



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Portraits of resilience : writing a socio-cultural history of a black South African location with the Ngilima photographic collection. Benoni, 1950s-1960s.

Feyder, Sophie

Citation

Feyder, S. (2016, May 3). *Portraits of resilience : writing a socio-cultural history of a black South African location with the Ngilima photographic collection. Benoni, 1950s-1960s.*
Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/39181>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/39181>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/39175> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Feyder, Sophie

Title: Portraits of resilience: writing a socio-cultural history of a black South African location with the Ngilima photographic collection. Benoni, 1950s-1960s

Issue Date: 2016-05-03

Portraits of Resilience:
Writing a Socio-Cultural History of a Black South African
Location with the Ngilima Photographic Collection,
Benoni, 1950s-1960s.

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van Rector Magnificus Prof. mr. C.J.J.M Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 03 mei 2016
klokke 15.00 uur

door

Sophie Feyder

geboren te Etterbeek, Belgium in 1983

Promotoren:

Prof. dr. R.J. Ross

Prof. dr. P. Spyer (Graduate Institute of International & Development Studies)

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. J.B. Gewald

Prof. dr. Noor Nieftagodien (University of Witwatersrand)

Dr. O.J. Moore

Dr M.R. Westmoreland

To Marie-Jeanne Manuellan,

To all the invisible female hands behind great names.

© Sophie Feyder

Cover image: Unidentified woman, Benoni Old Location, 1950s. Ngilima Photographic Collection.

Druk: Gillis Printing Company- Brussels.

Table of Content

Glossary	10
List of Maps	12
List of Illustrations	12
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	
THE RELEVANCE OF ORDINARY THINGS: OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND THE WRITING OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL HISTORY	23
Part One. From boxes of negatives to an exhibition	23
Part 2. Historiographies	35
Part 3. Defining My Research Project	51
Part 4. Photographs as Historical Sources	64
Part 5. Methodology and Chapter Outline	75
CHAPTER ONE: THE TRAJECTORY OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION AND ITS AUTHORS	84
Part One. Piecing Together Ronald Ngilima's Biography	88
Part Two. Ronald Ngilima's Photographic Practice	95
Part Three. Ronald Ngilima within the Local Photographic Economy	109
Part Four. Thorence Ngilima's Photographic Practice	122
CHAPTER TWO: STUDIO PHOTOGRAPHY AND SELF-FASHIONING IN THE "FABULOUS DECADE"	137
Part One. The Register of Respectability	141
Part Two. Towards the Democratization of the Camera	152
Part Three. The Multiplication of Photographic Registers	163
Conclusion	187
CHAPTER THREE: A SPACE OF ONE'S OWN: YOUNG AFRICAN WOMEN AND THEIR PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICES	192
Part One. Of Photography and Self-making: Some Theoretical Considerations	201
Part Two. Negotiating Intimate Spaces Through Photography	207
	5

Part Three. Representations of Femininity	225
Conclusion	246
CHAPTER FOUR: DOMESTIC INTERIORS AND ‘LOUNGE PHOTOGRAPHY’	248
Part One. The Politics of Social Housing in Benoni, 1940-1960.	253
Part Two. Portraits of Interiors.	265
Part Three. Tactics of Home-making	291
Conclusion	300
CHAPTER FIVE: PORTRAIT OF A PLACE: MOBILISING PHOTOGRAPHS TO RECONSTITUTE THE OLD LOCATION	304
Part One. Methodologies of Photo-elicitation	308
Part Two. Reconstituting the Social Landscape of the Location	320
Part Three. The Spatial Construction and Deconstruction of Race	336
Part Four. The Old Location and the World Beyond	350
Conclusion	363
CHAPTER SIX: THE POLITICS OF MEMORY AFTER DISPLACEMENT	364
Conclusion: Producing Historical Frictions	384
EPILOGUE: THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE OF THE NGILIMA COLLECTION	387
Conclusion: The Ngilima Collection as an Alternative Archive	398
Sources and bibliography	401

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is very true that writing a thesis is akin to running a marathon, in that it is an exercise in endurance. The metaphor also accurately describes the simple truth that the closer one gets to the finishing line, the longer and more painful it feels. Writing the acknowledgements however stands out as a real pleasure in the midst of these last steps, for it allows me to pause and mull over the many wonderful encounters and special relationships that were made along this long journey.

