the topic of the *Green Book* by my master's adviser at Ohio University, Dr. Tim Anderson. He knew of my interest in travel and the American roadside, as well as my passion for telling underrepresented stories, and told me about this guide. We talked as well in the context of my future education, and discussed how I could use the idea to work with my geographic idol, Dr. Derek Alderman, who is interested in similar topics. Upon coming to the University of Tennessee, Dr. Alderman and I quickly teamed up to work on studies involving the *Green Book* because, similarly, it encapsulated ideas that I love to think about (history, travel, and equity). Hence this project was born.

Throughout my career at Tennessee, I have taken many classes focused on race, but approaching the topic from different angles (such as geography, history, and sociology), to better my understanding of why the *Green Book* was needed and how it was used. These classes have introduced me to new ideas and theories that have changed the way I see the world. It was here I first learned that race is a social construct; that racism is entrenched in social institutions; that

color-blindness can be just as bad as overt racism. These ideas and the overarching epistemology of black geographies that binds them together influence the way I see and interpret the *Green Book*. I can see it as a response to institutionalized racism, as a form of resistance that subverted the dominant hegemony, as an intricate part of the Civil Rights Movement. As such, because of my theoretical grounding, I understand the *Green Book* as an object worthy of study by portraying counter-narratives long subjugated by white supremacy and normativity.

Based on my subjectivity to this topic, several “I’s” exist that I need to be aware of throughout my study (Peshkin, 1988). The first is the “Traveler I,” who is influenced by my experiences of traveling across the United States and interacting with places similar to those listed in the *Green Book*. This “I” allows me to know what it is like to travel to new places and experience feelings of alienation and discovery, emotions well known on the road. The second is the “Historian I,” who is influenced by my love of learning about history and teaching it to those who will listen. This “I” will be engaged as I contextualize travel with the *Green Book* through knowledge of Jim Crow and the Civil Rights Movement and will (hopefully) allow me to tell the story of the travelers who subverted and resisted a violent white supremacist society. The final “I” is the “White Privilege I,” whose subjectivity may be clouded by my position as a middle class, able-bodied, cisgender, heterosexual, white male. Having not faced the struggles of institutionalized racism and discrimination, I will need to constantly remind myself that my experiences as a traveler have been much different from those who utilized the *Green Book*. The studies I have undertaken at Tennessee will hopefully help in this regard, as I remain informed by the epistemology of black geographies.

A Note on Language

Throughout this dissertation, the terms “black American,” “black people,” and “African-American” are used interchangeably to describe those living in the America who are descended from enslaved person forcibly brought from the African continent (or who later emigrated naturally from Africa). While using interchangeable terms allows for a greater vocabulary to write with, these terms also serve to recognize and center the multiple identities and lived experiences that people of color have in the Americas (Agyemang, Bhopal, & Bruijnzeels, 2005). Recognizing different identities is necessary, particularly for black geographies, as black Americans do not act as a monolithic unit; therefore, using and operationalizing these multiple identities through multiple terms distinguishes the multiple geographies black Americans created and experienced within the context of American white supremacy. Furthermore, in this dissertation, the words “white” and “black” are not capitalized. This decision was made with the intention of not lending legitimacy to the racial categories constructed by white supremacist institutions. While the terms are used, as it is necessary to establish the differing identities, they are not grammatically treated as proper nouns.

Chapter 1: A Black Sense of Movement: The Work of Black Mobilities and Motilities in the
Green Book

Abstract

The ability to move, or mobility, has historically been, and remains, one of the most important experiences of daily life. However, mobility is not evenly distributed, as social constructions of *who* has the right to move constrains and limits the motions of those deemed the “other.” In the United States, the movements of black Americans have been particularly regulated by white supremacist constructions, causing black communities to have a particularly laborious relationship with mobility. Specifically, spaces that facilitate and constrain motility, or the capacity for movement, have been contested sites in the struggle of racialized mobility. Therefore, this work seeks to further understand how mobility and motility are constructed and used both *by* and *against* this historically marginalized population. Through a discussion of the central role that mobility has held for black Americans, I propose a framework by which the experiences and voices of those who struggled to create black mobility and motility can be recovered. Called a “black sense of movement,” this paradigm seeks to capture and center the dialectical relationship that mobility has, both historically and contemporarily, in black American experiences. Using a case study of the *Green Book*, a travel guide that listed businesses accommodating to African-Americans during the Jim Crow era, this chapter demonstrates how the concept of a “black sense of movement” can be conceptually operationalized to develop a nuanced understanding of motility networks established by African-Americans to resist and be resilient against white supremacy. Given the continuing racialization of mobility in the United States, this framework advances black geographic studies by centering the role of movement in black American experiences.

Introduction

The ability to move, or mobility, has historically been, and remains, one of the most important experiences of daily life (Cresswell, 2011). Each day, people engage in movement at various scales, making motions with individual body parts, across their home, and out into the larger spaces of their surrounding geographies. These movements provide access to essential resources and opportunities, giving those who are able to be mobile a better quality of life and more chances for advancement in a variety of fields. However, there is more to mobility than just the physical act of moving. In recent decades, scholars have begun to recognize the complicated networks of politics, perceptions, and material culture that influence who and what gets to move (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Kwan & Schwanen, 2016). The idea of motility, or the factors that influence the potential to be mobile, has been proposed as a method of bringing these disparate pieces together (Kaufmann, 2002; Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004; Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006). The same scholars have also begun to recognize that movement is not evenly distributed geographically or socially, creating differential access to resources, materials, and opportunities. Understanding what constrains or enables groups' abilities and rights to move has become an increasingly important topic of study, especially in regard to historically marginalized communities.

Black Americans have a particularly laborious relationship with movement in the United States, as their right to move has been challenged and regulated since their first day in the New World. In effort to maintain the racial hierarchy of white supremacy, access to opportunities of black economic and social gain were limited through both institutional and customary means. However, black Americans have worked to counter these forced (im)mobilities at every turn, developing resistant tactics to enable and facilitate their own forms of movement. Such work

included the collection and analysis of spatial information, which expanded black geographic knowledges of mobility and motility networks. One significant example of this work is the *Green Book*, a Jim Crow-era travel guide developed by African-Americans for African-Americans that listed accommodating businesses throughout the United States. The *Green Book* and the many establishments listed within its pages represent the dialectical relationship that black Americans have with constructions of movement and space, and demonstrates the mobility work performed to survive, resist, and be resilient within a white supremacist society.

Answering the call of Mei-Po Kwan and Tim Schwanen (2016) to decenter and decolonize mobility studies, this chapter adds to the growing literature that explores movement from the viewpoint of subaltern populations. Given the contested relationship black communities in the United States have with movement, this work seeks to further understand how mobility is constructed and used both *by* and *against* this population. Through discussions of the history of black movements, I propose a framework by which the experiences and voices of black mobility and motility workers can be recovered. This paradigm of a “black sense of movement” seeks to capture and center the dialectical relationship that mobility offers, both historically and contemporarily, to black Americans. Using a case study of the *Green Book*, this chapter demonstrates how a “black sense of movement” can be operationalized conceptually to develop a nuanced understanding of the black struggles and resistance to white supremacy employed by travelers and those who facilitated movement through motility networks. Given the continuing racialization of mobility in the United States and other parts of the Americas, this framework advances the agenda of black geographies by further developing and centering the role of mobility within black experiences, a position largely neglected by black geographic scholars.

Mobility, Motility, & Race

The 'New Mobilities Paradigm'

Capturing the attention of scholars who study the movement of people and goods, what some refer to as the 'new mobilities paradigm' has become an increasingly popular, and heavily debated, framework in geography, sociology, and related disciplines (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Kwan & Schwanen, 2016). Evolving out of the 'spatial turn' of the 1980s and 1990s, in which scholars such as David Harvey (1982), Edward Soja (1989), Henri Lefebvre (1991), and Nigel Thrift (1996) described the social construction of space as the dialectic between hegemonic forces and resistant counter-forces, the 'mobility turn' and its resultant paradigm offer similar realizations about the social construction of movement (Sheller & Urry, 2006). As Sheller (2017) describes in a retrospective of the 'mobility turn' and the 'new mobilities paradigm,' "like the spatial turn, the new mobilities paradigm challenged the idea of space as a container for social processes, and thus brought the dynamic, ongoing production of space into social theory across many different domains of research" (p.628). Through this conceptualization, mobility scholars, especially the likes of John Urry and Mimi Sheller, were able to apply the constructionist viewpoint to mobility and movement. Both mobility and the space in which it takes place are constructed by hegemonic forces in control; counter-forces may resist against the dominant group, and thus create their own alternative spaces and movements, but by and large the hegemonic force is able to impose its will on mobility and place because it controls resources, wealth, and power.

In their description of the 'new mobilities paradigm,' Sheller and Urry (2006) argued for the incorporation of various and diverse theoretical threads into the study of movement. This seminal work also advocated for new theorizations of mobility, especially concerning its place

within society. One of the most important aspects of the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ was the centering of movement “within the very workings of social institutions and of social practices, those institutions and practices that form people’s lives” (Sheller, 2017, p.628). Most day-to-day social practices involve some form of mobility, including “going to work, minding children, preparing food, queuing, meeting, sending messages, heating a home, or for some crossing a border” (Sheller, 2017, p.629). These practices exemplify the pervasiveness of movement in the daily lives of individuals and demonstrate the vast interconnected networks involved in facilitating life in modern societies, including the production of goods, shipping those goods to consumers, and the use of these products by consumers. The recognition that movement is not just an aspect of transportation, but is centrally involved in a multitude of institutions, practices, and spaces is one of the most significant contributions of the ‘mobility turn’ and the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ to critical studies of space, place, and society.

The ubiquity of movement and the vast resources and geometries of social power used to facilitate mobility on a daily basis have led to further advances in understandings of mobility, once again influenced by the previously described ‘spatial turn.’ As Sheller (2017) succinctly notes, the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ “suggests that it is crucial to bring in the dynamic, ongoing production of space via everyday social practices into social theory” to understand the effects of mobility on global landscapes and societies (p.630). “A complex assembly of movements *and* moorings” has arisen to facilitate mobility, many of which have a physical presence in space often constructed by hegemonic forces to maintain and reproduce capitalistic social relations (Sheller, 2017, p.630, emphasis in original). One of the best examples of this “assembly of movements and moorings” and “production of space via everyday social practices” is found in the examination of the automobile, specifically the car. Cars are one of the most ubiquitous

technologies across the globe, especially in Western cultures that have access to and the ability to own a personal automobile. In the United States alone, though the information is slightly dated, 253 million cars and trucks are owned and/or operated on the country's roads, meaning that potentially more than two-thirds of Americans own a car (Hirsch, 2014).¹ Outside of the Global North, car ownership is drastically increasing, especially as globalization and growing interactions with Western cultures spurs the rise of modern capitalist systems. For instance, in China car ownership increased 22% annually during an almost 15-year period between 1990 and 2005 (Li, Walker, Srinivasan, & Anderson, 2010). As evidenced by these numbers, automobility is becoming intensely engrained around the globe.

One important, but somewhat under-studied, way of understanding the “moorings” that facilitate physical movement can be found in the concept of motility. First described by the sociologist Vincent Kaufmann (2002), motility, at its most basic level, has been defined as “the capacity of entities (e.g. goods, information, or persons) to be mobile in social and geographic space” (Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004, p.750). Further recognizing the agency that people assert over their environment and the social construction of space, Flamm and Kaufmann (2006) expanded motility to include “how an individual or group takes possession of the realm of possibilities for mobility and builds on it to develop personal projects” (p.168). Important for appreciating the concept of motility is the idea that the capacity or potential for movement is “not necessarily transformed into travel;” the constellation of materials, attitudes, abilities, and logics that both facilitate and constrain movement are essential for a holistic understanding of mobility

¹ Of note, however, is the extreme likelihood that a large sector of the American populace owns more than one automobile, reducing the overall amount of car ownership to less than two-thirds of Americans. This differential access to automobiles will be discussed further on in the essay.

as well (Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006, p.168). Accordingly, motility captures “all the factors that define the potential to be mobile in space” (Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006, p.169).

The potential for movement, however, is not distributed evenly or equitably, either geographically or socially. People living in more developed regions or holding higher paying jobs may have more access to transportation, more knowledge concerning mobility options, or more skills necessary for the use of certain types of movement. Given that increased mobility is often associated with greater economic and social capital, in that people who are able to move more can travel farther for work or develop a wider network of friends and acquaintances, some scholars have sought to conceptualize mobility and motility as a form of capital (Kaufmann, 2002; Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004). These linkages between economic and social capital are key to understanding this “movement capital,” as both can be exchanged to increase the ability to move or can be lost, leading to immobility (Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004, p.752). Likewise, having the ability to travel more can be used to advance economically or socially, indicating that mobility and motility have capitalistic power. Demonstrating this point, through investigations of changing transportation patterns in the context of urban gentrification, scholars have found that young gentrifiers have greater travel flexibility (i.e., more motility capital) than lower-income residents that do not own a car, thereby maintaining greater security over their daily lives (Moos, Prayitno, & Revington, 2017). Young gentrifiers have better access to surrounding cultural assets and work opportunities, enabling them to exchange their movement capital for more wealth and social status, because they have more modes of travel available to them. As such, “there is a strong link among Millennials between motility capital, as expressed in mode flexibility, and other forms of social status” (Moos, Prayitno, & Revington, 2017, p.230).

Therefore, understanding mobility/motility and how it is constructed is important, particularly for historically marginalized populations. Particularly, the idea of motility, with its encompassing conception of all factors that contribute to the potential for movement, “allows for more holistic explanatory models with regard to social inequality and stratification” (Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004, p.752). As the concept of motility includes the use of space, the knowledge acquired that facilitates mobility, and individual or group perceptions of certain types of movement, it is also necessary to understand what enables or constrains these aspects of life. Consequently, recognizing how motility capital is created, hindered, and used can reveal how its distribution is “a product of underlying structural conditions” (Moos, Prayitno, & Revington, 2017, p.234). The motility, and the ability to gain motility capital, of marginalized peoples in the United States, particularly African-Americans, has been especially constrained and regulated by deeply entrenched structures and institutions of power. Identifying the causes of the structural conditions that create differential mobilities can suggest policies and solutions that support equitable access to movement, which several scholars have argued is a fundamental human right (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Hague, 2010; Torabian & Miller, 2017)

Politics of Mobility

Understandings of space and mobility as social constructions, encouraged by the ‘mobility turn’ and the ‘new mobilities paradigm,’ have enabled scholars to examine how some mobility landscapes are expressly created and how other forms of mobility are discouraged. By conceptualizing of a ‘politics of mobility,’ scholars can begin to explain the (in)tangible manifestations of mobility, as well as the differential access to mobility and motility capital that exist across varied socio-spatial contexts. The politics of mobility also allows scholars to recognize counter-narratives of mobility, particularly those arguing for development of

alternative forms of movement to automobiles, which may be obfuscated and hidden through the hegemonic expression of automobility. Jason Henderson (2004), one of the first scholars to write about the politics of mobility, defined it as: “The political struggle over what type of transportation mode – be it automobile, transit, or walking – is developed in a city, and how urban space is configured to make various modes functional” (p.193). Furthermore, the politics of mobility represent the “extension of ideologies and normative values about how the city should be configured and by whom” (Henderson, 2004, p.193). These descriptions of the politics of mobility lay bare both the hegemony and the resistant work that comprise struggles of who gets the right and power to configure networks of motility and mobility.

Through case studies of Atlanta, Georgia (2004; 2006) and San Francisco, California (2013), Henderson investigates the struggles between hegemonic forces and counter-narratives of alternative mobilities. In Atlanta, Henderson (2006) examines what he refers to as “secessionist automobility,” “or using cars as a means of physically separating oneself from spatial configurations like higher urban density, public space, or from the city altogether” (p.294). As a result of the conflicting mobile politics held by advocates of secessionist automobility and the business leaders of Atlanta, who fought for public transit and walkable urban forms that would make the city center attractive for new business, the city entered what Henderson (2006) refers to as a “transit détente” (p.302). This stalemate between ideologies of expansionist automobility and alternative mobilities has led to the maintenance of the city’s system of automobility, with little growth in the public transportation sector.²

More recently, Henderson (2013) has continued his study of the politics of mobility, but applied his framework to the city of San Francisco, which despite being recognized as one of the

² Represented in this case by GRTA, the Georgia Regional Transportation Authority, which has actually been hailed as one of the best functioning transit organizations in the United States (Henderson 2004).

most transit-friendly cities in the United States, still struggles with competing politics of mobility. Regarding this city, Henderson (2013) argues that “the fact that so many people still own and drive cars in San Francisco, despite the high density and excellent transit coverage...suggests that automobility is not simply contingent on the built environment. Automobility is also ideological” (p.15). People continue to drive in an urban space not well configured for automobiles because it is something they truly believe in. This assertion is supported by his earlier work on secessionist automobility, in which he argues that advocates of this style of mobility are influenced by a “vision of rural idealism, ‘family values’ and evangelical religion,” as well as racialized ideologies, that are “realized by low-density, single-detached houses on plots accessible only by automobiles” (Henderson, 2006, p.301). In fact, contestations over cars and who is considered a legitimate driver have long been part of mobile discourses in the United States. The brunt of this conflict has been particularly felt by black Americans, who experienced automobiles as both objects of liberation and terror. For instance, Candacy Taylor (2020) contends that “the car was the one thing black people could control regarding their freedom” (p.95); however, cars could also be used as a weapon against black Americans, as was the case for Wendell Scott, a black NASCAR driver, who faced the threat of intentional wrecks and harm at the hands of his white competitors (Alderman & Inwood, 2016b). As such, the work of Jason Henderson has added significant contributions to the ‘mobility turn,’ especially through empirical examinations of how mobility is conceived and idealized, as well as how these conceptions translate into the social construction of urban spaces.

Tim Cresswell (2010) also argues for conceptualizations of a politics of mobility, by exploring the social relations involved in who does and does not hold the power to control movement. Cresswell’s (2010) definition of a politics of mobility includes “the ways in which

mobilities are both productive of...social relations and produced by them. Social relations are of course complicated and diverse. They include relations between classes, genders, [races/]ethnicities, nationalities, and religious groups as well as a host of other forms of group identity” (p.21). Recognizing these social relations in the politics of mobility, according to Cresswell (2010), is fundamental to understanding that “mobility is a resource that is differentially accessed” (p.21). Throughout the modern history of the Western world, white heterosexual men have been the major deciders of what happens in and to space. Through conceptualizations of mobility as socially produced, just like space, we can see that what and who moves and how easily that movement happens has been largely decided by white heterosexual men as well. Therefore, through Cresswell’s (2010) definition of a politics of mobility, we can view mobility as racialized, gendered, and sexualized.

The gendered politics of mobility has been the subject of its own set of important works, including those by the pre-eminent geographer Mei-Po Kwan. Usually through the lens of critical GIS, Kwan (1999a; 1999b) has argued that women have much less access to both time, space, and processes of mobility. For instance, in a study that examined travel diaries of women’s daily lives in Columbus, Ohio, Kwan (1999b) found that women have less access to urban opportunities, mostly in terms of jobs, largely because of normative gender roles that come with intense time constraints, such as child rearing and transportation to schools. Kwan (2000) found that women who are employed also experience these time constraints, particularly in their travel routines, due to their expected gendered duties at home, despite the overall increase in access to private cars. In other words, gender places key limits on the ability of women to amass motility capital and hence realize the potential to move. Other scholars researching the links between gender and mobility have explored different aspects of gendered movement, especially in respect

to automobility. In particular, the car is recognized as a gendered space by several researchers, including Sheller (2004) and Jain (2005), both of which explain that, due to normative gender roles and gendered notions of personality traits, driving for women can be an activity fraught with expectations of safety and submission. These patriarchal constructions of gender, space, and mobility exemplify one aspect of Cresswell's (2010) politics of mobility by showcasing the social relations that control or constrain the movement and time of women.

