IN/BETWEEN

PHILIPPI PHOTOGRAPHED
BY MICHAEL HAMMOND

IN/BETWEEN: PHILIPPI PHOTOGRAPHED

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date:_____

I dedicate this project to my children, Callum and Ciara Hammond.

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ABSTRACT

Philippi, a farming area outside Cape Town, is strained by social relations and spatial concerns, the pressures of development, industry, farming, sand mining and environmental issues. This photographic project investigates how the people of Philippi live in their immediate space, where particular historical, social and political influences mark their identities. These identities are constructed through the legacy of apartheid and manifest themselves in socio-economic and racial dynamics.

This photographic project focuses on the Phillipi area and its people. I chose the horticultural area of Philippi in the Cape Flats for its complex and intricate socio-political structure. During this investigation I made a photobook *In/ between,* which speaks to topics of land and identity in the microcosm of Philipi, but also in the broader macrocosm of South Africa. In this document, I investigate the position of the photobook within the contemporary arts, with a particular focus on the South African photobook. I also look at the shifting understanding of documentary photography in South Africa, and my position within its' traditions.

Making the photobook *In/between* allowed me the opportunity to explore photography as a tool for self-reflection and pursuing my own understanding of the world around me; to move away from a more traditional journalistic approach to other ways of telling a story through the medium of photography.

This document situates, contextualises and explicates my visual research for this project.

INTRODUCTION

Philippi's horticultural land is in a state of transition, strained by social relations and spatial concerns, the pressures of development, industry, farming, sand mining and environmental issues.

As the sand mines, occupying most of the water-rich western side, slowly run empty, commercial prospectors are eager to purchase the levelled land at progressively inflated prices, with the vision of developing housing complexes. From the northern side, industry and retail space requirements place additional strains upon the land. A large aquifer that lies below Philippi is slowly being depleted and polluted. These multiple pressures in turn put strain on the farmers in the area.

The people of Philippi are divided by very different priorities and ideals. Philippi's farming community is diverse and yet, like many small towns or communities in South Africa, still racially segregated according to the original apartheid plan whereby people were separated according to the Population Registration Act of 1950, which classified residents by racial group. The present community is generally comprised of poorer workers, who would have been classified as 'coloured' and 'black',[1] and farmers on smallholdings, often Muslim,[2] who are in turn distinct from the wealthier commercial farmers, who are usually 'white'. The landscape of Philippi has borne witness to decades of emotional and physical oppression, violence and hardship and yet it remains a productive farming area in the midst of the intricate and complex urban structure of the Cape Flats.[3] The complexities of this scenario form the foundation of this project and are explored in the body of photographs presented alongside this document.

This project investigates how the people of Philippi live in their immediate space, where particular historical, social and political influences mark their identities. These identities are constructed through the legacy of apartheid and manifest themselves in socio-economic and racial dynamics. Horticulturally, farmers struggle for an existence. Here one finds commercial farmers, landowners who don't utilise the farming rights of the land, small farmers, farm workers (local and migrant), informal settlers and workers from other local industries. Philippi is constantly under pressure from farmers, encroaching industry and factories, sand mining, housing developers and the need for space for schools, roads and services.

The aftermath of apartheid is deeply embedded here and the people of Philippi are still negotiating their space and identity, as a community and as individuals.

MAPPING PHILIPPI

Philippi was named after Dr Philip Eduard Faure (1811-1882), who served as Nederduits Gereformeerde (NG) Church pastor in the Wynberg area from 1834 until his death (Rabe, 1993: 459). It is surrounded by Grassy Park, Ottery, Hanover Park, Mitchell's Plain and East Philippi. The Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA) is positioned at the southern part of the Cape Flats, bordering False Bay. It is divided into the larger PHA and Philippi East, which is in turn sub-divided into Browns Farm, Sweet Home, Phola Park, Weltevreden Valley and other suburbs and settlements.

In prehistoric times a shallow sea separated the Cape peninsula from the higher ground towards the Hottentots Holland Mountains. As the water receded over millennia, the resulting thick bed of sandy wilderness left the area inhospitable. Although it is difficult to establish whether the Cape Flats was permanently occupied by any specific indigenous group before German immigrants in the late 1880s, archaeological evidence has been found to prove that pre-colonial groups moved across the Flats. One of the more significant discoveries was by Professor M.R. Drennan in 1928. The Cape Flats Skull was found in the same vicinity as a thighbone and Middle Stone Age tools in a sand quarry (Rabe, 2010;9).[4]

The Cape Flats essentially consists of a vast sheet of Aeolian sand of the 'Springfonteyn Formation overlaying calcrete' (Brown-Luthango 2015: 34).[5] In parts of the Philippi area 'where water was not trapped and no leaching occurred high quality silica sand occurs, which is mined for glass making' (Brown-Luthango 2015: 34). These Aeolian sand dunes have attracted mining companies since 1967, when a large portion of Philippi was first reserved for the purpose of the mining of silica sand and for agriculture[6] (Brown-Luthango 2015: 34).

The PHA is located above the Cape Flats aquifer, a valuable natural water reservoir underneath the greater Cape Town region. This aquifer supplies irrigation to the Philippi farmers and feeds the natural wetlands in the area. The aquifer could potentially supply fresh water for domestic use to the Cape Town population and might supply two thirds of Cape Town's water needs. Sustainable water resource management is crucial to future spatial planning, particularly in the Philippi area and its surrounding wetlands and vegetation.

The *strandveld* (beach shrub) that only occurs in the strong alkaline calcareous dune sands of the Cape Flats is also under threat. This rare vegetation exists on the southern border of Phillippi. It covers and stabilises sand dunes on the beaches around Cape Town and supports a very high biomass of grazing animals, but more than half of the Cape's strandveld has been lost to urbanisation. Only 14 percent of this unique vegetation is currently conserved.

Geographically and environmentally Philippi has much to offer, but it is threatened by social strain[7] and exploitation of its natural resources.

THE IMMIGRANTS

The first recorded permanent settlement in Philippi (c. 1833) comes from 'the first record of a European community in the [Philippi] area' (Adlard in Brown-Luthango, 2015: 35), described as 'a small chapel surrounded by sand dunes' (Adlard in Brown-Luthango, 2015: 35), known as the Klipfontein Mission Station. It has been suggested 'that these residents may have been recently-liberated slaves' (Adlard in Brown-Luthango, 2015: 35).

Between 1858 and 1883 German immigrants came to what is now the Western Cape as part of the *Völkerwanderung*, 'the mighty socio-cultural phenomenon of the nineteenth century when an estimated 5 million Germans from the various German states emigrated between 1820 and 1890 to parts of the "New World"' (Rabe, 2007: 2). Rabe (1994) identified these Germans as the Godeffroy settlers, as they arrived on the Godeffroy & Son shipping line to the Western Cape. They were offered grants to settle on the Cape Flats, with little understanding of the challenges that lay ahead of them.

Initially contracted by farmers in the Swartland area, they had to work for a fixed period for their employers. After the expiration of their contracts they settled in the vicinity of Wynberg because of the Lutheran church that had been established there. Thus, the church and the successful settlement of the first immigrants in this area led directly to a decision by the Cape Colonial government to populate the area with more German immigrants, they having shown that the sandy area could indeed be cultivated.[8]

In 1878 the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, John Xavier Merriman, reported in parliament that the "useless" crown property had been put to good use and that the peasants had been successful thanks to their work ethic:

> *Thus while rendering a great service to their adopted country by utilizing what had until then been practically waste land, and by demonstrating the possibility of close settlement, even under unfavourable circumstances, these German immigrants of 1877 and '78 had found happiness for themselves. Thus in a few years the Germans have changed everything: they had made a fruitful garden out of a wilderness – and at the same time were well on the way to prosperity themselves.*
>
> In Rabe, 2007: 16

The Cape Flats and District Farmers Association was established in 1885. It is the first union of its kind in the Western Cape and is today recognised as the oldest surviving farmer's union in the country (Rabe, 2012: 2).

Many of the Philippi families who farm the area today are descendants of these original settlers.