I started this marathon with a strong team of coaches and co-runners. I am most grateful to my supervisors Robert Ross and Patricia Spyer for dedicating me much of their time, patiently applying their critical thinking to endless rounds of drafts; but most of all for consistently giving me confidence in the worthiness of what I was trying to do. They did not lose faith in me despite me occasionally wandering off the track for things that mattered to me. I consider myself lucky to have had such talented colleagues like Christoph Rippe and Tamsyn Adams, who in the process became my close friends. While being geographically apart, we somehow managed to create a genuinely caring environment as well as a creative one, often (though perhaps not as often as we would have liked) nourished by collective thinking, insightful feedback and stimulating conversations. Christoph is unequalled when it comes to his generosity in sharing with me some of his monumental library and in the rigour of his comments. He combines great kindness with disarming honesty. The work that I have done with Tamsyn, on the exhibition and our book, has opened new and exciting avenues for me in terms of imagining how academia could be merged with aesthetics and address new audiences. I feel proud of what we have achieved together.

Being homeless in Leiden, I was also fortunate to have had a brigade of friends who have provided me with shelter, food and much more: aside from Christoph, I must mention Emilie Gallier and Thibaut Prod'homme, Andrea Cerda, Zane Krippe and Martins Mazkalns, Mariana Perry and Mariano Alvarez, Annie Goodner and Edgar Walthert, Iva Pesa and Ivo van Halen, Mary Davies, and Tigressa. Emilie and Thibaut (and little Samuel!) have always kept their door open to me; they have a special place in my heart for making me dance and laugh out loud. Andrea was like the extension of my *latino* family in Leiden, while Zane's contagious enthusiasm and unbound curiosity added a zest of fun and warmth to my trips to Leiden. Catherina Wilson's has brightened my days at the History Institute. Thank you Iva and Mariana (and the History Institute) for allowing me to squat our office for longer than planned; our conversations held over multiple rounds of *maté* proved to be therapeutic. Ella Vervaiik, from the ASC library, would go out of her way to make sure I got hold of the right books.

Special mention has to be made of Annie and Mary, for helping me polish certain parts of this thesis. Their impressively sharp minds have hopefully contributed to making this thesis somewhat more intelligible; I hope one day to reach their level of academic skills. I admire many things about them, in particular their phenomenal sense of humour and the way they use critical thinking to make meaning out of this confusing world. Warm thanks to Roberto Foa and Taco Baker for their editing of the summary and Christopher Daley for kindly "volunteering" to edit and proofread this entire thesis. I sincerely hope one day to be able to return them the favour somehow.

To have a debt towards someone is to establish a relationship with this person; I am happy to be most indebted to the people I have met and have gotten to know throughout my regular stays in South Africa. It is these relationships that have made this long process to be rich, significant and worthwhile. My encounter with Farrell Ngilima marks the beginning of this whole adventure, back in 2008. I wish to thank Farrell for the trust he laid in me, allowing me to work on his grandfather's and uncle's unique photo collection. I hope I did not let him down. Doreen Ngilima is a model of resilient women, as there are many in the townships. I cannot thank her enough for all the time she dedicated to me, introducing me to various families, walking me around Wattville, making me endless cups of tea, spending hours pouring over her father's photographs. I literally could not have done this thesis without her. Tuli and Xolani were also precious assistants, as was Sipho. Thank you for opening your home and hearts to me.

Hemisha Bhana's amazing family (in particular her mother Priscilla) were incredibly helpful when working on our street exhibition, supporting Hemi and I in every possible way, including with car-lifts, running errands, making phone calls and feeding us delicious curries. My friend Nhlenganiso Sithole had started assisting me with the transcription of my interviews, until he got brutally killed in 2012. I shall remember him for his gentle manners, his continuous striving for expanding his horizons, and for the extraordinary fact that he was probably the only black male vegetarian in Soweto, perhaps even in the country.

