



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

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

(i) State Archives, Central Archives Deposit, Pretoria:

CAD, BEP 33, G6/23/2 (1) 'Memorandum from H.S.J van Wyk (chairman of the Transvaal Committee) to the GAB, Re: Benoni', November 1958.

CIA H4 vol 1/2, Rs/S..19.8 (A.2704): *Letter from the Town Clerk, 31 August 1911.*

CIA H4 vol 1/2 (3). *Letter dating from 1910, signed by Alfred B. Roberts, the Acting Secretary to the Administrator, addressed to the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.*

NTS 125/313/K. *Benoni Bantu Bulletin*, n° 65, November 1954.

NTS 125/313/K. Meeting of the Advisory Board with the Non-European Affairs Development Committee, 26.06.1956 and 22.05.1954.

NTS 125/313K, *Report of the Administration Committee: Benoni Native Township and Wattville Advisory Board*, 23.07.1957.

NTS 125/313/K. "Summary of Valuation of Benoni Bantu Township", Minutes of Meeting of Management Committee-November, 1962.

NTS 125/313K ER. 7N/56/2, *Letters from J.C. Lemmer, chief inspector from the Boksburg district, 26th and 27th of September 1949.*

NTS 125/313K 5740. "Benoni Golden Jubilee: 1906-1956".

NTS 6336 125/313/P. *A letter by W. Makatine to the Native Commissioner.*

NTS 6004 125/313N 3. *Map of Benoni municipal area, dating from 1942, "Stigting van Lokasies. Benoni Munisipaliteit".*

TAB MB 2/3/97: *Minutes of the Management Committee Meeting*, 8 November 1966.

TAB MB 2/3/11 AA11, *Benoni Asiatic Affairs: Indian Account.*

TAB TPB 153/01/TalG2/484 *Municipality of Benoni-Location Regulations, The Province of Transvaal Official Gazette Extraordinary*, 30 April 1952.

TAB KBN 3/2/47 N1/4/3: *Death Notice (Ronald Ngilima)*, 1960.

(ii) Newspapers:

Drum magazine, June 1954, June 1964, February 1957.

Benoni City Times, 14 January 1949, 21 January 1949.

The Star, July 2, 2012.

Oral sources

Interviews from fieldwork, collected 2011-2012:

Martha Billings, 06.06.2011, Reigerpark.

Mamsi Boshielo, 04.04.2012, Wattville.
 Dumi Dhlamini, 22.03.2011, 28.04.2012, 13.04.2011, Wattville.
 Poppy Fortuin, 08.02.2012, Reigerpark.
 David Goldblatt, 04.06.12, Johannesburg.
 Jacoba Josephs, 06.2011, 20.05.2012, 05.11.2008, Rynsoord.
 Abie Karodia, 19.04.2011, Actonville.
 Mavies Magadlela, 18.02.12, Soweto.
 Thembi Matebula, 18.02.12, Soweto
 Christopher Mateta, 08.04.2011, Wattville.
 Royhit Mathura, January 2009, Actonville.
 Johnny Mekwa, 06.06.2012, Daveyton.
 Lili Mkhulisi, 17.05.2012, Wattville.
 Tulani Mkosi, 06.04.11, Wattville.
 Rebecca Mmope, 03.2011, Wattville.
 Mmule Mpakanyane, 28.09.2011, Wattville.
 Joyce (Watson) Mohamed, 15.06.2011, 28.02.2012, Brakpan.
 Shabir Mohammedi, 01.06.2011, Actonville.
 Pat Moonsammy, 02.10.11, Actonville
 Gladis Mqondanisi, 19.04.12, Wattville.
 Samuel Msali (with Khubi Thabo), 16.06.2011, Actonville.
 Mpumi Mxoli, 23.04.2012, Wattville.
 Nombuyiselo Ndaba, 26.07.2012, Daveyton.
 Joyce Ndlazilwana, 24.02.2012, Daveyton.
 Benjamin Ngilima, 02.04.11, 06.04.11, 31.03.2012, Wattville.
 Doreen Ngilima, 2011, 13.04.11, Wattville.
 Farrell Ngilima, January 2009, Wattville.
 Nomathemba Ngilima, January 2008, Wattville.
 Judith Ngubane, 24.02.2012, Daveyton.
 Lilla Pillay, Actonville, 01.06.2011
 Grace Pritchard (with Norma Tree), 12.06.12, Reigerpark
 Maniboy Rahman, 01.06.11, Actonville.
 Duman Rahman, 23.02.2011, 28.09.2011, Actonville.
 May Revally-Chittny, 15.04.11, Actonville.
 Sipho Rubusche, 24.02.2012, Daveyton.
 Rose Sebetloane, 30.03.2011, Wattville.
 Reni Singh, 06.10.2011, Actonville.
 Traifina Shobete, 01.06.2012, Wattville.
 Khubi Thabo, 17.06. 2011, 08.06.2011 Daveyton.
 Norma Tree (with Grace Pritchard), 12.06.12, Reigerpark.
 Perry Vierasammy, 08.06.11, 23.02.2012, Actonville.
 Constance Xotyni, 06.05.11, 19.04.2012, 01.06.2012, Wattville.
 Focus group discussion, with a group of women from “Luncheon Club”, 16.05.2012, Wattville.