Racialized Mobility in the United States

Perhaps the most studied social relationship within Cresswell's (2010) politics of mobility is the racialization of movement. Several years before his foundational article on the politics of mobility, Cresswell (2008) published a short chapter that examined racialized mobility associated with Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana. As he writes: "It is estimated that 85 percent of the population of New Orleans had left before the hurricane struck. This, it seems, included the vast majority of white residents" (Cresswell, 2008, p.133). When the evacuation order was placed by the government, it "depended on people being able to move of their own free will – for the most part by car" (Cresswell, 2008, p.133). However, many black residents of the city, economically and socially disadvantaged by the city's, state's, and country's long history of slavery and institutionalized racism, could not afford to leave as they did not own cars or could not afford accommodations once outside of the evacuation zone. In fact, these citizens, mostly people of color, were immobilized by hegemonic forces that steered survival and prosperity towards white Americans through constructions of space and mobility.

Well before the invention of cars and the transportation injustices that trapped thousands of Americans of color in New Orleans, a racialized politics of mobility was created and enacted, beginning with the African slave trade. In large swaths of Africa various tribes fought for control

of territory and captives, also seeking to trade and become allies with the various slave-holding countries of Europe. While overtly violent, this conflict, to be a slave trader or to be a slave, also involved a politics of mobility as tribes sought to control the movements of others, those who they wanted to capture and trade to white Europeans (Blackburn, 2010, p.102-108). Mobility was further controlled along racial lines as enslaved Africans were forced aboard ships designed to severely limit their movements, ensuring that the human cargo made it to the colony in which they were to work (Rediker, 2007). Once in the colonies, enslaved persons were removed from ships and placed on auction blocks to be sold, oftentimes to plantation owners who had traveled for miles to the nearest port to benefit from the sale. These slaves would then be forced to travel, most times under duress, back to the plantations where they would spend the rest of their lives, laboring in forced servitude (Johnson, 1999). Even when the African slave trade was outlawed (another example of the struggle over movement and a racialized politics of mobility), the enslaved were still sold and traded internally throughout the United States. Walter Johnson's (2013) tome about this domestic diaspora tells of the great lengths that many slave traders took to constrain and control the movement of their 'goods.' Until emancipation and abolition in 1865, the mobility of black Americans, especially of those who were still in forced bondage, was controlled and constrained on a daily, if not hourly, basis through means of surveillance and punishment (Baptist, 2014; Johnson, 2013).

This is not to say, however, that enslaved Africans and black Americans were without some agency over their movements. Throughout the duration of American slavery, enslaved persons attempted to escape and reach freedom through a variety of means. Franklin and Schweninger's (1999) influential work on the subject of runaways details in length the multitude of tactics that were used to escape the control of plantations. The famous story of Henry Box

Brown, who shipped himself to freedom through the postal service, provides an excellent example of the ingenuity that escaping slaves demonstrated during the time of forced immobility (Spencer, 2006). Yet, for most escaping slaves, their attempts to move against and away from bondage were the result of more basic tactical but no less important mobility across a wide range of environments on foot (Franklin & Schweninger, 1999; Alderman & Inwood, 2016a). The resistance to white supremacy and forced bondage that these self-liberating slaves performed showcases the mobility that the enslaved were able to perform despite the immobilizing system of slavery. Furthermore, it also demonstrates the extreme lengths that slavery went to keep enslaved Africans on plantations and within the system.

After the end of slavery and the short period of Reconstruction, black Americans were once again faced with impositions on their right to move in effort to maintain the previously established racial status quo. Beginning in the late 1870s, Southern states implemented a series of Jim Crow laws that regulated and constrained numerous aspects of black daily life. Movement was one facet that was especially controlled, owing to the beneficial economic, social, and cultural consequences of travel. As such, black Americans were forced to travel in segregated trains and buses, were denied accommodations in many hotels, restaurants, and gas stations, and were constantly harassed and threatened with violence by police and the public at large while traveling in the United States (Kelley, 2010; Wilkerson, 2010). Whole towns were even deemed off limits to blacks after dark, a phenomenon known as ‘sundown towns,’ which serve as extreme examples of the limitations emplaced on black Americans after the end of slavery (Loewen, 2005). However, like in the era of slavery, black Americans were not helpless against the injustices performed against them, especially when it came to their ability to travel. Much recent work on racialized mobility has sought to understand how black Americans exercised

their agency under the attempted forced immobility of Jim Crow, leading to nuanced conceptualizations of black resistance in the forms of travel and movement (Foster, 1999; Franz, 2004; Young Armstead, 2005; Arsenault, 2006; Seiler, 2006; Kelley, 2010; Alderman, Williams, & Bottone, 2019). One such study uses the exemplar actions of Wendell Scott, a black driver who competed in the mostly white sport of stock car racing in the American South, to demonstrate resistance tactics (Alderman & Inwood, 2016b). The authors argue that these actions constitute “antiracism mobility work,” which “refers to the broad array of creative and savvy practices required to move in transgressive and resistant ways” (Alderman & Inwood, 2016b, p.603). This work allowed Scott to transgress the racialization of movement and even allowed him to be competitive on the NASCAR circuit,³ providing the driver with a living for him and his family through means that directly resisted the immobilizing Jim Crow laws.

Scholars investigating contemporary African-American travel and tourism have found that inequity and discrimination is still prevalent, even though institutional safeguards exist to protect people of color from such prejudice. Perry Carter (2008) authored one of the most important works on black travel and tourism in recent memory, in which he describes his theory of “racialized spaces,” which holds that “spaces are socially marked by those who inhabit them, by those who claim them as their own” (p.281). Because of the historical legacies associated with majority white spaces, such as violent enforcement of overt racism and more subtle forms of institutionalized racism, “many [b]lacks perceive [w]hite places as anxiety-inducing spaces and not as spaces of leisure” (Carter, 2008, p.281). More recently, Lee and Scott (2017) established that black travelers in the United States still face racist attitudes while exercising their right to move, shaping travel behaviors to certain regions and types of tourism destinations.

³ Scott actually won a December 1963 race in Jacksonville, Florida, and remains the only black American to win a top-level NASCAR race (Alderman & Inwood, 2016b).

Further evidence is cited in a study by Tucker and Deale (2018), who found that “social memory” associated with family narratives of the African-American experience influenced travel decisions, particularly through hesitation to visit places related to stories of discrimination (p.496).

Even with legal intervention, access to and the potential for mobility remains heavily racialized as a result of continued white control over decision-making processes (as exemplified in work from around the United States, including Oakland, California (Golub, Marcantonio, & Sanchez, 2013), and Chattanooga, Tennessee (Knapp, 2018)). The militarization of police departments across the country has further added tension to travel as increased racial profiling creates anxiety and fear about being stopped and potentially incarcerated (Cresswell, 2016; Nicholson, 2016; Alderman, 2018). These recent studies reveal that racism, discrimination, and the historical legacies of institutionalized racial hierarchies still remain and influence the expression of mobility by African-Americans. The politics of mobility are still affected by race, and mobility remains a resource that is not fully accessible to all, particularly black Americans.

Developing a Black Sense of Movement

In the last two decades, scholars have developed a framework to comprehend and appreciate the complex associations that constitute the relationships black Americans have with space and place. Known as “black geographies,” this paradigm evolved from the work of Clyde Woods (1998) and Katherine McKittrick (2006) that explored “diverse modalities [for the understanding] of space and place” (Bledsoe, Eaves, & Williams, 2017, p.7). Specifically, scholars of black geographies scrutinize the “mutually constitutive relationship between...[b]lack spatial knowledge, negotiations, and resistances on the one hand, and geographies of domination – colonialism, slavery, imperialism, racial-sexual displacement – on

the other” (Hawthorne, 2019, p.4). An epistemology of black geographies acknowledges the significance of race in spatial construction, a tenet heavily influenced by critical race theory (Price, 2010), while simultaneously recognizing the erasure of subaltern spatial practices by colonial forces. However, by centering the knowledge and voices of those subaltern populations, specifically black Americans in the United States, “allows us to engage with a narrative that locates and draws on black histories and black subjects in order to make visible social lives which are often displaced, rendered ungeographic” (McKittrick, 2006, p.x). Given the material and psychological consequences of many spatial processes, “black geographies asserts the inherent spatiality of [b]lack life – the spatial imaginaries, space-making practices, and senses of place rooted in [b]lack communities” by privileging “[b]lack world-making practices in all of their multiplicities” (Hawthorne, 2019, p.5). Put more succinctly, this means that “black matters are spatial matters” (McKittrick, 2006, p.xii).

Black life in America has been continually defined by struggle, from both top-down hegemonic oppression and bottom-up resistance performed by those being oppressed. To express the emotions and material culture that evolved from this relationship, Katherine McKittrick (2006; 2011) developed what she termed a “black sense of place.” This concept represents “the process of materially and imaginatively *situating* historical and contemporary struggles against practices of domination *and* the difficult entanglements of racial encounter” (McKittrick, 2011, p.949, emphasis in original). Black spaces in the Americas have been created through socio-spatial struggle, both performed *against* African-Americans and *by* African-Americans; understanding their creation requires contextualizing these spaces within the struggles that led to their formation. Particularly important, especially for scholars of black geographies working to develop antiracist policies, is the centering of the black voices that struggled for resistance and

resilience within a white supremacist society that actively sought to silence them. Therefore, we must “consider what forms of [b]lack life always remain in excess of the logics of racial-spatial violence, foregrounding the multiple and overlapping spatialities of [b]lack struggle” (Hawthorne, 2019, p.7). Uncovering and circulating the black geographies that have been previously excluded “opens up possibilities for alternative, anticolonial, and liberatory forms of geographic knowledge and world-making” (Hawthorne, 2019, p.9).

While work in black geographies has produced insightful and consequential analysis, most scholars have focused solely on fixed geographic spaces, particularly in regard to conceptualizations of a “black sense of place.” Movement has been largely neglected in the field of black geographies, possibly because of its fleeting and hard-to-capture nature. For instance, in Hawthorne’s (2019) review of black geographic work, the key themes that she identifies in the field do not include mobility, nor do her future directions for the field. Several scholars have explored specific aspects of mobility in relation to black geographies, including Alderman and Inwood’s (2016b) “antiracist mobility work” and Cresswell’s (2016) “black moves,” yet these works do not capture the indispensable centrality of movement needed to contextualize black life in the Americas. However, through the above description of black mobility and movement, it is plain to see that the whole history of black Americans has been influenced by issues of mobility. The very arrival of the black population in America is a result of forced mobility/immobility. Ever since that period when the first enslaved Africans were brought ashore to work on European plantations and in their cities, blacks in America have been faced with constraints and controls emplaced on their ability to move and amass motility capital. Through this logic, it can be said that mobility and motility are central to the black experience in the United States. As

such, it is necessary then to integrate movement into existing understandings of black life in America, specifically in terms of how space and place are created and used.

Therefore, I propose a holistic paradigm that can serve as a framework to guide investigations of both historical and contemporary black geographies. Heavily influenced by Katherine McKittrick's (2006; 2011) conceptualization of a "black sense of place," a sense of knowing a place through the combined violent and resistant experiences of African-Americans, this new framework argues for a "black sense of movement" that recognizes the varied and diverse experiences that black Americans have with mobility and motility. Particularly through the inclusion of motility, the capacity to be mobile, a "black sense of movement" provides a view of multiple African-American experiences that captures both space and place *and* the movements that contributed to their creations. To humbly borrow from Katherine McKittrick's (2006) famous statement that "black matters are spatial matters" (p.xii), I argue that this maxim can, and should, be transformed to read "black matters are also mobile matters."

Like a "black sense of place," a "black sense of movement" encompasses both the violent and resistant experiences of black Americans as they were forcibly (im)mobilized while simultaneously performing resistant tactics to secure and enhance their own mobile agency, or right to move. Investigating a "black sense of movement" resonates with Alderman's (2018) call for a racialized biopolitics of mobility, which seeks to recognize the embodied socio-historical context of black movement and travel in the United States. In fact, recent studies of black tourists conducted by Lee and Scott (2017) and Tucker and Deale (2018) can be viewed through the paradigm of a "black sense of movement" as both recognize the social memory of discrimination, which continues to influence travel patterns, as well as the liberating and joyous experience of being able to travel. Studies such as these that center black experiences could form

the core of research that examines a “black sense of movement.” By focusing further on the foundational nature of a “black sense of movement,” scholars could gain more nuanced understandings of black experiences in the United States, especially given the connections between the complex array of movements and moorings mentioned by Sheller (2017) and represented in the concept of motility developed by Kaufmann (2002).

Analysis of a “black sense of movement” can also have wider applications beyond academia, with potential political consequences as well. Through understandings of the relationship between black Americans and mobility, organizational and political leaders can better serve the needs of their communities, instead of looking at mobility through the normative white gaze that the tourism and transportation industries adopt (Alderman, 2013). A parallel can be seen here with studies of food access: Ramirez (2015) argues that food organizations typically operate under an assumed normative white gaze. However, this causes lackluster participation on behalf of black populations that are expected to join urban gardening organizations. Ramirez (2015) argues, through an empirical case study, that a food organization, centered on an understanding of black experiences and legacies with agriculture (such as plantations), can become successful. Similarly, organizations seeking transportation and mobility justice could focus on understanding a uniquely “black sense of movement” to better serve the needs of their community members. For example, black Americans have long had tenuous relationships with public transportation, particularly in the form of buses (Alderman, Kingsbury, & Dwyer, 2013; Parks, 2016), and transportation policy is typically decided and imposed from a white viewpoint (Golub, Marcantonio, & Sanchez, 2013). Centering black experiences within public transit in potential urban planning policies could lead to better access, through bus stops placed in

underserved communities, and increased motility capital, through more predictable commutes, revealing both the static and mobile aspects of a “black sense of movement.”

A Black Sense of Movement in the *Green Book*

What follows is a case study used to demonstrate how a “black sense of movement” can be operationalized to better understand historical struggles for movement and spaces of mobility associated with black Americans during the Jim Crow era. This period, extending from the end of Reconstruction in 1876 to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, was characterized by legalized discrimination and segregation, especially in, but not restricted to, the American South. Particularly affected by this institutional racism were black mobility and motility, given the opportunities for social and economic advancement that free movement provides. This era was key in the construction of many black spaces in the United States, and struggles, both violent and non-violent, were performed around the country by hegemonic white forces and resistant black populations. While many important acts of resistance were conducted by black Americans during this time, especially in terms of ensuring the right of mobility, none embodies a “black sense of movement” more than the *Green Book*.

Officially entitled the *Negro Motorist Green Book* at its founding, the *Green Book* was a travel guide developed by African-Americans for African-Americans in the hope of facilitating safe travel in the United States during the time of Jim Crow. The *Green Book* listed accommodations such as hotels, gas stations, and restaurants that welcomed black patrons, as well as other businesses that comprised larger black communities, including barber shops, beauty parlors, and drug stores. Released annually over a 30-year period from 1936 to 1966-67, the *Green Book* listed accommodating businesses by state, city, and street address so that travelers

could easily find welcoming establishments (Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Taylor, 2020)⁴.

Published by Victor Hugo Green, and later his wife, Alma Duke Green, after his death in 1960, the travel guide represented a network of “safe spaces” that facilitated travel for black Americans during a time when their mobility was actively regulated by a white supremacist society (Mitchell & Collins, 2014, p.29; also Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Taylor, 2020). The *Green Book* embodies multiple aspects of the proposed “black sense of movement,” through both its very existence and the information contained within its pages.

One of the main components of motility are the skills needed to use available modes of transportation (Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004; Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006); for the growing black middle class, private automobiles were the safest and most comfortable form of transportation available for subverting segregated public transit, leading to their popularity among this group (Franz, 2004; Seiler, 2006; Taylor, 2020). Of course, car travel was not a panacea for the racialized politics of mobility that structured spaces in the United States during Jim Crow, and black travelers were often faced with anxiety and potential violence while driving through hostile regions (Alderman, Williams, & Bottone, 2019). The *Green Book* was created to help relieve some of these anxieties by providing travelers with a way to plan trips and find places to rest, relax, and refit. Therefore, the guidebook increased the skills and motility capital that black automobile drivers needed to operate their vehicles safely by expanding their knowledge of their destinations and the routes needed to reach them. As Flamm and Kaufmann (2006) state in their description of motility and its components: “One must have adequate knowledge of the area being covered, and especially be capable of finding one’s way around the transport networks used” (p.175). The *Green Book* cultivated a black geographic knowledge of a

⁴ Though spanning 30 years, only 26 editions were actually published. No editions were published from 1941 to 1945 due to World War II, and no edition exists for 1965, when a change in publishers occurred (Taylor, 2020).

racialized, not so open road, multiplying the motility capital available to this marginalized and oppressed community and creating more chances to exchange this motility capital for economic and social advancement. In terms of a “black sense of movement,” this context of the *Green Book* captures both the struggles performed *against* black travelers and *by* black travelers. The need for the guide, derived from the potential for violence, harassment, and emotional labor encountered during travels, resulted from constructions of space as unwelcoming and exploitative towards black Americans. Yet, simultaneously, the *Green Book* represented resistant spatial constructions on the part of African-Americans, including “spatial planning and the social (re)engineering of places,” that created spaces accommodating of this group (Alderman & Inwood, 2016a, p.178). This travel guide provided black travelers with a means for reworking the roads of America from spaces of negative violence into networks of resistant and resilient mobilities.

In order to create such a guide, intense amounts of what Alderman and Inwood (2016a) call “geospatial work,” as well as “antiracist mobility work” (Alderman & Inwood, 2016b) was expended to locate and advertise accommodating businesses, thereby producing a “counter mapping of the U.S. landscape of travel” (p.181). This geospatial work consisted of “mapping, collecting and analyzing geographical data and intelligence,” which was indexed and distributed through the *Green Book* (Alderman & Inwood, 2016a, p.178). Some of the hardest geospatial work was conducted by the sales agents hired by Victor Hugo Green, who traveled around the country “to find new businesses to list, inspect properties, and sell subscriptions and advertising space” (Taylor, 2020, p.63). These sales agents blazed the paths that many travelers would eventually follow, and further embodied a “black sense of movement” as they sought out safe spaces within a hostile white supremacist society. It is likely that some of these agents entered

spaces that were unwelcoming to them as they attempted to find more listings for the guide and were faced with potentially harmful situations; such transgressive acts of geospatial work capture the violence enacted against black mobility as well as the resistant mobility performed by black entrepreneurs to create motility and motility capital.

Furthermore, black travelers using the *Green Book* were called upon to collect addresses themselves, analyze addresses for accuracy (mainly in terms of ensuring welcoming accommodations), and submit results to Victor Green for potential listing. Many editions of the guide included an exhortation to be on the lookout for unlisted businesses, such as this appeal from the 1939 edition: “There are thousands of places that the public doesn’t know about and aren’t listed. Perhaps you might know of some? If so[,] send in their names and addresses and the kind of business, so that we might pass it along to the rest of your fellow Motorists” (Green, 1939, p.1). Such a request asked the very users of the guide to carry out their own geospatial intelligence and further contribute to the development of skills, motility, and motility capital, specifically by socially re-engineering spaces that had been set aside through segregation into spaces that aided in furthering black mobility and resistance.