I have interviewed over fifty people over the course of my fieldwork, many of which became very dear to me. It pained me a great deal to have lost Joyce Mohamed and Charlotte Moroesele, both exceptional women, over the course of my fieldwork. Khubi Thabo stands out for his willingness to share his knowledge and passion for local history with me, as does Perry Vierasammy. Edward Hank has been instrumental in identifying many people in the photographs, I am much obliged for his patience and his warm encouragements. I am particularly grateful to all my interviewees for the trust they gave me in sharing their stories and images and for allowing me to publish the copies I made of their pictures. My position as a female researcher meant that I was in a privileged position to talk to female interviewees about certain private subjects. In order to protect the privacy of my interviewees, I have changed certain names. I have striven to make these individuals as unrecognizable as possible, though using their photographs has obviously made this task more difficult.

I also wish to thank Noor Nieftagodien for providing me access to Wits University's facilities and above all for our inspiring conversations and steadfast support. I look up to him as an example of a scholar who mobilises knowledge to make a difference in this world. Michele Pickover, Zofia Sulej, and Gabriele Mohale, from the Historical Papers archive, were immensely helpful and generous for allowing me to make use of their scanning equipment. I cannot think of a better home for the Ngilima collection. I also benefitted intellectually from my exchanges with Gary Minkley, and with Patricia Hayes during my visit to the University of Western Cape.

In Johannesburg, I also did a fair amount of squatting: many thanks to Tamsyn, Andrew Joseph and Amara (a.k.a Beastie); Delphine De Blic, Sandra Dorville and Billie; and Elize Viljoen for putting me up at various occasions. Peter Ranby and Tessa Abramovitz were wonderful hosts, providing my partner and I with a beautiful home, a real halo of greenery and peace amidst a busy metropolis. Tessa deserves a special recognition for helping us navigate an often overwhelming city and in making us feel at home there. With her jin shin

jitsu skills, her soulful food and soothing aura, she made sure we got through the difficult times. Until we got our driving licenses, we used and abused the generosity of Pauline Guinard and Soline Laplanche-Servigne for car lifts. Simon Gush and Ruth Sack kept us well connected and fed our enthusiasm for the place. Molemo Moiloa is simply brilliant-- her insightful questioning prodded me to keep the contemporary implications of my research in sight. She kept my fingers on the city's pulse.

Back in Brussels, I felt blessed to have worked in the stimulating environment of a little anarchist co-working space, PM61. Thank you to all my co-workers for making the dullness of my daily life much more bearable, in particular to stellar Sofie Van Bruystegem. I only dawn on me now to what extent her presence across the room has been important to me. I also insist on thanking the invisible hands that keep the website Libgen alive, which gave me access to key academic books in English, thus making it possible for me to write my thesis far from my university library, in a predominantly francophone city. I stand by such initiatives that strive to make academia more democratically accessible to all.

My family probably bore most of the brunt in this process. To my parents Jean and Joanna, my sister Nadine, my aunt Rochy; to Christopher Daley, my partner, and his parents Jim and Hilde Daley, thank you for putting up with my one-tracked mind and for forgiving me for missing out on many family events. Your faith in me and your love have meant the world to me. I am grateful to Nadine and Alec for hosting me in Ethiopia and Kenya, allowing me to escape another northern winter and to write the introduction to this thesis in a sunnier and altogether more pleasant environment. Christopher is, of course, the backbone to this whole project; he's seen me through it all. There are no words to describe all that he did for me and all that he has had to endure. His instinctive intellect and wisdom percolates throughout this thesis. We will be both crossing that finishing line together, breathing a sight of relief: onto our next adventure!

GLOSSARY

ANC: African National Congress, popularly referred to as “Mandela’s party”. Created in 1912, it is the first political party founded by Africans, and which strove to fight for the rights of South Africa’s black population. After being banned between 1960 and 1990, it has been consistently in power since 1994, when the first democratic elections marked the end of apartheid.

