

# History of Photography in Apartheid South Africa

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## Summary

The beginning of apartheid in 1948 saw the emergence of a generation of photographers whose work would come to define South African photography for the next four decades. Many of the most well-known South African photographers, such as Ernest Cole, Bob Gosani Peter Magubane, and Jürgen Schadeberg, worked for *Drum* magazine in the 1950s, where their images conveyed the experiences of Black people living in cities in the first years of apartheid. Photographers chronicled the Defiance Campaign, the violence of the police, and the growing resistance movements. At the same time, they took portraits and images of everyday life that provide insight into what it was like to live under apartheid. These kinds of images have increasingly been of interest to researchers and curators who have come to recognize the importance of vernacular photography, street photography, and the work of studio portrait photographers. The Sharpeville Massacre of 1960 marked a turning point in the country's history and was followed by intensified repression and violence, the banning of opposition political parties, the jailing of political leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, and mass forced removals as neighborhoods were declared “whites only” areas. The Soweto uprisings in June 1976 and the protests that followed across South Africa signaled the beginning of a time of increased violence as the apartheid state sought to crush the resistance movements and thousands of protestors were detained without trial, interrogated, and tortured and several political activists were murdered by the security police. By the 1980s, photography had a clear place in the struggle for freedom in the country and many photographers perceived the camera as a weapon to be used against the state. In 1982, the Afrapix collective was formed by a group of photographers committed to opposing apartheid who went on to produce the most significant visual record of this time. The years immediately before the end of apartheid saw an increase in political violence and between 1990 and 1994 more than 10, 000 people were killed. Photographers who documented this time drew the world's attention to the bitter struggle in the country. They went on to photograph the jubilation when Mandela was finally

released from prison and the first free and fair elections when South Africans of all races were able to vote. Some of the most brilliant photographers of the last century documented the apartheid years, and their work plays a key role in how this time period is remembered and understood.

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## The Critical Camera: A Visual History of Apartheid

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Photographs made under apartheid provide evidence of what renowned South African photographer David Goldblatt has termed “The Structure of Things Then.”<sup>1</sup> In making the structures of racial oppression visible, images taken during apartheid document how the state sought to implement laws to eradicate freedom and secure white privilege, power, and hegemony. Photographs taken under apartheid make visible how crude oppositions operated in South African society and, at the same time, were defied and unmade through both individual and collective instances of collaboration and resistance (witness, for instance, images of Black police officers under apartheid; love across the “color-bar”; and photographs of the multiracial United Democratic Front). As the state became increasingly repressive, photographers documented the violence of the police and popular resistance to apartheid. These images were important at the time they were made in raising awareness about the devastating effects of apartheid on Black people in South Africa and in generating support for the anti-apartheid movement, both within South Africa and internationally. Documentary photographers played a central part in shaping the representation of oppression and resistance during apartheid and their work continues to contribute to how the history of apartheid is perceived and understood. Art historian and curator Okwui Enwezor argues:

No form of media frightened the regime more than photography did, with its powerful testimony that could be used to expose and counteract the sanitized propagandistic images working in the government’s favour, or to fashion an oppositional artistic practice of self-representation.<sup>2</sup>

Life under apartheid was extensively documented by photographers in South Africa and a great deal of the diversity and complexity of the visual record of this time remains underresearched. Projects such as “Rise and Fall of Apartheid,” curated by Okwui Enwezor and Rory Bester; “The Other Camera: South African Vernacular Photography,” curated by Paul Weinberg; and the work of scholars who are beginning

to explore underresearched aspects of the history of photography during apartheid testify to the magnitude and richness of South Africa's visual archive and are an indication that its significance is increasingly being recognized.<sup>3</sup>

## From Ethnographic to Social Documentary Photography

Ethnographic photography during the colonial period and under apartheid was produced with the seemingly benign intention of documenting indigenous peoples; however, representations of "ethnic types" and images depicting "tribal customs" served to support the racist ideology of the state. The production of images that exoticized indigenous people was a global trend often referred to as "Native Studies." The project initiated by Irish-born photographer Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin, carried out between 1919 and 1939, is perhaps the most well-known of these attempts to create a comprehensive visual account of the "tribes" of Southern Africa. As Michael Godby notes, "Duggan-Cronin routinely manipulated the material culture in his scenes, removing all European goods and introducing African artifacts, some that he had collected elsewhere," reinforcing the idea that Black people in Africa were unaffected by modernity and situated outside time.<sup>4</sup> Such images erased the effects of land dispossession enacted through the Native's Land Act of 1913 and of migrant labor, rapid urbanization, and the existence of Black intellectuals and political figures at the time. The publication of eleven successive volumes of Duggan-Cronin's *The Bantu Tribes* coincided with the rise to power of the National Party and the implementation of apartheid.<sup>5</sup> The state used these kinds of ethnographic images to affirm the policies of racial segregation and the formation of so-called homelands to which Black South Africans were forcibly removed according to the tribal group to which they reputedly belonged.

In the years immediately preceding apartheid and through the 1940s, the work of a number of white photographers "drew on and contributed to apartheid's obsession with defining discrete black groups to support its ideology of separate development."<sup>6</sup> Constance Stuart Larrabee was born in Cornwall, England, but grew up in South Africa. In 1934, she studied photography at the Regent Street Polytechnic School of Photography in London and between 1935 and 1936, at the same time as the Nuremberg Race Laws were implemented in Germany, at the Bavarian State Institute for Photography in Munich.<sup>7</sup> She returned to South Africa in 1936 and opened the Constance Stuart Portrait Studio in Pretoria and documented political leaders, artists, writers and everyday people in her studio. She also produced a series of ethnographic portraits of people across the country in the period immediately before apartheid began. Colin Richards argues that Larrabee's work occupies an "unsettling space between the essentially ethnographic photographic practices of the likes of Alfred Duggan-Cronin's "native studies" and photography as a "fine art."<sup>8</sup>

Larrabee is most well known as South Africa's first woman war correspondent—she was appointed by the Director of Military Intelligence to cover World War II for *Libertas* magazine—and in 1944 took photographs alongside American and South African troops in Egypt, Italy, France, and England. In 1946, she opened her second portrait studio in Johannesburg and published an illustrated war diary in *Spotlight* magazine. In 1949, she relocated to the United States the same year that photographer Margaret Bourke-White traveled to South Africa to produce four photo-essays for *Life* Magazine, a series that John Edwin Mason describes as “Americans’ visual introduction to apartheid.”<sup>9</sup> Mason provides a critical overview of Bourke-White’s work in South Africa and argues that the powerful anticommunist ideology of the time influenced the images she made and was able to publish in the United States.

In 1947, Leon Levson, a successful portrait photographer who ran a studio in Johannesburg, produced an exhibition entitled “Meet the Bantu: A Study in Changing Cultures,” which sought to move away from the tropes of colonial ethnography but also replicated some of the stereotypical forms of representation it tried to overturn.<sup>10</sup> Levson’s project inhabits a somewhat ambiguous space between ethnographic images and an emergent social documentary approach that sought to represent the rapidly shifting Black urban sociopolitical landscape.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1950s, the newly elected National Party passed a series of repressive laws. These included the Population Registration Act (1950) and the Native Laws Amendment Act (1952), which required all Black South Africans to carry a passbook in order to control and restrict their movements. Widely referred to as a “dompas” (dumb pass), these documents contained an identification photograph and in this way the camera came to be used directly by the apartheid state as a tool for implementing segregation.<sup>12</sup> The “Campaign of Defiance Against Unjust Laws,” better known as “the Defiance Campaign,” began in 1952 and marked the beginning of large-scale nonviolent resistance against apartheid.