Internet websites:

<http://mg.co.za/article/2013-07-19-00-mama-tambos-legacy>

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/profiles/oliver-tambo-the-exile-394806.html>

<http://www.saweb.co.za/townships/township/ekurhuleni/ekurhule.html>

<http://ortambonarrativecentre.com/>

<http://www.anc.org.za/showpeople.php?p=5>

Books, articles and unpublished theses:

- Abíódún, Rowland. "Àkó-Graphy: Òwò Portraits." In *Portraiture and Photography in Africa*, edited by John Peffer and Elisabeth L. Cameron. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Adams, Zuleiga. "Gazing at District Six: From Fairyland to Arab Quarter." In *Popular Snapshots and Tracks to the Present: Cape Town, Nairobi, Lumumbashi*, edited by Danielle De Lame and Ciraj Rassool, 225-44. Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa, 2010.
- Akyeampong, Emmanuel, and Charles Ambler. "Leisure in African History : An Introduction." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 35, no. 1 (Special Issue: Leisure in African History) (2002): 1-16.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- — —. "The Colonial Backdrop." *Afterimage: The Journal of Media Arts and Cultural Criticism* 24, no. 5 (Special Issue): From the Background to the Foreground: The Photo Backdrop and Cultural Expression (1997): 4-7.
- Badenhorst, Cecile, and Charles Mather. "Tribal Recreation and Recreating Tribalism: Culture, Leisure and Social Control on South Africa's Gold Mines, 1940-1950." *Journal of South African Studies* 23, no. 3 (September) (1997): 473-89.
- Bank, Leslie J. *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City*. London: Pluto Press, 2011.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflexions on Photography*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981.
- — —. "Rhetoric of Image." In *Image Music Text*. London: Fontana Press, 1977.
- Batchen, Geoffrey. *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002.
- — —. *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004.
- — —. "Seeing and Saying: A Response to « Incongruous Images »." *History and Theory* 48, no. 4 (2009): 26-33.
- — —. "The Art of Business." In *America and the Tintype*, edited by Steven Kasher. New York: International Centre of Photography, 2008.