INDUSTRY AND DEVELOPMENT

The development of industry in the Philippi area commenced when the Swiss cement company Holcem started construction on a massive factory to 'utilise the extensive calcrete (limestone) deposits' (Adlard in Brown-Luthango, 2015: 36) in the area. A private rail siding was built to transport materials between the cement factory and the Bellville marshalling yard. This line was extended to service the Philippi industrial township in the early 1970s. Its proximity to the airport, highways and relatively affordable land made Philippi attractive not only to local industry, but also to international companies (Adlard in Brown-Luthango, 2015: 36).

Production at the cement factory ended in 1982 when the city expropriated much of the land and mining rights in order to build the suburb known as Mitchell's Plain east of Philippi. Today the old concrete factory is being revitalised into a mixed development site called Phillippi Village, which contains a business hub, office space, educational facilities and spaces for entrepreneurial activities (Adlard in Brown-Luthango, 2015: 36).

The rezoning of farms for the development of Mitchell's Plain from the 1970s left many workers in Philippi dispossessed as they 'were not part of the state's racial housing relocation process' (Adlard in Brown-Luthango, 2015: 37). Some workers resorted to squatting, just beyond the northern boundary, at Heinz Farm in Philippi East (Adlard in Brown-Luthango, 2015: 37).

THE CAPE FLATS IN RELATION TO THE GROUP AREAS ACT

Apartheid's influx control laws of the 1950s and the Group Areas Act caused significant development in the Cape Flats area,[9] restricting ownership and the occupation of land to a specific racial group. 'Non-white' people could now not own nor occupy land in white areas, giving the apartheid government the right to forcibly remove 'non-white' people from centrally located urban areas such as District Six and place them in low-cost government-built townships in other areas (SA History Online) on the urban periphery – giving rise to the Cape Flats' popular title as 'apartheid's dumping ground' (Fleishman, 2014: 164).

There was a relaxation of these laws in the late 1980s when, due to a lack of affordable formal accommodation, informal settlements grew southwards from the N2 and other major transport routes towards Philippi. 'By 1994 there were a number of squatter settlements, with an estimated 3000 residents in Philippi, including 800 in Sakkiesdorp, spread over 100 acres' (Legassick, 2006: 6).

FARMING

Today, the Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA) is an uncomfortable space. Debates over land use[10] are loaded, complex, controversial and layered. Solutions that satisfy the key role players are hard to find. Public perception is that food productivity is declining in the area and farmers are waiting for the best price from developers to purchase their farms (Battersby-Lennard & Hayes, 2012: 8). However, this view is not supported by the research findings of Jane Battersby-Lennard and Gareth Haysom, in partnership with the African Food Security Urban Network.

Their research shows an increase in production, infrastructure investment and land acquisition for farming. This trend was evident not only amongst the larger-scale farmers, but also amongst emerging smallholding farmers. In their report, Battersby-Lennard and Haysom estimate that the PHA produces just under 100 000 tonnes of fresh produce annually, contributing 40-50 per cent of all cauliflower, carrots and lettuce sold in the Cape metropole (CoCT-PEPCO Review, 2009: 1). This includes an estimated 2 000 tonnes of produce allocated to farm workers every year due to 'innovative and proactive farm management strategies' (Battersby-Lennard & Hayes, 2012: 5). The farmers are in fact under pressure to satisfy food demands and experience a high level of frustration and loss of capital from the theft of farming equipment and market-ready produce. Ineffective policing of the area and uncertainty over the future of the PHA dampen the spirits of the farmers, but they 'remain active and engage in the business of farming' (Battersby-Lennard and Haysom, 2012: 5). Ongoing housing needs cause informal settlements to expand into previously unoccupied state land and neglected farm land in the PHA.

The PHA operates on a highly sophisticated endogenous economic system designed to be supportive of farm-based and off-farm economies – such as seedling and fertilizer suppliers, compost producers, wholesalers, packhouses and transportation suppliers – and which are also connected to other economies beyond the PHA (Battersby-Lennard and Hayes, 2015: 5).

POSITIONING MYSELF IN PHILIPPI

My interest in Philippi comes from a number of professional and personal intersections. My mother grew up in an Afrikaans family on Dreyersdal farm in Retreat and regularly followed her older brothers to play on the borders of the Philippi farming area. During the 1950s my grandfather was a street merchant, selling Philippi vegetables from a cart.

Figure 1. (left) Photograph of my mother, Christine and her brother Willem Engelbrecht at Dreyersdal farm (undated) and (right) a photograph of my grandparents Gert Jacobus en Magdalena Christina Engelbrecht (undated). Retrieved from family archives.

While my family never owned farmland, my mother grew up deeply connected to this lifestyle. In contrast, I lived in suburban Bellville as a child, yet have a hankering to work the land. This possibly inherited desire, to be connected to the land, is part of what attracted me to Philippi. That being said, Philippi is not an idyllic rural farmland. It is a distressed space that speaks to my experience of growing up in South Africa.

I found photography in my early 20s. I naively thought that I could avoid my own vulnerabilities by hiding behind a camera and the persona of a photojournalist. Inspired by the Bang-Bang Club, I indulged in the macho culture of photojournalism. As I developed as a photographer I photographed terrible things that burnt their way into my memory, and struggled with my own accountability

as I represented and communicated the trauma of others. These images haunted me to the point that I felt I needed to leave photojournalism. In this time I developed an awareness of the power of the medium to act as a tool for self-exploration and to understand the complexities of social identity – and, in essence, my own identity within the context of South Africa.

Although the topic of land and identity is a political issue, the core focus of my photographs is to create a sense of place around Philippi and the people who live and work there. My project investigates how people exist in their immediate living space and how specific historical, social and political influences mark their identities. In many ways Philippi is a microcosm of land and identity issues in post-apartheid South Africa, and in making these photographs I wanted to show something of the psychological and physical state of Philippi and its people.

PRECEDENT OF PHOTOGRAPHING LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Images of the land have been prominent in photography since its inception. From the advent of photography to the contemporary moment, from Roger Fenton (1819-1869) and Timothy O' Sullivan (1840-1882) to David Goldblatt (1930-) and Andeas Gursky (1955-), many photographers have imaged the land.

Photographing the land is not, however, an innocent act. It has been, and continues to be, photographed for recreational, social and political reasons, often with a view to claiming it – for example in the early photographs of James Chapman while on expedition to Victoria Falls from 1860 to 1864. The land was claimed and mapped through photography by colonists, with its wealth on display, as in William Roe's 1869 photographs of the diamond fields of Kimberly. In South Africa, land and the working of it have been recorded by Constance Stuart Larabee (1914-2000), Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971) and David Goldblatt, amongst others. Among early exposés of farming and land by black journalists, Henry Nxumalo exposed unfair labour practices in Bethel (1952) while on assignment for *Drum* magazine with Jürgen Schadeberg.

Figure 2. Farmer's Son with his Nursemaid, Marico Bushveld, 1964, in *Some Afrikaners Revisited* (2009) by David Goldblatt. Photograph by Michael Hammond

David Goldblatt's *Farmer's Son with his Nursemaid, Marico Bushveld, 1964* is a black-and-white portrait of a white boy and young black woman on a farm, fenced in by the borders of the garden. 'With the hand of the young woman clasping the shin of the leaning child, his fingers holding onto her shoulders, the physical closeness of the pair belies the economic and legislative segregation that circumscribe the contact between them' (Garb, 2011: 32). The image, firmly placed in a rural environment, speaks about hierarchy, power and, at the same time, complex affection. Many of Goldblatt's images of farms and farmers in *Some Afrikaners Photographed* (1975), *South Africa: The Structure of Things Then* (1998) and *Intersections* (2005) speak to race, power and gender dynamics.

Goldblatt's photobook, *South Africa: The Structure of Things Then* (1998) is comprised of photographs of spaces, buildings and structures within South Africa, but it is more importantly 'also about ideological structuring: about the mental constructs that underpinned the structures of South Africa in its colonial era and more specifically the apartheid years, the locust years, of its recent past' (Dubow, 1998: 23).

It is Goldblatt's remarkable 'quality of immanence' (Dubow, 1998: 25) that motivates me to produce photographs that reveal something beyond the purely physical. I have also become interested in alternative and more contemporary approaches to representation within the genre of documentary photography. Although objectives have shifted for the South African documentary photographer since the demise of apartheid, many photographers, including myself, feel that alternative forms of documentary photography can offer new insights into the subject of identity and land.