Bioscope: South African term for cinema.

Doek: headscarf that women usually wear after getting married.

Gumboot dance: male African migrant workers working in the mines developed a percussive dance, similar to tap dancing. They created various rhythms combining stomping with clapping and slapping the side of their wellington boots.

Homeland: also known as “Bantustans”, homelands were the territories set aside for black South Africans, as part of the “Separate Development” policy. The apartheid regime created ten of them, four of which were considered as “independent” territories, “governed” by a puppet government. Black South Africans caught in the cities without the right papers were threatened to be deported to the homelands.

Lobola: the bride wealth that the groom’s family pays to the bride’s family, the amount depending on various factors, including level of education and whether she already has children or not. The exact amount is the object of a potentially long process of negotiation between both families, often with the participation of the extended family. Historically, lobola was paid in cattle but over time cash became the standard form of payment. With so many men struggling to find employment, lobola can be paid in stages instead of in a lump sum.

Location: the first semi-formal black residential areas in the urban areas outside of mine compounds. While townships were thoroughly planned, locations were more chaotic in appearance for the fact that plot owners were responsible for building their own house, according to their own means. Locations were generally for less endowed in terms of public infrastructure. For further description of these differences, see chapter four, part one.

PAC: the Pan-African Congress of Azania was another important political party founded as a black nationalist movement. It was launched in 1959 by Robert Sobukwe and a number of former ANC members, who decided to break away from the ANC in protest of some of their positions.

SACP: South African Communist Party, founded in 1921 and declared illegal in 1950. It participated in the struggle against apartheid and today still part of the Tripartite Alliance with the ANC and Cosatu (Congress of South African Trade Unions).

Shebeen: a tavern selling alcohol without a licence, most often located in private homes in townships and locations. Shebeens were one of the most important institutions of socialisation in the townships, where music styles unique to the townships emerged. Shebeens are most often operated by African women, the more successful ones being nicknamed “shebeen

queens”. These women would serve homebrewed beer and other alcoholic concoctions of their making (often using highly toxic elements such as car batteries). After 1960, when it became legal for Africans to buy bottled beer, they also served bottled beer. Today the shebeens are legal and mainly owned by men.

Spaza (shop): the equivalent of an informal corner shop located in the townships, often in people’s homes, selling the basic everyday household items (mielie-meal, eggs, cooking oil, bread, etc). Spaza shops often make it possible to buy in smaller quantities than in conventional shops. Today these spaza shops are often owned and run by Somalis, who in the recent years regularly become the target of xenophobic attacks.

Stoep: South African term for porch, a ledge running along the front of the house, forming a covered entrance. Most stoeps are polished daily with a deep red or black polish.

Stokvel: are an informal association of about ten or more people serving as a rotating saving-scheme. Each person puts in a fixed amount every month. Each month, a different member gets to take home the accumulated sum. The pressure of the group means that members rarely default on payments. Some stokvels also save so as to be able to buy household goods in bulk, dividing the goods between them.

Sub-economic house: social housing provided by the local municipality, at comparatively low rent. These houses were nicknamed “matchbox houses” for their small sizes. Those in Wattville came with a stove and a bathtub but without any finishing touches (no plastering, dirt floor, no ceiling, etc).

Tekkies: South African local slang for trainers (sport shoes).

Tsotsi: the South African equivalent of a gangster figure, living outside of the system, making a livelihood through petty criminality (pick pocketing, betting, rolling dice, etc) rather than through a formal job. For a historical explanation of the origin of the word and its significance in black popular culture, see chapter two, page 177-178.