The businesses themselves listed in the *Green Book* provide further embodiment of a “black sense of movement” and serve as a conduit for studying black mobility and motility. With segregation enacted as the law of the land, black Americans had to open their own businesses to provide goods and services to their large disenfranchised communities. These establishments, produced by and representing acts of spatial violence (i.e., the closing off of certain spaces for African-Americans), also represent the resistant self-determination of black Americans in the face of Jim Crow. By 1938, near the beginning of the *Green Book*’s publication, “there were nearly thirty thousand black-owned retail stores, with sales amounting to 71.5 million dollars”

and “more than 300 hotels in the country were black-owned” (Taylor, 2020, p.71). Enormous prosperity was generated by black entrepreneurs in spite of the intended disadvantages of racialized segregation, and the businesses they operated were essential to facilitating anti-racist mobility work among the nation’s black population. Thousands of hotels, motels, tourist homes, gas stations, and restaurants were listed in the *Green Book*, providing services necessary for long-distance travel and creating motility capital for both patrons and proprietors that could be exchanged for social and economic wealth. These enterprises are perhaps one of the truest representations of a “black sense of movement” in that they were moved to their locations through struggle against black Americans, but generated prosperity and the capacity for freer movement through their struggle against white supremacy. Candacy Taylor (2020) described this dialectic in her recent history of the travel guide: “*Green Book* businesses are powerful. They shape the narrative of black mobility and tell a story...[of] black ingenuity, resourcefulness, strength, entrepreneurship, and resilience” (p.25).

The inclusion of black lived experiences, captured within writings and advertisements held in the pages of the many editions of the *Green Book*, also provide evidence for a “black sense of movement.” These accounts serve to demonstrate the racialized politics of mobility that existed during Jim Crow while simultaneously contributing to narratives of racial resistance and resilience through the words and actions of black travelers. Take for example an essay published in the 1938 edition entitled “The Automobile and What It Has Done for the Negro,” written by a Benj. J. Thomas (Green, 1938, unnumbered page). This piece, written by the owner of a driving school for African-Americans in New York City, describes the effects that the development of automobiles and related industries have had for black communities, including both the harsh realities of Jim Crow and the resilience created in spite of white supremacy. Representing this

aspect of a “black sense of movement,” Thomas states that “You will find the Negro doing his part in each and every branch of the [auto] industry in certain sections of the country, where the so-called jim-crow [sic] laws are being enforced” (Green, 1938, p.19). Furthermore, this statement recognizes the importance of motility in creating resistance and resilience for black Americans as it discusses the role of these businesses, such as gas stations and mechanic shops, in producing mobility. Thomas’ essay was also part promotion: It not only reflected a “black sense of movement,” but sought to encourage the sense that African-Americans could and should move on their own terms.

The motility network that facilitated mobility and the accumulation of motility capital can also be viewed through the advertisements for businesses listed in the *Green Book*. As previously mentioned, these advertisements were sought out by sales agents conducting geospatial work representing a “black sense of movement.” Yet, these advertisements also capture the voices and lived experiences of the proprietors who placed the ads within the pages of the travel guide. Business owners used these ads to portray their establishments as friendly to black travelers, especially since many other businesses, primarily white-owned, denied service to these same travelers. Furthermore, these advertisements also identified spaces that contributed to an ability to travel by providing information that may have served necessary when on the road. For instance, in the 1960 edition of the *Green Book*, an ad was placed for Elrod & Son’s Amoco Service Station & Garage (Figure 1.1), a gas station and mechanic shop located near downtown Memphis, Tennessee. In addition to providing gasoline to passing black travelers, Elrod & Son’s also offered repairs and maintenance in case a motorist became stranded during their journey. With their slogan “We keep ‘em rolling” broadcasted to all who read the advertisement, this business used the *Green Book* to let potential customers know that they were a safe space where



Figure 1.1: Advertisement for a service station from the 1960 edition of the *Green Book*. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a7bf74e0-9427-0132-17bf-58d385a7b928>.

vulnerable travelers could come to seek respite and repair from the harsh Jim Crow reality that both operated within. Such advertisements, when viewed through the socio-historical context of the time period in which they were published, reveal the racialized politics of mobility that regulated movement, as well as the subversive motility networks that were constructed to resist and be resilient against a white supremacist society.

Between the existence of the guide, the businesses listed, and the lived experiences presented, we can read the *Green Book* as an embodiment of a “black sense of movement.” Representing the dialectic that influenced black movement during the Jim Crow era, this travel guide captures both the struggles performed *against* black Americans to disadvantage them and those performed *by* black Americans to survive. The *Green Book* presented the motility network, consisting of spaces, resources, and knowledges, that was created to facilitate movement, an essential part of black life, and allowed for the expansion of the network through advertisements and transgressive geospatial work. While acknowledged as not a cure-all, this travel guide, and others like it, generated opportunities for black Americans to produce more motility capital, affording chances to exchange such capital for more economic and social wealth. Given the diverse array of businesses stored within the pages of the guidebook, all of which were touched in some form or fashion by mobility, the *Green Book* is illustrative of a “black sense of movement” that is pervasive throughout all periods of black life in the United States, but which requires active recovery and analysis.

Conclusion

Movement and the capacity for mobility lies at the heart of life for African-Americans in the United States. From the time of their capture and transport through the Middle Passage to the Americas, enslaved Africans and their descendants have dealt with forced (im)mobility as a

factor of existence. Even after the institution of slavery was abolished, white Americans enacted a racialized politics of mobility to constrain and disadvantage African-Americans to maintain the racial status quo that slavery created. Harsh Jim Crow laws that segregated spaces of mobility and regulated movements for people of color limited the amount of motility capital that could be accumulated and exchanged. Yet, black Americans developed ways to construct their own spaces and perform their own movements in spite of white supremacist institutions that sought to disenfranchise them. Through the production of such material culture as the *Green Book*, black travelers were able to increase their motility, thereby increasing their social and economic status to become resilient and prosperous in the face of Jim Crow.

This chapter sought to describe the relationship that African-Americans have with movement, in terms of both mobility and motility, by recovering the voices and the work of those who actively resisted against the hegemony of regulated (im)mobility. The framework that I introduce in this piece can be used to explore, contextualize, and bring forward black experiences, necessary actions that can contribute to antiracist thought and understanding. The presented case study that reads the *Green Book* through the lens of a “black sense of movement” demonstrates several important aspects of mobility that provide a more nuanced appreciation of black life in the Jim Crow era. First, the existence of the *Green Book* reveals the sophisticated skills that black travelers employed to gain more access to movement and spaces that were previously denied to them. This framework also recognizes the geospatial work that was conducted to create the guide, which sometimes put agents and travelers in potentially harmful situations. By exploring the text of the guide, we can find a “black sense of movement” embodied in the words of black entrepreneurs and others who contributed to the motility network, particularly in the advertisements that business owners placed to inform potential

customers of their part in facilitating mobility. Through a “black sense of movement,” we can recover the work, struggles, and resilience that black Americans created to preserve and expand the mobility and motility constellations that supported economic and social uplift.

Recognizing and recovering both the centrality of movement in black experiences in the United States and the dialectical relationship that African-Americans have with movement is necessary, given continuing instances of racialized violence on American roads. For many black Americans, accumulating motility capital is still a process hampered by hegemonic constraints, while simultaneously being a tool by which economic, social, and cultural capital can be gained. A contemporary “black sense of movement” has been captured in recent studies investigating the phenomenon of traveling while black (Duffy, Pinckney, Benjamin, & Mowatt, 2019), including on digital platforms such as Twitter (Dillette, Benjamin, & Carpenter, 2019). As a result of highly publicized instances of ongoing racial profiling and violence during traffic stops, an increasing interest in a “black sense of movement” has influenced the publication of a modern version of the Jim Crow-era travel guide, titled *The Post-Racial Negro Green Book* (Miles, 2017). This version of the guidebook lists, by state, examples of racist actions that have occurred in the 21st century, particularly those that occurred while on the road. The existence of such a revised version of the *Green Book* demonstrates how black mobility and motility are still contested formations more than 50 years after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

While this case study shows only a limited application of a “black sense of movement” framework, future studies can use this paradigm to further explore both historical and contemporary black communities and experiences. For instance, scholars could use the framework to investigate the role of public transportation in the lives of black Americans, especially to understand how central this mode of mobility is to the day-to-day life of urban

communities. Furthermore, given historical experiences with public transit, placing urban transportation policies within the proper socio-historical context, which a “black sense of movement” provides, could lead to potential antiracist and liberatory policies. With this framework, the important and foundational nature of movement is restored to black geographies, and the lived experiences of those who struggled to facilitate mobility and be mobile can reclaim the spaces and places that have been hidden or erased by the white supremacist institutions of the United States.

Chapter 2: Reading the *Negro Motorist Green Book* for the Intersection of Critical GIS and Black Geographies of Mobility

Disclosure Statement

This chapter was published in abbreviated form in an edited volume. Extensive additions to that publication have occurred to make this article suitable for the dissertation, particularly in the analysis of the maps and landscapes. The published abbreviated form of this chapter is cited as:

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Abstract

The *Green Book*, a Jim Crow era travel guide created by African-Americans for African-Americans, has received much recent popular and academic scrutiny. Consisting of almost 30 editions published between 1936 and 1967, the *Green Book* features thousands of addresses for businesses that catered to African-Americans during a period of institutionalized discrimination and segregation. Use of the guide allowed for safe travel by black travelers through hostile areas of the United States as it provided escape from harassment and potential violence instigated by unwelcoming shopkeepers and patrons. As a tool of resistance developed to spatially subvert white supremacy, the many editions of the *Green Book* provide a kind of road map that can reveal black geographies previously forgotten by hegemonic knowledge structures. However, despite this recognized social and historical importance, few studies have investigated the spatial data contained within the pages of the guidebook, or more broadly, the spaces of black geographies. This chapter seeks to fill this gap by understanding how the text of the *Green Book* can be read through the epistemologies of black geographies and critical geographic information science (GIScience). Simultaneously, it provides insights into the geography of African-American travel patterns during an era of state-sponsored discrimination. This study embraces technological advances since the time of the *Green Book*'s publication to visually map spatial data published during the Jim Crow era to demonstrate how the study of black geographies may benefit from the use of critical GIScience and texts such as the *Green Book*. Through a case study of New Orleans, Louisiana (USA), the author shows how the *Green Book* can be read to reveal shifts in the spaces associated with African-American travel. By comparing the spatial data of the *Green Book* to historical census data, trends in urban neighborhood composition can explain how and why African-American travel patterns shifted within the case city.

Furthermore, such mapping reveals the complex networks of spaces developed by black Americans to live within a segregationist society while actively resisting discrimination through the construction of counter-public spaces. Finally, this chapter demonstrates how historical texts, including guidebooks, can be utilized to provide insights into the historical geography of a largely understudied population, African-American travelers.

Introduction

During the period that lasted roughly from 1876 to 1964, African-Americans in the United States experienced intense levels of discrimination, were segregated from the white population, intentionally left economically disadvantaged, and routinely threatened with violence or outright physically attacked. This discrimination affected all parts of the country, but was arguably most prevalent in the American South, where laws enacted shortly after Reconstruction codified and institutionalized much of the hatred felt towards black Americans. These so-called Jim Crow laws reached into all aspects of life, from the prohibition of interracial marriages to the creation of a racial apartheid throughout restaurants, bathrooms, and public transportation. Lasting, officially, for almost a century, Jim Crow ended with the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that made racial discrimination illegal and opened the gates to a potentially more just and equal future. However, the lasting effects of Jim Crow are undoubtedly still felt today, with African-Americans typically occupying lower socio-economic classes and being incarcerated at much higher rates than other populations, signifying just how disruptive this government-sponsored discrimination was (and, as some have argued, continues to be) (Alexander, 2010).

Travel was one facet of life where the restrictions of Jim Crow were felt intensely, especially on long-distance vacations. Potentially unfamiliar with local dimensions of Jim Crow practices and places, black travelers were forced to contend with dangers such as Sundown

Towns (villages where African-Americans were told not to stay after sundown), harassment by hostile police, or violence from local residents and business owners as they moved from town to town (Loewen, 2005). African-American tourists also had to contend with the spatial realities of segregation and were forced to search hard to find accommodations willing to accept them for a night's rest, a fuel refill, or a quick meal. In her book, *The Warmth of Other Suns*, Isabel Wilkerson describes perhaps one of the more poignant and disturbing travel experiences an African-American faced in her account of Robert Joseph Pershing Foster's trek from Louisiana to California in 1953, a journey during which he was forced to drive continuously as he was unable to find a welcoming motel (Wilkerson, 2010). At a breaking point in Arizona, Foster, rejected from at least three other local motels, asked of an owner:

I'm looking for a room [. . .] now, if it's your policy not to rent to colored people, let me know now so I don't keep getting insulted [. . .] It's a shame that they would do a person like this [. . .] I'm no robber. I've got no weapons. I'm not a thief. I'm a medical doctor. I'm a captain [in the army] I have money to pay for my services [. . .] Now if you don't rent to colored people, let me know so I can go on to California. This is inhuman (Wilkerson, 2010, p.208-209).

Examples such as Foster's showcase the undignified and often traumatic situations created by Jim Crow for black travelers.

However, African-Americans were not just helpless victims under this institutionalized racism. As has been documented throughout the Civil Rights Movement, African-Americans resisted subjugation and oppression through a variety of means, both formal (McKnight, 1998; Arsenault, 2006) and informal (Alderman & Inwood, 2016b). This resistance even extended to travelers as they developed means to literally navigate through, and sometimes around, a white-dominated world. An African-American postal worker named Victor Hugo Green developed one such method used to escape the indignities and dangers of the Jim Crow highway (Taylor, 2020).

His creation, dubbed the *Negro Motorist Green Book*, or *Green Book* for short, was a travel guide that listed locations by street, city, and state across the United States that were willing to accept the business of African-American travelers (Figure 2.1). While traditional travel accommodations such as lodging, restaurants, and service stations were listed, other establishments including beauty parlors, drug stores, and taverns were provided as well, giving a sense of the broader black communities, or counter-public spaces, that existed during the Jim Crow era (Inwood, 2011).

Within each edition of the *Green Book*, published from 1936 to 1967, street addresses in major cities of each state were provided for listed businesses. As the guide grew in popularity, and tourism became more prevalent among middle-class African-Americans, the *Green Book* began listing several international travel accommodations as well (such as the Bahamas) and changed its official name to the *Negro Travelers Green Book* in 1952. With the end of formal segregation and discrimination in 1964, the *Green Book*'s purpose quickly became moot and publication ceased three years later. Despite its quick end, the guide provided many African-American tourists the confidence needed to travel to unfamiliar locations and allowed for the successful planning of both business and pleasure trips. This is not to say that the *Green Book* was a panacea for the discrimination of Jim Crow travel. Wilkerson offers the caveat that “the books were often out of date by the time they were printed [and] the accuracy of their entries based on the fortunes of ‘hoteliers’ who may have only been renters themselves [allowed] for the possibility that [the traveler] might arrive at a place in the guidebook only to find that the proprietor had been gone for years” (Wilkerson, 2010, p.204). However, even with such disappointments, “the mere presence of the guidebooks [. . .] gave a sense of order and dignity to the dispiriting prospect of driving cross-country” and created what can be thought of as a

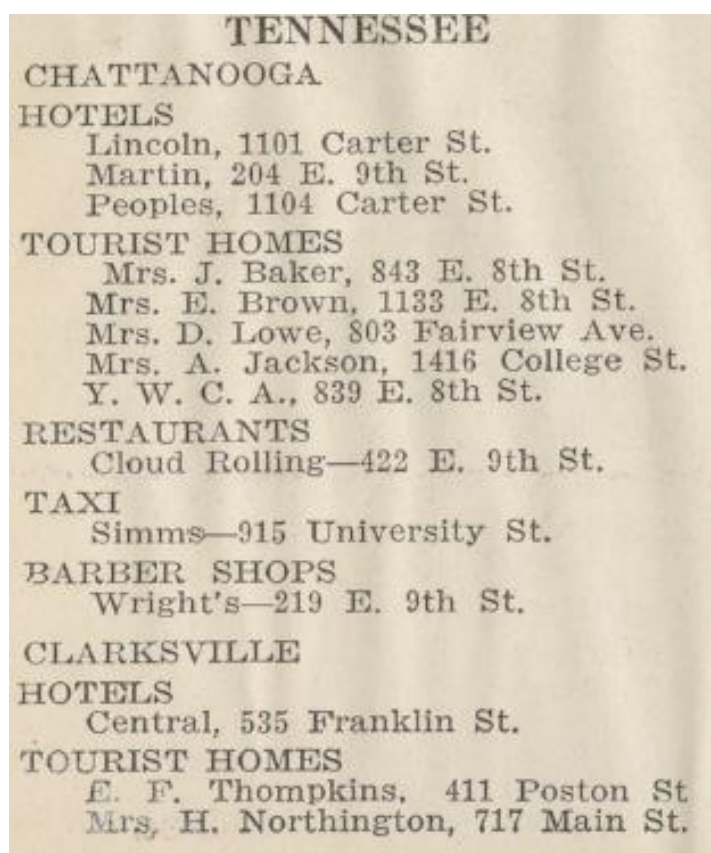


Figure 2.1: Example of *Green Book* listings found in the 1939 edition of the guidebook. Retrieved from <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/the-green-book/#/?tab=about&scroll=3>.

modern-day underground railroad that gave safe passage to African-Americans traveling through the hostile landscape of Jim Crow America (Wilkerson, 2010, p.204).

Though the guide never left the memories of those who used it, the public lost sight of the *Green Book* and only “rediscovered” the text within the last decade. Featured in several podcasts, news stories, and even an Academy Award winning film, the *Green Book* has also captured the imagination of a part of America that is attempting to come to terms with the country’s racialized past and present (Hall, 2016; Staples, 2019). Furthermore, academics have begun to engage with the text through critical theories of race and mobility (Hall, 2014; Mitchell & Collins, 2014; Alderman & Inwood, 2016a; Taylor, 2020). However, these previous studies have made no attempt to visualize the spaces described in the guidebook. This chapter seeks to add to these academic analyses of the *Green Book* by viewing the guide through a critical GIScience framework influenced by critical race theory and black geographic perspectives. By applying a critical GIS lens and methodology to the spatial data contained within the numerous editions of the *Green Book*, a fuller understanding of black life and resistance to white supremacy can be developed. Through the application of modern GIS technology, this chapter will demonstrate, utilizing a case study of New Orleans, Louisiana, how these vibrant travel-related black spaces and places can be mapped and their stories, both oppressive and liberating, told.

Mapping Race

Attempts to visualize the distribution of racial and ethnic groups and to locate racialized landscapes are not new (e.g., Block, Scribner, & DeSalvo, 2004; Sharma, 2017). However, much of this work has been criticized for being positivistic, reducing the lives of people of color “to essential measurable ‘facts’” (McKittrick & Woods, 2007, p.6). Such studies, while providing important statistical information about the conditions in these areas, often affirm hegemonic

narratives and harden “spatial binaries, in turn suggesting that some bodies belong, some bodies do not belong, and some bodies are out of place” (McKittrick, 2006, p.xv). As such, “race becomes attached to place in detrimental ways because local conditions reify and naturalize identity-difference: [B]lack women live in ‘bad’/black neighborhoods, have unhealthy children, restricted employment opportunities and resources, longer work days, and so on” (McKittrick, 2006, p.12-13).

By not recognizing the social construction of space, championed by Henri Lefebvre (1991), these positivist scholars are decontextualizing the placement of black bodies in the United States from the violent and oppressive histories that created the racialized spaces they are found in. A white supremacist society, founded on institutions that actively placed people of color in its margins and peripheries, has created the American landscapes that geographers now seek to map and visualize. Furthermore, these mappings that maintain marginalized populations in their place hide the work that many have performed to struggle against white supremacy, which itself significantly contributes to the production of space (McKittrick & Woods, 2007). Through presentations of what is seen as wrong with society, such as high crime rates, low education levels, and health disparities, “a black sense of place and black geographic knowledges” that combat against the harsh realities of a racialized existence are “undermined by hegemonic spatial practices” that include traditional forms of mapping and visualization (McKittrick & Woods, 2007, p.7).