I position myself within a younger post-apartheid generation of photographers who grew up within a changing country, promoting equality and freedom. So even though I was influenced and inspired by the photographic styles and genres of our troubled past, I also observe South Africa through a different lens. The 'myopic state' (Enwezor, 2010: 101) in which 'struggle' photography was practiced, where 'realism trumped self-reflection' (Soske, undated: 3), has evolved to equally engaged but perhaps more contemplative photographic documentary styles.

One example of this 'shifted' documentary style is the *Messina/ Musina* (2007) series by Pieter Hugo. Hugo investigates concerns that are parallel to my own work in Philippi. In the interview 'Pieter Hugo in conversation with Joanna Lehan', the political burden of photography is discussed and Lehan confronts Hugo on some subject position complexities that we both grapple with as photographers around themes of land and identity. These issues include our similar social backgrounds, with reference to race and class, economic position and education, which complicates the photographic encounter.

Figure 3. Solomon Kholopha of St Martin's Undertakers in *Messina/Musina* (2007) by Pieter Hugo. Photograph by Michael Hammond

I share a similar cultural background with Hugo, as we both experienced a white 'Afrikaner' upbringing in the aftermath of apartheid, and this places me, like Hugo, in a particular position in relation to my subject. I also share an interest with Hugo in portrait photography within the theme of land and identity.

Hugo investigated Musina, the northernmost town in South Africa, as a place of transition and this theme is foregrounded in his photographs. Hugo is interested in small South African towns that experience a 'changing of the guards' (Hugo, 2007: unpaginated). Like Musina, Philippi's horticultural land is also in a state of transition.

Hugo speaks of the intricate relationship we have with our environment and the particular role mining and hunting, with all their complexities and difficulties, have played in the survival and successes of the Musina community.

Lehan emphasises Hugo's ability to depict the fraught environment with a violence and hardness in his images (2007: unpaginated). Lehan notes Hugo's ability to depict Musina's complexity including the 'white' farmers and hunters, poverty, unemployment and the town's transient character as a border town. The interview is concerned with issues of representation, questioning the authority of the photographer as observer. Being perceived as an outsider by some of his subjects, Hugo confronts racial and cultural concerns within society from a difficult position. When Hugo addresses the 'gaze of the white male in Africa', he states: 'I was born here. My language is an African language; it's not spoken elsewhere. This is my landscape…so it's absurd. I don't claim to have the final say on African culture. I'm only interpreting the things that are around me' (2007: unpaginated). He continues that he is 'not trying to portray or pass judgement' (Hugo, 2007: unpaginated) with his photographs.

For myself, representing my subject is in itself a confrontation with my own insecurities and perceptions to my place and identity as a South African. I challenge my own emotional and intellectual preconceptions through the lens of my camera, rather than proclaiming

opinion or judgement. The process of making photographs of people and their private spaces is a complex transaction. I am aware of my position as a white photographer and the critiques associated with the 'white gaze' on the 'black subject'. During the course of this MFA I have become more sensitised to the frustration and anger of 'black' perspectives on being the subject of the 'white' photographers' images. Photography in South Africa can be a layered and complex transaction, depending on the perspectives brought from different kinds of experiences.

While it is important to acknowledge class and race complexity with regard to representation, my aim is to capture a time and place that gives the viewer insight into our political and social inheritance through this microcosm that reflects the bigger scenario. In this body of work I have thought about the differences between 'documentary photography', which primarily chronicles and records, and what I aim to do, in which something more intricate is captured, evoked or suggested. This is not the recording of 'truth', but a translation or interpretation of an experience and a place that gives the viewer insight into complexities that the photographer has observed. The sensitivity and capabilities of the photographer will determine to what extent that happens and in my view it is this that distinguishes an 'ordinary' photograph from an artwork.

> *Initially the landscape was unfamiliar to me... But as I started meeting people, they invited me into their homes and showed me the town and things changed.* Hugo, 2007: unpaginated

In the interview Hugo comments on photographic influences and points out the difference in style and approach of Goldblatt's *In Boksburg,* which portrays a clear authorial political stance. 'Black and white photography is known to have been a "trademark" of apartheid photography, and having made this book during these troubled years within this definitive style, sets Goldblatt's earlier photographs specifically within this era' (Hugo, 2007: unpaginated). Hugo suggests that we are currently in a very different and challenging creative space: 'The absence of an overt oppressor or aggressor allows South African photographers to realise new and exciting approaches to documenting society through the medium of photography' (Hugo, 2007: unpaginated). It is through the work of contemporary photographers like Hugo that viewers are encouraged to consider important issues from other perspectives in society.

A new generation of artists, such as Zanele Muholi and Jo Ractliffe, moved away from the 'straight' documentary mode of 1980s 'struggle photography' and assumed its broader imperative of grounding photographic practice in the representation of the social (Soske, undated: 6). However, these perceived shifts in documentary practice in South Africa cannot be clearly defined. As Patricia Hayes argues, 'The simple dichotomy, however, this separation of eras, masks over many photographic continuities' (Hayes, 2007: 162). She states:

> *Firstly, there are big photographic continuities on the longer trajectory of time. Ledochowski's fifteen years' work on the Cape Flats, and Cedric Nunn's long-term family history called* Bloodlines*, both originated in the 1980s. Goldblatt's method of systematically pushing at 'fuckall landscapes' as he calls them, amplifying the frame to incorporate more layers of time, make constant references to a much deeper pastness. Secondly, the documentary archive in South Africa does not simply become the 'detritus of lapsed passion'. People, even those who claim to have departed from it, cannot quite leave what is called 'documentary' behind. Powerful traces of political awareness, economic dynamics, socially effected landscapes and above all, empathy with or at the very least, dignified reference to – human subjects, inflect post-apartheid sensibilities on one level or another. I want to insist that photography now could not have happened without the documentary impetus of the 1980s, which was the breeding ground for a number of contemporary photographers. The need to mark the social in some way persists, the need to get into closer proximity with those on the receiving end of history.*
>
> Hayes 2007: 33, 159

Roles and responsibilities in South African photography are shifting. According to Hugo (2007), the viewer should reflect on his or her responsibility as a participant in the production and analysis of the photograph. Hayes continues:

> *Since 1994 the term 'documentary' has solidified in a particular way in South African contexts, partly as a functional mechanism to distinguish between the apartheid 'then' and the post-apartheid 'now'. It was relevant then, but is often seen to be limiting now. If the risk then was physical, with all the dangers attendant on exposing injustice and brutality which Enwezor characterizes as 'heroic documentary', the risk now is possibly more personal, introspective, enigmatic and intellectual.*
>
> Hayes 2007: 33, 162

In my earlier photographic training and professional career I at times operated in this 'heroic documentary' mode, but more recently I have come to value the 'more personal, introspective, enigmatic and intellectual' application of the genre, and how different platforms, like the photobook, can interpret the contemporary photographer's artistic expression.

According to Barbara Savedoff (2008: 117), 'the combination of the documentary authority of the photograph along with its actual transformations also contributes to another phenomenon – we are fascinated by images of the world made strange, we feel driven to untangle any ambiguities or identify any puzzling elements presented.' She states that 'if it were not for the transformations of photography, there would not be so many visual ambiguities, so many baffling elements encountered. And if it were not for the documentary aura, we wouldn't feel so compelled to resolve these ambiguities or puzzles of identity.' (Savedoff, 2008: 117)
I have looked extensively at the shifts that have taken place in South African photography and my practice has evolved through this process. Looking at how South African photography has presented itself led me to explore the photobook.

PLACING THE PHOTOBOOK

In order to contextualise my interest in the photobook I will trace some significant moments in the development of the genre.