- Beavon, Keith. *Johannesburg: The Making and the Shaping of the City*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2004.
- Behrend, Heike. "'I Am Like a Movie Star in My Street' : Photographic Self-Creation in Postcolonial Kenya." In *Postcolonial Subjectivities in Africa* edited by Richard Werbner, 44-62. London: Zed books, 2002.
- — —. "Images of an African Modernity: The Likoni Ferry Photographers of Mombasa, Kenya " In *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate*, edited by Jan-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst and Heike Schmidt, 2002.
- Behrend, Heike, and Tobias Wendl. *Snap Me One! Studiofotografen in Afrika*. München: Prestel Verlag, 1998.
- Behrend, Heike, and Jean-François Werner. "Special Issue: Photographies and Modernities in Africa." *Visual Anthropology* 13, no. 3 (2001).
- Bell, Joshua. "Looking to See: Reflections on Visual Repatriation in the Purari Delta, Papua New Guinea." In *Museums and Sources Communities: A Routledge Reader*, edited by Laura Peers and Alison Brown. London: Routledge, 2003.
- — —. "Out of the Mouths of Crocodiles: Eliciting Histories in Photographs and String Figures." *History and Anthropology* 21, no. 4 (2010): 351-73.
- Berger, Iris. *Threads of Solidarity: Women in South African Industry, 1900-1980*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Bhana, Surendra. "Indians in South Africa (Review)." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 405-10.
- Bigham, E. "Issues of Authorship in the Portrait Photographs of Seydou Keita." *African Arts* 32, no. 1 (1999): 56-67.
- Binney, J. , and G. Chaplin. "'Taking the Photographs Home: The Recovery of a Maori History'." In *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*, edited by Laura Peers and Alison Brown, 100-10. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Boerdam, Japp, and Warna Oosterbaan Martinius. "Family Photographs- a Sociological Approach." *The Netherlands' Journal of Sociology* 16 (1980): 95-119.
- Bohlin, Anna. "The Politics of Locality: Memories of District Six in Cape Town." In *Locality and Belonging*, edited by Nadia Lovell, 168-88. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Bonner, Philip. "African Urbanisation on the Rand between the 1930s and 1960s: Its Social Character and Political Consequences." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21, no. 1 (1995): 115-29.
- — —. "Eluding Capture: African Grass-Roots Struggles in 1940s Benoni." In *South Africa's 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities*, edited by Alan Jeeves and Saul Dubow. Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005.
- — —. "Family, Crime and Political Consciousness on the East Rand, 1939-1955." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14, no. 3 (April) (1988): 393-420.
- — —. "Keynote Address to the 'Life after Thirty' Colloquium." *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 13-27.
- — —. "The Russians on the Reef, 1947-1957: Urbanisation, Gang Warfare and Ethnic Mobilisation." In *Apartheid's Genesis. 1935-1962*, edited by Philip Bonner, Peter Delius and Deborah Posel. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1993.
- — —. "'We Are Digging, We Are Seizing Huge Chunks of the Municipality's Land': Popular Struggles in Benoni, 1944-1952." In *African Studies Seminar*. African Studies Institute, University of Witwatersrand, 1985.
- Bonner, Philip, and Noor Nieftagodien. *Alexandra: A History*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008.

- — —. *Ekurhuleni: The Making of an Urban Region*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2012.
- Bonner, Philip, and Lauren Segal. *Soweto: A History*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1998.
- Borgatti, Jean. "Likeness or Not: Musings on Portraiture in Canonical African Art and Its Implications for African Portrait Photography." In *Portraiture and Photography in Africa*, edited by John Peffer and Elisabeth L. Cameron. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Un Art Moyen: Essai Sur Les Usages Sociaux De La Photographie*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1965.
- Bouttiaux, Anne-Marie, Alain D'Hooghe, Jean Loup Pivin, and Pascal Martin Saint Leon. *L' Afrique Par Elle-Même: Un Siècle De Photographie Africaine*. Paris: Revue Noire, 2003.
- Bozzoli, Belinda. "Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society." In *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, edited by Belinda Bozzoli, 1- 43. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987.
- Bozzoli, Belinda , and Mmantho Nkotswe. *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983*. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1991.
- Breckenridge, Keith. "Love Letters and Amanuenses: Beginning the Cultural History of the Working Class Private Class in Southern Africa, 1900-1933." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26, no. 2 (Special Issue: Popular Culture and Democracy) (2000): 337-48.
- Brielmaier. "Mombasa on Display: Photography and the Formation of an Urban Public, from the 1940s Onward." In *Portraiture and Photography in Africa*, edited by Elisabeth L. Cameron John Peffer, 253-86. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Brielmaier, Isolde. "Mombasa on Display: Photography and the Formation of an Urban Public, from the 1940s Onward." In *Portraiture and Photography in Africa*, edited by John Peffer and Elisabeth L. Cameron. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014.
- Brown, Alison, and Laura Peers. *Pictures Bring Us Messages: Photographs and the Histories of the Kainai Nation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Buckley, Liam. "Photography and Photo-Elicitation after Colonialism." *Cultural Anthropology* 29, no. 4 (2014): 720-43.
- — —. "Photography, Elegance and the Aesthetics of Citizenship." In *Visual Sense: A Cultural Reader*, edited by Elisabeth Edwards and Kaushik Bhaumik, 183- 92. New York: Berg Press, 2008.
- — —. "Self and Accessory in Gambian Studio Photography." *Visual Anthropology Review* 16, no. 2 (2001): 71-91.
- Burke, P. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Burke, Timothy. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Burton, Andrew. "Urchins, Loafers and the Cult of the Cowboy: Urbanization and Delinquency in Dar-Es-Salaam, 1919-1961." *Journal of African History* 42 (2001): 199-216.
- Callinicos, Luli. *A People's History of South Africa*. Vol. 2: Working life 1886-1940: factories, townships and popular culture on the Rand. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987.