With the theoretical development of critical GIScience, however, scholars can use this framework to avoid falling into the positivist trap. Born out of social constructionist reactions to the rise of geographic information sciences in the mid-1990s, critical GIScience “[investigates] the impacts of GIS upon participation, power relations, and existing inequalities in access to

spatial data and technologies, and [theorizes] how these impacts occur” (Elwood, 2008, p.177). Proponents of critical GIScience studies seek to include forms of data that may have been previously thought to be useless (i.e., qualitative data) or excluded purposefully as they were deemed subversive to dominant discourses (Kwan, 2002; Gilbert & Masucci, 2006; Pavlovskaya, 2006). Specifically, critical GIScience seeks to uncover, question, and reverse hegemonic power relations surrounding spatial data creation, analysis, and visualization and the use of those practices to exclude certain populations from prevailing ideas of who and what counts as data. As such, we can view the positivistic mapping of race in place, which is usually conducted using top-down derived methods and data sets, as antithetical to the goals of critical GIScience.

To answer the calls of critical race scholars who decry the use of traditional mapping techniques in research (McKittrick, 2006; McKittrick & Woods, 2007; Pacheco & Velez, 2009; Tate IV & Hoguebe, 2011), this chapter intertwines the epistemologies of critical GIScience with critical race theory (CRT) and the black geographies literatures. Developed in the 1980s out of legal scholarship, CRT holds as its central tenant that “race and racism are a defining characteristic of American society” (Parker & Villalpando, 2007, p.520). This belief stems from the fact that the United States was founded and developed on the basis of racial ideology, manifested in the system of African enslavement created for capitalistic gain (Williams, 1944; Beckert, 2014). For the entire 400-plus years of the country’s existence, the United States has had some form of racial hierarchy that has created unequal opportunities and resource distribution along a color line. White Americans were given access to jobs, homes, schools, and travel, while people of color, namely black Americans, were discriminated against and forced to live in a society that controlled their access to economic, educational, social, and physical mobility. Despite the end of legalized segregation and discrimination more than 50 years ago,

people of color are still caught in the legacies of the racialized founding of the United States (Alexander, 2010).

By understanding that racial hierarchies are at the center of American social and spatial projects, practitioners of CRT acknowledge that different individuals and populations experience life in different ways. Dominant groups (i.e., white Americans) do not face the same struggles or perform the same resistance tactics that marginalized groups (i.e., people of color) do to survive in a racist society, thereby creating differing perspectives of life in the same place. As such, CRT “recognizes that the experiential knowledge of people of color is legitimate and critical to understanding racial subordination” within the United States (Parker & Villalpando, 2007, p.520). This aspect of CRT is essential because it gives voice to people who are (in)directly left out of debates, decision-making processes, and archival records, allowing “counter-stories” to “expos[e], analyz[e], and challeng[e] the majoritarian stories of racial privilege” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p.32). The necessity for centering the experiences of marginalized peoples can be particularly demonstrated by exploring the interdisciplinary subject of black geographies, developed and theorized by Clyde Woods (1998) and Katherine McKittrick (2006). Informed by the tenets of critical race theory, black geographies recognizes the subaltern experiences of black Americans, which are produced both by marginalizing forces from above and through the work of those being oppressed as they create spaces in which to survive and resist (McKittrick, 2006; McKittrick & Woods, 2007). Specifically, “black geographies seek to highlight black agency in the production of space and black geographic experiences in the articulation of black geographic visions of society” (Allen, Lawhon, & Pierce, 2019, p.1002). In this way, the experiences and spaces of black life are brought into view in spite of their hegemonic exclusion and are properly

centered to bring a more nuanced sociohistorical context of spatial construction within the United States.

Perhaps one of the most well-known aspects of black geographies is Katherine McKittrick's (2006) theorization of a "black sense of place" (p.9). Described as the "process of materially and imaginatively *situating* historical and contemporary struggles against practices of domination *and* the difficult entanglements of racial encounter," a black sense of place captures how "relational violences...produce a condition of being black in the Americas that is predicated on struggle" (McKittrick, 2011, p.949, emphasis in original). Spaces for black Americans, both those created unwillingly *for* them and those created *by* them through performative action, have been created through structural and physical violence. This legacy of violence and struggle continues to follow African-Americans within the United States, informing the place-making of contemporary black America (e.g., Nicholson, 2016; Bledsoe, Eaves, & Williams, 2017; Alderman, 2018). Given the continuing struggles surrounding black spaces in the United States, understanding historical dimensions of the black sense of place is necessary as they influence the construction of space in, outside of, against, and for black communities. Investigating black geographies and the black sense of place, particularly through the centering of black counter-stories and knowledge systems, allows scholars to recognize how historically marginalized communities survive and become resilient in a society that actively seeks to harm and disadvantage a large sector of its populace.

With the recent attention swirling around the *Green Book*, now is the time to use this text as a jumping off point to further showcase how the epistemology of black geographies can engage with critical GIScience to produce visualizations of black life, movement, and spatial construction during a time of intense hegemonic geographic segregation and discrimination. By

utilizing the spatial data embedded within the pages of the guidebook, produced personally by the African-Americans who made use of the text, this chapter will add to the literature about mapping racialized landscapes through the combination of epistemologies and the visualization of geospatial intelligence produced by typically excluded individuals. Furthermore, historical landscapes of African-American travel will be revealed, contributing to the growing study of black travel and movement (e.g., Algeo, 2013; Lee & Scott, 2017; Alderman, 2018; Tucker & Deale, 2018; Dilletta, Benjamin, & Carpenter, 2019).

Black Mobilities

One essential aspect of daily life, mobility, has been studied extensively in terms of its relationship to white supremacy and African-American resistance. To maintain the economic and racial status quo developed during the rise of slavery, the dominant white hegemony and its resultant white supremacy created a racial divide that sought to subjugate black Americans and leave them disadvantaged, including in access to mobility and the resources it provided. By limiting travel, the white supremacist society was effectively limiting work opportunities, access to food and other resources, chances to increase cultural capital through leisure travel, and the gathering of black leaders who could potentially create resistance against the hegemony constraining their movement. Despite numerous obstacles to travel, black Americans did successfully move throughout this period of (attempted) forced immobility. Isabel Wilkerson's (2010) giant narrative of the Great Migration proves just that, as she follows several characters through their movements in and out of the Jim Crow South.

Recent work has shown how nuanced and sophisticated these acts of resistant mobility became during the Jim Crow period. On a macro-scale, both Franz (2004) and Seiler (2006) discuss how the rise of private car travel allowed for African-Americans to escape racial

segregation and violence routinely experienced on public transportation, while simultaneously enabling access to more economic opportunities. Similarly, Mark Foster (1999) details how prosperous black citizens were especially able to travel “in the face of Jim Crow,” through the creation of their very own resorts, athletic tournaments, and recreational spheres (p.130). On a micro-scale, Alderman and Inwood (2016b) explore the tactics of Wendell Scott, one of the first African-American drivers to participate in all-white NASCAR races. Scott’s geographic and social mobility, and the mobility of other African-Americans during this period, can be viewed as antiracism mobility work, as their practices were “actively fashioned and employed to transform their geographic immobility (or controlled mobility) into movement that subvert[ed] white supremacy and embodi[ed] antiracism” (Alderman & Inwood, 2016b, p.602). This antiracism mobility work helped black Americans to resist the power structures of white supremacy and fight for opportunities of work, pleasure, and resources that accompany the ability to move.

Contrary to the sense of motion that mobility conveys, understanding the movements of African-Americans can also reveal information about the settlement, or “moorings” (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006), of black spaces and places. Through the concept of “motility” and its recognition of the materials and structures that contribute to the capacity for movement (Kaufmann, 2002; Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004; Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006), we can recognize the wide-ranging tactics of resistance and resilience that allowed for the thriving of black communities and facilitated travel for leisure or work. Consisting of “all the factors that define the potential to be mobile in space, whether these are physical capacities, aspirations to be sedentary or mobile, existing technical transportation and telecommunications systems and their accessibility, and acquired knowledge,” motility captures the extensive constellation of spaces,

actions, and knowledges that enable or constrain the ability to move (Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006, p.169). For African-Americans in the United States, such access, skills, and strategies have been used in the struggle to create a black sense of place, both against *and* by black Americans. This dialectic, engrained in the history and contemporary experiences of black movement in the United States, echoes the “black sense of movement,” described in the first chapter of this dissertation, and examples of black motilities can be found throughout the literature on racialized mobility.

For instance, Foster’s (1999) work on prosperous black travelers reveals this concept of motility and during his discussion on the development of “black resort areas [that] sprouted up near eastern cities with relatively large black populations” (p.136). Despite being permanent locations, these resorts are essential parts of the geographic mobility complex due to their status as destinations and moorings for black travelers, as well as offering temporary insulation from the violence of Jim Crow. Katie Algeo (2013) provides another example of this relationship between settlement and movement in her study of an African-American hotel established at the edge of Mammoth Caves, one of the nineteenth century’s premier tourist destinations. While she recognizes the limitations set by Kentucky’s Jim Crow society, Algeo (2013) narrates the agency of black hoteliers and travelers in constructing a settled place that was welcoming within a largely white space. Because of these established connections, we can understand mobility in a similar light, using tourism data not only as a source to investigate black movement, but to also learn more about the settled travel-scapes, or motility constellations, that resistant mobility created, especially in urban settings that have been largely unstudied in tourism literature.

Places accommodating resistant black travel also allowed for the flourishing of more formal black resistance, as African-Americans used the spaces they created, under the laws of

Jim Crow, to gather and strategize about how to be resilient against white supremacy. For instance, Inwood (2014) describes how black entertainers would use their mobility, facilitated through musical tours of the country in night clubs like those listed in the *Green Book*, to exchange information between African-American communities across the Mason-Dixon Line. Simultaneously, these accommodating spaces enabled travel as the hotels, restaurants, barber shops, beauty parlors, and tourist homes established to harbor black Americans from the harshness of Jim Crow created a network that allowed for economic and cultural capital gains, a goal that is in direct violation of the spirit of the Jim Crow laws. The *Green Book*, published by African-Americans for African-Americans, organized these locations for easy access by black travelers as they moved across America's roads.

The *Green Book*, representing the subversive motility network that enabled safe travel and resistance, was created from the geospatial work originally performed by its editors, Victor Hugo Green and his wife, Alma Duke Green. Initially developed through Victor's contacts with the U.S. Postal Service, who detailed what businesses in New York City accommodated African-Americans, this network expanded as the scope of the guide grew to include the rest of the United States (and eventually several international destinations as well). This expanded constellation drew from readers themselves as agents of data collection: they would read the *Green Book*, see a call for new listings, and write to the offices of Victor Green to alert him of new businesses they discovered willing to accommodate African-Americans. Green also hired agents during this period who would travel to different cities to locate new listings as well. These examples provide evidence that African-Americans not only conducted antiracism mobility work, as previously described, but actively worked to increase their motility constellations through projects such as the *Green Book*. Given the spatial nature of the data collected in the

Green Book, this guide can be used to visualize the wide-ranging mobility and motility network that African-Americans created from and through struggle. Through a combined lens of black geographies and critical GIScience, we can see how this geographic data, utilized to resist and survive in spaces constructed through hegemonic discourses of white supremacy, can be visualized to further understand spaces of black mobility and the wider socio-spatial production of the Jim Crow South.

Reading New Orleans Through the *Green Book*

An example of how the text and spatial data found in the *Green Book* can be read to map the motility network of safe spaces and places that facilitated black travel and resistance follows using the city of New Orleans, Louisiana as a case study. New Orleans was chosen as a representative city because of its long history as a destination for tourism as well as its racialized past before and during the Jim Crow era (Stanonis, 2006; Gotham, 2007). With the “Big Easy’s” population during the peak of institutionalized discrimination only about a third African-American, white supremacy easily shaped the landscape and society of the city. The tourism industry was especially affected by this dynamic, as “in Jim Crow New Orleans, tourism sites and guides were developed to either erase traces of black culture or present blacks as subservient to whites” (Stanonis, 2006, p.196). The location of black touristic spaces, in terms of hotels, restaurants, and other businesses that catered to travelers, were separated socially and spatially as “white civic leaders structured the cityscape to reflect their vision of the past and to reinforce their [white supremacist] values in the present” (Stanonis, 2006, p.213). Through this racialized construction of space, New Orleans and its associated tourism landscapes were developed to support white supremacy and maintain the immobility and subjugation of black Americans that originally began with the enslavement of Africans (Campanella, 2017, p.23-31).

However, black residents and travelers in New Orleans were not without agency against this institutionalized racism. The largest slave revolt in American history occurred on the plantations of the German Coast in 1811, when near 500 enslaved individuals marched on New Orleans until they were brutally suppressed and executed (Paquette, 2009). After abolition, when Jim Crow laws were enacted in the city to preserve the white supremacist status quo, African-Americans actively protested the segregation of public street cars by boarding those set aside for whites and refusing to leave until physically removed or arrested (Blassingame, 1973). Black New Orleanians used their culture as well to resist racism, with the birth of jazz leading to the rise of popular night clubs that contributed to the growth of a black middle class (Stanonis, 2006; Inwood, 2014). Despite the imposition of restrictions on black spaces, movement, and other aspects of social life, African-Americans in New Orleans were able to survive, resist, and prosper within the “Crescent City.”

With the introduction of automobiles, and the adaptation of Jim Crow laws to segregate facilities associated with these vehicles, black residents and travelers to New Orleans worked to once more subvert white supremacy. Included in this antiracism mobility work is the *Green Book*, which features New Orleans-based businesses that welcomed black patrons. Both African-American agents working for the Green’s and black travelers patronizing these businesses contributed to the guide, as demonstrated by calls for volunteered information such as this section from the introduction to the 1938 edition:

“There are thousands of places that the public doesn’t know about and aren’t listed. Perhaps you might know of some? If so send in their names and addresses and the kind of business, so that we might pass it along to the rest of your fellow Motorists” (Green, 1938, Introduction).

Each subsequent publishing of the *Green Book* included such solicitations, and later editions even asked for assistance in ensuring spatial data quality, especially in regard to the creation of safe spaces and black counter-public spaces: “If in applying for accommodations you are refused, kindly notify us about same, giving us the reasons, we shall contact this particular place and remove their listing” (Green, 1954, p.5). Through these actions that disrupted the established knowledge production industry, founded on white supremacy, African-Americans developed a form of geospatial intelligence, defined as the “strategic employing of geographic information” by social groups for political purposes (Alderman & Inwood, 2016a, p.178), that was parlayed into a black geographic knowledge which allowed for black travel and resistance.

In publications spanning from 1938 to 1967 (all but the first two editions), 735 total listings were printed in the *Green Book* for New Orleans, divided between 80 different businesses. Locations presented in the guidebook for the city include those regularly associated with the travel industry, like hotels, tourist homes, and gas stations, as well as other businesses that served the wider black community, such as beauty schools, drug stores, and barber shops. This finding reveals the range of motilities that facilitated black travel, as well as the wider implications of the guide’s spatial data to reveal the creative agency demonstrated by African-Americans in resisting white supremacy. By far, the most popular type of business listed in the *Green Book* for New Orleans was hotels, which comprised 287 of the total listings; restaurants were the second largest category, with 140 entries tallied. The fact that hotels were the most listed type of business exposes several facets of black life and travel during the Jim Crow era. First, and probably most reasonably, travelers on long vacations need somewhere to stay; African-American travelers to New Orleans were no different, and because hotels were in ready supply, we can infer that black travelers traveled both long distances and long durations to the

“Big Easy,” similarly to whites. Second, as a result of the long trips taken to New Orleans, African-Americans not familiar with the city needed safe spaces to sleep and relax, and these hotels provided escape from the harsh realities of legalized discrimination. *Green Book* listed restaurants, gas stations, and taxicabs provided similar relief, but due to the vulnerable and residential nature of hotel business, their importance in facilitating black resistance and resilience shines through. Of course, not every business catering to black travelers was listed in the *Green Book*; a large constellation of “safe spaces” for African-Americans existed outside of the guide, creating further opportunities for resistance and resilience. Unfortunately, records of such establishments and the roles they played in expanding motility remain elusive as a result of hegemonic archival processes that deemed such geospatial intelligence unimportant for remembering (Mills, 2013).

Yet, because addresses for numerous businesses are stored in the *Green Book* from the time of its publication, it is possible to use modern technology to visualize the counter-public spaces originally mapped and presented by this representation of black geographies. To showcase the network of these spaces, the 735 addresses listed for the city of New Orleans were geocoded and loaded into a modern computer-based geographic information system. Information such as the year the entry was listed, the type of business, the business’s name, and notes about the entry were recorded along with the address and integrated into the GIS database. To further visualize how these locations represented safe spaces for African-Americans and exhibit the prosperity of black communities, the geocoded addresses were overlain onto historical census data displaying levels of black population within designated census tracts in Orleans Parish, the home of New Orleans. It must be noted that such top-down data, created by the hegemonically controlled U.S. Census Bureau, typifies the positivist mapping of “race in place,” as it designates

hardened boundaries that show demographically segregated neighborhoods. However, we can use such data to help demonstrate how black Americans created motility networks that facilitated travel, resistance, and resilience in spaces created through struggle performed both against and by African-Americans. Though these census tracts represent hegemonic data construction and place-making, combined with the subversive data of the *Green Book* and critical uses of geospatial technology, we can work to (re)develop the black senses of place and movement that characterized life in the Jim Crow South. For the purposes of this study, two maps were created at separate time periods (1940 and 1960) to easily display the changes experienced in black travel to and within New Orleans. These maps and the processes used to create them can be thought of as “counter mapping,” given the centering of marginalized voices (black travel agents and travelers) and the bottom-up approach to data collection that these maps represent (Alderman & Inwood, 2014, p.70). Therefore, this counter mapping process entwines the epistemologies of black geographies and critical GIScience to allow for a better understanding of the spaces used for mobility in a society that strove to maintain a racial status quo of inequity and segregation.