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Benoni in relation to South Africa, Ekurhuleni metropole and to Johannesburg.....	19
Map 2: Benoni municipal area, dating from 1942, “Stigting van Lokasies. Benoni Munisipaliteit” (National Archives, NTS 6004 125/313N 3).	20
Map 3: Benoni town, the industrial zone and the location (enlargment of map 2).....	21
Map 4: Benoni location, including the Asiatic Bazaar (in blue), the Old Location (informally known as Etwatwa, here in red), the Cape Stands (or Cape Flats, here in green), the municipal compound (in yellow)..	22

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 0.1: Mary Moodley and her family. Asiatic Bazaar, circa 1954, Ngilima Photographic Collection (henceforth NPC).....	25
Figure 0.2: Joyce Mohamed and the butcher’s son. Asiatic Bazaar, 1955, NPC.....	27
Figure 0.3: Anti-apartheid poster by a British group dating from the 1980s, featuring Samuel Nzima’s iconic photograph of Hector Pieterse.....	47
Figure 1.1: An early portrait of Ronald Ngilima taken in a formal white-owned studio in Modder Bee, mid-1930s. Ngilima private collection	85
Figure 1.2: Self-portrait of Ronald Ngilima with his darkroom enlarger in the bathroom of his house. Mid-1950s, Wattville, NPC.....	97
Figure 1.3: Photograph of Nopie Lotering and Shiela Anderson. Cape Stands, mid-1950s, NPC.....	101
Figure 1.4: Castle advertising featuring a photographer as “the successful man”, appearing in <i>Drum</i> magazine in 1964.....	104
Figure 1.5: Street photographer in Ferreirastown using a “While-you-wait” camera, 1940s. Photography by Leon Levson, Bensusan Museum of photography.....	110
Figure 1.6: Lili Mkhulisi (left) with her mother. Photograph taken by Alpheus Mhlanga, circa 1943. Lili Mkhulisi private collection.....	111
Figure 1.7: Two examples of “After-hours” studio prints, from various private collections, dating from the late 1950s and early 1960s. Below an enlargement of Benoni studio’s signature stamp applied on the back of photos.....	115

Figure 1.8: Three African gentlemen posing in a studio in Johannesburg (Byrne studio), circa 1930s. Santu Mofokeng, <i>Black Photo Album</i>	117
Figure 1.9: Mr. James Tulani's portrait. Wanner Brothers Studio, Benoni, circa 1942. Photo by the author, 2012.....	118
Figure 1.10: A young Thorence Ngilima, photographed in the family's living room. Late 1950s, Wattville, NPC.....	124
Figure 1.11: An example of Ronald Ngilima's wedding portraits. Probably Old Location, mid-1950s, NPC.....	129
Figure 1.12: An example of Thorence's wedding pictures. Wattville, early 1960s, NPC.....	129
Figure 1.13: One of Thorence Ngilima's wedding pictures, catching the highlight of the ceremony as it is happening. Early 1960s, NPC.....	130
Figure 1.14: Thorence's photograph suggesting township street life. Early 1960s, Old Location, NPC.....	132
Figure 1.15: Photograph appearing in <i>Drum</i> magazine depicting young men hanging out on street corners.....	132
Figure 1.16: An example of Thorence's party pictures shot in a quasi documentary style. Wattville, early 1960s, NPC.....	134
Figure 1.17: A party in full swing, Thorence Ngilima. Wattville, early 1960s, NPC.....	134
Figure 2.1: Thorence and his friend in his father's studio. Wattville, early 1950s, NPC.....	138
Figure 2.2: Portrait of Seidi Martha Motingoe. New Market, 1918, photographer unknown., Santu Mofokeng, <i>Black Photo Album</i> .	
Figure 2.3: An example of airbrushed wedding portrait. Date unknown, Ruth Sack private collection.....	149
Figure 2.4: This photograph illustrates how Ronald Ngilima carried on with the airbrush conventions of depicting the married couple. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	150
Figure 2.5: Shooting session by the same three subjects posing in Ronald's studio. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	155
Figure 2.6: Doreen Ngilima and a friend in Ronald's studio. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC...	158
Figure 2.7: Studio picture of unidentified women posing with empty flower basket. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	159
Figure 2.8: Photo of unidentified man posing with basket of flowers, decorative table, lace, and framed picture. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	160