Photographer, trade unionist, and member of the South African Communist Party, Eli Weinberg, was born in Latvia in 1908 and moved to South Africa in 1929, where he earned a living as a studio photographer (see figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Contact print of the wedding photographs of Winnie and Nelson Mandela, June 14, 1958.

*Source:* Photograph by Eli Weinberg. Image courtesy of Nationaal Archief/Eli Weinberg.

Weinberg's photographs combine two distinct styles—photojournalism and the setup portrait. His iconic images of people being subjected to pass inspections (see figure 2), his portrait of ANC (African National Congress) leader Walter Sisulu holding his pass before burning it, and photograph of protestors burning their passbooks, as well as portraits of key political figures, including Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, capture the spirit of the time before the opposition parties were banned and their leaders imprisoned, banished, and forced into exile. Weinberg himself was incarcerated for more than five years and banned as a result of his political activism and he died in exile in Tanzania in 1981.<sup>13</sup> His powerful photographs reflect both the changing times and a shift in photographic practice—Weinberg's personal relationship with many of the people he portrayed and his political sensibility are evident in the images he made.<sup>14</sup> This kind of critically “engaged” photography was to become the hallmark of South African photographers during the protracted struggle against apartheid.



**Figure 2.** Passbook check, c. 1960.

Source: Photograph by Eli Weinberg. Image courtesy Nationaal Archief/Eli Weinberg.

## Picture Magazines and the “Golden Age” of *Drum*

The first extended forms of documentation of apartheid and its effects began with the work of photojournalists in the 1950s who contributed to newspapers, including the progressive *Rand Daily Mail*, the *Golden City Post*, and *Bantu World* (later *The World*). However, it was the establishment of popular picture magazines, such as *Zonk! African People’s Pictorial* (established in 1949) and the more famous *Drum* (founded in 1951), that created a platform for photographers and writers in what came to be known as the “Golden Age” of Black journalism.<sup>15</sup> Initially modeled on American and British publications like *Life*, *Look* and *Picture Post*, *Drum* included photoessays that represented the urban lives of Black South Africans and was infused with both the vibrant energy of the time and a growing political consciousness. In addition to features on fashion and jazz, the magazine chronicled anticolonial struggles for independence across Africa and published powerful images that exposed the injustice and violence of the apartheid state. Enwezor notes that “At the height of its

popularity, *Drum* enjoyed enormous readership,” and the “magazine’s circulation per issue stood at 450000 copies, reaching far into many literate, cosmopolitan areas of Africa.”<sup>16</sup>

Jürgen Schadeberg, the magazine’s chief photographer and first picture editor, moved to South Africa from Germany in 1950.<sup>17</sup> Schadeberg shared his photographic skills with the young Black photojournalists who worked with him and the publication soon became home to the brightest and best photographers in the country. Among them was Ernest Cole, who was born in 1940 in Eersterust, a township near Pretoria. In 1956, Cole was apprenticed to a Chinese studio photographer and then worked at *Zonk!* before joining the staff of *Drum* in 1958. Two years later, the neighborhood he grew up in was demolished and his family was forcibly removed to Mamelodi. In 1966, he went into exile and spent the next 20 years moving between the United States and Europe, where he continued to work as a photographer. His book, *House of Bondage*, inspired by Henri Cartier-Bresson’s book on the Soviet Union, was a landmark publication—the first work by a Black South African photographer to document life under apartheid.<sup>18</sup> The book, which was “committed to exposing the evil of South Africa” and subsequently banned by the apartheid regime, contains almost 200 black and white photographs that Cole took in the townships, in city streets, in mining compounds, and in prisons (where he took photographs using a hidden camera) (see figure 3).<sup>19</sup>

Cole, with no chance of returning to the country of his birth, focused his lens on the situation of Black Americans. He was commissioned by the Ford Foundation to take photographs in the United States and was funded to produce two bodies of work: “A Study of the Negro Family in the Rural South” and “A Study of Negro Life in the City.” Unfortunately, these works were never published and from approximately 1972, he struggled to sustain himself physically and psychologically and he died in exile in New York in 1990. In 2017, an archive of more than 60,000 of his negatives were discovered in a bank vault in Sweden, where Cole had worked between 1969 and 1971 with the Tiofoto collective.<sup>20</sup> His family has been involved in a protracted struggle to return his work to South Africa.<sup>21</sup>



**Figure 3.** A segregated bridge at Pretoria railway station, mid-1960s.

Source: Photograph by Ernest Cole. Courtesy Ernest Cole Family Trust (© Ernest Cole Family Trust).

Among the notable photographers who contributed to *Drum* are Ian Berry, Ranjith Kally, Cloete Breyetenbach, Ralph Ndawo, Peter Magubane, and Fanie Jason. Bob Gosani (1934–1972) worked as a messenger at the magazine and then became Jürgen Schadeberg’s darkroom assistant. Gosani went on to take many of the most significant images to appear in the magazine’s pages, including his 1957 photograph of Nelson Mandela boxing on the rooftop of a building in Johannesburg at the time of the Treason Trial. Alf Kumalo (1930–2012) worked for *Drum*, *Bantu World*, *Golden City Post*, and numerous newspapers in South Africa, and is best known for his photographs of Muhammad Ali and his portraits of the Mandela family.<sup>22</sup>

Mabel Cetu (1910–1990) was one of the few Black woman photographers during this time. She was born in the Free State and moved to Port Elizabeth where she worked first as a midwife and later became the first Black woman photojournalist in the country, working for *Zonk* magazine. In 1958, she joined the *Golden City Post* and also worked for *Drum*. Widely known as Sis May, Cetu’s social and political commitment to her community earned her the title Mother of the White Location, an area that was renamed Cetuville in her honor in 1978.

Peter Magubane began working at *Drum* as a driver, a position he held for three months before becoming a darkroom assistant. Three months later he began to work as a photographer, and in 1958 won an award for the best press picture of the year in South Africa. By the mid-1950s, it became mandatory for Black women to carry passes and in 1956, 2,000 women, united under the banner of the Federation of South African

Women, marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in protest. Magubane documented this march, and together with Jürgen Schadeberg and other *Drum* photographers, took photographs of the Treason Trial which took place between 1956 and 1961. Schadeberg was arrested once for taking photographs outside the Drill Hall, Magubane was arrested four times, and Bob Gosani was assaulted. The years that followed saw the development of an increasingly hostile environment for photographers and journalists.<sup>23</sup> Photographers in the country were ingenious in devising ways to chronicle the injustices of apartheid—Ernest Cole and Peter Magubane are famous for hiding their cameras inside empty milk cartons or hollowed out loaves of bread and photographing through tiny holes in the sides of these makeshift containers designed to evade the notice of the Security Police. Nonetheless, Magubane was arrested several times and in 1969 was detained in solitary confinement for eighteen months (586 days) and was banned from taking photographs for five years after he was released. A photograph by Schadeberg of Magubane being arrested outside the Treason Trial hearings was the first of many images in which the photographer is shown to be targeted by the police (see figures 4 and 5).



**Figure 4.** *Drum* photographer Peter Magubane arrested outside the Treason Trial hearings, Johannesburg, 1957.

Source: Photograph by Jürgen Schadeberg. Courtesy Bailey's African History Archive.



**Figure 5.** Treason Trial accused, Mrs. Annie Silinga, Cape Province.

Source: Photograph by Peter Magubane. Courtesy Peter Magubane and Bailey's African History Archive.

On March 21, 1960, police opened fire on a gathering at Sharpeville of approximately 7,000 unarmed people who were protesting against pass laws. Within two minutes, police shot 13,000 bullets into the crowd and 69 people were killed, most of them shot in the back as they were running away, and more than 300 were wounded. Later that day, when the news of the massacre reached Cape Town, approximately 2,000 people gathered in Langa to protest the killings and 3 people were shot dead by the police and 26 people were injured.