New Orleans in 1940

Figure 2.2 depicts a map of the 18 establishments listed in the 1940 edition of the *Green Book* compared to the percentage of people of color residing in census tracts of Orleans Parish. Broken down by business type, the listings for this edition consist of six hotels, four tourist homes, two taverns, two barber shops, one restaurant, one beauty parlor, one service station, and one taxi service. This diverse collection of enterprises showcases the thriving community that catered to both black residents and travelers in New Orleans during the heart of Jim Crow

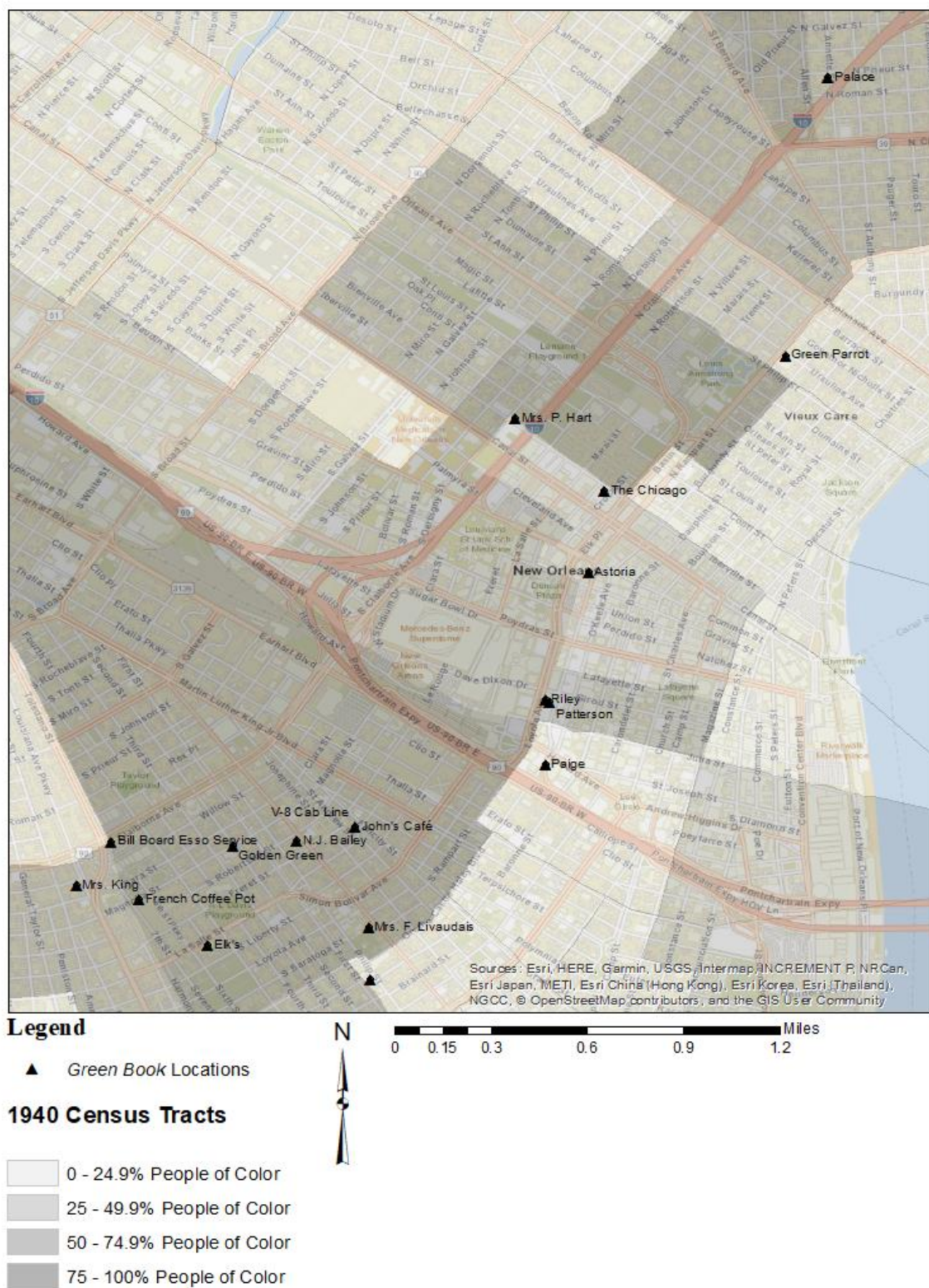


Figure 2.2: Map of New Orleans businesses listed in the 1940 edition of the *Green Book*. Map by author.

discrimination. Despite institutionalized attempts to prevent black social, economic, and physical mobility, businesses that provided both essential and ancillary services to the community developed and became prosperous enough to be featured in the *Green Book*. In terms of motility networks, we can see both direct and indirect contributions to the potential for movement in these listings. Directly affecting the capacity to move are the hotels and tourist homes that host travelers and provide a safe space to rest, as well as the service stations and taxi services that allowed for motor vehicle travel around and outside of the city. Indirectly, the monetary profits and social capital that were accrued by the proprietors of listed businesses, including those not directly related to travel like barbershops and beauty parlors, provided access to materials that contributed to mobility, increasing the motility of those individuals and the surrounding community. A burgeoning black middle class, comprised of entrepreneurs like those that owned and operated businesses listed in the *Green Book*, increasingly purchased private automobiles and the travel guides that steered them through potentially hostile territory, increasing access to mobility that previously did not exist (Foster, 1999; Franz, 2004; Seiler, 2006; Taylor, 2020). As such, the listings presented in the 1940 edition demonstrate the varied motility networks that black communities developed to resist and be resilient in the face of Jim Crow.

Despite the resistant tactics that created counter-public spaces and subversive motility constellations, it is easy to see the clear segregation that existed in the spaces of white and black residents given the homogenous demographics that characterize a large number of pictured tracts. We can interpret from the placement of *Green Book* sites, marked by black triangles in Figure 2.2, that the travel industry was highly segregated as well. Almost all businesses listed in the 1940 guidebook are located in tracts that are majority inhabited by people of color, with one (the Paige hotel) operating in a majority white tract, and two others (the Green Parrot tavern and

an unnamed barber shop) located right on the border of demographically different tracts. While the census tract boundaries shown are important for contextualizing the locations of *Green Book*-listed businesses, it is important to heed McKittrick's (2006) warning of using such statistical information to harden spatial binaries. The solid lines separating the tracts from one another give legitimacy to the idea that black and white populations were physically separated from each other in New Orleans. However, we must recognize that these arbitrary boundaries likely hide the liminality that these spaces possessed in historical reality. The location of the Paige hotel evidences this potential liminality as black travelers would enter the majority white tract to patronize the business, softening the spatial boundaries supposedly separating the two populations.

We also see several businesses concentrated along a rough northeast-southwest corridor that aligns with major roads running through New Orleans (as depicted in the basemap that serves as the background for Figure 2.2). The largest cluster of businesses lies in the large black community in the southwestern portion of the map (the Central City neighborhood) and represents the development of a cohesive community for African-Americans based around businesses that catered to different aspects of both everyday life and the tourist experience. Another less cohesive cluster lies west of the French Quarter, the famous historic district and tourist destination that was, and remains, dominated by white populations (Stanonis, 2006). These businesses consist almost entirely of hotels, a material cultural aspect of a noted relationship between white and black populations in Southern cities. In both academic works (e.g., Stanonis, 2006) and primary accounts exploring tourism in New Orleans (e.g., Federal Writers' Project, 1938), writers remark about the prevalence of black performers in night clubs

and restaurants reserved for white patrons. For instance, a travel guide from 1938 designed for white tourists observes that:

Also in the Vieux Carré [...] are several Decatur Street ‘hot spots’ whose names are perhaps indicative of the type of entertainment to be found. One is greeted by such names as the *King Fish*, where ‘Ya Man’ and his colored orchestra produce sizzling jazz [...] At these places the floor shows are marked by the utmost abandon, to say the least. The performers range in color from a ‘high yaller’ [sic] to ebony (Federal Writers’ Project, 1938, p.xxxix).

Many recreational and touristic spaces in New Orleans and other Southern cities were designed around such relationships, with black performers entertaining white pleasure-seekers. Despite their admittance into white spaces for performance purposes, “black jazz performers were [still] forced to bow to white supremacy” (Stanonis, 2006, p.210). As such, they were not allowed to sleep in the same hotels as white people as they traveled from gig to gig and had to stay in segregated hotels in black neighborhoods. With this context in mind, the chain of hotels bordering the French Quarter, including the Chicago, Astoria, Riley, and Patterson hotels, most likely offered welcoming places to stay for black musicians performing in white-owned night clubs. Though complying with the segregation enforced by law in the city, these hotels still supported the safe travel of black performers by providing places to rest and relax away from potentially hostile crowds, while also contributing to profits for the proprietors, who were most likely black as well. Therefore, just like the large concentration of businesses in the southwest corner of Figure 2.2, this axis of *Green Book* locations represents the large mobility and motility network that facilitated black travel and resilience in the Jim Crow South.

In terms of McKittrick’s (2006; 2011) “black sense of place,” the “counter map” contained within the *Green Book* reveals both the struggles performed *against* black Americans and the struggles performed *by* this group. For instance, the placement of the majority of *Green*

Book businesses within majority-people of color census tracts represents segregation imposed by law and custom upon the marginalized group. Yet, black entrepreneurs worked to create spaces of self-determination, belonging, and relative success within a system that actively sought to disadvantage and undermine them. The visualization of a concentrated district of African-American friendly businesses reveals the resilience and prosperity of black New Orleanians in the face of a harsh Jim Crow reality. The corridor of hotels near the French Quarter is perhaps the most direct embodiment of the black senses of place and movement that this study exhibits. In their own materiality, the hotels represent both struggles against and by African-Americans similar to that described above. However, the interaction between white night clubs and black performers exposes further aspects of the complex racial encounters that have always characterized black geographies. Regarding mobility, these hotels represent both positive and negative realities for black traveling musicians. After entertaining white patrons late into the night, black performers were obliged to return to segregated hotels, which were farther away than non-accommodating white-owned hotels located in the French Quarter. While seemingly minor, this extra labor placed on these workers may have had deep emotional effects, especially as they had to travel through potentially hostile white spaces late at night to reach their hotels (Alderman, Williams, & Bottone, 2019). Yet, these hotels (and the white night clubs that employed musicians, to an extent) also enabled travel throughout the United States by providing a network of known spots where traveling performers could peacefully stay and gather together and exchange potentially empowering information, acting as counter-public spaces (Inwood, 2011). Therefore, these hotels capture the essence of a black sense of movement, the dialectical relationship of struggle that black Americans have with mobility. That both black sense of place and movement not only ensure a transfer of information but also a broadening of perspectives

and social interactions is essential to envisioning and planning an anti-racist future. The 1940 edition of the *Green Book* and the “counter map” created from its data showcase these relationships and visually manifest the productive dialogues possible between critical GIScience and black geographies scholarship.

New Orleans in 1960

We can also use the spatial data of the *Green Book* to understand how black communities changed over time, particularly as understood by those who experienced the transformations firsthand. As entries in the guidebook were submitted and curated by black travelers, the changing listings and locations represent how those operating within the extant motility network understood the options available to them throughout the turbulent mid-20th century. To provide an example of how these understandings may be visualized and interpreted, entries from the 1960 edition of the *Green Book* were geocoded and mapped, as shown in Figure 2.3. In this edition, the list of businesses in New Orleans expanded to 26, but the types of businesses represented became less diverse, as only hotels (15), tourist homes (5), and restaurants (6) were included. A recent study of the *Green Book* by Candacy Taylor (2020) explores this contraction of listings, but finds no concrete reason other than the will of the editor to potentially make the guide more similar to those that aided the traveling white population. Despite this drastic shift in the guidebook’s entries, we can still glean important insights from this edition of the *Green Book* that help tell the story of changing racialized travel landscapes in the American South.

As similarly shown by the 1940 map, a large number of the 1960 *Green Book*-listed businesses are located in majority-people of color census tracts, specifically in the same southwestern cluster noted in the previous edition. Likewise, the cluster of hotels along the western edge of the French Quarter remains. Yet, only one of the French Quarter hotels from the

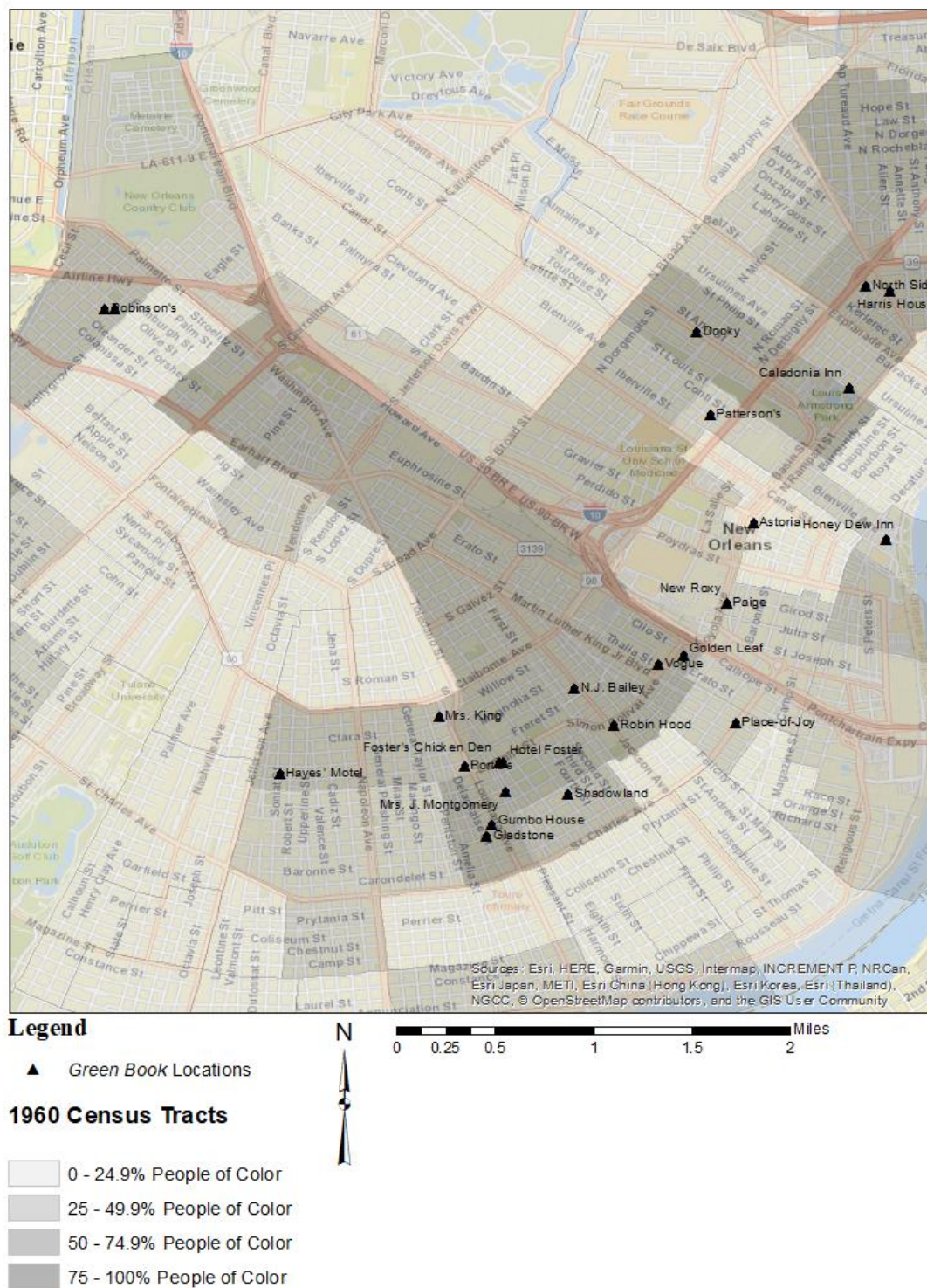


Figure 2.3: Map of New Orleans businesses listed in the 1960 edition of the *Green Book*. Map by author.

1960 edition is also listed in the 1940 publication at the same address, the Astoria, at 235 S. Rampart Street. Such fluidity is customary in the lodging industry, particularly for hotels during the period between 1940 and 1960, when low-cost motels became popular accommodations for travelers (Jakle, Sculle, & Rogers, 1996). However, the fact that hotels still exist in approximately the same locations as those listed in the 1940 edition of the *Green Book* tells us that the same relationships that fueled and shaped travel to this region, including performances by itinerant black musicians in white night clubs, were still maintained 20 years later.

Despite the overall similarities between the information shown in the maps, differences do exist in the black geographies embodied within the two editions. One of the most noticeable changes is in the scope of the black travel landscape defined for New Orleans. In the map created from the 1940 edition (Figure 2.2), business listings are located in a rather concentrated area roughly three miles long and one mile wide. However, in the map showing the locations of entries from the 1960 edition (Figure 2.3), a much wider area of New Orleans is depicted. The most noticeable outliers are the two tourist homes located at the far western edge of the map (Robinson's Tourist Home and Mrs. P. Robinson's Tourist Home), which lie approximately three miles away from the main concentration of listed businesses. We also see the Honey Dew Inn, a restaurant, located almost on the waterfront near the French Quarter; in 1940, almost all black-accommodating businesses were placed inland of the French Quarter. Further extending the 1960 black travel landscape is a point not included in Figure 2.3, the Marsalis Motel, a suburban lodging located in neighboring Jefferson Parish. Given its distance almost five and a half miles from the French Quarter, this point was not shown so as to provide more detail in the map for the other 25 entries.

These three examples of the expanding scope of the *Green Book* reveal how the potential for travel by black Americans arguably expanded greatly in New Orleans alone⁵; all over the South, new businesses were being opened that provided rest, food, and entertainment in spaces that may have been previously inaccessible. Likely driving this expansion was the continued growth of the black middle class, which spent upwards of \$800 million per year on travel across the United States “as a result of increased prosperity and credit card use” (Gordon, 2015, p.57). Likewise, the spreading knowledge of the *Green Book* as a useful travel guide for black Americans bolstered the entries and provided an outlet for businesses to advertise that may not have known about the guide 20 years previously. As such, the physical extent of the black travel landscape, and the black motility network that facilitated resistant and resilient travel, grew both in reality and in the minds of those collecting and using the spatial data contained in the *Green Book*.

Another example of the changing black geographies of travel in New Orleans can be found by comparing the racial census data with the placement of *Green Book*-listed businesses. Between 1940 and 1960, several census tracts along what is now I-10, to the south of the French Quarter, became less homogenous in terms of race. In 1940, these tracts were majority white, reporting populations comprised of less than 25 percent people of color. However, in 1960, these same census tracts became more demographically mixed, with populations between 50 and 75 percent white. While still in the majority, white populations declined in proportion to people of color within in these tracts over the 20-year period of study. This observation is important to note as several 1960-listed businesses are located within these tracts, including the Place-of-Joy and Honey Dew Inn restaurants and the Paige hotel (which had moved since its listing in the 1940

⁵ “Arguably expanded” because it is not known at this time if the businesses listed in 1960 had existed in 1940 but were not included in the *Green Book*. Still, the fact of their listing in 1960 is indicative of expanding black travel.

edition). The appearance of these establishments in white census tracts provides insight into the changing geographies and racialized encounters of black travel, revealing a possible liberalization of racial attitudes by some white residents. It is not known at this time if these three businesses were white-owned and accepted black travelers or were African-American owned and moved into areas with more accepting white neighbors. This potential liberalization expanded the perceptions of those contributing data to the *Green Book* and conceivably allowed them to be comfortable enough to submit addresses in these majority white areas. Transgressions of predominantly white areas, a key tactic during the American Civil Rights Movement, were facilitated in travel by these expanding definitions of what was open to African-Americans as a touristic space. Despite this antiracist mobility work, it appears that the tourism industry and the black community of New Orleans as a whole remained largely segregated in the 20 years between 1940 and 1960, thus revealing the deep divides that characterized (and continues to define) Southern cities with legacies of legalized white supremacy. Importantly, while the epistemology of black geographies has enhanced our understanding of the spatiality of race, the field has done little in the way of critical mapping studies (but see Inwood & Alderman, 2019, for a recent reversal of this trend). This use of spatial data from the *Green Book* to compare touristic spaces throughout part of the lifecycle of Jim Crow in a Southern city once again demonstrates how critical GIScience analysis can advance the studies of black geographies.

Conclusion

Through this demonstration of the *Green Book* as a “counter map”, I assert that scholars can learn much about the changing black geographies of travel and urban landscapes by reading and interacting with the text and spatial data of the *Green Book*. By investigating the guidebook through a combined framework of black geographies and critical GIScience, we can gain a more

nuanced understanding of the resistance and resilience that African-Americans displayed in the face of the great adversity thrust upon them by the daily hegemony of white supremacy in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries. In the case of New Orleans specifically, a reading of the *Green Book*'s volunteered spatial data revealed the presence of a thriving and concentrated travel-related industry that existed separately from the white-led tourism center focused on the French Quarter. A dependent and somewhat-contradictory relationship between white night clubs and black performers was visualized as well, leading to a discussion of the dialectic between mobility and motility that characterized black life in the Jim Crow South. When the data from different *Green Book* editions are compared temporally, moorings and transformations in racialized travel and settlement can be seen, as with the appearance of several black-accommodating businesses in majority-white areas of New Orleans by 1960. Even with this growing liberalization in the definition of black spaces of travel, segregation still dominated the geographies of black life in the "Big Easy." Through an interdisciplinary lens influenced by critical GIScience, critical race theory, and black geographies, we can understand that this segregation did not hamper the life and travel of many African-Americans, as they were able to create their own knowledges of spaces and places, such as the *Green Book*, that subverted white supremacy and its control of many geospatial intelligences.