Figure 2.9: Three photos of three different women posing with the same coat and pouch. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	160
Figure 2.10: Series of unidentified men posing in Ngilima's studio. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	164
Figure 2.11: Series of Ronald's studio pictures featuring (unidentified) young women. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	165
Figure 2.12: Young men sitting with legs wide apart. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	166
Figure 2.13: Dynamic poses. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	166
Figure 2.14: Series of studio photos marked by curved lines outlining swaying bodies. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	169
Figure 2.15: Series of photos of young men using the chair in an original way. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	170
Figure 2.16: Series of young women and a young man wearing "tekkies". Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	171
Figure 2.17: A <i>mise-en-scène</i> portraying two men fighting over a troubled woman stuck in the middle. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	173
Figure 2.18: Three examples of couples pretending to read. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC....	173
Figure 2.19: <i>Mise-en scène</i> of young men in a "face-off". Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	174
Figure 2.20: Two portraits of Nombuyiselo Ndaba, Ronald's niece, taken several years apart. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	177
Figure 2.21: Two examples of very elegantly dressed men, showing off their clothes. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	179
Figure 2.22: Young man adopting the emblematic boxing pose; young man striking a conventional bodybuilding pose. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	180
Figure 2.23: Props referring to the cowboy style and <i>film noir</i> . Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC..	182
Figure 2.24: Combining <i>tekkies</i> , fedora hat, cravat, vinyl for good measure. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	183
Figure 2.25: Maghasela boy with his family; in stark contrast with photos taken with his friends in Ngilima's studio. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	186
Figure 2.26: Two of Thorence's pictures of a party. Wattville, early 1960s, NPC.....	191
Figure 3.1: Judith Ngubane's private collection, Old Location, mid-1950s.....	193
Figure 3.2: Judith Ngubane in a studio in Johannesburg, circa 1960. Judith Ngubane's private photo collection.....	194

Figure 3.3: Picture taken at Goodfriend's Photo Studio, circa 1950s. Mrs. Matebula's private collection.....	217
Figure 3.4: Photo taken in the Old Location by an unknown ambulant photographer, circa 1950s. Mrs. Mxoli's private collection.....	219
Figure 3.5: Young couple at Ronald Ngilima's studio. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	221
Figure 3.6: Photograph of young couple inside a cornershop. Photograph by Thorrence Ngilima, early 1960s, NPC.....	222
Figure 3.7: Couple kissing in backyard. Old Location, mid-1950s, NPC.....	223
Figure 3.8: Couple crouching. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	224
Figure 3.9: Advert for Lux Toilet Soap, appearing in <i>Drum</i> magazine June 1964, p.56.....	227
Figure 3.10: Photograph depicting an unidentified women gracefully reclining on the floor, by a board game. Location unknown, circa mid 1950s, NPC.....	229
Figure 3.11: Unidentified woman walking down a street in Wattville. Photo by Thorence Ngilima, early 1960s, NPC.....	230
Figure 3.12: Extract of the Benoni City Times, January 14 th 1949.....	232
Figure 3.13: Unknown woman at the beach. Date and location unknown. Photo found within the Ngilima collection, probably the original print that was handed to get a copy or make an enlargement out of it.....	233
Figure 3.14: Examples of images of women in revealing outfits, as seen in mass-produced media. Enlargements of photos from NCP.....	234
Figure 3.15: Above, extract of <i>Drum</i> magazine, February 1957, p.51. Below, Dolly Rathebe photographed at the mine-dumps. Both photographs by Jürg Schadeburg.....	236
Figure 3.16: Photograph of woman in bathing suit, reclining on the floor, accompanied by a fully-dressed woman. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	236
Figure 3.17: Unidentified woman reclining on couch, holding a vinyl. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	238
Figure 3.18: Unidentified woman posing in see-through blouse. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	239
Figure 3.19: The preferred photograph from a sample of pictures shown to various female interviewees. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	241
Figure 3.20: Photograph of a young women, first posing with her baby, then in a second shot, in her swimming suit. Torrance Ngilima, early 1960, Wattville.....	242
Figure 3.21: Photograph depicting women playing softball, wearing trousers and sports gear. Photograph taken in Daveyton (the new township where the African residents of the Old Location were forcefully relocated in the 1960s), circa late 1950s/early 1960s, NPC.....	245