*Drum* magazine's Ian Berry was the only photographer who documented the massacre itself, and Magubane and Schadeberg were among the photographers who took photographs in the immediate aftermath. Magubane's photograph "Sharpeville Funeral: More than 5000 people were at the graveyard, May 1960" shows the coffins of those who were killed surrounded by a vast crowd of mourners (see figure 6) and as Enwezor notes, "the events of that day produced the picture of the funeral as one of

the central iconographic emblems of the anti-apartheid struggle.”<sup>24</sup> Images of Sharpeville were circulated across the world, and the outrage they incited contributed to the formation of the transnational anti-apartheid movement and galvanized the resistance against the brutality of the apartheid state which was to continue for the next thirty years.<sup>25</sup>



**Figure 6.** Sharpeville funeral, May 1960.

*Source:* Photograph by Peter Magubane. Courtesy Peter Magubane and Bailey’s African History Archive.

On March 30, 1960, Philip Kgosana led a march of more than 30,000 protestors from Langa and Nyanga townships into central Cape Town where the protestors handed themselves in at Caledon Square police station to be arrested for not carrying passes. In response the government declared a state of emergency—all public meetings were banned, thousands of protestors were arrested, and the opposition movements were forced underground. The banning of the two most important opposition parties, the ANC and the Pan-African Congress (PAC), led to the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC’s military wing and the PAC’s Poqo (from 1968, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, APLA) and initiated the armed struggle.<sup>26</sup> In 1963, members of the MK high command were arrested and put on trial for sabotage at the Rivonia Trial. In 1964, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni, and Elias Motsoaledi were sentenced to life imprisonment

on Robben Island and Dennis Goldberg was sentenced to life in Pretoria Local Prison. Photographs of the opposition leaders were banned and could not be circulated or published.

## The Aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre

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The Sharpeville massacre heightened awareness of the importance of social documentary photography, and at the same time the press was increasingly restricted by the state. The 1970s saw the emergence of the Black consciousness movement and renewed resistance against the regime. On June 16, 1976, thousands of young people rose up in defiance of apartheid and refused to be subjected to “Bantu education” and being forced to learn in Afrikaans. Peter Magubane’s book *Soweto 1976: Fruit of Fear* portrays the vitality and courage of the children of Soweto and is also a gruesome record of the effects of the violence with which the police responded to the protests.<sup>27</sup> His photograph of two women walking in a dusty street, both of their faces displaying signs of terrible pain, is captioned “Young woman wounded by police bullet during demonstration in Soweto.” One of the women has a large tear in her abdomen, a gaping wound that forms a dark hole at the side of her body. The perfect smoothness of her slender hands accentuates the brutal rupture where her skin has been broken. Magubane’s images provide a stark portrayal of the war waged against the unarmed protestors and the devastation left in the wake of the brutality of the police.

Sam Nzima’s photograph of 12-year-old Hector Pieterse, the first child to be killed by the police during the Soweto uprising, being carried in the arms of Mbuyisa Makhubu, a fellow student, while his distraught sister, Antoinette Pieterse, is running alongside them, rapidly became an icon of the anti-apartheid struggle (see figure 7).<sup>28</sup> After Nzima’s photograph was published, he was targeted by the Security Police and he left his position at the *The World* newspaper where he had been employed as a photojournalist since 1968. Less well known are the images of the events of June 16 made by Bongani Mnguni, a photojournalist who also worked for *The World*.<sup>29</sup> Maverick photojournalist Juhan Kuus worked for *Die Burger* and for the *Sunday Times* and in 1976 documented the uprisings in Gugulethu where he took his disturbing image of a policeman dragging a young man who had been shot along the ground.<sup>30</sup>



**Figure 7.** Sam Nzima holding his photograph of Hector Pieterson, shot dead by the police during the 1976 Soweto uprising, in the arms of Mbuyisa Makhubu. Hector’s sister, Antoinette Pieterson, is running alongside them.

Source: Photograph by Paul Weinberg. Courtesy Paul Weinberg.

On September 12, 1977, Steve Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, founder and first president of the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO) and honorary president of the Black People’s Convention (BPC), an organization formed in protest against apartheid in 1972, was tortured and murdered by the Security Police. Photographs of his corpse and of his funeral in King William’s Town, which was attended by thousands of mourners, were printed in *The World* in a special feature in the November 1977 issue of *Drum*, and were circulated internationally.<sup>31</sup> Images that provided evidence of state violence, such as Ian Berry’s images of the massacre at Sharpeville and Biko’s autopsy photographs, were used in legal trials and inquests under apartheid. Although the courts almost without exception ruled that there was “no one to blame” for the atrocities perpetrated by the state and its agents,

photographs taken under apartheid continue to play an important role as evidence in the present as the family members of activists who were “disappeared” by the Security Police and those who were murdered in detention have called for the unresolved cases that were brought before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to be reopened (see figure 8).<sup>32</sup>



**Figure 8.** The funeral of teacher and anti-apartheid activist Ahmed Timol, who the Security Police claimed committed suicide while he was held in detention at John Vorster Square (now known as Johannesburg Central Police Station) in Johannesburg on October 27, 1971. In 2017, the reopened inquest into Timol’s death found that he was tortured and murdered by the Security Police.

*Source:* Courtesy Ahmed Timol Family Trust.

## Afrapix and the Photography of Resistance

Although multiple forms of photography continued to be practiced within the country throughout the time of apartheid, it is the photography of resistance, also known as “struggle photography,” that has come to define the visual history of the country under apartheid. Afrapix was founded in 1982 by photographers Omar Badsha, Paul

Weinberg, Lesley Lawson, and Mxolise Moyo. Situated within what Weinberg describes as “the artery of political consciousness,”<sup>33</sup> the collective aimed to foster social documentary photography in South Africa, to serve as a photo agency and a picture library and to contribute to the liberation struggle.<sup>34</sup> Membership of the collective grew rapidly and at its height there were approximately twenty-five members and sixty freelancers based across the country and the region. Peter McKenzie, who joined Afrapix in 1982, describes how the work of the collective sought to provide an alternative to the “mostly sensational, voyeuristic and dehumanising” images that dominated media representations of the struggle and states that “soon after its inception Afrapix made a conscious decision to show the more humane side of struggle, the resilience of revolution and the dignity of organisation and resistance”<sup>35</sup> (see figure 9).



**Figure 9.** Mourners at the funeral of David Webster, anti-apartheid activist assassinated by security forces under apartheid, May 1, 1989.

Source: Photograph by Paul Weinberg. Courtesy Paul Weinberg.

Afrapix members had strong links to trade unions, grass-roots organizations challenging apartheid, and to the United Democratic Front, a movement formed in the 1980s to unite the opposition against apartheid. The collective not only documented these resistance movements, but its work fed directly into popular mobilizing in the form of images used in posters, pamphlets, and publications.

Not only were the photographs taken by members of the collective widely used in the alternative oppositional press in the country, but regular packages were sent to anti-apartheid organizations abroad, including the International Defence and Aid Fund in the UK, and to Impact Visuals, a cooperative photo agency in New York founded in 1985 by Michael Kaufman, a former editor of the *Guardian* newspaper. In this way, images of resistance against apartheid were used in pamphlets, posters, and books and were exhibited and published within the country and throughout the world. In 1986, during the state of emergency, the offices of Afrapix were raided and the organization's archive was seized by the Security Police, some of it never to be returned. In August 1988, Khotso House, the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches and also the building in which Afrapix was housed, was bombed by the apartheid government.