The early 20th century[11] saw the rise of the picture magazine, such as *Time*, *Life*, *Picture Post* and *Drum*. In November 1936, *Life* magazine presented a stark and graphic photograph by Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971) of the Fort Peck Dam in Montana. The cover story, rich in photographs, was about the people whose lives were changed by the New Deal project after the Great Depression of the early 1930s (Rothman and Ronk: online)

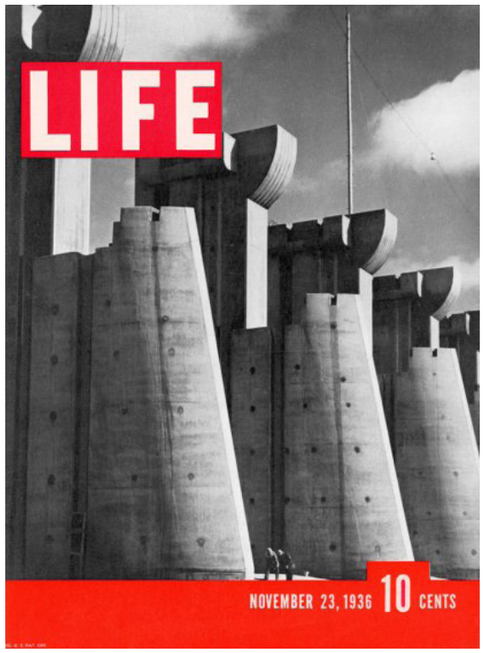

Figure 4. First *LIFE* magazine cover, November 23, 1936. Photograph by Margaret Bourke-White. (time.com)

Bourke-White and other photographers – Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Gordon Parks and Roy Stryker, amongst others – were commissioned by the American government to work on an assignment called the Farm Security Administration Project (FSA) as part of the New Deal. The initiative, under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture, was to create a pictorial document of American life between 1935 and 1944. The focus of much of this work was on rural areas and the hardships experienced by farmers and farmworkers in their struggle to eke out an existence on the land (Library of Congress, undated: online). The FSA project set the tone for photographic documentation of the rural worker and landscape and, having studied these photographs in my earlier photographic studies, they played a role in how I looked at representing Philippi.

The popularity of photo-essays in *Life* Magazine inspired social documentary photographers like Walker Evans, Robert Frank and W. Eugene Smith to pursue the photobook, which provided an opportunity for a more focused approach on the narrative of the photographs and bridging the gap between illustrative photographs and more nuanced and considered photography.

The topic of place and space has held an important position in photography. Projects which look at landscape in more general terms, for example Robert Adams' *Landscapes of Harmony and Dissonance* (2006) might refer to space, rather than place, while an example of an essay dealing with a particular place, would be Goldblatt's *In Boksburg*. Photobooks by Walker Evans, *American Photographs* (1938) and Robert Frank, *The Americans* (1959), explore notions of space and place and are regarded as 'seminal to the development of the medium' (Chuang, 2006: 109). According to Chuang (2006: 109), 'for both photographers, Frank and Evans, the photobook served as their primary agent, delivering their artistic messages unmediated to a large audience in an era of institutional neglect for the medium.'

Chuang (2006) claims that Evans was much more interested in seeing his work on the printed page than on a gallery wall. The images from *American Photographs* served as the Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) first retrospective of a single photographer's work.[12] Kirstein, who wrote the accompanying essay for the book, stated that the book was not merely a keepsake of the exhibition, 'but rather a distinct endeavour that in sequence and form unfurled Evans's photographic corpus with intention, logic, continuity, climax, sense, and perfection'(in Chuang, 2006: 112).

Evans demanded total creative control of the photobook project, and he used this opportunity to distinguish himself from other documentary photographers, and to shape *American Photographs* into a distinctive presentation of his photography. He also explicitly stated in the book's foreword that 'the responsibility for the selection of the pictures used in this book has rested with the author ... therefore they are presented without sponsorship on connection with the policies, aesthetic or political, of any of the institutions, publications or government agencies for which some of the work has been done' (Chuang, 2006: 113). Using the photobook format for my Philippi project likewise allowed me a greater degree of control over the layout and design, and consequently the dissemination and reading of the images.

Evans encouraged Robert Frank to apply for a Guggenheim grant to travel across the country to take photographs. Frank mentioned in the grant proposal that he imagined the final photographs displayed in their entirety in the form of a book (Chuang, 2006: 116). This project was realised in the form of the influential photobook *The Americans* (1959),[13] which located America as a place of hope and dreams, but also of abjection and disappointment. Frank challenged not only the documentary tradition of the 1950s, but also the aesthetics of the photographic medium with his evocative and ambiguous representation of America.[14]

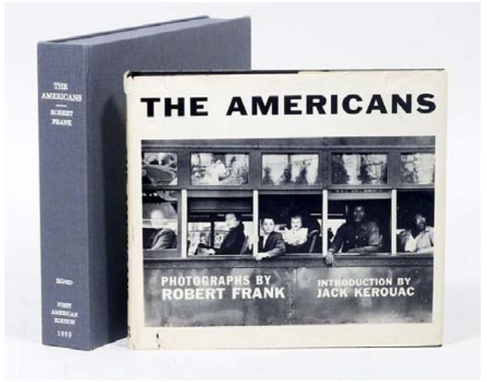

Figure 5. The Americans by Robert Frank, 1959. (www.manhattanrarebooks.com)

This evocativeness and ambiguity was influential in how I chose to photograph Philippi, and I was also interested in Frank's notion of portraying the social and political complexities of a place and its people.

In recent years the photobook has increasingly been used to disseminate contemporary photographers' work. A thorough explication of the history of the photobook is beyond the scope of this document, but I refer the interested reader to Martin Parr and Gerry Badger's excellent and thorough *The Photobook: A History I, II* and *III* (2004, 2006, 2014).

Parr specifically mentions the particular role played by the photobook in the history of South African photography. Under the repressive apartheid regime, the portability of the photobook made it easier to hide, smuggle and disseminate banned images of the anti-apartheid struggle. Similarly, in colonial photography it may have been popular because the portability of the book allowed photographs to travel between the seat of empire and the colony – much of the earliest colonial photography[15] in southern Africa was practiced by white photographers photographing the colonial project and revealing their fascination with the indigenous people and land.[16]

The American photojournalist Margaret Bourke-White spent five months in southern Africa between 1949 and 1950. She produced four photo-essays for *Life* magazine, of which two were shot in South Africa. The first essay dealt with the dedication of the Voortrekker Monument, when more than 250 000 people gathered to celebrate Afrikaner nationalist ideologies, while the second photo essay was 'a surprisingly vigorous condemnation of racial oppression and labour exploitation on farms in the Western Cape at the beginning of the apartheid era'(Mason, 2012: online). Bourke-White's images of wine farms were amongst the earliest images of farms and farm labour in South Africa and served to highlight social issues and inequality on farms.

Figure 6. In a cornfield on the Ryssel farm, a boy drinks his mid-day wine ration from a gourd given to him by the farmer's daughter. Photograph by Margaret Bourke-White. (bourke-white.wordpress.com)

The relationship between photography and social documentary consciousness was asserted by *Drum Magazine* in the 1950s. Initially 'criticized for its ambivalence towards political opposition and its condescension towards rural black South Africa'(Newbury, 2009: 131), it later served as a platform for the 'demonstration of black African creativity'(Newbury, 2009:131. It carried a sense of ownership and pride and encouraged the talents of outstanding black journalists and photographers (Newbury, 2009: 131). 'Photography

played an important part in the magazine's efforts to cast a social eye across South African society and to probe some of its many contradictions' (Newbury, 2009: 131). An example of this endeavour was published in 1952, with Henry Nxumalo's (aka 'Mr Drum') investigative story on the conditions of farm labour in Bethel[17]. *Drum*'s model of photojournalism and exposé set the stage for documentary photographers such as Ernest Cole[18] and Peter Magubane[19] to make extended essays and photobooks that exposed the ills of apartheid to the world.

The genre of documentary photography has a very distinctive history within the South African political and social environment. Throughout the years of apartheid, South African social documentary photography took on different roles in relation to diverse political groups with conflicting approaches and agendas.[20]

David Goldblatt continued to work independently throughout his career. His photographs record diverse aspects of South African society, structures and landscape in an evocative way that amplifies what we witness, through the use of black and white film, tonalities, expressions, framing and detail. He has published many of South Africa's most significant photobooks[21], offering an extensive critique of South African society.