Figure 4.1. Wattville Township under construction. Circa 1948, Museum Africa.....	249
Figure 4. 2: Charlotte Moroesele as a young nurse. Photographer unknown, circa 1950s. Charlotte Moroesele's private collection.....	260
Figure 4.3: Original print, Linda Jangu private collection. Photo taken by Thorence Ngilima, circa 1964. The original negative of this picture is still found in the Ngilima collection.....	261
Figure 4.4: Sesanga Manyama with her parents and her child. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC..	262
Figure 4.5: Nora Dhlamini and her husband in their new house. Original print, photograph taken by Ronald Ngilima circa 1955. Nora Dhlamini's private collection. The negative of this picture is still part of the collection.....	264
Figure 4.6: Two examples of clients posing in the Ngilimas' lounge, with different curtains, floor patterns and furniture disposition. Wattville, 1950s, NPC.....	265
Figure 4.7: Family posing in front of a stoep. Old Location, date unknown (circa early 1950s), NPC.....	268
Figure 4.8: Examples of group portraits typically taken in the dining room of houses in the Old Location. NPC.....	273
Figure 4.9 : The lounge as embodying Western lifestyle. Wattville, late 1959s-early 1960s, NPC.....	274
Figure 4.10: Jazz band posed as if listening to the radio together. The cables are very visible in the background. Photograph by Thorence Ngilima. Wattville, early 1960s, NPC.....	275
Figure 4.11: Two examples of women posing by the glass case exhibiting trinkets and such objects. Wattville, late 1950s- early 1960s, NPC.....	279
Figure 4.12: Note the dining table visible on the left edge of the photographs. Old Location, late 1950s-early 1960s, NPC.....	280
Figure 4.13 : Constance Xotyeni coming back from work, entering 'her house' (the Ngilima's house). Photograph by Torrance Ngilima. Wattville, early 1960s, NPC.....	280
Figure 4.14: Hosting in a Wattville lounge. Wattville, 1950s, NPC.....	283
Figure 4.15: Two snapshots taken in the Ngilima's kitchen at two different moments, probably to finish up a roll. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	286
Figure 4.16: An example of 'dignified kitchen'. Wattville, mid-1950s, NPC.....	288
Figure 4.17: A 'medium' lounge. Wattville, 1950s, NPC.....	293
Figure 4.18: Newspaper decorations for the ledge family portrait as a prop, belonging to Ronald. Note also the prominence of the radio, set at the very front. Wattville households, 1950s, NPC.....	294
Figure 4.19: Doreen Ngilima lying on the couch bought with the salary of her first job. Photograph by Torrance Ngilima. Wattville, early 1960's, NPC.....	296