Paul Weinberg, founding member of Afrapix, was born in 1956 and was based in Johannesburg in the 1980s where he played a central role in bringing photographers together, sharing his knowledge and skills, and ensuring that the work of the Afrapix collective was widely circulated. An exhibition Weinberg curated of the work of twenty-nine Afrapix photographers formed part of the Culture and Resistance conference, a large gathering of artists, writers, and cultural workers held in Botswana in 1982. In his keynote address in Gaberone on the role of photographers under apartheid, Peter McKenzie argued that "the photographer must serve the needs of the people" and called for photographers to recognize "their undeniable responsibility" to use photography "to establish a democratic Azania."<sup>36</sup> During the 1980s, several exhibitions were held and books were published that took up this call, including *South Africa Through the Lens* at the Market Photo Gallery in Johannesburg in 1983, the catalogue of which was published in association with *Staffrider* magazine; and the exhibition, *Nichts Wird Uns Trennen* [Nothing Will Separate Us], which was held in Germany that same year, as well as the accompanying book.<sup>37</sup> Images by resistance photographers also appeared in journals such as *Full Frame* (Afrapix's own publication), *Staffrider*, special issues of *TriQuarterly*, and *Learn and Teach*. Other publications such as *Sechaba* (issued by the ANC between 1967 and 1990), *Rixaka: The Cultural Journal of the ANC* (1985–1990), and *Sash* (issued by the Black Sash from 1956 to 1995) also often contained photographs.

Activist and trade unionist Omar Badsha was born in Durban, KwaZulu Natal, in 1945 and began to take photographs in 1976 as a way to document the conditions of workers. In 1979, his first book, *Letter to Farzanah*, a powerful portrait of the lives of children under apartheid, was published and banned by the state.<sup>38</sup> In 1982, Badsha was appointed head of the photography unit of the Second Carnegie Commission on Poverty and Development and he invited twenty photographers to work with him in producing a chronicle of life during the intense repression of the 1980s. This led to an exhibition of 380 photographs that was first shown at the University of Cape Town in April 1984 and subsequently traveled to a number of different places in South Africa. In 1986, a selection of seventy photographs from the exhibition were shown at the

International Center for Photography in New York and was accompanied by the launch of the book *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart*, which was published at a critical moment in the struggle against apartheid and served to bolster international support for increased sanctions against South Africa.<sup>39</sup> Badsha was unable to attend the exhibition as he was denied a passport and the right to travel by the apartheid regime. Badsha's book on forced removals includes a foreword by Archbishop Desmond Tutu articulating the importance of photography in making the crime of apartheid visible.<sup>40</sup> In 1989, Afrapix held an exhibition of the work of twenty Afrapix photographers and Badsha, Paul Weinberg, and Gideon Mendel edited a book that included many of the most powerful photographs taken during that time (see figures 10 and 11).<sup>41</sup>



**Figure 10.** A woman protests against the presence of soldiers in the townships, Soweto 1985.

Source: Photograph by Paul Weinberg. Courtesy Paul Weinberg.



**Figure 11.** Archbishop Desmond Tutu speaks out against “necklace” killings at a funeral in KwaThema township, Transvaal (now Gauteng), July 23, 1985.

Source: Photograph by Gille de Vlieg. Courtesy Gille de Vlieg.

In that same year, following the model of the photography workshops run by Afrapix, David Goldblatt founded the Market Theatre Photo Workshop in Johannesburg to provide aspiring photographers access to photographic training. Although he was not a member of Afrapix, Goldblatt’s critical eye influenced the work of many South African photographers and he was closely associated with some of the members of the collective.

Santu Mofokeng was born in Johannesburg in 1956 and began taking photographs as a teenager growing up in Soweto. He began his photographic career as a darkroom assistant for the Afrikaans language newspaper *Die Beeld*. He joined Afrapix in 1985 and then began working as a documentary photographer for the Institute for

Advanced Social Research (formerly the African Studies Institute) at the University of the Witwatersrand. In 1989, Paul Weinberg and Mofokeng collaborated on a project, "Going Home," in which they each photographed their experiences of returning to their hometowns, which was exhibited in Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town. Mofokeng contributed to numerous exhibitions during apartheid and is best known for his project that highlights the long history and importance of portraiture within Black South African communities.<sup>42</sup> He is also renowned for his affective photographs and has been described "as the spiritual painter of South Africa's tormented body politic" whose "uniqueness lies in his ability to capture a subject's aura, their life hidden from view."<sup>43</sup>

Other members of Afrapix included Joseph Alferts, whose images of prospective mine workers at the labor recruitment office in Lesotho were included in *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart*; Peter Auf Der Heyde and Julian Cobbing, who were both based in the Eastern Cape; and Don Edkins, who documented the ways in which migrant labor and the mining industry devastated families in his series "Gold Widows." Paul Grendon documented the struggle of communities in Namaqualand to regain control over their land after they were dispossessed under apartheid, and together with Dave Hartman and Chris Ledochowski, formed part of the Cape Town branch of Afrapix. John Liebenberg took photographs in Angola and Namibia during the border wars, and in May 1989, he was subject to an assassination attempt in Katutura, Namibia. Jeevenundhan (Jeeva) Rajgopaul, Myron Peters, Rafique (Rafs) Mayet, Deseni Moodliar, and Cedric Nunn <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cedric\\_Nunn](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cedric_Nunn)> were all based in Durban where they worked closely with Omar Badsha. Humphrey Phakade "Pax" Magwaza, was also based there and was a member of Mkhonto we Sizwe who was imprisoned several times during the 1980s. Herbert Mabuza worked with Afrapix, and in 1993, he photographed the immediate aftermath of the assassination of the leader of the South African Communist Party, Chris Hani. He later worked as the managing editor of the *Sunday Times* and *Sowetan*. Vuyi Lesley Mbalo and Cecil Sols, both members of the ANC underground, worked together to establish an Afrapix branch in Soweto, and in 1986 they set up an independent organization called Phosdoc. Kentridge Matabatha, Roger Meintjies, Eric Miller <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eric\\_Miller\\_\(photographer\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eric_Miller_(photographer))>, Jimi Matthews, Billy Paddock, and Guy Tillim <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guy\\_Tillim](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guy_Tillim)> were all also Afrapix members. Afrapix coordinated a number of community exhibitions on different themes, including human rights, forced removals from Crossroads in Cape Town, and women. The Afrapix/Vumani exhibition, "All Our Children," was shown at the South African National Gallery in 1990.<sup>44</sup>

There were nine women photographers associated with the Afrapix collective: Ellen Elmendorp, Gille de Vlieg, Lesley Lawson, Deseni Moodliar (Soobben), Bidy Partridge, Wendy Schwegmann, Zubeida Vallie (see figure 12), Gisèle Wulfsohn, and Anna Zieminski.<sup>45</sup> Sandy Smit, who was both a member of the End Conscription Campaign and of Afrapix, was later exposed as a spy for the apartheid regime.



**Figure 12.** Father Peter-John Pearson in a church hall in Bonteheuwel where the congregation was teargassed and attacked by police after the funeral of murdered ANC members Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams, August 5, 1989.

Source: Photograph by Zubeida Vallie. Courtesy Zubeida Vallie.