The photobook *Some Afrikaners Photographed* was initially laid out by Sam Haskins.[22]
Goldblatt recalls:

> *It was mind-opening and hugely exciting to see my photographs brought to a life I didn't know they had. For by butting them up against each other and bleeding them to the edges of the pages in tightly-integrated layouts, Sam had enabled them to 'speak' to each other and thus to the reader with an impact and in ways that I had not imagined.*
>
> Goldblatt, 2006: 14

The 1980s saw the rise of collective work among liberal photographers, reflecting on the difficulties of life in South Africa for the black majority, and this collective ethos was exemplified by the Afrapix collective. The title of 'struggle' photographers[23] was acquired by this group of photographers for their role in documenting the process of social transition in South Africa during the fight against apartheid, from the late 1970s until the advent of democracy in 1994. Their work is characterised by a sense of intimacy with their subjects and focused on exposing the humanity and living and working conditions of black people in South Africa (Hayes, 2007: 153).

'Struggle photography' is exemplified in the photobook *Beyond the Barricades* (1989),[24] a photobook which contained the work of 20 South African photographers, most of whom were associated with Afrapix. The photographs were selected by Paul Weinberg, Omar Badsha and Gideon Mendel. The images were black-and-white documentary photographs that pictured the struggle against apartheid. Books like *South Africa: The Cordoned Heart* (1986) and *Beyond the Barricades* are photobooks that similarly epitomised the primacy of the collective, rather than the individual photographer, during this time.

Towards the end of apartheid many 'struggle' photographers found themselves in a crisis as they lost their sense of purpose and motivation (Hotsko, 2009). Others embraced the shift from the rigid *goal*-driven style of photography to a more creative, looser and more flexible approach to contemporary topics within the genre of documentary photography. These broadened parameters of South African documentary photography and encouraged new subjects.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s photographers such as Santu Mofokeng and Guy Tillim began to explore alternative and more international contemporary approaches to new documentary forms. As Tillim remarked in *Lens Culture* (Casper,2015: online), 'photojournalism tends to try and create drama. Tries to look for a false drama, tries to use, you know, photojournalistic iconography to create a sense of moment. I think there is a movement away from that.'

The topics of land, place and identity, while not new, remain relevant to the next generation of photographers, as in the work of Mikhael Subotzky. Subotzky's work 'exemplifies that of a generation of young photographers who came to maturity after the end of apartheid and had to reconsider the purpose of a medium whose political utility had typically been figured in terms of its role in the anti-apartheid struggle' (Mulhearn, 2015: 10). Born in 1981 and too young (and white) to have really experienced apartheid first-hand, Subotzky's work forces one to confront environments that are typically out of sight. He investigates spaces that are generally ignored and stereotyped by society, as in the project *Die Vier Hoeke.*[25]

He later developed a photographic exploration of the small Karoo town Beaufort West and the undercurrents of violence in South African society. This project is a contemporary successor to David Goldblatt's immersive focus on place, *In Boksburg* (1982). Like Goldblatt, Subotzky looks at the particulars of a small town from the point of view of someone embedded in the environment, yet, to some degree, an outsider. Subotzky's acute awareness and understanding of underlying social issues within this small community is what makes him an heir to the principles that underlie 'struggle photography'.

As Michael Godby explains in the book *Then and Now* (Weinberg, 2008: 9), 'the next generation have grown up with an awareness of the political commitments made by photographers in documenting the struggle against apartheid, and absorbed the example of resistance photographers who routinely bypassed restrictions on local press to convey conditions in South Africa to the international media'.

Figure 7. Beaufort West by Mikhael Subotzky, 2008. (https://shop.magnumphotos.com/)

The photobook is a popular vehicle with which the contemporary South African photographer can examine the complicated post-apartheid reality. A significant theme of the contemporary photobook is how 'the photograph as a material and cultural form of memory is central to the way in which people construct themselves and are constructed by others' (Wilson, 2012: 185). Susan Sontag suggests that photographs 'actively promote nostalgia' (Sontag, 1977: 15), but also show movement and change. Sontag continues: 'To take a photograph is to participate in another person's (or thing's) mortality, vulnerability, mutability' (1977: 15). This awareness comes through strongly in South African photobooks.

According to Stephen Bury (2016: 15) the photobook is not merely a 'reproduction of an artist's work'. The photobook serves 'as a work of art in itself', in which the artist/photographer contributes 'a high degree of control' to the production of the book (2016: 15).

The photobook plays an increasing role in the consumption of photographic images. Museums and curators have recently begun to appreciate the relevance of the photobook and these are now incorporated as part of exhibitions, which allows the viewer to see how the work was published and disseminated (Parr in Pantall, 2014: online). The photobook offers particular opportunities that the photographic exhibition cannot. It is material, portable, migratory, has a longer lifespan and is often more comprehensive than an exhibition. It also allows the

narrative to unfold in a different way than in the exhibition, to allow the photographer a greater control over the pacing and arrangement of the images. In an exhibition, prints are curated in a particular way and are thereafter often disseminated forever, whereas the body of work in a photobook remains curated in the way in which the author-photographer intended it to be viewed. More dimensions come in to play when photographs are grouped together within the material 'tactile quality' of the book through memory, sight and smell (Wilson, 2012: 185).

Parr believes that the photobook enables accessibility to photography and allows photographers to be central to the writing of the history of photography. He argues that the narrative of photography 'has been written by academics and theoreticians'(Parr in Pantall, 2014: online), who usually communicate directly with the photographers and often foreground their own interpretation of the photographer's intentions. Parr argues that these academics and theoreticians tend to 'take an institutionalised view on what the history of photography is about' (Parr in Pantall, 2014: online). The photobook shifts photography 'away from academia and the institutionalisation of photography' and empowers photographers to 'have more control over their own history' (Parr in Pantall, 2014: online).

According to Di Bello and Zamir, interest in the photobook has grown in recent years. 'This interest, among both scholars and collectors, is widespread enough to justify speaking of an emergent intellectual and cultural moment which is moving us to new levels of integrated understanding beyond the more scattered studies which have come before' (Di Bello & Zamir, 2012: 1) Parr states that 'the photobook has become a worldwide phenomenon as practitioners of all cultures look to photography as a means of understanding the world around them' (2006: 8).

I decided not to exhibit this body of work as a curated selection of printed and framed images hung on the walls of a gallery, but rather within the carefully curated pages of a photobook.

(RE)PRESENTING PHILIPPI

The photographs presented in this photo book are a distillation of thousands of photographs taken over a two-year period in Philippi.

The photobook *In/between* is positioned as the primary artwork. It is comprised of several sections, which deal with different aspects of life in Philippi – such as its inhabitants, the activities that take place on the land, social structure, the complexity of the entanglements between various groups, and the underlying violence – but also sometimes affection – that lingers beneath these 'in-between' moments and spaces, emphasising Philippi and its people's enduring resilience in making a life here.

The title *In/between* stems from Philippi's position. It lies between the city and undeveloped areas, between industrial areas and suburban areas. During apartheid, Philippi served as a "buffer zone" in between 'black' and 'white' areas, suburbs and townships. Today it continues to carry these physical and emotional burdens, existing in between a troubled past and an uncertain future.

Like the book, and the place Philippi, many of the photographs do not immediately announce their message. In the photograph 'Girl and horse' the viewer sees a small girl's hand lightly touching the belly of a brown horse. The child's hand, fingers slightly parted, emerges from a well-worn pink fleecy sweatshirt and extends towards the right of the frame. The horses' coat saturates almost the whole frame, except for a small section on the bottom right, where we see the sandy soil of Philippi below the horse. The horses' coat is a deep chestnut brown and although not in perfect condition, it seems brushed and clean and cared for. One can almost sense the animal breathing. The frame darkens towards the sides and the image seems almost vignetted around the hand, emphasising the moment of touch. While one cannot see the girls face, this *seems like a tender* moment between a human and an animal. In a sense, this image signals a closeness between humans and the other entities that live in the immediate area, revealing a sense of affection in the harshness of the land that is Philippi.

While my Philippi project is not focused on exposé, I am nevertheless interested in unpacking social and political issues within a farming context. The book is divided into various sections, with the loose groupings of photographs creating an interconnected flow representative of Philippi's entangled intricacies related to its socio-economical state.

In the early part of the book I introduce the viewer to what I found in Philippi: farming, the economies practiced on the land, development, industry and the demarcation of spaces. In the following section I show the activities, interchanges, people, roles, physical and emotional spaces, returning towards the end of the book to the demarcated and partitioned Philippi.