Figure 5.1: Modderfontein houses. Mid-1950s, NPC,.....	309
Figure 5.2: Brick house in the Asiatic Bazaar. 1950s, NPC.....	310
Figure 5.3: Guessing the location of the house thanks to details in the background, like the church and the electric cables. Mid-1950s, NPC.....	311
Figure 5.4: Two photographs depicting the main square of the Old Location. Late 1950s, early 1960s, NPC.....	315
Figure 5.5: An Ngilima photograph taken in the main square of the Old Location. Below, a reconstitution of the same photograph in Actonville, 2013 (photograph by the author).....	316
Figure 5.6: Top picture shows the distinctive model of sub-economic houses in Wattville. Middle photograph shows Dube street, bottom photo Rooicamp, the oldest part of Wattville. Thorence Ngilima, early 1960s, NPC.....	321
Figure 5.7: Asiatic Bazaar, mid-1950s, NPC.....	322
Figure 5. 8: Unidentified woman walking down 15 th street. Photograph by Thorence Ngilima. Old Location, early 1960s, NPC	323
Figure 5.9: Brick, pillars and verandas as a sign of economic prosperity. Old Location, mid-1950s, NPC.....	324
Figure 5.10: Houses made of scraps of zink, compared to photo below right, combining brick and new smooth pieces of corrugated zink. Old Location, NPC.....	325
Figure 5.11. Linda Jangu celebrating her engagement with her husband-to-be at her parents' house in the "New Stands". NPC.....	326
Figure 5.12. One of the few pre-1950 houses from the Old Location that was deemed of good enough quality and was not knocked down, thus survived the mid-1960s forced removal. Actonville, 2014. Photo by the author.....	327
Figure 5.13 and 5.14: Parktown and Cape Stands, mid-1950s, NPC.....	328
Figure 5.15: House decorated with newspaper. Old Location, mid-1950s, NPC.....	329
Figure 5.16: An airy modern flat, belonging to a Gujarati family. Asiatic Bazaar, mid-1950s, NPC.....	330
Figure 5.17: Interiors of Indian households. Asiatic Bazaar, mid-1950s, NPC.....	331
Figure 5.18: Top picture, view of a garden from a Parktown house. Below, yards from Modderfontein, large enough to even have chickens. NPC.....	339
Figure 5.19: Basie Singh's wedding ceremony held in the yard of his house. Asiatic Bazaar, mid-1950s, NPC.....	342
Figure 5.20: Photographs of coloured women who dated or married Indian men. NPC.....	344
Figure 5.21: Portrait of Myriam Ali. Asiatic Bazaar, mid-1950s, NPC.....	345

Figure 5.22: Joyce Mohamed’s younger brother, wearing a Sotho attire. Asiatic Bazaar, mid-1950s, NPC.....	349
Figure 5.23: Young men on street corner posing with vinyls by Duke Ellington and Norman Grantz. Photo by Thorence Ngilima. Old Location, early 1960s, NPC.....	351
Figure 5.24: Brass bands playing at weddings. Photograph by Thorence Ngilima. Old Location, early 1960s, NPC.....	354
Figure 5.25: Listening to records in one’s yard. Old Location, mid-1950s, NPC.....	355
Figure 5.26: Two local bands from the Old Location, the Hollywood Swingsters (top above, at the Davies Social Centre) and the No Name Band. Photograph by Thorence Ngilima. Early 1960s, NPC.....	358
Figure 5. 27: Chris Sonxaba, leader of the No Name Band. Photograph by Thorence Ngilima. Wattville, early 1960s, NPC.....	362
Figure 6.1: Xolani Ngilima (great-grandson of Ronald Ngilima), Hemisha Bhana and another participant in the action of gluing the posters. Photo by the author, Actonville, 2013.....	368
Figure 6.2: “Benoni Location is home. STAY HOME. COME HOME”. Photograph by the author, Actonville 2013.....	369
Figure 6.3: One of our participants in discussion with the local Indian butcher. Photo by the author, Actonville, 2013.....	370
Figure 6.4: Xolani Ngilima, great-grandson of Ronald Ngilima, gluing a poster on a wall in Actonville. Photo by the author, 2013.....	371
Figure 6.5: Picture of the “pioneers of Actonville” that caused much of a stir during the event. Asiatic Bazaar, mid-1950s, NPC.....	372
Figure 7.1: The new OR Tambo Narrative Centre photographed from the street. Photograph by the author, 2013.....	388



Map 1: Benoni in relation to South Africa, Ekurhuleni metropole and to Johannesburg.



Map 2: Benoni municipal area, dating from 1942, “Stigting van Lokasies. Benoni Munisipaliteit” (National Archives, NTS 6004 125/313N 3). The areas in blue indicate the residential white suburbs (and industrial area), while those in yellow indicate the areas under the control of mining companies. The location is squeezed between the industrial zone and the border with Brakpan municipality.



Map 3: Benoni town, the industrial zone and the location. The location includes, from left to right: the New Native Location (or Wattville, in dotted lines), the Asiatic Bazaar (blue), the Old Location (red), the Cape Stands (green), the municipal compound (yellow). The map clearly shows how the industrial zone separates Benoni town from its location. This is an enlarged detail of the archival map in map 2.