Pam Warne writes that “from the 1980s onwards, the presence of women’s voices can be consistently heard.” She argues:

Apart from photojournalistic material much of the work produced was more covertly politically oppositional. Photographers of both genders were trying to provide visual evidence of life under apartheid that challenged the propaganda churned out by the Nationalist Government's State Information Office. Many women photographers in the 1980s, like Lesley Lawson, Jenny Gordon, Zubeida Vallie, Ingrid Hudson, Anna Zieminski, explored the hidden lives of ordinary people struggling to survive under iniquitous circumstances.<sup>46</sup>

Warne notes that in addition to the Black women photographers associated with Afrapix, Primrose Talakumeni and Mavis Mthandeki, who were associated with the Community Arts Project in Cape Town, were among the first few Black women photographers working in the 1980s and early 1990s.<sup>47</sup> Talakumeni and Mthandeki were members of the United Women’s Congress and both worked as domestic workers before learning to take photographs. A small selection of photographs from

the exhibition they curated in 1990 on the lives of women living in townships in the Western Cape was published in *Staffrider*.<sup>48</sup> In 1994, they worked with photographer Tracey Derrick on an exhibition that documented the role of women during the first democratic elections, “Side by Side <http://www.traceyderrick.co.za/photography-01.html>.”

Paul Weinberg and Graeme Williams created South photography agency (first called Southlight) in 1991 and some of the Afrapix photographers, including Guy Tillim, Paul Grendon, Santu Mofokeng, George Hallett, and Chris Ledochowski worked with them during this period. Benny Gool and Adil Bradlow are among the other notable photojournalists working at this time. During the last years of apartheid between 1990 and 1994, more than 10,000 people died in political violence and the group of photojournalists that came to be known as “The Bang Bang Club” are renowned for their close-up images of the violence of the time.<sup>49</sup> The photographers who formed part of this group are Greg Marinovich (see figures 13 and 14); Joao Silva; Kevin Carter (also famous for his Pulitzer Prize-winning image of a starving child in Sudan being watched by a vulture); and Ken Oosterbroek, chief photographer for *The Star* who was killed while documenting the violence in Thokoza township a few days before the elections in April 1994.<sup>50</sup>



**Figure 13.** ANC/SACP supporters do a somersault on being shot at, Chris Hani vigil, Soweto, 1993.

Source: Photograph by Greg Marinovich. Courtesy Greg Marinovich.



**Figure 14.** Shell House: dead IFP marcher and soldiers, Library Gardens, Johannesburg 1994.

Source: Photograph by Greg Marinovich. Courtesy Greg Marinovich.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Afrapix photographers Gisèle Wulfsohn and Gideon Mendel were among the first in the country to turn their attention to the growing crisis of HIV/AIDS (Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome).<sup>51</sup> Lesley Lawson, Gille de Vlieg, Cedric Nunn, Santu Mofokeng, and Paul Weinberg are other Afrapix members who have documented the experiences of people living with HIV in South Africa.

## Forced Removals and the Destruction of Communities

Several photographers worked on extended studies of society under apartheid and documented the effects of racial segregation and the catastrophic consequences of forced removals. Among these is David Goldblatt, who began to take photographs in 1948, worked as a professional photographer from 1963 and produced a carefully considered body of work that provides an incisive view of South African society over a seventy-year period.<sup>52</sup> His photographs are held in numerous public collections across the world and he has published many books including *On the Mines* and *Lifetimes Under Apartheid*, to which novelist Nadine Gordimer contributed the text.<sup>53</sup> Goldblatt subsidized his documentary career by working as a commercial

photographer. He pursued extended projects on various themes, ranging from the social world of Afrikaners in *Some Afrikaners Photographed* to the iniquitous effects of the “homelands” and the migrant labor system in *The Transported of KwaNdebele*.<sup>54</sup>

In 1976–1977, Goldblatt photographed the last years of the destruction of Fietas, a neighborhood of Johannesburg that was subject to forced removals after it was declared a “White Group Area” in 1956.<sup>55</sup> Goldblatt’s portrait series of the multiracial inhabitants of the area in their homes or standing in the doorways or at the counters of neighborhood shops are interspersed with images of recently demolished buildings (see figure 15).



**Figure 15.** Shireen Hussein whose family resisted removal under the Group Areas Act. March 8, 1986.

Source: Photograph by David Goldblatt. Courtesy Goldblatt Family Trust and Goodman Gallery.

The densely inhabited inner-city neighborhood of District Six in Cape Town was declared a “White Group Area” in 1966 and more than 60,000 residents were forcibly removed to the Cape Flats over the next fifteen years. The vibrant world of District Six

immediately before the demolitions began and during the time when the community and the buildings that housed it were systematically destroyed was documented by a group of photographers who grew up or had lived in the neighborhood—George Hallett, Clarence Coulson, Gavin Jantjes, Wilfred Paulse, Jackie Heyns, and Peter McKenzie, who lived in District Six as a high school student.<sup>56</sup> McKenzie, the first Black graduate of the photography program at the then Natal Technikon, was an influential figure who taught and mentored many photographers from the 1980s onward. George Hallett is also known for his portraits of writers, musicians, and artists in exile and for photographing Mandela during the first elections. Other photographers who photographed District Six before and during the forced removals include Cloete Breytenbach; Jan Greshoff; and Jansje Wissema, who was commissioned by the Cape Institute of Architects to take photographs of the buildings of District Six in 1970, and in addition to documenting the architecture, she photographed people, street scenes, and painted signs and graffiti in the neighborhood (see figure 16).<sup>57</sup>



**Figure 16.** The ruins of a house in District Six, Cape Town. c.1970.

Source: Photograph by Jansje Wissema. Courtesy of Cape Institute of Architects and University of Cape Town Library Special Collections.

Images drawn from a collection that illuminates the history of the queer community of District Six from 1950 to the early 1980s forms the focus of *Kewpie: Daughter of District Six* <<https://gala.co.za/projects-and-programmes/a-daughter-of-district-six/>>, an exhibition held at the District Six Museum's Homecoming Centre in 2018. The Kewpie collection contains approximately 700 prints and accompanying negatives made by studio portrait photographers, street photographers, and Kewpie and her friends, many of whom were gender fluid (see figure 17). The collection provides rare insight into the experience of an LGBTIQ+ community under apartheid.<sup>58</sup>



**Figure 17.** “Kewpie in front of the salon, ‘Kewpie’s hairdresser’s,” 1970s.

Source: Courtesy of Kewpie Photographic Collection at the GALA Queer Archives, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The photographs of Billy Monk, who worked as a bouncer at a Cape Town nightclub in the 1960s and who took images of the patrons, opens a view into the underground scene of the time (see figure 18). The photographs are infused with what David Goldblatt describes as Monk's, "non-judgmental, even cool-eyed awareness of the photographic possibilities of the bizarre" and reveal how people found ways, even if only temporarily, to transgress some of apartheid's draconian laws.<sup>59</sup>



**Figure 18.** The Catacombs, October 1968.

Source: Photograph by Billy Monk. Copyright and courtesy of the Billy Monk Collection.

Paul Alberts and George Gibb's collection *Children of the Flats* documents the places to which people were forcibly removed in the bleak areas around the city of Cape Town and their struggle to remake their lives there, as do Paul Koning's portrait series.<sup>60</sup>

Omar Badsha, Ben Mclennan, Cedric Nunn, Paul Weinberg, and Gille de Vlieg were among the photographers who chronicled communities under threat and the effects of forced removals to the so-called homelands. The photographs that de Vlieg and Weinberg took of the forced removals from Mogopa (now Ga-Mogopa) in the North West of the country show brick and stone houses, established homesteads, and graveyards, which convey both the length of time people had been living in particular areas and the deep attachment people had to the places in which they lived (see figure 19).<sup>61</sup> They also documented the communities' struggles to return to the places from which they had been removed.



**Figure 19.** Finally back on their land, with the reminders of the houses that were smashed by the apartheid government to encourage their forced removal, still visible. Ga-Mogopa, North West, August 12, 1993.

*Source:* Photograph by Gille de Vlieg. Courtesy Gille de Vlieg.