The photographs in this photobook are carefully chosen, coupled and sequenced in order to draw out parallels I observed, or to amplify my emotional response toward the subject. Although photographs are occasionally paired next to each other because of similar formal qualities, the primary concern in selecting these pairings and sequences was to convey the complexity and nuance of Philippi's character. I worked with different aspect ratios, square and rectangular, to shift the register and to give place for pause. There is a significant amount of white/blank/vacant areas within the book, including empty pages and spaces between and around the images. I feel this allows psychological space for the viewer to contemplate the content of the photographs. It also gives the images, and in a sense, the people and land represented the space to breathe. The sequences are structured to lead one through the book, where there is often a relationship with the photograph on the page that one is looking at and the photographs before and after. The final image of a house in Philippi at dusk is mysterious, and yet the light coming from its curtained windows is strangely warm and welcoming, which, for a final time emphasises the physical and emotional in between spaces of Philippi.

In this project I worked less in my usual style of making portraits of people in their immediate surroundings. I felt the need to balance my photographs by going as close as I felt comfortable to, to embrace the finer details of this place, without losing the identity and integrity of the individuals I worked with. I thought I could often say as much about a person through an object, a detail, a back view, or a silhouette, than by always having to show their faces.

This project started with a traditional documentary approach, but has evolved into a more contemplative study that references shifts in South African documentary photography. My work on Philippi underwent several adjustments of perspective. As I soon came to realise that this was not a straightforward, traditional documentary project to be the subject of an outsider's camera, I started to look at making photographs of particular details that speak to the theme of land and identity beyond the mere portrait of a person. I started looking at visual elements that would speak of emotion rather than fact.

In the early stages of my masters I made contact with individuals and families in Philippi and spent time getting to know them, discussing the issues that they felt affected their lives there. While considering the potential of a photographic project, I found myself drawn to the trauma, specifically as it manifested through the landscape itself. In order to create a document of this troubled landscape successfully, I felt that I would have to be conscious of the sensitivities at hand, and that the project should speak more deeply than the mere photonarrative. Although I was eventually welcomed as an insider, I had to balance this privilege with my position as an external observer. My intention to create a visual record of the complex

landscape of the Philippi farming community unexpectedly evolved into a more intricate, introspective and personal journey into my own identity and belonging.

In making these photographs I do not claim to convey 'fact' or 'truth' through my images, but rather invite the viewer to experience the psychological and physical states of the different inhabitants and the place they call home. I see my position as one of interpreting what I see around me, something of a participant-observer. I recognise the pitfalls of this position[26] and attempted to simultaneously explore the "documentary authority" (Savedoff, 2008: 113) inherent in my project by having conversations about it with my subjects and the greater PHA community in general.

During the course of this MFA I have been presented with many questions from my fellow students and lecturers with regards to representation, authority and ownership. While many of these issues have been around since the inception of photography, I developed an acute awareness of these criticisms that sometimes made it difficult to pursue the project. The climate for documentary photography in South Africa has shifted in recent years. Working in a space like Philippi, where assertive white males represented (and still carry the legacy of) the oppressive *boer* or *baas* for many decades, I was challenged to reflect on the authority of my photography and my position as a white male photographer.

The more time and energy I invested in understanding the issues at hand, the more it became obvious that representing such an intricate landscape like Philippi was neither my responsibility nor my privilege. I researched numerous other practical methods, for example offering a mobile studio set-up in which people could photograph themselves by use of a remote trigger,[27] and providing cameras in order for locals to create their own narratives. These were other attempts to recognise and affirm my lack of authority within this space.

In a further attempt to find alternative modes of representation I studied the work of photographer Alexia Webster, who has created makeshift studios in public spaces[28] to offer a formal portrait sitting to people who would not generally have the means to pay a professional photographer. Webster claims shared ownership of the photographs and presents each sitter with a printed copy of their portrait.

A critique one could level against this work is that a strong colonial tone manifests through the wallpaper props and furniture. Although well intended, this positions the sitters in a space of appropriation and projecting a context onto the sitter in which they do not necessarily understand the implications. There is the potential for an unequal power relationship in which the photographer may be better informed, as well as, have greater access to human and financial resources than the subject of the photographs.

In Philippi I experimented with setting up a mobile studio with lighting and a grey backdrop cloth, influenced by the Malian photographer Seydou Keita (1921-2001), who also used props. I appreciated his casual use of the backdrop cloth. He used local patterned materials for extended periods, sometimes for almost a decade. Later in his career he used a plain grey cloth. He exposed the edges to reveal the differences in ground surfaces, which indicated that he travelled or moved his 'studio' around.

Figure 8. Studio portraits in *Seydou Keita: African Photographer* (1997)
Photograph by Michael Hammond

In my experimentation with portraiture in Philippi, I looked extensively at the photobook *Black Photo Album* (2013), compiled by Santu Mofokeng. This is a collection of 'images that urban black working- and middle-class families in South Africa had commissioned, requested or tacitly sanctioned' (Mofokeng, 1996: 54) between 1890 and 1960 (See Figure 8). Mofokeng admits that in the settings, props, poses and clothing some of these images may be perceived as fiction, but 'when we look at them we believe them, for they tell us a little about how these people imagined themselves'. Mofokeng notes their priceless contribution to narratives about identity, ancestry, and personality: 'We see these images in terms determined by the subjects themselves, for they have them as their own. They belong and circulate in the private domain. It was never their intention to be hung in galleries as works of art' (Mofokeng, 1996: 54).

Figure 9. Joel and Jane Maloyi in The Black photo Album by Santo Mofokeng (2013)
Photograph by Michael Hammond

Mofokeng stated that the significance of the images lies in the political realm. They were made in a period when discriminatory policies towards black people were becoming entrenched. 'It was an era mesmerized by the newly discovered life sciences such as anthropology, informed by social Darwinism', where black people 'were frequently depicted in the same visual language as the flora and fauna; represented as if in their natural habitat, for the collector of natural history; or invariably relegated to the lower orders of the species' (Mofokeng, 2013: 56).

A good example of a body of work that questions representation, authority and ownership is the project *Hotel Yeoville* (2012) by Terry Kurgan. Kurgan used the medium of digital interactive photography and multimedia to forge a healing response to the bruised atmosphere after the xenophobic attacks in South Africa in 2008. Kurgan stepped away from the role of photographer and created a participatory format where user-generated content 'could be seen as a gestural response to critical debates about the symbolic violence that often accompanies attempts to speak on behalf of others' (Kurgan, 2013: 10). 'The project relied completely on the engagement and participation of visitors to and users of the [photo booths and interactive] space to produce and shape both the exhibition and the website content' (Kurgan, 2013: 10).

The photographers discussed in this section have been crucial to my own understanding of this project and have helped me deepen my understanding of my role as a photographer.

In Figure 10 Fundiswa is standing in front of the mobile backdrop hanging system and cloth I brought to Philippi. The camera is on a tripod and she is using the remote trigger device in her hand to activate the shutter. While these experiments with the makeshift studio and the self-trigger were very useful in terms of the growth of this project, this method of photographing Philippi presented me with even more complex questions about representation, such as ownership of the images, and the potential for me to use photographs which they had taken of themselves for my personal benefit. Eventually I

decided not to use them. I returned to my position behind the lens, but with a greater understanding of the places and people I was photographing. In my Phillippi photographs I delve into the psychological and physical state of the different social groups that contribute to the overall cultural and historical diversity of the area. My work is based on individuals who, in my personal opinion, are representative of the area, individually and collectively. This selection was purely subjective, born from interactions I had while acquainting myself with the PHA and its people, and is based on personal encounters and my perceptions of this diverse space.

Figure 10. Fundiswa, marrow harvest, Geduld farm. Photograph by Fundiswa

Photographing Philippi has posed many challenges to me, both as a photographer and as a human being. Like the rest of South Africa and its people, Philippi bears countless scars, but there is also a profound sense of hope and regeneration. It is this complexity I wish to convey in my photobook, In/between.