Furthermore, the work of this chapter has shown how positivist mapping of race can be avoided through the recognition and engagement of black geographies. The *Green Book* consists of information entirely created by African-Americans in resistance to the hegemonic construction of space by white supremacists. The guide can be read as a "counter-story," telling accounts of the geospatial work practiced by travelers and entrepreneurs that have been obscured by dominant narratives of American mobility. It provides a sense of the places that were created

through labor and struggle that gave black Americans opportunities to be resilient and prosperous in a system that sought to disadvantage and immobilize them. As such, it “brings into focus networks and relations of power, resistance, histories, and the everyday, rather than locations that are simply subjugated, perpetually ghettoized, or ungeographic” (McKittrick & Woods, 2007, p.7). Through the *Green Book*’s counter maps, we can see that, despite the spatial segregation imposed on the black population of New Orleans, a thriving network of resistant mobility developed in *and* outside segregationist spaces, revealing the wider agency that black travelers and entrepreneurs had during the Jim Crow era. Instead of being hemmed in and “ghettoized” by the spatial construction of racialized landscapes, this mapping of the *Green Book* reveals the counter-production of space by African-Americans that facilitated safe travel and business. An epistemological combination of black geographies and critical GISscience helps us to not map race *in* place, but to spatially liberate black Americans and recognize the place-making abilities of marginalized populations.

While this chapter provides a short example of the types of research that can be done through a geographically and racially critical reading of the *Green Book*, future work remains. For instance, examining how landscapes associated with black travel have changed since the time of the *Green Book* can reveal how urban spaces have been transformed by processes such as urban renewal and gentrification that predate many of the patterns found in the guidebook. Comparing not only addresses between the publication period and present day, but also street names, business names, and the photos of advertisements could lend much insight into the landscapes of changing black geographies. Comparisons between cities during the same period of time as well could lead to interesting discoveries about the local dimensions of segregation, racial liberalization, and black resistance. These studies all make use of the geospatial

intelligence found within the pages of the *Green Book*, spatial data and knowledges contributed by those seeking to create a better life for themselves in defiance of an institutionalized system of hatred and discrimination. Communicating their counter-stories keeps their voices heard and recognizes their contributions to the place-making, resistance, and resilience that African-Americans practiced during the Jim Crow era, both of which can influence contemporary thoughts regarding how space, place, and movement are constructed and practiced along racial lines.

**Chapter 3: “Your Home – Away from Home”: Tourist Homes and Examples of Hospitality
as Resistance from the *Green Book***

Abstract

Tourist homes, private residences that rented rooms to traveling guests, were once a popular form of tourist accommodation in the United States. Reaching their peak in the early 20th century, tourist homes quickly became obsolete as hotels and motels were able to provide relatively inexpensive and standardized forms of hospitality. As a result of their meteoric rise and fall, and the private nature of the lodging, tourist homes have been neglected in studies of historical tourism and hospitality. This chapter, however, seeks to recover and recognize the role that tourist homes played in providing welcome and other forms of hospitality to travelers, particularly black Americans. Through an exploration of tourist homes listed in the *Green Book*, an African-American-centric travel guide, I argue that tourist homes not only lodged travelers overnight, but also significantly contributed to forms of mobile resistance against white supremacy. Specifically, through a conceptualization of hospitality as resistance, this chapter demonstrates how tourist homes enabled opportunities for black Americans to gain economic and social capital through processes of welcoming and establishing “black counterpublic spaces.” Particularly through constructions of home-like environments, tourist homes presented safe spaces that served as moorings within larger mobility networks, countering white supremacist attempts to immobilize and disadvantage black Americans. Given these contributions to resistance and black mobility, I conclude that tourist homes deserve to be included in studies of tourism, hospitality, and black geographies.

Introduction

For black Americans in United States, traveling has continuously been both an emotionally and physically trying event. During the Jim Crow era, which lasted from 1877 until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, travel for African-Americans was a particularly

dangerous venture, with threats of violence by both citizens and police on the minds of those moving through spaces made hostile by legalized segregation and discrimination (Alderman, Williams, & Bottone, 2019). Despite these impositions, African-Americans did travel, often assisted by the work of individuals who resisted the white supremacist constraints of black movements. One specific effort that had a major impact on the landscape of black travel during the Jim Crow era was the *Green Book*, a travel guide that catered to African-Americans. Listing businesses that welcomed black travelers, the *Green Book* provided a method for navigating the hostility of white supremacist institutions by presenting a network of safe spaces that could be used to find respite from the emotional and physical violence of Jim Crow.

One of the most common businesses found in the *Green Book* were tourist homes, private homes and apartments that rented rooms to travelers. While similar to the present-day phenomenon of Airbnbs, a form of tourism where rooms, apartments, and whole houses are rented out to travelers (Guttentag, 2015), tourist homes, for the most part, primarily existed as a residence for the homeowners. Other forms of modern “commercial home tourism” that resemble tourist homes, such as bed and breakfasts, frame the home/house itself as the destination of the tourist (Lynch & MacWhannell, 2000; Lynch, Di Domenico, & Sweeney, 2007; Lynch, McIntosh, & Tucker, 2009). Tourist homes, however, were not the destination, but only a stop along the way. As such, tourist homes, while distinct from the current homestay trend, may be considered as its historical antecedent; in fact, Candacy Taylor (2020) remarked in her recent study of the *Green Book*, “It’s possible that these tourist homes were the first Airbnbs” (p.234). Yet, notwithstanding the similarities, tourist homes remain a separate category of tourist accommodations, and should be examined as such, especially given their extreme abundance within the pages of the *Green Book*.

Despite the numerous listings found within the black travel guide, their presence in the travel landscape of the early 20th century overall, and similarities to modern forms of tourism, tourist homes have been neglected in tourism and hospitality studies. However, these lodgings represent an opportunity to better understand how conceptions and constructions of hospitality, the welcoming of guests, facilitated movement. Through the efforts of those who operated tourist homes, as well as the lodgings' very existence, travel was encouraged and assisted, especially for black Americans, a group whose movements were constrained and regulated during the Jim Crow era. Yet, with the help of the *Green Book* and the tourist homes listed within its pages, black travelers found spaces of welcome within a larger societal context of unwelcoming. As such, tourist homes played a significant role in the formation of black mobile resistance to white supremacy, a role that deserves to be recovered and recognized within studies of black travel and tourism. What follows is just a beginning for that process as the impact that tourist homes had in the lived experiences of African-Americans cannot be summed up in one paper. However, the proceeding discussions of hospitality, mobility, resistance, and their connections seeks to open future avenues of research into both tourist homes and acts of hospitality as forms of resistance to dominant narratives of (un)welcoming.

Hospitality/Hostility in Black Geographies

What exactly comprises hospitality has been a contested debate within various academic fields over the last half-century. Definitions and notions of what is hospitality are wide-ranging and have been offered by scholars from management studies (Cassie, 1984), philosophy (Derrida, 2000b; Telfer, 2000), anthropology (Selwyn, 2000), and tourism studies (Lashley, Lynch, & Morrison, 2007). While traditional conceptions of hospitality focused on the economic exchange of money for goods, such as food, drink, and lodging, between the host and guest

(Walton, 2000), recent interventions in hospitality studies have sought to problematize this relationship by using hospitality as a tool for social analysis (Lashley et al., 2007; Brotherton & Wood, 2008; Lynch, Germann Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi, & Lashley, 2011). Specifically, these scholars call for investigations into the relations of power and privilege that shape who is offered hospitality and what forms this hospitality takes through the “power geometry of hospitality, hospitableness and hospitable social relations” (Germann Molz & Gibson, 2007, p.12). Answering questions such as “Who is able to offer hospitality, and how does the offer of hospitality entrench certain relations of power, ownership and sovereignty?” can reveal inequities and resistance tactics that other lenses of social analysis may miss (Germann Molz & Gibson, 2007, p.11).

Conceptualizing hospitality as a form of social control offers insight into the questions above and extends our knowledge of the workings of hegemony into the more banal forms that power and exclusion can take. Decisions of who is welcome are “constructed by, but also productive of, certain contexts, spaces, politics, objects, social roles and relations,” and these decisions have far-reaching impacts that influence the way people, as guests, are received (Lynch et al., 2011, p.14). Constructions of “the stranger” in differing societies exposes the power of hospitality, since it “creates and legitimizes social categories and identities” (Alderman & Modlin, 2013, p.11). This inclusionary/exclusionary dichotomy of hospitality has been captured by some scholars through the portmanteau “hostipitality,” which conveys the hostility that selective hospitality necessarily produces (Derrida, 2000a; Lynch et al., 2011). While much of the research operationalizing “hostipitality” has focused on refugees and asylum-seekers (e.g., McFadyen, 2016; Berg & Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2018), several travel and tourism studies have used the dialectic between inclusion and exclusion to explore wider socio-historical contexts of

belonging (e.g., Korstanje & Tarlow, 2012; Alderman & Modlin, 2013). As such works have shown, studying the social construction of hospitality and hostility “reveals both the large-scale organization of welcoming (and excluding) others at the institutional or state level and the everyday experiences of living with difference” (Lynch et al., 2011, p.14).

For much of U.S. history, black Americans have been regarded as the “other” (Kendi, 2016). Since the 17th century, both institutional and customary constraints have been placed on African-Americans, regulating their activities down to the very minutiae of daily life. These social controls have been greatly discussed by scholars, including those that conditioned who was welcome and where, particularly in the Jim Crow South (e.g., Weyeneth, 2005; Abel, 2010; Alderman & Modlin, 2013). One extreme example of the hostility shown towards black Americans is found in “sundown towns,” villages that prohibited people of color within their limits after dark, prohibitions backed up by threats of violence and even death (Loewen, 2005). These towns also embody the previously described idea of “hostipitality” by creating an openly hospitable space to white guests that was simultaneously hostile to black guests. Developed to maintain the racial status quo that was established at the moment of the United States’ founding, American society is largely constructed to be hostile, not hospitable, towards African-Americans, and many spaces within the country are unwelcoming towards these marginalized peoples.

Of course, not all spaces exclude black Americans. In fact, many spaces of hospitality have been created by African-Americans themselves for African-Americans in response to the white supremacy that has dominated the United States since the 17th century. For instance, scholars have described resorts that elite black Americans established to serve as vacation destinations and spaces of relaxation for travelers of color (Foster, 1999; Young Armstead, 2005; Stephens, 2013). Others have explored spaces of black hospitality geared towards lower class

travelers, including state parks (O'Brien, 2007; 2012; 2015), but such work has only taken a hegemonic view of these locations as exclusionary, instead of recognizing the tactics employed by middle-to-lower class black travelers to create welcoming spaces. Spaces of black hospitality, both for the elite and lower classes, reversed the exclusion that the dominant hospitality discourse espoused, and helped to contribute to the survival and resilience of black Americans during a time of legalized white supremacy.

The above description of the (un)welcoming landscapes that characterized⁶ hospitality for black Americans provides a thread that can be entwined with recent developments in geographic thought to expand our understandings of how hospitality has been practiced by African-Americans in both historical and contemporary contexts. Since the late 1990s, a growing number of scholars in critical geography have become engaged with the epistemology known as “black geographies,” which seeks to understand how black Americans, specifically, experience space and place. Evolving from the foundational work of Clyde Woods (1998) and Katherine McKittrick (2006), “black geographies disclose how the racialized production of space is made possible in the explicit demarcations of the spaces of [black Americans] as invisible/forgettable at the same time as the invisible/forgettable is producing space” (McKittrick & Woods, 2007, p.4). This dialectic between how space is made *for* black Americans but yet also *by* black Americans lies at the heart of the African diaspora’s experience in the United States, and as such, these geographies need to be a part of geographic study. Furthermore, given that black geographies have been rendered invisible/forgettable by traditional narratives of spatial construction, the subversive efforts that black Americans conduct to produce space within a society that actively sought (and still seeks) to render them ungeographic. Specifically, scholars

⁶ And by some accounts, continues to characterize hospitality for black Americans (Nicholson, 2016; Alderman, 2018).

of black geographies strive to “highlight black agency in the production of space and black geographic experiences in the articulation of black geographic visions of society” (Allen, Lawhon, & Pierce, 2019, p.1002). Through centering the voices and experiences of black Americans, geographers can begin to recover the work that African-Americans performed to survive and be resilient while generating alternative understandings of space and belonging.

The dialectic between spaces created *for* black Americans and spaces created *by* black Americans is succinctly captured by Katherine McKittrick’s (2006; 2011) conception of a “black sense of place.” Described as the “process of materially and imaginatively *situating* historical and contemporary struggles against practices of domination *and* the difficult entanglements of racial encounter,” this sense embodies the struggle that black Americans have performed to survive in the United States while being simultaneously constrained by white supremacist institutions (McKittrick, 2011, p.949, emphasis in original). Another convention that offers similar formulations of black geographies is the idea of “black counterpublic spaces,” spaces that “allowed African[-]American culture to flourish in the face of racial segregation” (Inwood, 2011, p.148; see also Gregory, 1994; Dawson, 2001). Actively serving as spaces of resistance and resilience to white supremacy, “black counterpublics developed because African[-]Americans were historically excluded from the public sphere,” further revealing the dialectic of exclusion and inclusion that black Americans faced, particularly during the Jim Crow era (Inwood, 2011, p.148). Between “black counterpublic spaces” and a “black sense of place,” the study of black geographies has provided radical ways of understanding the production of space in black America and “opens up possibilities for alternative, anticolonial, and liberatory forms of geographic knowledge and world-making” (Hawthorne, 2019, p.9).

While scholars of black geographies have investigated important moments within the African diaspora's experience in the United States, there exists a distinct lack of involvement with hospitality studies. This is surprising, given the noted similarities between the dialectics of "hostipitality" and a "black sense of place/black counterpublic spaces." However, scholars of black geographies do not deserve all the blame: Researchers of hospitality have also been criticized as selective in applying their frameworks to other fields. In a scathing review of hospitality literature, Lynch et al. (2011) asserted that

“...this absence of interdisciplinary conversation and collaboration within and beyond the academy represents a missed opportunity to infuse hospitality studies with critical significance and to bring the concept of hospitality to bear on some of the most pressing social, cultural and political questions of our time” (p.3).

The object of this chapter is to rise to the aforementioned challenge by intertwining epistemologies of black geographies and hospitality. Connecting these two fields provides a new lens through which constructions of space and belonging can be analyzed, especially as differing “discourses and practices of hospitality create their own contexts in which certain ways of being together, caring for one another, or excluding the other are normalized and reproduced” (Lynch et al., 2011, p.14). Using hospitality as a social lens to understand how (un)welcoming spaces are developed both *for* and *by* African-Americans contributes to recognizing alternative and liberatory geographic knowledges, and this chapter demonstrates this process through a case study of a specific type of lodging, the tourist home, that was heavily utilized by black travelers during the Jim Crow era.

Hospitality through Movements & Moorings

Tied in with understandings and actions of hospitality are the movements that make hospitality necessary and possible. To be a guest, one must move in some form, be it physically,

digitally, or imaginatively, to a space that is not theirs. And to enter that space, the guest must receive some form of welcoming or some show of hospitality from a host. Therefore, “implicit in most definitions of hospitality are the movements of tourists and visitors,” conveying the importance that mobility, the ability to move, has in studies of hospitality (Germann Molz & Gibson, 2007, p.3). Furthermore, as these guests travel, they oftentimes need to stop to rest, eat, and/or resupply, requiring a permanent, or at least a static, space that is immobile. As Germann Molz and Gibson (2007) assert, “if hospitality is predicated on mobility, it is equally predicated on immobility – those places and moments of rest and repose that refresh and rejuvenate the traveller” (p.14). Therefore, we find another dialectic that works to construct hospitality, as it is “produced through the negotiation of movement and mooring” (Germann Molz & Gibson, 2007, p.14), and showcases just how complex the idea of hospitality can be.

The idea of moorings was suggested by Hannam, Sheller, and Urry (2006), and represents the “interdependent systems of ‘immobile’ material worlds and especially some exceptionally immobile platforms...through which mobilizations...are performed and re-arrangements of place and scale materialized” (p.3). Mobility necessarily requires immobile materials to facilitate movement, such as roads on which vehicles drive, gas stations to refuel cars, or a parking spot to house a personal automobile. Mobility, then, requires the construction of space to work, a process that has been demonstrated as highly uneven and political (Lefebvre, 1991). As a result, the moorings, or the spaces, that facilitate movement are distributed unequally depending on values and categories that are deemed (un)important within certain sociohistorical contexts. Understanding who has access to mobility or who even has the ability to move has been a significant focus within critical mobility studies, and scholars have developed broader

conceptions of movement to describe and place mobility within larger contexts of economic, social, and political processes.

One such representation is the idea of motility, which is defined as “the capacity of entities (e.g. goods, information or persons) to be mobile in social and geographic space” (Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004, p.750). As motility denotes the *potential* to be mobile, and not just the act of movement itself, frameworks built around this concept allow “for more holistic explanatory models” of hegemonic social construction and its effects on mobility (Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004, p.752). Considering that motility comprises “all the factors that define the potential to be mobile in space, whether these are physical capacities, aspirations to be sedentary or mobile...and acquired knowledge,” it is easy to see how limiting or facilitating access to any of these aspects could constrain or enhance the mobility of individuals (Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006, p.169). Within these factors are the moorings described by Hannam, Sheller, and Urry (2006): The more moorings that are welcoming, or greater access to available moorings, increases the capacity for travel, and fewer moorings or less access decreases the motility of an individual or group. If someone has a greater potential for movement, they also have greater access to both economic and social wealth, in the form of better-paying jobs and contact with cultural resources. Kaufmann, Bergman, and Joye (2004) argue that, given the greater opportunities for economic and social gain afforded by greater motility, movement is a form of capital that can be exchanged for other types of capital. Termed “movement capital” or “motility capital,” this concept allows scholars to center movement in the daily life of individuals and groups as it showcases the importance mobility plays in creating economic, social, and cultural opportunities (Kaufmann, Bergman, & Joye, 2004, p.752). Increasing the amount of motility capital one has generates more opportunities for gaining economic and social wealth,

and the moorings that facilitate movement directly influence the amount of motility someone has. Given the power that mobility and motility has for potentially uplifting individuals and populations, these capabilities have naturally been used by hegemonic forces to marginalize and discriminate against groups deemed “others.”

In the United States, mobility and motility has been a source of constant conflict between white and black Americans, as institutions regulating movement have been established by a society seeking to maintain a racial hierarchy of white supremacy. Since Africans were first captured and brought over the Middle Passage to be enslaved on plantations in the Americas, black mobilities have been constrained and controlled by white Americans (Johnson, 1999; Rediker, 2007; Johnson, 2013). Even after enslaved African-Americans were emancipated and granted freedom, their mobility was still used as a means of economic and social control, especially in the American South where Jim Crow laws were passed to legally discriminate and disadvantage black Americans (Loewen, 2005; Hague, 2010; Kelley, 2010). Despite these impositions, black Americans resisted forced (im)mobilities and worked to create their own methods and networks of travel, many of which required the collection and analysis of geographic information (Alderman & Inwood, 2016a; Inwood & Alderman, 2019).