## Portrait Studios and Street Photography

Studio portrait photography and street photography offer windows into individual, everyday lives that are often overlooked in accounts of South African history. The first photographic studio in the country was established in Port Elizabeth in 1846 and by the time apartheid began in 1948, portrait studios were well established across the country. The rise of Nazism in Germany and the beginning of World War II led many Jewish photographers to flee Europe and relocate elsewhere. Among the approximately 6,000 Jewish refugees who moved to South Africa as a result of the rise

of Nazism in Germany were the photographers Else and Helmuth Hausmann who arrived in South Africa in 1936; Anne Fischer, who arrived in Cape Town in 1937; and Etel Mittag-Fodor, a member of the Bauhaus school, who arrived in South Africa in 1938.<sup>62</sup> These photographers, like Jürgen Schadeberg and Constance Stuart Larrabee, who also studied photography in Germany, brought with them a modernist aesthetic sensibility that influenced photographic practice in South Africa.

Anne Fischer opened a photography studio in central Cape Town in 1937 and quickly became established as the portraitist of choice for wealthy white Capetonians. Fischer also took photographs in the streets of Cape Town, the neighboring township of Langa, in a rural town called Genadendal, and in other parts of the country (see figure 20). She also trained other women photographers, such as Jansje Wissema, who was apprenticed to Fischer in 1947 and who ran the studio during Fischer's extended visit to Europe; and Georgina "Bobby" Karvellas, who was apprenticed to Fischer in 1960 and went on to become a commercial photographer and filmmaker.<sup>63</sup> Wissema documented the destruction of District Six during the forced removals and in 1975 an exhibition, "Jansje Wissema's Cape Town," was held at the South African National Gallery in Cape Town, the first photographic exhibition to be held there. Jillian Edelstein, one of South Africa's most accomplished portrait photographers who lives and works in London, cites Fischer as an important influence.



**Figure 20.** Untitled.

Source: Photograph by Anne Fischer. Courtesy of Iziko South African National Gallery and University of Cape Town Library.

The Van Kalker studio was founded in 1937 and became the portrait studio of choice for the residents of District Six, Salt River, and Woodstock.<sup>64</sup> Portraits from the studio that once held pride of place in people's homes came to signify the world that was destroyed as a result of forced removals.<sup>65</sup>

Ronald Ngilima was a photographer who worked in Benoni Location (present-day Ekurhuleni, Gauteng, near Johannesburg) before the area was subject to forced removals and destroyed. Sophie Feyder describes the Ngilima photographic archive as a collection "comprising 5600 negatives dating from the 1950s and '60s, made by two Black photographers, Ronald Ngilima and his son Thorence."<sup>66</sup>

In his introduction to the catalogue for an exhibition of South African vernacular photography that he curated entitled *The Other Camera*, Paul Weinberg argues:

For those who frequented their local township photographic studio their experience with the camera provided an opportunity to reject the quandaries of daily life and abscond to a glossy illusion where fantasy and reality could freely mix and individuals could break away from the manacles apartheid placed upon social and bodily formations and explore alternative realities and selves.<sup>67</sup>

At the same time, as portrait studios provided a space for people to chart their aspirations and desire for a better life, they also made it possible for people to document significant events and relationships in their lives.

Bobson Studio was founded in Durban by Bobson Sukhdeo Mohanlall in 1961 and was one of the first African photography studios to produce color portraits, many of which show people dressed in a mixture of traditional Zulu beads and Western clothing. In their lurid colors and the evident self-styling of those portrayed, these images present a radical disruption of the ethnographic image (see figure 21). Mohanlall was murdered in a robbery in 2003, which led to the closure of his studio. Kitty's Studio in Pietermaritzburg was run by Singarum Jeevaruthnam Moodley, better known as "Kitty," from 1957 to 1987. A collection of negatives from the studio were found and curated by Steven Dubin in 2011 and led to an exhibition, "Who I Am: Rediscovered Portraits From Apartheid South Africa," held in New York in 2016.<sup>68</sup>



**Figure 21.** Untitled. c.1960s–early 1970s.

Source: Photograph by Bobson Sukhdeo Mohanlall. Courtesy Bobson Collection, Axis Gallery and the Mohanlall Family Estate.

Weinberg observes that although almost all those who made a living from photography under apartheid were street photographers, their work remains largely unrecognized. He points out that “many established black photographers in South Africa began their careers as street photographers, notably, Ernest Cole, Santu Mofokeng, Juda Ngwenya (who became chief photographer for Reuters in South Africa) and William Matlala, former trade unionist and labour photojournalist.” Movie Snaps was an iconic street photography studio which operated from a pavement on the edge of the Grand Parade in the city of Cape Town. Portraits of people who were “snapped” as they walked along the street and held in private collections formed the basis for a research project, exhibition, and short film on the studio curated by Siona O’Connell in 2015.<sup>69</sup>

Daniel Morolong began his career as a street photographer and established the Morolex Ideal Studios in 1968 in Mdantsane (close to East London) and photographed urban Black people in their homes, at significant events such as birthdays and weddings, and at leisure, often shown relaxing on the soon-to-be segregated beaches that surround the city.<sup>70</sup> Morolong’s photographs are, on one level, quite ordinary; at the same time, those they portray are “poised on the knife-edge of history,” “on the brink of losing access to these spaces through forced removals from East London.”<sup>71</sup> The building in which Morolong had his studio was razed in a fire during the 1990 coup against the Ciskei government and as a result, almost all of his equipment and negatives were destroyed.

One of the key works that drew attention to the significance of studio portraits for understanding Black history in South Africa through a different lens is Santu Mofokeng’s *Black Photo Album/Look at Me 1890-1950*.<sup>72</sup> This work emerged through a project “to create an archive of images that black working- and middle-class families commissioned in the period between 1890-1950 and the stories about the subjects of the photographs.”<sup>73</sup> As Weinberg notes, Mofokeng’s project and book “has been seminal in drawing attention to this hidden archive in Soweto, raising the awareness of the prevalence of the camera in South African townships and how important these images were for communities.” These forms of photography offer a different and more intimate view of life under apartheid than the iconographic images of the struggle and their value and importance is increasingly being recognized.

## Discussion of the Literature

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There are a number of books that showcase the work of major individual photographers, such as David Goldblatt, Ernest Cole, and Peter Magubane, some of which were published under apartheid and others more recently.<sup>74</sup> These collections often include critical essays and, because they are richly illustrated, remain the best way to understand the complexity and power of photography under apartheid.

Two books that were published in the 1980s, *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart* and *Beyond the Barricades*, are landmark collections in the field and provide excellent entry points for understanding photography during the struggle years.<sup>75</sup> Andries Walter Olifant has argued that “to make sense, let alone fully grasp the aesthetic and social dimensions of South African photography, I think, requires attentiveness to the political and historical context to which images belong as well to how they communicate over time.”<sup>76</sup> *Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and the Bureaucracy of Everyday Life* heeds this call and is the most comprehensive book published thus far on the history of photography under apartheid. The book contains essays by the editors and curators, Okwui Enwezor and Rory Bestor, as well as by Khwezi Gule, Patricia Hayes, Achille Mbembe, Darren Newbury, Andries Walter Oliphant, and Colin Richards, and includes images by approximately eighty photographers.