- — —. *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains*. Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 2004.
- Campbell, James. "African Subjects." In *Black Photo Album: Look at Me: 1890-1950*, edited by Santu Mofokeng. Göttingen: Steidl, 2013.
- — —. "The Americanization of South Africa." University of Witwatersrand 1998.
- Campt, Tina. *Image Matters: Archive, Photography, and the African Diaspora in Europe*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Casey, Edwards. *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Clowers, Lindsay. "Masculinity, Matrimony and Generation: Reconfiguring Patriarchy in Drum 1951-1983." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34, no. 1 (2008): 179-92.
- Cohen, Julian. "Tswatwa: The Working Class of Benoni During the 1930s." *African Perspectives* 20 (1982): 76-96.
- Cohen, Sara. "Sounding out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place " *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20, no. 4 (1995): 434-46.
- Comaroff, John L., and Jean Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* Vol. 2: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Coombes, Annie E. *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Coplan, David. *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. Johannesburg: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- — —. "Sophiatown and South African Jazz: Re-Appropriating a Cultural Identity." *Africultures* (2006).
- — —. "The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 5, no. 2 (1979): 135-64.
- Cosgrove, Stuart. "The Zoot Suit and Style Warfare." *History Workshop Journal* 18, no. 1 (1984): 77-91.
- Courtman, Sandra. "What Is Missing from the Picture?" *Wasafiri* 14, no. 29 (1999): 9-14.
- Couzens, Tim. "Moralising Free Time: The Transatlantic Connection and Black Johannesburg, 1918- 1936." In *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa; African Class Formation, Culture, and Consciousness, 1870-1930*, edited by S. Marks and R. Rathbone, 314-37, 1982.
- Crankshaw, Owen. "Class, Race and Residence in Black Johannesburg, 1923-1970." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 18, no. 4 (2005).
- — —. *Race, Class, and the Changing Division of Labour under Apartheid*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- David, Stephen. "Popular Culture in South Africa: The Limits of Black Identity in Drum Magazine." PhD, University of Illinois, 2001.
- Davis, Peter. *In Darkest Hollywood: Exploring the Jungles of Cinema's South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1996.
- De Coning, Christian. "Income and Expenditure Patterns of Urban Bantu Households: Benoni Survey." Pretoria: Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa, 1962.
- Desai, Ashwin, and Brik Maharaj. "Minorities in the Rainbow Nation: The Indian Vote in 1994." *South African Journal of Sociology* 27, no. 96 (1996): 4.
- Dhupelia-Mesthrie, Uma. *From Cane Fields to Freedom: A Chronicle of Indian South African Life*. Roggebaai: Kwela Books, 2000.
- Di Bello, Patrizia. *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007.