One of the most recognized examples of such geospatial work is the *Negro Motorist Green Book*, colloquially known as just the *Green Book*, a travel guide developed by a black postal worker, Victor Hugo Green, and his wife, Alma Duke Green. This guidebook contained the addresses of thousands of businesses that welcomed black travelers in cities and towns across the United States. Many types of businesses were listed in the *Green Book*, including hotels,

restaurants, and gas stations, that provided services required for travel.⁷ Scholars have recognized the importance of the guide in facilitating safe travel for black Americans during a period (1936-1967) where mobility was often fraught with both physical and emotional violence (Young Armstead, 2005; Alderman & Inwood, 2014; Mitchell & Collins, 2014; Alderman & Inwood, 2016a; Bottone, 2020; Taylor, 2020). As such, we can recognize the *Green Book* and its contributors as part of the motility network that enabled and facilitated black movements, thereby increasing the motility capital of both those who used it to navigate and those who listed their businesses within its pages.⁸ The *Green Book* and its contributors worked to subvert white supremacy and its imposed constraints on black mobility, and through their efforts they created a network of welcoming spaces that represented hospitality that black Americans did not receive outside of many of their own communities. Tourist homes especially characterized this hospitality as black home-owners opened their doors to weary travelers and welcomed them into spaces where people could gather, share news, and learn more about future travel.

Given the amazing breadth of hospitable spaces created to accommodate black movements, it would seem obvious that scholars of mobility, especially racialized mobility, might engage with theories and literature of hospitality to gain perspective into the production of movement. Yet, “although mobility underpins any discussion of hospitality, none of the erstwhile contributions on hospitality have explicitly brought a mobilities focus to bear...” (Germann Molz & Gibson, 2007, p.3); while these words were written almost 15 years ago, they still ring true as few connections have been made between the two fields. Previous scholars have recognized that “hospitality research is uniquely positioned to reflect critically on the mobilities,

⁷ Other businesses were included in the guide as well, such as beauty parlors, barber shops, and liquor stores, that provided a sense of the wider black community in listed areas, but these establishments disappeared from the *Green Book* over time as the guide became more focused on servicing travelers (Taylor, 2020).

⁸ For more on this specific topic, see the first chapter of this dissertation (“A Black Sense of Movement...”).

immobilities, and moorings that structure mobility systems and the increasingly networked patterns of economic and social life (Lynch et al., 2011, p.7), yet few studies have linked the two together (however, see McMorran, 2015). Both mobility and hospitality have been shown to be socially constructed by dominant social discourses, specifically those focused on who is construed as the “other.” As “questions of social control...emerge at the intersection between hospitality and mobility” (Lynch et al., 2011, p.7), evidenced by the above description of Jim Crow travel, it is necessary to engage the two fields in dialogues with each other to better understand how movements and moorings are produced, particularly by subaltern populations whose actions have been typically obfuscated and hidden from public memory. Through the lens of black geographies, this chapter seeks to bring together mobility and hospitality studies to explore how both were constructed and used by black Americans to survive, resist, and be resilient during the Jim Crow era. Specifically, I aim to recover and center the role of tourist homes in providing hospitality to black travelers, particularly in the context of facilitating various forms of resistance to white supremacy as “black counterpublic spaces.”

Recovering Tourist Homes through the *Green Book*

Tourist homes are an intriguing element of travel and tourism history, partly because they are missing from much of the literature on the subject. While no exact definition exists for what comprises a tourist home, they generally were privately-owned houses in which individual rooms were rented out to overnight guests (Belasco, 1979; Jakle, 1980; Jakle, Sculle, & Rogers, 1996; Jakle & Sculle, 2009; Taylor, 2020). The ambiguity in defining tourist homes stems from the diversity of physical forms these lodgings took, as accommodations ranged from a single room in a house to an apartment building that rented out dozens of rooms a night (Belasco, 1979; Jakle, Sculle, & Rogers, 1996). Tourist homes were a popular form of lodging in the early days

of automobile travel in the United States, developed as a result of the lack of available roadside accommodations, especially in smaller towns across the country where there was not enough demand to warrant an operating hotel (Jakle, Sculle, & Rogers, 1996). The heyday of the tourist home occurred during the Great Depression, when many travelers were unable to afford the more extravagant hotels and when many home-owners needed to earn extra income by renting out an available room or two (Jakle, Sculle, & Rogers, 1996; Taylor, 2020). While extremely popular during this time period,⁹ tourist homes quickly fell out of favor after World War II due to the growth of both the American middle-class, who could afford to stay in lodgings that were more exotic than the typical house, and the motel sector, which offered an affordable and standardized option during roadside travel (Jakle, Sculle, & Rogers, 1996). Though this lodging type was common for only about 20 years, the tourist home still represents a significant moment in American travel and tourism history.

The above paragraph represents a summary of the existing literature concerning tourist homes in the United States. Despite this lodging's extreme popularity in the early 20th century, with over 200,000 private homes offering some type of tourist accommodation in 1935 alone (Cole, 1938, p.242), no study on the history of tourist lodgings in the United States spends more than two pages covering the rise and fall of tourist homes. "The hotel [and motel have] been the dominant paradigm that has long determined, and served as, a commercial accommodation role model," which corresponds to their dominance in the present tourism and travel landscape (Lynch, McIntosh, & Tucker, 2009, p.1); however, this focus on hotels and motels has obfuscated the diverse history of tourist accommodations, particularly for those who either could not afford to stay in or were unwelcome in such lodgings. Furthermore, when tourist homes are

⁹ One oft-cited example of the abundance of tourist homes is that in 1935, there were over 1,000 licensed tourist homes in Richmond, Virginia, alone (Belasco, 1979, p.153; Jakle, Sculle, & Rogers, 1996, p.36).

included in studies of accommodations, they are often portrayed in substandard ways and through reductionist stereotypes. In two book-length examinations of American tourist accommodations, tourist homes are only mentioned as competitors of the rising hotel industry, and inferior ones at that (Belasco, 1979; Jakle & Sculle, 2009). This situation is a result of the historical record, as the authors of the studies included attacks hoteliers wrote against competing tourist homes, which survived in industry publications produced by hotel associations. For instance, one such polemic described tourist homes as run by “‘bored housewives’ out to earn extra ‘pin money’” (Belasco, 1979, p.153), reducing the diverse ownership of these lodgings to a harmful gendered stereotype. Such attacks stand unopposed in these studies, as no alternative portrayal of tourist home operators or the lodgings themselves was provided by the authors.

Even in contemporary academic accounts that exist, tourist homes are depicted as inferior lodgings. In an article that reviews how tourist homes should be treated under the law, the author begins the piece by saying “Home[-]owners have placed their *second best furniture* in the spare room and erected a sign by the highway...” (Cole, 1938, p.242, emphasis mine). A geographic study of the tourism industry along U.S. Route 16 in South Dakota from 1945 included discussions of both tourist homes and tourist camps, larger scale operations that typically consisted of several unconnected buildings that were rented out individually (Eiselen, 1945). Despite the fact that Eiselen (1945) found more tourist homes (41) in Rapid City, South Dakota, than tourist camps (38), she glosses over tourist homes to provide more information concerning the locations and operations of tourist camps (p.228-229); no reason is provided for this choice of subjects. One of the most telling omissions from Eiselen’s (1945) study is that, despite the aforementioned discrepancy in the numbers of tourist homes and tourist camps in Rapid City, several pictures of tourist camps are included in her article, while no pictures of tourist homes

were featured. Such an omission lends credence to the idea that tourist homes are inferior, as their absence infers that they are not worthy of study in comparison to other accommodations. This specific example provides a glimpse into how tourist homes were written out of the historical record, as regardless of their abundance in the tourism landscape, tourism scholars have chosen to focus their efforts on lodgings that were more in the public sphere, those outside of the private home. The fact that tourist homes were solely comprised of privately-owned and managed apartments and homes necessarily means that records of their operations are lacking, and therefore, are missing from accounts of tourist accommodations. However, records of tourist homes do still exist and should be examined, particularly through a critical lens, to gain a better understanding of how these popular lodgings facilitated movement and hospitality, specifically for those who were not accommodated at other forms of lodgings.

For black Americans, tourist homes represented a viable option in which to stay while traveling overnight. Many hotels, motels, and tourist camps across the United States, particularly in the American South, did not allow African-Americans to stay on the premises, meaning that they were forced to turn elsewhere for accommodations. In response to this segregation, black entrepreneurs opened their own lodgings in numerous cities and towns to house overnight travelers (Taylor, 2020). Included among these accommodations were thousands of tourist homes operated by black home-owners that provided safe spaces for black travelers to rest and find respite from the harsh realities of moving in Jim Crow America. While tourist homes were recommended by word of mouth and advertised through partnerships with related businesses,¹⁰ the many editions of the *Green Book* listed more than 1,400 tourist homes that users of the guide could receive welcome and hospitality from (Taylor, 2020, p.234).

¹⁰ For an example, see Vance (1942), in which a tourist home operator solicited a nearby gas station to carry business cards.

These lodgings were typically inexpensive, with most rooms “available for a dollar a night, and a warm meal cost seventy-five cents” (Taylor, 2020, p.234), meaning that lower-class travelers were able to take advantage of such deals, affording them the potential to travel for longer durations and distances. Examples of such tourist home hospitality can be found readily in the advertisements printed within the *Green Book*, such as the one promoting Helen’s Grill & Tourist Home in Louisville, Kentucky (Figure 3.1) and Kline’s Rest Home in Cleveland, Tennessee (Figure 3.2). The touting of “Home Cooked Food” and “Homelike” accommodations alerted readers to the kind of welcome one would receive if patronizing these businesses, hospitality that became part of the black travel motility network. Such assurances of hospitality found in the *Green Book* gave travelers a sense of security that they would be taken care of when on the road, providing psychological assurance that potential violence may be avoided. For those staying in the tourist homes that advertised “Homelike” qualities, it may be like they never even left home, considered by many to be their safest space. Through the *Green Book*, tourist home operators signaled a welcome that incoming guests would find resupply and respite from the harsh realities of the Jim Crow highway, especially for the lower-income travelers who already faced the brunt of discrimination and segregation. In this way, the tourist homes, and the *Green Book* that housed their information, worked to increase the motility capital of black travelers by furnishing knowledge of these spaces and the information needed to access them.

Furthermore, tourist homes were able to operate in smaller towns that could not support a hotel or tourist camp, extending the potential motility network of black travelers by providing a place to rest in cities that may have otherwise appeared hostile to African-Americans. An example from the 1941 edition of the *Green Book* (Figure 3.3) demonstrates this distribution of tourist homes, as small cities in Missouri, outside of the major metropolises of Kansas City and



Figure 3.1: Advertisement for Helen's Grill & Tourist Home, located in Louisville, Kentucky, from the 1960 edition of the *Green Book*. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a7bf74e0-9427-0132-17bf-58d385a7b928>.



Figure 3.2: Advertisement for Kline's Rest Home, located in Cleveland, Tennessee, from the 1960 edition of the *Green Book*. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a7bf74e0-9427-0132-17bf-58d385a7b928>.



Figure 3.3: Example of tourist home listings from the 1941 edition of the *Green Book*. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/cc8306a0-83c4-0132-cc93-58d385a7bbd0>.

St. Louis, were able to support multiple tourist homes, but no hotels. Tourist homes were also able to coexist alongside hotels in the same cities, as listings in the *Green Book* show as well (Figure 3.4). In these instances, tourist homes operated as a low-cost option for travelers who could not or did not want to pay the price for a hotel room. Tourist homes could even compete against hotels for patrons, as evidenced by the bolded listing for Hattiesburg's Lantern Tourist Home in Figure 3.4. The star and bold lettering that accompany this listing denote an official recommendation from the staff of the *Green Book*, an honor given to businesses that provide exceptional service to their clientele. That fact that tourist homes were able to receive the recommendation works to refute the stereotype of inferiority, especially as it was awarded the honor over a local hotel.¹¹ Even in major cities renowned for their hotels and hospitality, tourist homes attempted to compete for *Green Book* patronage. Figure 3.5 shows an advertisement placed in the 1952 edition of the guide for a tourist home in Washington, D.C. To compete with hotels in the city, Hunt's Tourist Home offered high-class amenities such as air conditioning and "Music in your room upon request" (Green, 1952, p.13); these conveniences further counter the historical characterization of tourist homes as full of "second best" furnishings and run by housewives seeking extra pocket change.

The inclusion of these exemplar tourist homes in the *Green Book* reveals both the abundant spread of these lodgings and the level of comfort that they could provide. Given their presence in many communities across the United States, particularly those smaller cities that could not support a black-owned hotel, tourist homes that accommodated African-Americans facilitated mobility for this population whose movements were constrained and regulated by a white supremacist Jim Crow society. Tourist homes also provided welcoming and comfortable

¹¹ Of course, the editors of the *Green Book* were quick to note that "Omission of [a star] does not necessarily mean inferior accommodations" (Green, 1960, p.3).

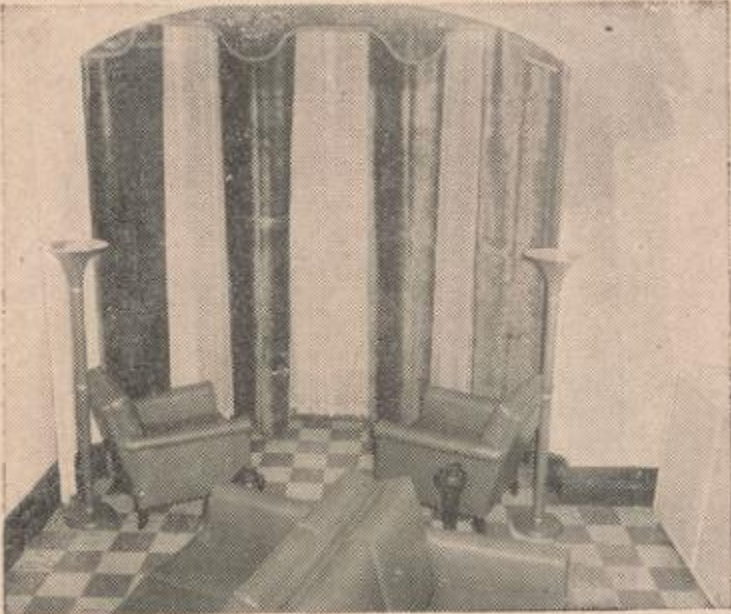
HATTIESBURG	
W. A. Godbolt Tourist Home	409 E. 7th Street
Mrs. A. Crosby Tourist Home	413 E. 6th Street
Mrs. S. Vann Tourist Home	636 Mobile Street
Crosby's Hotel	512 Mobile Street
★LANTERN TOURIST HOME	509½ Mobile Street

Figure 3.4: Example of tourist homes and hotels listed within the same city from the 1960 edition of the *Green Book*. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a7bf74e0-9427-0132-17bf-58d385a7b928>.

PLEASE MENTION THE "GREEN BOOK" WASH., D. C.

HUNT'S TOURIST HOME

31 Quiet, Clean and Comfortable Rooms
Music in Your Room Upon Request



1318 Rhode Island Ave., N.W. ADams 9578

If there are any rooms to be found that are cleaner, quieter or more comfortable
please tell—

AIR CONDITIONED James W. Hunt, Prop.

Figure 3.5: Advertisement for Hunt's Tourist Home in Washington, D.C., from the 1952 edition of the *Green Book*. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/42c15a10-92c7-0132-cf89-58d385a7b928>.

environments through services offered to guests that enlivened their stay, performing functions similar, if not equal, to the hotels that have captured the attention of tourism scholars. As such, particularly for black Americans, tourist homes represented a reasonable alternative to potentially unwelcoming or unaffordable hotels and motels, a fact that in itself reveals tourist homes to be worthy of study and inclusion in histories of tourism. Therefore, I call for a re-centering of tourist homes in studies of black mobilities and hospitalities, especially through conceptions of the hospitality these lodgings offered as a form of resistance to the racialized construction of mobility that the United States was founded on.

Hospitality as Resistance

Lynch et al. (2011) argue that understanding hospitality, the act of (un)welcoming a guest, as a metaphor “links separate but related worlds of meaning, conjuring up certain assumptions, fantasies, threats and promises in order to make sense of the lived experiences and tangible qualities of human (and non-human) relations” (p.12). Exploring tourist homes through a metaphor of hospitality can help us make sense of the lived experiences and relations that black travelers experienced during the Jim Crow era, particularly through the dialectic of (un)welcoming. Specifically, I assert that viewing hospitality as resistance can draw connections between the fields of black geographies, mobility studies, and hospitality studies, linking these separate but related worlds. While hospitality captures the welcoming of certain guests over others, as previously stated, frameworks of hospitality can also be used to uncover the acceptance of guests *in spite* of an unwelcoming environment. Receiving those who are deemed the “other” by dominant narratives is a transgressive act, even when the “other” is doing the receiving. Welcoming a guest deemed unwelcomed by hegemonic forces violates the socially imposed norms of hospitality, creating both actions and spaces that counter social mechanisms of

control. Therefore, hospitality can be viewed as a form of resistance, and acts of hospitality can work to subvert dominant paradigms of social construction, particularly along lines of who is (un)welcome in different socio-spatial contexts.

Through this lens, we can link the fields of mobility and hospitality studies to black geographies and better understand the metaphor of hospitality as resistance. Scholars of black geographies recognize the dialectical senses of place and movement that African-Americans carry in the United States, relationships that embody the struggles performed both *against* and *by* black Americans to construct spaces and movements. A similar dialectical relationship is seen in the metaphor of hospitality as resistance, as, in the context of Jim Crow travel, welcoming was created both *against* and *for* black Americans. The welcome produced for African-Americans transgressed and broke the social norms established by white supremacist institutions and customs, in the process forming spaces and movements of resistance through the offering of hospitality. Such hospitality as resistance provided opportunities for black Americans to travel and be resilient against white supremacy, specifically by increasing their movement capital and extending networks of motility during a time of intense regulation and (attempted) forced immobility. As movement capital can be exchanged for other forms of capital, these acts of hospitality produced opportunities for attaining social and economic wealth that otherwise would not have existed without the work of resistant tactics. Specifically, the moorings that hospitality necessitates, those spaces where guests are welcome to stop, rest, and resupply, facilitated resistance through mobility and motility by serving as spaces where African-Americans could find welcome and safe harbor from the harsh realities of the unwelcoming Jim Crow highway.

Applying a term from studies of black geographies, black Americans performing hospitality as resistance worked to construct “black counterpublic spaces” through the moorings

of the motility networks that facilitated travel (Inwood, 2011). Such spaces “are at the heart of the black counterpublic,” as “African[-]Americans believe themselves to be exclusively in the company of other African[-]Americans,” free from the gaze and constraints of white society (Harris-Lacewell, 2004, p.8). It is in these spaces that African-Americans come together “because of their blackness,” a result of the dialectical construction of racialized space (Harris-Lacewell, 2004, p.8). The moorings of black travel during Jim Crow are representative of these “black counterpublic spaces,” as black travelers stopped at such locations to be free from the gaze of white society, coming to these spaces because it was acceptable to be black there. Therefore, these “black counterpublic spaces” of hospitality disrupted the paradigm of black unwelcoming and enabled movements of survival and resilience that offered opportunities for the exchange of motility capital. As such, recovering how these spaces were constructed and functioned is necessary for a holistic understanding of historical black travel and life and their influences on present-day expressions of black senses of place and movement. The *Green Book*, while not a complete listing of historical “black counterpublic spaces” of hospitality, allows scholars and practitioners to gather a sense of what spaces were available to accept black travelers and perform hospitality as resistance. Specifically, given the previous discussion of tourist homes in the *Green Book*, these lodgings provide an excellent example to recover and recognize the key role hospitality played in resisting white supremacy.