Newbury’s book, *Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa* provides an important overview and critical analysis of the visual history of apartheid and includes chapters on Ernest Cole, the *Drum* decades, struggle photography, and the significance of photographs for post-apartheid memorialization practices. There has not yet been a sustained focus on the work of women photographers under apartheid, and Robin Comley, George Hallett, and Neo Ntsoma’s *Women by Women* is an exception in this regard.<sup>77</sup>

Work on archives and collections that situate the history of South African photography within the broader context of African photography include *In/sight: African Photographers, 1940 to the Present* edited by Clare Bell, Okwui Enwezor, Danielle Tilkin, and Octavio Zaya; and the exhibition and book *Distance and Desire: Encounters With the African Archive* curated and edited by Tamar Garb.<sup>78</sup> Texts such as *Photography and Africa* and *Photography in and out of Africa: Iterations With Difference* also bring research on South African photography into conversation with work from the rest of the continent.<sup>79</sup>

Researchers have begun to trace the connections between photography under apartheid and the work of contemporary photographers, and visual historians and scholars from a range of disciplines have engaged with photographs taken under apartheid in order to deepen understandings of the past and its weight on the present.<sup>80</sup> Two special issues, “Documentary Photography in South Africa” edited by Diana Wylie and Andrew Bank, and “South African Photography: A Special Double Issue” edited by Michael Godby, convey a sense of the wide-ranging research in this field.<sup>81</sup> Catalogue essays such as Neelika Jayawardane’s, “Structures, State Violence,

and Social Relations: David Goldblatt and Peter Magubane's Cartographies of South Africa"; and essays by Sean O'Toole and Els Barents included in *Apartheid and After* are also useful research resources.<sup>82</sup> *Between States of Emergency* is the catalogue for an exhibition curated by Robin Comley for the Nelson Mandela Foundation and is an excellent resource.<sup>83</sup> It includes brief biographical notes and a selection of images by forty photographers who documented resistance to apartheid between 1985 and 1990. The photographers are Joe Alferts, Jenny Altschuler, Adil Bradlow, Omar Badsha, Gille de Vlieg, Walter Dhladhla, Jillian Edelstein, Ellen Elmendorp, Greg English, David Goldblatt, Benny Gool, Jenny Gordon, Louise Gubb, Steve Hilton Barber, Mike Hutchings, Fanie Jason, Alf Kumalo, Ismail Lagardien, Lesley Lawson, Chris Ledochowski, Radshid Lombard, Peter Magubane, Jimi Matthews, Rafs Mayet, Gideon Mendel, Eric Miller, Santu Mofokeng, Juda Ngwenya, Cedric Nunn, Billy Paddock, Trevor Samson, Cedric Sols, Deseni Soobben, Guy Tillim, Zubeida Vallie, Paul Weinberg, Graeme Williams (see figure 22), Gislele Wulfsohn, Hetty Zantman, and Anna Zieminski.



**Figure 22.** Thokoza, 1990, Graeme Williams.

Source: Courtesy Graeme Williams.

## Primary Sources

Bailey's African History Archive contains photographs that were published in *Drum* magazine. The Mayibuye Centre Archive at the University of the Western Cape holds the valuable and extensive archive of the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) which contains 30,000 negatives and 70,000 photographic prints. The Mayibuye archive collection includes the Leon Levson collection, the Eli

Weinberg collection, and the Billy Paddock collection. It is not currently available online. The South African History Archives includes images from the IDAF archive and by Afrapix photographers. The University of Cape Town Library Special Collections holds significant collections of photography made under apartheid, including the work of many Afrapix photographers, most of which was brought into the library while Paul Weinberg held the post of Visual Curator there. The collection also includes photographs by Jillian Edelstein from her project on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Hearings, *Truth and Lies*, and selected works by Jürgen Schadeberg, Greg Marinovich, Paul Alberts, William Matlala, and a number of other significant photographers. The Gandhi-Luthuli Documentation Centre and the Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives, both housed at the University of KwaZulu Natal, contain numerous photographic collections, some of which have been digitized and can be viewed online through Digital Innovation South Africa. Duke University Library also holds a significant collection of over 1,100 black and white and color prints representing the work of more than fifty South African photographers who documented conditions during and after apartheid, from the 1940s to 2013, with most dating after 1960. The collection includes material from *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart* and *Beyond the Barricades* and many of the photographers represented were members of Afrapix. The International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, holds an extensive collection of photographs of Southern Africa, including more than 5,000 photographs from the collections of the Dutch Anti-apartheid Movement and The Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa. The archive of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement is held at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford and covers the period 1956 to 1998. Wits Historical Papers at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg includes the photographic archives of the Black Sash, images documenting the Treason Trial, the archives of the South African Institute of Race Relations, photographs of the early history of Soweto in the Colin S. Goodman collection, photographic collections of various trade unions, the archive of the Institute for Advanced Social Research ranging from images of Afrikaner nationalism to images of resistance, images of the End Conscription Campaign, the Afrapix Consolidation Project, and numerous other collections relating to the history of apartheid. GALA Queer Archive (also known as Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action), a center for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer (LGBTIQ+) culture and education in South Africa, curates an archive that includes more than 180 collections that date from the 1940s to the present. GALA's holdings include photographs that document LGBTIQ+ experience during apartheid, photographs relating to the life and work of anti-apartheid and LGBTIQ+ activist Simon Nkoli, and a collection of the work of photographer Jean Brundrit. The Bensusan Museum of Photography at Museum Africa in Johannesburg was founded by Arthur Bensusan in 1968 and includes 5,000 photographs and 2,000 photographic books from his collection that relate to the history of photography in South Africa between 1860 and 1960. The Photography and New Media Collections at the Iziko South African National Gallery includes photographs by Paul Alberts, Ernest Cole, Anne Fischer, David Goldblatt, Alf Kumalo, and Struan Robertson, among others.

## Links to Digital Material

Afrapix Consolidation Project, University of the Witwatersrand <<http://146.141.12.32/afrapix-photographic-archive>>.

Africa Media Online <<https://africamediaonline.com/>>.

African Activist Archive <<https://africanactivist.msu.edu/index.php>>.

ANC Archives <<https://ancarchive.org/>>.

Bailey's African History Archive Drum Collection <<http://www.baha.co.za/page/aboutus>>.

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1. David Goldblatt, *South Africa: The Structure of Things Then* (New York: Monacelli, 1998).
2. Okwui Enwezor, "A Critical Presence: *Drum Magazine* in Context," in *In/sight: African Photographers, 1940 to the Present*, ed. Clare Bell et al. (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 1996), 191.
3. The exhibition curated by Enwezor and Bester opened at the International Center for Photography in New York in 2012 and also traveled to Germany, Italy, and South Africa. The show was accompanied by the publication of an impressive book that contains more than 500 images. Okwui Enwezor and Rory Bester, eds., *Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and the Bureaucracy of Everyday Life* (New York, Prestel, 2013). "The Other Camera" was curated by Paul Weinberg and was first exhibited at the University of Michigan in 2014 and has since been exhibited in South Africa. See Paul Weinberg, "The Other Camera—An Accidental Archive," *Critical Arts* 32 (2018): 13–26. The work of researchers such as Phindezwa Mnyaka, "Retracing Representations and Identities in 20th Century South African and African Photography: Joseph Denfield, Regimes of Seeing and Alternative Visual Histories" (PhD diss.,

University of Fort Hare, 2012); Siona O'Connell, "Tonal Landscapes: Re-membering the Interiority of Lives of Apartheid Through the Family Album of the Oppressed" (PhD diss., University of Cape Town, 2012); Malcolm Corrigan, "A History of the Chinese Camera Club of South Africa" (PhD diss., SOAS, 2016); and Jacob Dlamini, *The Terrorist Album: Apartheid's Insurgents, Collaborators, and the Security Police* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), provide a sense of the range of emerging scholarship on photography during apartheid.