- Dlamini, Jacob. *Native Nostalgia*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2009.
- Driver, Dorothy. "The Fabulous Fifties: Short Fiction in English." In *The Cambridge History of South African Literature*, edited by David Attwell and Derel Attridge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- . "Drum Magazine (1951-9) & the Spatial Configurations of Gender." In *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature & History in South Africa & Australia*, edited by Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner and Sarah Nuttal. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Driver, Felix, and Raphael Samuel. "Rethinking the Idea of Place." *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995): v-vii.
- Dubin, Steven. "Impersonations and Revelations: Mysteries of a South African Photography Studio." *African Arts* 47, no. 4 (2014): 26-35.
- . "Developing Characters: Contending Cultures & Creative Commerce in a South African Photography Studio." Johannesburg: NIROXprojects, 2013.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*. Oxford & New York: Berg, 2001.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, and Janice Hart. *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Enwezor, Okwui, Octavio Zaya, and Olu Oguibe. *In/Sight: African Photographers, 1940 to the Present*. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1996.
- Erlank, Natasha. "The White Wedding: Affect and Economy in South Africa in the Early Twentieth Century." *African Studies Review* 57, no. 2 (2014): 29-50.
- Fall, N'Goné. "Le Maître Du Studio." In *Photographies Kinshasa*, edited by N'Goné Fall. Paris: Revue Noire, 2001.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto Press, 1986.
- Feld, Steven, and H. Basso Basso. "Introduction." In *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and H. Basso Basso. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996.
- Fenwick, Mac. "'Tough Guy, Eh?': The Gangster-Figure In 'Drum'" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 4 (1996): 617-32.
- Ferguson, James. *Expectations of Modernity. Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.
- Ferguson, James, and Akhil Gupta. "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference." *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 6-23.
- Feyder, Sophie. "Think Positive, Make Negatives: Black Popular Photography and Urban Identities in Johannesburg Townships, 1920-1960." Mphil, University of Leiden, 2008.
- Field, Sean. *Oral History, Community, and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Freund, Bill. *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban, 1910-1990*. London: Heineman, 1995.
- Frieslar, Geraldine. "'Keeper of the Walls: On Silences and Reverie' - Van Kalker Photographs within the Domestic Interior of the Home." Paper presented at the *Beyond the Iconic Image: A workshop on Microhistory and Photography*, Wits University 2013.
- Fugard, Athol. "Sizwe Bansi Is Dead." In *The Township Plays*, edited by Dennis Walder. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Gainer, David J. "Hollywood, African Consolidated Films, and 'Bioskoopbeskawing', or Bioscope Culture: Aspects of American Culture in Cape Town, 1945-1960." M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 2000.

- Garb, Tamar. *Figures and Fictions: Contemporary South African Photography*. Göttingen: Steidl and V&A Publishing, 2001.
- Geary, Christraud M. "Roots and Routes of African Photographic Practices: From Modern to Vernacular Photography in West and Central Africa (1850-1980)." In *A Companion to Modern African Art*, edited by Gitti Salami and Monica Blackmun Visonà. Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2013.
- — —. "Portraiture, Authorship and the Inscription of History: Photographic Practice in the Bamum Kingdom, Cameroon (1902-1980)." In *Getting Pictures Right: Context and Interpretation*, edited by Veit Arlt Michael Albrecht, Barbara Müller, and Jürg Schneider, 141-64. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2004.
- — —. *In and out of Focus: Images from Central Africa, 1885-1960*. London: Philip Wilson, 2002.
- Gibson, Olive. *The Cost of Living for Africans: The Results of an Inquiry into the Cost of Living for Africans in the Locations and African Township in Johannesburg and Alexandra*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1954.
- Ginsburg, Rebecca. "'Now I Stay in a House': Renovating the Matchbox in Apartheid-Era Soweto," *African Studies* 55, no. 2 (1996): 127-39.
- Ginzberg, Carlo. "From Aby Warburg to E.H. Gombrich: A Problem of Method." In *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*: John Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Glaser, Clive. *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gang of Soweto, 1935-1976*, Social History of Africa. Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 2000.
- — —. "The Mask of Zorro: Sexuality and Gender Relations in the Tsotsi Subculture on the Witwatersrand." *African Studies* 51, no. 1 (1992): 47-67.
- — —. "Students, Tsotsis and the Congress Youth League: Youth Organisation on the Rand in the 1940s and 1950s " Paper presented at the *The Making of Class*, Johannesburg 1987.
- Godby, Michael. "'Native Studies'." In *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and Bureaucracy of Everyday Life*, edited by Okwui Enwezor and Rory Bester. New York: International Centre of Photography, 2013.
- Goodhew, David. *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004.
- — —. "Working Class Respectability: The Example of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1930-1955." *Journal of African History* 41, no. 2 (2000): 241-66.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From Moore to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Hamilton, Carolyn, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michel Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh. *Refiguring the Archive*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002.
- Haney, Erin. "Film, Charcoal, Time: Contemporaneities in Gold Coast Photographs." *History of Photography* 34, no. 2 (2010): 119-33.
- — —. *Photography and Africa*. London: Reaktion Books, 2010.
- — —. "If These Walls Could Talk !: Photographs, Photographer and Their Patrons in Accra and Cape Coast, Ghana 1840-1940." University of London 2004.
- Harper, Douglas. "Talking About Pictures: A Case for Photo Elicitation." *Visual studies* 17, no. 1 (2002).
- — —. "The Visual Ethnographic Narrative." *Visual Anthropology* 1, no. 1 (1987): 1-19.
- Hartmann, Wolfram, Jeremy Silvester, and Patricia Hayes. *The Colonizing Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1999.

- Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995.
- Hayes, Patricia. "Introduction: Visual Genders." *Gender & History* 17, no. 3 (2005): 519-37.
- — —. "Power, Secrecy, Proximity: A Short History of South African History." *Kronos* 33 (2007): 139-62.
- Hellman, E. *Rooiyard: A Sociological Study of an Urban Slum Yard*. Vol. No.13, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Hofmeyr, Isabel. "Turning Region into Narrative: English Storytelling in the Waterberg." In *Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality, and Culture in the 19th and 20th Century South Africa*, edited by Philip Bonner, Isabel Hofmeyr, Deborah James and Tom Lodge. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1989.
- Holland, Patricia. "'Sweet It Is to Scan': Personal Photographs and Popular Photography." In *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, edited by Liz Wells, 105-32. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Hopkinson, Amanda, and Robert Lenman. "Photojournalism." In *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, edited by Robert Lenman and Angela Nicholson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Humphriss, Deryck, and David G. Thomas. *Benoni, Son of My Sorrow: The Social, Political and Economic History of a South African Gold Mining Town*. Benoni: Town Council, 1968.
- Huysen, Andreas. "Monumental Seduction." *New German Critique*, no. 69 (1996): 181-200.
- Januarius, Joeri. "Feeling at Home: Interiors, Domesticity and the Everyday Life of Limburg Miners in the 1950s." *Home Cultures* 6, no. 1 (2009): 43-70.
- Jeppie, Shamil. "Interiors, District Six, C.1950." In *Blank___Architecture, Apartheid and After*, edited by Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic. Rotterdam: NAI, 1998.
- Jolles, Frank. "Negotiating Relationships: Village to City, Beadwork to Sms." *Southern African Humanities* 18, no. 2 (2006): 119-38.
- Judin, Hilton, and Ivan Vladislavic. *Blank___Architecture, Apartheid and After*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 1998.
- Kasher, Steven. *America and the Tintype*. New York; Göttingen: International Center of Photography: Steidl, 2006.
- Keane, Webb. "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things." *Language and Communication* 23, no. 3-4 (1997): 409-25.
- Koch, Eddie. "The Destruction of Marabi Culture: Urban Segregation in Johannesburg, 1923-1938." University of Witwatersrand: History Workshop, 1984.
- — —. "'Without Visible Means of Subsistence': Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg 1918-1940." In *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal : Capitalist Penetration and Popular Resource*, edited by Belinda Bozzoli. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983.
- Kratz, Corinne A. *The Ones Who Are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.
- Kratz, Corinne, Ivan Karp, Lynn Szwaja, and Tomas Ybarra-Frausto. *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Kuper, Leo. *An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class and Politics in South Africa*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965.
- La Hausse, Paul. "Oral History and South African Historians." *Radical History Review* 46, no. 7 (1990): 346-56.