As advertisements for tourist homes published in the *Green Book* show, a variety of services and environments were created to welcome and comfort guests, including communal spaces where hosts and black travelers alike could gather and socialize. For instance, the ad shown for Hunt’s Tourist Home (Figure 3.5) features a picture of several padded leather chairs arranged in a communal space to facilitate conversation among hosts and guests. The decision to

include a picture of such a communal space, instead of rooms that guests could stay in, represents the importance that black hospitality providers placed on socialization as well as the priorities for readers of the guide. Specifically, in the context of Washington, D.C., the location of Hunt's Tourist Home, socializing in such communal spaces was vitally important as guests from disparate locations could gather together to discuss political strategies and organizing efforts to lobby government officials for civil rights. Providing a communal space benefited the host as well as the guests: "From the host's point of view [receiving guests] provide[d] opportunities for hosting, for social display, for developing social relationships, [and] meeting social and status needs" (Lashley, 2000, p.10). An example of such opportunities for the host is provided by Candacy Taylor (2020) when she describes how a Mr. Blank, of Blank's Riverview Cottage in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, enjoyed sharing stories of his younger days in the Navy with guests staying at his tourist home (p.234). Mr. Blank used his status as a host for social display and developing social relationships with guests by telling his stories, in the process creating spaces where African-Americans could come together and be themselves. In these ways, *Green Book* tourist homes acted as "black counterpublic spaces" by not only welcoming black travelers in spite of hegemonic hostility, but also by providing an environment in which African-Americans could discuss and share information free from the gaze of white society seeking to disadvantage them.

The creation of a home-like atmosphere also aided in the production of "black counterpublic spaces" of hospitality. Almost every advertisement for tourist homes in the *Green Book* invokes some kind of phrasing to tell the reader that staying at that particular lodging will provide some aspect of feeling at home. Expressions such as "Home Cooked Food" (Figure 3.1), "Homelike" (Figure 3.2), and "Your Home – Away From Home" (Figure 3.6), reveal the myriad



Figure 3.6: Advertisement for Ebony Guest House, in Florence, South Carolina, from the 1955 edition of the *Green Book*. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/2a146d30-9381-0132-f916-58d385a7b928>.

ways that tourist home operators tried to assure travelers that they would be safe on their travels if they rented a room, just as they would be at their own homes. The idea of home is an important concept in hospitality studies, as accepting a stranger into one's home, "a space of security, intimacy and regeneration" (Lynch et al., 2009, p.9), is at the very core of hospitality. Leaving home, then, can be very emotionally and physically grueling, especially if societal norms deem someone as an "other." Therefore, providing a "home away from home," a space where guests could feel secure and regenerate, was a powerful tool by which black tourist home operators could facilitate movements during a time of hegemonically constrained mobility, directly using hospitality *as* resistance.

Elizabeth Telfer (1996) argues that "it is food that is of central importance in hospitality," because of its necessity in daily life and the trust required to share it with strangers (p.83). The provision of a "home-cooked meal" to guests at many tourist homes therefore further reinforced a feeling of home and belonging that supported resistant hospitalities of motility and mobility. Taylor (2020) writes about the importance of tourist homes as food providers for travelers, stating that

Tourist homes were also places where black travelers were sure to get a warm meal. Usually, if they were in a town with no commercial *Green Book* restaurants, they had to fill up on cold cuts from grocery stores. Some cities, such as Springfield, Illinois, listed fourteen tourist homes, but during the entire time the *Green Book* was in publication, not one restaurant there was listed (p.234-235).

Tourist home operators were often keen to advertise the fact that they served a "home-cooked meal," letting users of the *Green Book* know that, even if they could not find a restaurant willing to serve them in town, they could find a welcoming place that would feed them. For example, Helen's Grill & Tourist Home of Louisville, Kentucky, (Figure 3.1) advertised "Home Cooked Food" and "Bar-B-Que Daily in the *Green Book* to attract travelers and create a sense of they

type of home that could be offered to patrons. In the same account of the storytelling Mr. Blank provided by Taylor (2020), Baxter F. Jackson, a guest at the Blank's Riverview Cottage, opined that "if a man digs his grave with his teeth, as I have been told, I hope I can dig mine with Mrs. Blank's cooking" (p.234). Such a description of the food available at a tourist home, while not specifically using the word "home," provides a sense of the intimacy and belonging created by both host and guest at these lodgings.

Tourist homes also contributed to hospitality as resistance by expanding motility networks into areas that may have not been served by hotels and for those travelers who could not afford a hotel room. As previously mentioned, given their low operating costs, tourist homes were able to exist in smaller cities and towns that could not support a black-owned hotel (Figure 3.3). *Green Book*-listed tourist homes in such areas provided travelers using the guide with a sense of security and belonging. Knowledge that there was a safe space to stop and find a meal gave black travelers the confidence to travel through and to these locations, increasing access to potential resources of economic (i.e., jobs) and social (i.e., vacations, visiting family) wealth that were previously denied to them through racialized social controls of mobility. As an example of the potential impact tourist homes had in facilitating mobility in certain areas, Taylor (2020) found that "90 percent of all the *Green Book* sites in Nebraska and Michigan (except in Detroit) were tourist homes" (p.234). While tourist homes geographically expanded black mobility and motility networks through offers of hospitality, these lodgings also expanded the ability to travel on a class-basis as well. "The tourist home was the great equalizer. Those who couldn't afford a hotel could likely afford a tourist home" (Taylor, 2020, p.234), given the "Reasonable Rates" that many tourist homes rented their rooms for (Figure 3.7). Providing safe spaces for lower-income black Americans presented opportunities for these travelers to further access economic



Figure 3.7: Advertisement for the M.L. Weaver Tourist Home, in Emporia Virginia, from the 1963-64 edition of the *Green Book*. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/666fe280-82ee-0132-31f3-58d385a7bbd0>.

and social capital as well. Considering that this population was one of the most affected by the social controls of Jim Crow and had few means of resistance, the hospitality offered by tourist homes allowed those who could travel a chance to access “black counterpublic spaces” and increase their movement capital.

Conclusion

While hotels rightly deserve their place in the pantheon of hospitality and black geographic studies, I argue that tourist homes facilitated resistance through hospitality for a greater number of black travelers in the Jim Crow era as a result of the environments they offered, their inexpensiveness, and their abundance, particularly in smaller cities not serviced by hotels. Consequently, tourist homes, their proprietors, and the guests who patronized them comprised a significant role in the production of “black counterpublic spaces” of hospitality. Specifically, through the creation of home-like atmospheres, tourist home operators constructed safe and intimate spaces of belonging that gave black travelers the confidence to move within a society that valued them as “others” and unwelcome. As Candacy Taylor (2020) writes, “Tourist homes were...the perfect place to build social networks because they were intimate, relaxing environments where vacationers could let their guard down, share a meal, tell a few stories, and make memories (p.234). Therefore, due to their importance to African-American travel, tourist homes need to be recovered and rightly placed within studies of tourism history and black travel.

This chapter also presents the framework of hospitality as resistance, the use of welcoming to counteract the hostility of others. Through this conception, we can link the fields of hospitality studies, mobility studies, and black geographies and use these connections to develop more nuanced understandings of black travel and tourism. While this specific study focuses on historical applications of the hospitality as resistance metaphor, this framework can

also be used to explore present-day issues in black travel. Though the United States no longer has legalized segregation and discrimination, African-Americans still face scenarios during travel that influence their perceptions of where black Americans are (un)welcome (Carter, 2008; Lee & Scott, 2017; Slocum, 2017; Alderman, 2018; Tucker & Deale, 2018; Dillette, Benjamin, & Carpenter, 2019; Slocum, 2019). However, by viewing hospitality as a form of resistance, scholars can work to recognize the production of “black counterpublic spaces,” specifically those moorings that facilitate and expand black mobility. Several recent studies have brought the past work of tourist homes into conversation with present-day issues of racialized travel, particularly through explorations of alternative home-sharing platforms such as Noirbnb, a website that lists private-home accommodations that welcome black travelers (Boxall, Nyanjom, & Slaven, 2018; Dillette, Benjamin, & Carpenter, 2019). Given continued instances of discrimination against black travelers, “a need for a new *Green Book*” has been discussed, which would “help [b]lack travelers navigate through hostile environments and find communities that are welcoming,” including digital landscapes that did not exist during the first *Green Book*’s publication (Dillette, Benjamin, & Carpenter, 2019, p.1365). With the rise of homestay platforms like Airbnb and WWOOF, it is imperative that constructions of who is welcome within certain home spaces be examined and actions of hospitality as resistance be uncovered. Understanding how black travelers are (un)welcome in different socio-spatial contexts could provide suggestions and solutions to make tourism and hospitality more just, equitable, and, ultimately, more sustainable.

As this chapter presents a brief discussion of the role of tourist homes in facilitating resistance and mobility, future studies are needed to explore more deeply the impacts these lodgings had in expanding mobility and other aspects of black life in the Jim Crow era. For instance, as homes are considered intensely gendered spaces (Darke & Gurney, 2000), it is

interesting to note that many tourist homes included in the *Green Book* were listed with women as their proprietors. Were gender roles broken in *Green Book* tourist homes as women operated these businesses? Were gender roles reinforced as women became intimately attached to the home through both daily life and employment? Investigating the interplay of gender and hospitality as resistance could provide further insight into gendered aspects of home, especially regarding homestay tourism. Furthermore, the role that tourist homes played as a space for black entrepreneurship, especially for women, within the system of racial capitalism cannot be neglected. Future studies of tourist homes should also strive to include firsthand accounts of both hosts and guests to further center the voices of marginalized peoples in tourism and hospitality studies. While recognizing it may be difficult to find living persons who actually stayed in or ran tourist homes, written documents, including diaries or letters, can provide similar interpretations of Jim Crow “hostipitality.” Recovering and highlighting the voices of African-Americans is one of the major goals for scholars of black geographies, and accounts of lived experiences in black-owned tourist homes must be a central theme of future studies regarding this subject. Doing so would call attention to the work performed by both hosts and guests to create a “home away from home” that welcomed all who needed a respite from the harsh realities of Jim Crow travel.

Conclusion

Overall, this dissertation has revealed how mobility and motility are central to black experiences in the United States. Mobility, the ability to move, and motility, the capacity for movement, have been at the heart of black America since the first enslaved Africans were brought over the Middle Passage in the 17th century. Since this time, black (im)mobility has been constrained and regulated by white supremacist institutions and customs in order to maintain the racial hierarchy that the United States was founded upon. These regulations were imposed in order to limit access to economic, social, and cultural resources that could have had significant impacts on the life courses of African-Americans. By placing controls on movements, white Americans attempted to maintain black inferiority through a racialized politics of mobility that disadvantaged and discriminated people of color. However, as this dissertation has sought to demonstrate, African-Americans were not helpless against such impositions: Black Americans developed their own methods of movement to resist white supremacist controls and gain access to opportunities that mobility and motility provide. Many of these resistant tactics were conducted through the performance of geospatial and antiracist mobility work, which created black geographic spaces and knowledges. Such black geographies enabled and facilitated the accumulation of motility capital, which allowed black Americans to increase their economic and social wealth. Included in these black geographies was the *Green Book*, which gave black travelers the opportunity to navigate through potentially hostile territories and enact movements across the United States.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I used the *Green Book* to demonstrate the dialectical relationship that black Americans have with mobility, specifically through the development of a new framework, a “black sense of movement.” This sense captures the social

construction of movement both *by* and *against* African-Americans in the context of white supremacy. As the analysis of the *Green Book* reveals in this chapter, despite the impositions of Jim Crow segregation and discrimination, black Americans were able to construct their own mobility, particularly through the development of a motility network. Represented by the thousands of businesses that welcomed black travelers, this motility network facilitated black travel by providing a safe space where travelers could stop and rest away from the harsh realities of the Jim Crow highway. Furthermore, the *Green Book* included essays and other items written by black Americans that provided advice and information that expanded motility and the opportunities to exchange movement capital for other forms of wealth. Given these findings, it is abundantly evident that the *Green Book* embodies a “black sense of movement” through social constructions of mobility both *against* and *by* black Americans.

The second chapter of this dissertation further explores the motility network that facilitated black movement within the socio-historical context of Jim Crow white supremacy, this time through a mapping of *Green Book*-listed businesses in New Orleans, Louisiana. By entwining the epistemologies of black geographies and critical GIS, I argued that the *Green Book* serves as a “counter map” for black movement as it provides an opportunity for black travelers to navigate the potentially violent spaces of white supremacy. Mapping the data contained within the guidebook revealed patterns in the black travel landscape, such as clusters of businesses within heavily segregated areas and a network of hotels that enabled the accumulation of motility capital for black performers traveling throughout the American South. Comparisons of spatial data between editions also displayed changes in black travel landscapes, especially through the expansion of motility networks into areas previously not included in the *Green Book*. Through these findings, this chapter exhibits how a critical GIS lens can influence black geographic

studies and aid in the recovery of black travelscapes and motility networks that supported resistance and resilience under Jim Crow white supremacy.

The final chapter took a specific business found in the *Green Book*, tourist homes, and investigated how these spaces countered hegemonically constructed social norms of hospitality. Tourist homes have been essentially written out of the historical record of tourism, but, as this chapter shows, these lodgings played a critical role in ensuring opportunities for safety and mobility for black travelers. By creating spaces of welcoming within a larger socio-historical context of black unwelcoming, tourist homes and their operators performed invaluable antiracist mobility work that expanded motility to travelers who otherwise may not have had the opportunity to move. Specifically, through the construction of a “home-away-from-home,” tourist homes gave black travelers the confidence needed to become mobile within a system of white supremacy that sought to keep African-Americans immobile. As such, I assert that tourist homes deserve to be recovered and centered within studies of historical tourism and black mobility. At a theoretical level, this chapter demonstrates how epistemologies of black geographies can be linked to both mobility studies and hospitality studies to create more nuanced and holistic understandings of black movements in the United States.

Through these three chapters, this dissertation advances the study of black geographies by centering the role of movement in the history of resistance and resilience by black Americans. Black geographic literature has typically viewed black geographies in the United States through a static lens, neglecting the importance of mobility in creating and maintaining such spaces. Therefore, this dissertation makes a critical intervention in both black geographies and mobility studies through the integration of the two fields. Future studies in black geographies, both historical and contemporary, should make efforts to ensure that mobility is rightly included and

placed within research agendas. Understanding that movement has played a central role in multiple black experiences within the United States can reveal inequities that may have been obfuscated by white supremacist social controls and values. Contestations over racialized mobility continue into the present-day, causing a “black sense of movement” to evolve within ever-shifting social contexts of racial hierarchies and social norms, maintaining the necessity for placing movements at the heart of black geographies.

Epilogue

While this dissertation, and my overall body of work at the University of Tennessee, have focused on issues of race, I was largely ignorant of racialized structural issues within the United States before coming to Knoxville. I had been first introduced to the idea of structural racism during a seminar I took on environmental justice during my master's program at Ohio University, but it took sustained exposure through coursework and research to really understand and internalize this concept. That the institutionalized racism that American society has been founded upon continues to shape actions of those living within it was a fact I had taken for granted. As a non-disabled, cisgender, heterosexual, white male, I hold incredible privilege and power just through my status that others, who are deemed lesser than by hegemonic social forces, do not. This privilege and power have enabled opportunities for me that have led to where I am, a Ph.D. with an accepted tenure-track job offer. Given the structural inequities that have contributed to my position, I know that I must continually remember to check my privilege and work to remove barriers to education and opportunity.

What I've learned through this journey, however, is that while I am a scholar of racialized geographies and mobilities, I still struggle to properly place race within daily practices of scholarship and life. I came to this uncomfortable realization during the summer of 2018 as I was taking Dr. Stefanie Benjamin's "Qualitative Methods for Tourism Research" class. For this class, I conducted several participant observations, which required me to write extensive field notes. In all instances, it took almost an hour for me to remember to record the races of observed individuals, and these notes were typically prompted by the entrance of a person of color. Reflection on these observations later demonstrated to me that I tend to normalize whiteness, without naturally questioning why spaces and processes are constructed and used for/by white

people. I believe this stems from the privilege I held (and still hold) from growing up in a white middle-class family. During my childhood, I never had to question why I was not allowed to be in a space or why I could not participate in activities as a result of my race as a result of my positionality, so such interrogations were not instilled within my perceptions of the world. Almost all of my lived experiences have taken place within spaces of normalized whiteness, creating this mindset where I overlook the social construction of place and welcoming.

Researching and writing this dissertation, though, has helped change how I understand and interpret my surroundings. Reading the numerous editions of the *Green Book* encouraged me to view space and place from a different perspective, one that was not white-centric, but one developed and maintained by an “othered” population. Seeing the advertisements that promoted spaces of welcoming and refuge for black Americans during a time when they were deemed social “others” showcased point-blank how spaces are not just created for hegemonic groups. The *Green Book* forced me to confront my own perceptions of (un)racialized space and taught me to think more critically about why places are the way they are. Engaging with the work performed by African-Americans to resist and be resilient against white supremacy has destabilized the normative whiteness of my worldview, and I find myself now often questioning who or what a space was constructed for. Both the education I received while in grad school, which introduced me to the ideas of social construction and structural racism, and the research I conducted through the *Green Book*, which vividly embodied the same concepts, have contributed to my evolution as a critical geographic scholar, and the evolution of my personal mindset as well.

Through my position as a Ph.D. and a (newly hired) tenure-track professor, I wield incredible power and privilege that many are never exposed to. Knowing the journey I went

through to become the scholar I am today, I must continually work to check my privilege and maintain the critical lens I acquired during my graduate schooling. Particularly as the institution I am joining is a predominantly white university, I must be especially aware that I do not (re)normalize whiteness. Teaching critical understandings of landscapes and geographic processes to the students enrolled in my courses will aid in this constant privilege checking, but I must also actively seek to foster diverse and inclusive worldviews and experiences within the classroom and the wider university community. Recruiting students of color should and will be a priority for me in order to increase the diversity of experiences present at the university. Furthermore, I must work to deconstruct institutional barriers that might prevent students of color from being successful, a necessary goal to creating wider societal change. My overall goal as a professor, through my research, service, and teaching, is to desegregate, decolonize, and uncenter opportunities in higher education for people from historically marginalized communities. My education and research in critical geographic studies has transformed the way I think about the spaces and places I inhabit, and will continue to influence the work I perform as a tenure-track professor of geography.

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Vita

Ethan M. Bottone is a historical and cultural geographer, interested in the intersections of race, ethnicity, disability, tourism, and critical GIS. He completed his dissertation in the Department of Geography at the University of Tennessee, where his research investigated critical aspects of mobility and tourism, specifically as embodied in the *Green Book*. Originally from Virginia, having grown up on the Eastern Shore, he received his BA from the University of Mary Washington in Geography/Biology in 2014. He (sadly) left the commonwealth in 2014 to pursue his MS at Ohio University, which he graduated from in 2016. His master's thesis focused on the historical geographies of the early American frontier, specifically through an historical GIS study of land sale patterns in Perry County, OH. This research revealed a dialectic between white settlers and the US government that worked to influence both the historical and contemporary landscape of rural Ohio.

Research from both his master's and doctoral research has been published in peer-reviewed outlets such as *Historical Geographer* and *Tourism Geographies*, as well as in two edited volumes, *Historical Geography, GIScience, and Text: Mapping Landscapes of Time and Place* and *Rhetorics Haunting the National Mall: Displaced and Ephemeral Public Memories*. Bottone has also published three book reviews featured in *Southeastern Geographer*, *Historical Geography*, and *Material Culture*. He has presented a variety of research at regional and national conferences, including the Southeastern Division of the American Association of Geographers, the American Association of Geographers, and the International Society of Landscape, Place, and Material Culture.

While at UT, he has had the wonderful opportunity to teach four semesters of GEOG 101 (World Regional Geography) as the instructor of record, and received much valuable experience

from this time as IOR. Through his teaching, he works to create a student-centered style of teaching that establishes an inclusive, accessible, and flexible classroom that seeks to engage students of all backgrounds and identities in learning geographic concepts. His teaching has been recognized by the department, awarded with "Outstanding Teaching Associate" in Spring 2019, and the university, awarded with "Excellence in Graduate Student Teaching" in Spring 2020. He has been invited to guest lecture on both his research and general expertise in several courses in the Geography department and the Retail, Hospitality, and Tourism Management department as well.