CONCLUSION

The aftermath of apartheid will be felt for a long time and South Africans are still finding their feet as a national entity and, most importantly, as individuals. The role of the photographer has shifted from recorder and witness to one much more complex and difficult to define.

During the course of my MFA I experimented with a number of approaches to representations of Phillippi, some of which worked and others that were less successful. In the end I came back to wanting to capture the emotions and feelings of a place and its people, looking to expose something deeper than a depiction of its surface. There is no perfect scenario for making photographs, but since I began to research these issues I've consciously attempted to create a non-intrusive and respectful space in which to make my photographs. While my experiments with the makeshift studio and disposable cameras did not find their way into my final project, I learned much from the process.

Considering the critical debates within the realm of documentary photography in South Africa, I felt I had to pursue this project outside my comfort zone of the traditional documentary photographer. I decided to focus on a more contemplative and empathetic response to the land of Philippi and its people. To look at details and to try to evoke, rather than state. The work is less traditional documentary in that it does not follow a particular narrative, but desires instead to cultivate a more poetic insight within the viewer's perceptions of issues of land and identity. The photobook is the vehicle for this exploration.

At heart I will always be a 'documentary' photographer of some sort, as it is what I know and who I understand myself to be. My affection for the human spirit drives my work, to appreciate and attempt to understand the many different people and landscapes of South Africa. I will be forever grateful to those who allowed me into their private spaces, and at the end of the day I can only wish that the interaction is mutually beneficial and that my small contribution is appreciated by its people.

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(ENDNOTES)

1 'Black' in apartheid terms referred to black African-language speakers.

2 Muslim people would have been classified as 'coloured' during apartheid. [A white Muslim would not have been classified as coloured]

3 The Cape Flats is an expanse of land south-east of Cape Town to where people of colour were forcibly removed or confined in the 1950s according to the racial segregation legislation of the apartheid government such as the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act.

4 Some of the oldest sand dunes near the False Bay coast have been cemented into a soft sandstone. Although archaeological surveys undertaken to date have yielded poor results, these layers contain important fossils of animals such as the extinct Cape lion and also provide valuable evidence of stone-age hunters, who must have frequented the dunes tens of thousands of years ago (Rabe, 2010: 9).

5 Calcrete is a hardened deposit of limestone created by the leeching of calcium from the shell components of the sand to a layer below. Calcrete is used in the production of cement or as a very effective base for roads, as it hardens over time (Brown-Luthango 2015: 34).

6 As the land became flattened by sand mining it became used for agricultural purposes. The flattened sand is continuously enriched through fertilizer and composting to allow viable farming.

7 These social strains include racial tensions, general low levels of education and poverty (with its attendent social problems such as alcoholism, drug abuse, gangsterism, crime and violence)

8 Two Godeffroy immigrants, Carl Wesner and Christian Schultz, were the first to buy property on what is now the Cape Flats. Wesner was officially a Godeffroy immigrant, as he arrived on this line, but came "auf eigene Unkoste und auf eigenes Risiko" (on own costs and own risk) to the Cape. Schultz worked for more than eleven years on his contractor's farm in Malmesbury to save enough money to buy his own property in 1876 (Rabe, 1994: 26). These first immigrants were mostly Prussians, and some of the family names that became part of the bigger community of German immigrants were Trautmann, Rix, Thiele, Setzkorn, Schultz, Wesner, Karg, Gerstner, Reinke, Tank, Bröcker, Bock, Ellmann, Werth, Mohr and Buske (1994; iii).

9 This Act enforced the segregation of the different races to specific areas within the urban setting (SAHO, undated).

10 hese debates are centered around housing and infrastructural development from different political and social groups. Environmentalists question whether the land should be developed at all, farmers would like to see it remain and grow as a horticultural area, those without homes would like to be it developed to low cost housing and developers would like to see middle class housing or industrial and retail expansion.

11 Photobooks were essentially hand printed until 1881, when Frederic E. Ives revolutionised the magazine industry with his invention of a commercially practical halftone plate, making it feasible to print a photograph and type matter on the same page in a mass-circulated magazine (Kahan, 1965: 53). Photographic images replaced illustrations in magazines, as the photograph had a different level of authority and veracity as it was perceived as a representation of reality.

12 It ran between 28 September and 18 November 1938 in 'the less-than-ideal underground concourse of Rockefeller Center, which served as MoMA's interim galleries' (Chuang, 2006: 112).

13 With a commitment to publish from the Paris-based editor who featured Frank's work in his art review, *Neuf*, Frank was awarded the grant and worked on his project in 1955 and 1956, exposing over 700 rolls of film in 14 months. Following his intuition to 'symbolically fertile places', Frank found greater significance in developing his own 'attitude towards the things around him' (Chuang, 2006: 116).

14 After he resigned from *Life* Magazine in 1955, W. Eugene Smith got a three-week commission to take 100 photographs in commemoration of the Pittsburgh bicentennial. He stayed there for a year and took more than 17 000 photographs, resulting in the photobook *Dream Street* (1955)(Chuang, 2006: 117), which documents polluted industrial cityscapes and the inhabitants who lived and worked in them.

15 Amongst the earliest photobooks in South Africa were the Irish-born Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin's (1874-1954) *The Bantu Tribes of South Africa,* published in four volumes between 1928 and 1954 (Garb, 2011: 21). Each section within the four volumes focused on a different 'tribe' and the geographical location they inhabited. Although his work has been severely critiqued by artists and academics, he claimed his intention was to 'record' the declining communities whose 'racial purity' and tribal customs he perceived to be threatened by modernity and miscegenation (Garb, 2011: 21).

16 Constance Stuart Larrabee (1914-2000) worked as a portraitist and war correspondent for picture magazines, and committed a large portion of her professional career between 1937 and 1949 to building an extensive portfolio of 'tribal' photographs, 'photographs that framed their subjects as representatives of a timeless culture separated from the modern world and the corrupting influence of Western values' (Newbury, 2009: 15). Imaging the African rural ideal quickly became a commodity, with the production and sales of postcards, and also grew in popularity amongst professional photographers like Duggan-Cronin and Stuart Larrabee, but also an amateur photographic culture that fostered the new-found genre of 'native' photography (Newbury, 2009: 17). However, this trend, was short lived due to black urbanisation.

17 After Johan Snyman, a farmer, was convicted of beating a labourer to death, Nxumalo presented himself at the gates of the Snyman's farm posing as a labourer, barefoot and unshaven, in search of employment (Bailey & Schadeberg, 1987: 17). Photographer Jürgen Schadeberg sneaked onto the farm to help Nxumalo escape and took photographs to accompany the story (personal communication with Claudia Schadeberg, 2017). Nxumalo not only returned with 'a story that shook the whole country', but 'set a model for the future' (Bailey and Schadeberg, 1987: 19).

18 Ernest Cole (1940-1990) worked as a freelance photographer for *Drum* magazine. After leaving *Drum* Cole developed photoessays, some of which originally appeared in *Drum*, into longer narratives. He felt driven to record the atrocities of apartheid and was forced into exile after he was summoned to become a police informer for the apartheid government. He fled South Africa with his negatives and published them abroad. The photobook *House of Bondage* was published in 1967 and was banned in South Africa, but several copies were circulated underground and inspired generations of South African photographers (Peffer, 2009: 252).

19 Magubane published several books on the 1976 Soweto student uprising and the revolutionary struggles of the 1980s. Magubane's images were among the last uncensored visual accounts of apartheid brutality in the townships. Magubane has published 17 photobooks, two of which were banned by the apartheid government – *Black As I Am* (with poetry by Zindzi Mandela, 1978) and *Black Child* (1982) (sahistory.org). The power of censorship and the authority to ban publications was held by the Minister of the Interior under the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963. Under this act any "undesirable" publication could be banned if it was found to be, for any of many reasons (including obscenity, moral harmfulness, blasphemy, causing harm to relations among sections of the population, or being prejudicial to safety, general welfare, peace, or order of the state). Thousands of books, newspapers and other publications were banned in South Africa from 1950 to 1990. Some of the more significant literature to fall under this ban were '*And a Threefold Cord'* by Alex La Guma (1964), '*I Write What I Like'* by Steve Biko (1978), '*Burger's Daughter'* by Nadine Gordimer (1979), '*Amandla'* by Miriam Tlali (1980) and '*Looking on Darkness'* by André Brink (1974). Magubane's many publications are a valuable contribution to the South African photobook. During this time Magubane also worked for *Time* magazine as a photographer.