4. Michael Godby, "'Native Studies': Photographic Responses to the 'Native Question' in South Africa Around the Middle of the Twentieth Century," in *Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and the Bureaucracy of Everyday Life*, ed. Okwui Enwezor and Rory Best (New York: Prestel, 2013), 46–65, 47.
5. A. M. Duggan-Cronin, *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa* (Kimberley, Australia: A McGregor Memorial Museum, 1928–1954).
6. Colin Richards, "Retouching Apartheid: Intimacy, Interiority and Photography," in *Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, ed. Enwezor and Best, 241.
7. On Constance Stuart Larrabee, see Brenda Danilowitz, "Constance Stuart Larrabee's Photographs of the Ndzundza Ndebele: Performance and History Beyond the Modernist Frame," in *Between Union and Liberation: Women Artists in South Africa*, ed. Marion Arnold and Brenda Schmammann (London, UK: Routledge, 2016), 71–93; and Peter Elliot, *Constance: One Road to Take* (Alairac, France: Cantaloup Press, 2018). On Larrabee's right-wing proclivities, see Jessica R. Williams. 2020. "A Pariah Among Parvenus: Anne Fischer and the Politics of South Africa's New Realism(s) <https://scholar.harvard.edu/jessicawilliams/publications/pariah-among-parvenus-anne-fischer-and-politics-south-africa%E2%80%99s-new>." *October*, 173, 143–175.
8. Richards, "Retouching Apartheid," 241.
9. John Edwin Mason, "Picturing the Beloved Country: Margaret Bourke-White, *Life Magazine*, and South Africa, 1949–1950," *Kronos* 38, no. 1 (2012): 154–176, 154.
10. Godby, "'Native Studies,'" 55. See also Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, "Photography With a Difference: Leon Levson's Camera Studies and Photographic Exhibitions of Native Life in South Africa, 1947–1950," *Kronos* 31, no. 1 (2005): 184–213; and Phindezwa Mnyaka, "From Salons to the Native Reserve: Reformulating the 'Native Question' Through Pictorial Photography in 1950s South Africa," in *Photography in and out of Africa: Iterations With Difference*, ed. Kylie Thomas and Louise Green (London: Routledge, 2016), 106–121.
11. The Leon Levson collection of almost 3,000 negatives is held at the University of the Western Cape (UWC)—Robben Island, Mayibuye Archives <https://mayibuyearchives.org>. See Andre Odendaal, *The Leon Levson Photographic Collection: Catalogue and Background Material* (Bellville, S.A: University of the Western Cape, 1994); and Karina Simonson, "Baltic Jewish Photographers in the Republic of South Africa (1930–1976): Leon Levson and Eli Weinberg" (PhD diss., University of Vilnius, 2018).
12. On passbooks and photography, see Lorena Rizzo, "Visual Impersonation—Population Registration, Reference Books and Identification in the Eastern Cape, 1950s–1960s," *History in Africa* 41 (2014): 221–248; Ingrid Masondo, "Unstable Forms: Photography, Race and the Identity Document in South Africa," in *Ambivalent*, ed. Hayes and Minkley, 77–104; and Gary Minkley, "The Pass Photograph and the Intimate Photographic Event in South Africa," in *Ambivalent*, ed. Hayes and Minkley, 105–125.

13. Weinberg worked for the *New Age* newspaper and taught several Black photographers, including Joe Gqabi, an ANC activist, journalist, and photographer, who was murdered by an apartheid death squad in 1981. The Eli Weinberg collection is held at the University of the Western Cape (UWC)—Robben Island, Mayibuye Archives <<http://mayibuyearchives.org>>.
14. Eli Weinberg, *Portrait of a People: A Personal Photographic Record of the South African Liberation Struggle* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for South Africa, 1981).
15. For a critical history of *Zonk!*, see Tsitsi Ella Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). See also Jacqueline Maingard, Drumming up Readers: *Zonk! African People's Pictorial* and Films for African Audiences in South Africa in 1949 and the Early 1950s, in *Mapping Movie Magazines. Global Cinema*, ed. D. Biltereyst and L. Van de Vijver (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 153–176.
16. Enwezor, “A Critical Presence,” 182. *Drum* was launched in Nigeria in 1953, Ghana in 1954, East Africa in 1957, and in Central Africa in 1966.
17. Schadeberg's career spans seven decades and in 2014 he was awarded the International Center of Photography's Cornell Capa Lifetime Achievement Award in recognition of his contribution to the development of South African photography.
18. Ernest Cole, *House of Bondage* (New York: Random House, 1967).
19. Ernest Cole, Letter to The Alien Commissioner, November 25, 1968, as cited in Gunilla Knape, “Notes on the Life of Ernest Cole, 1940–1990.” See also Gunilla Knape, ed., *Ernest Cole: Photographer* (Göteborg, Sweden: Hasselblad Foundation and Steidl, 2010); and Darren Newbury, “Ernest Cole and the South African Security Police,” *History of Photography* 35, no. 1 (2011): 76–79.
20. “Ernest Cole <<https://www.magnumphotos.com/photographer/ernest-cole/>>”—Magnum profile.
21. Tymon Smith, “Part One: The Mystery of Ernest Cole's Archive <<https://www.newframe.com/part-one-the-mystery-of-ernest-coles-archive/>>,” *New Frame*, February 20, 2020.
22. Alf Kumalo and Zukiswa Wanner, *8115: A Prisoner's Home* (Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2010).
23. Journalists and photographers were routinely harassed, beaten, and arrested by the police. For detailed accounts of the challenges facing journalists, and Black journalists in particular, under apartheid, see the TRC special hearings on print media held in 1997 <<http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/special/media/media04.htm>>.
24. Enwezor, “Rise and Fall of Apartheid,” in *Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, ed. Enwezor and Bester.
25. Darren Newbury, “Picturing an ‘Ordinary Atrocity’: The Sharpeville Massacre,” in *Picturing Atrocity: Reading Photographs in Crisis*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen, Mick Gidley, Nancy K. Miller, and Jay Prosser (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 209–223.
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28. Ruth Simbao, “The Thirtieth Anniversary of June 16: Reading the Shadow in Sam Nzima's Iconic Photograph of Hector Pieterse,” *African Arts* 40, no. 2 (2007): 52–69.

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31. Shannen Hill, *Biko's Ghost: The Iconography of Black Consciousness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).
32. Kylie Thomas, "Exhuming Apartheid: Photography, Disappearance and Return," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 230 (2018): 429–454. More information about Ahmed Timol and the reopening of the TRC cases can be found online <<http://www.ahmedtimol.co.za>>.
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34. Kylie Thomas, "Wounding Apertures: Violence, Affect and Photography During and After Apartheid," *Kronos* 38, no. 1 (2012): 204–218.
35. Peter McKenzie, Sean O'Toole, and Jo Ractliffe, "Pre-Post: A Trajectory in South African Photography," *Camera Austria* 100 (2007): 130–134.
36. Peter McKenzie, "Bringing the Struggle Into Focus," *Staffrider* 5, no. 2 (1982): 17–18.
37. *Staffrider Presents South Africa Through the Lens: Social Documentary Photography* (Randburg, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1983).
38. Omar Badsha, *Letter to Farzanah* (Durban, South Africa: Institute for Black Research, 1979).
39. Omar Badsha, ed., *The Cordoned Heart: Twenty South African Photographers* (Cape Town: Gallery Press, 1986).
40. Omar Badsha, *Imijondolo: A Photographic Essay on Forced Removals in the Inanda District of South Africa. Afrapix* (Newark, DE: Raven Press, 1985).
41. Paul Weinberg, Omar Badsha, and Gideon Mendel, eds., *Beyond the Barricades: Popular Resistance in South Africa* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 1989). Graham Goddard joined Afrapix in 1987 and printed the black and white exhibition prints for "Beyond the Barricades."
42. Santu Mofokeng, *The Black Photo Album/Look at Me: 1890–1950* (Göttingen, Germany: Steidl/The Walther Collection, 2013).
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56. George Hallett and Peter McKenzie, *District Six Revisited* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007).
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