20 On one end of the spectrum were images produced by photographers who worked for pro-Afrikaner Nationalist news agencies like Nasionale Pers, who openly supported the National Party, and on the other end were those who supported the struggle for the end of apartheid, the so-called 'struggle' photographers. Many of the earlier generation of 'struggle' photographers worked independently, such as Peter Magubane, and later as part of collectives, such as Afrapix, which was co-founded in 1978 by Omar Badsha with Paul Weinberg, Lesley Lawson, Cedric Nunn and Peter Mackenzie. Many Afrapix photographers also worked as stringers for international agencies like Associated Press and Reuters, who were interested in distributing photographs of the injustices of apartheid to the rest of the world.

21 These include *On the Mines* (1973), *Lifetimes: Under Apartheid* (1986), *Some Afrikaners Photographed* (1975), *In Boksburg* (1982), *South Africa: The Structure of Things Then* (1998), *Intersections* (2005) and *Intersections Intersected* (2008).

22 In the late 1960s, when Goldblatt's friend Sam Haskins emigrated to England, he took several boxes of Goldblatt's rough prints for the 'Some Afrikaners' project with him. 'While travelling around Europe with his family on a camping trip, Sam would sit in the evenings cutting up and taping prints together' (Goldblatt, 2006: 14). Months later Goldblatt 'received a rough but complete maquette for a book' (Goldblatt, 2006: 14).

23 'Struggle' photography provided white people with an opportunity to witness the conditions that their government's policies forced upon black South Africans. Photography was an invaluable tool of resistance. Photography's ability to expose what the South Africa government wanted to conceal, the injustice and inhumanity that black South Africans were exposed to, made it an effective medium of resistance in apartheid South Africa.

24 As the international demands for South African struggle images grew during the mid-1980s, market forces dictated the kinds of images that 'sold', signalling a 'hardening and proliferation' of the struggle image (Hayes, 2007: 153). Gideon Mendel offered this self-critique about his work of the late 1980s:

And whenever there was a protest or a march I felt had to go and photograph, just in case something dramatic happened. It was a real waste of film, so much, I just got too many funerals and protests … when I really should have been trying to look beneath the surface of what was happening … I was repeating myself over and over again.

In Hayes, 2007: 153

In the last decade of apartheid the photographic 'image was subordinated to the propagandistic needs of the moment' (Soske, Undated: 3). Photojournalism in this highly political environment left the artist constrained. 'Realism trumped self-reflection' and 'high politics eclipsed the importance of everyday life (Soske, undated: 3). As Okwui Enwezor confirmed, 'the medium itself became myopic' (New York Aperture, 2010: 101).

25 His *Die Vier Hoeke* (2004) series is one such project, exploring the inside of prisons and introducing the viewer to the unfamiliar environment of the detained individual. He states, ''You know, we like to see prisons as separate from society; but with constant movement in and out, they are really a central part of our society' (Hotsko, 2009: 49)

26 'A common assumption made about participant observation is that being an insider offers a distinct advantage in terms of accessing and understanding the culture. However, these advantages are not absolute and the insider must be aware of ethical and methodological dilemmas associated with entering the field, positioning and disclosure, shared relationships and disengagement' (Labaree, 2002: 97).

27 At one stage in my project I used a backdrop cloth and makeshift studio and encouraged my subjects to release the trigger of the camera using a remote trigger device. The backdrop put me in a very clumsy and vulnerable position. I asked permission to use it in their space, which established the authority of the subject over mine. The cloth also allowed the subject to not be alone, as I generally asked others to participate by holding the cloth. This created a different atmosphere and set the subject at greater ease, or as much as was possible at this particular point of making the photographs.

28 Webster has done these set-ups as far as the Bulengo IDP camp just outside of the city of Goma in the D.R. Congo. She states: 'Exiled from one's home, facing an uncertain future and a lost past, a family photo can be a powerful and precious object which can help support a sense of connectedness and belonging.' She printed more than 700 free portraits during this specific project. She did the same in Woodstock and Du Noon in the Western Cape (Webster, undated).

Sandvlei farm

For sale, Varkensvlei Road

Cauliflower harvest, Honeywood farm

Geduld farm

Last sand dune, BrocSand mine

Foundations, Strandfontein Road

New housing development, Strandfontein Road

Warning, Strandfontein Road

6 Kraal Road

Kiosk, Ottery Road

Warehouse, Ottery Road

Dagbreek farm

Bazaar, Philippi Evangelical Lutheran Church

Sandvlei farm store

Bongani Solifafa, security guard, old cement factory

Composting barn, Stinkdraai

Smoking metwors, Groenewald farm

Farmhouse, Sandvlei farm

Team talk, tug of war, Geduld farm

Women's team training, Geduld farm

Birthday braai, Honeywood farm

Toyota Fortuner, Groenewald farm

Bambizandla Livestock Sales

Goat meat, Bambizandla Livestock Sales

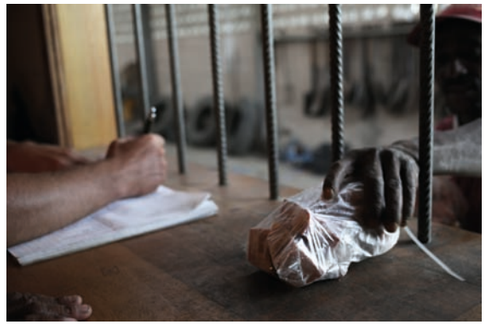
Whitey, mechanic, Egoli

Wimmie, foreman, Klipfontein farm

Merino sheep, Bambizandla Livestock Sales

Hindquarters, Bambizandla Livestock Sales

Bone saw, Bambizandla Livestock Sales



Workers' kiosk, Geduld farm

Teddy bear, Egoli

End of day, Geduld farm

Blommetjie's home, Olieboom Road

Workers' cottage ruins, Sandvlei farm

Southeaster, Egoli

Dominoes, Egoli

Bradley, Sandvlei farm stables

Potato stall, Weltevreden Road

Soup kitchen, Judah Worship Centre

Anwar Stofberg, Rixon Stables

Rodney Adams with Spirit, Franshoek farm

Spirit, Franshoek farm

Girl and horse, Sandvlei farm stables

Pink viennas, Egoli

White blister, Bambizandla spaza shop

Gambling, Egoli

Pa, Sandvlei farm stables

AB Fransman, community leader, Egoli

Fransman's home

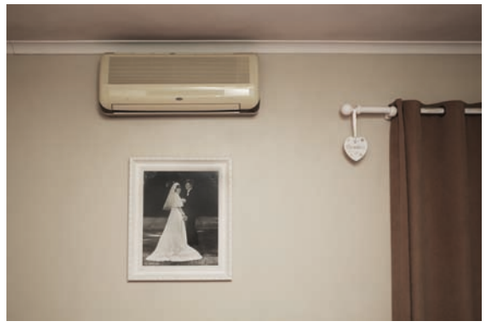
Souvenir gift, Egoli

Plastic flowers, Egoli

Painting, Samadien home

Watching *7de Laan*, Samadien home

Leon and Marita Rix, Honeywood farm



Wedding portrait, Rix bedroom

Fridge magnets, Rix home

Susan, Riedewaan and Sunique Samadien, Sandvlei farm

Whitey and Tessa, Egoli

Gunther Rix, Groenewald farm

Sunday best, Egoli

Church, Egoli

Richard and Belinda Leibrandt, Kerk van Suid-Afrika, Egoli

Community meeting, Country Manor

Wedding portrait, Barron's Estate

Wheelchair, Barron's Estate

Pudding, Barron's Estate

Preparations for church bazaar, Vergenoeg farm

Zareena Samadien, smallholding farmer

Mustang, Barron's Estate

Scholar, Private School of Islam

Leftovers, Philippi Evangelical Lutheran Church Bazaar

Runner, Varkensvlei Road

Vibracrete wall, Ottery Road

Ottery Road

Security, Knole Park Avenue

Nooitgedacht farm

Grass, Egoli

Lost soccer ball, Ottery Road

Dusk, Philippi