- — —. *Brewers, Beerhalls and Boycotts: A History of Liquor in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1988.
- — —. "The Struggle for the City: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and Popular Culture in Durban, 1902 – 1936" M.A. diss., University of Cape Town, 1984.
- Langford, Martha. "Speaking the Album: An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework." In *Locating Memories: Photographic Acts*, edited by Annette Kuhn and Kirsten McAllister. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006.
- Lee, Rebekah. *African Women and Apartheid: Migration and Settlement in Urban South Africa*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2009.
- Lissoni, Arianna, Noor Nieftagodien, and Shireen Ally. "Introduction: 'Life after Thirty'- a Critical Celebration." *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 1-12.
- Lodge, Tom. *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*: Longman, 1983.
- Lüdtke, Alf. *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Mager, Anne Kelk, and Maanda Mulaudzi. "Popular Responses to Apartheid:1948-C.1975." In *The Cambridge History of South Africa: 1885-1994*, edited by Robert Ross, Anne Kelk Mager and Bill Nasson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Marcus, George. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Reviews Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95-117.
- Marks, Shula. *Divided Sisterhood*. London: MacMillan Press, 1994.
- Marks, Shula, and Richard Rathbone. *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa; African Class Formation, Culture, and Consciousness, 1870-1930*. Harlow: Longman, 1982.
- Martin, Phyllis, M. *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Massey, Doreen. *For Space*. London: Sage, 2005.
- — —. "Places and Their Pasts." *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995): 182-92.
- — —. *Place, Space and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.
- Mayer, Philip, and Iona Mayer. *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanisation in a South African City*. Vol. 2, Xhosa in Town. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Maylam, Paul. "Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21, no. 1 (Special Issue: Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa) (1995): 19-38.
- Meier, Prita. "At Home in the World: Portrait Photography and Swahili Mercantile Aesthetics." In *A Companion to Modern African Art*, edited by G. Salami and Monica Blackmun Visonà. Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2013.
- Meintjes, Helen. "'Washing Machines Make Lazy Women': Domestic Appliances and the Negotiation of Women's Propriety in Soweto." *Journal of Material Culture* 6 (2001): 345-63.
- Mercer, Kobena. "Home from Home: Portraits from Places in Between." In *Self Evident (Exhibition Catalogue)*. Birmingham: Ikon Gallery, 1995.
- — —. "Photography and the Global Conditions of Cross-Cultural Modernity." In *Unfixed: Photography and Postcolonial Perspectives in Contemporary Art*, edited by Sara Blokland and Asmara Pelupessy. Heijningen: Jap Sam Books, 2012.
- Metelerkamp, Peter. "Considering Coloniality in South African Photography." In <http://www.metelerkamp.com/writing/coloniality-and-south-african-photography/>, 2002.

- Minkley, Gary. "'Corpses Behind Screens': Native Space in the City." In *Blank Architecture, Apartheid and After*, edited by Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 1998.
- Minkley, Gary, and Ciraj Rassool. "Orality, Memory and Social History in South Africa." In *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, edited by Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Modisane, Bloke. *Blame Me on History*. Cape Town: AD. Donker Publisher, 1986.
- Mofokeng, Santu. *The Black Photo Album- Look at Me: 1890-1950*. Göttingen: Steidl, 2013.
- Morris, Pauline. *A History of Black Housing in South Africa*. Johannesburg: South African Foundation, 1981.
- Morris, Rosalind C. "Style, Tsotsi-Style, and Tsotsitaal: The Histories, Aesthetics, and Politics of a South African Figure." *Social Text* 28, no. 2 103 (2010): 85-112.
- Mutongi, Kenda "'Dear Dolly's Advice': Representations of Youth, Courtship and Sexualities in Africa, 1960-1980." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33, no. 1 (2000).
- Ndebele, Njabulo S. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Essays on South African Literature and Culture*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006.
- . *The Cry of Winnie Mandela*. Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 2003.
- Newbury, Darren. "Sizwe Bansi and the Strong Room of Dreams: Photographic Histories after Apartheid." In *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and the Bureaucracy of Everyday Life*, edited by Rory Bester and Okwui Enwezor, 226-33. New York: International Centre of Photography, 2013.
- . *Defiant Images: Photography and Apartheid South Africa*. Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2009.
- Newhall, Beaumont *History of Photography: From 1839 to Present*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982.
- Nieftagodien, Noor. "The Place of 'the Local' in History Workshop's Local History." *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 41- 61.
- . "The Implementation of Urban Apartheid on the East Rand, 1948-1973: The Role of Local Government and Local Resistance." PhD, University of Witwatersrand, 2001.
- Nimis, Erika "Yoruba Studio Photographers in Francophone West Africa." In *Portraiture and Photography in Africa*, edited by John Peffer and Elisabeth L. Cameron, 102-40. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Nixon, R. *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Nkosi, Lewis. *Home and Exile*. Bristol: Longmans, 1965.
- Nuttall, Sarah, and Carli Coetzee. *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Nwafor, Nkiruka J. "'Re-Presenting Self: Reading Some Van Kalker Studio Photographs". *OGIRISI: A New Journal of African Studies* 7 (2010): 162-82.
- Oguibe, Olu. "Photography and the Substance of the Image." In *In/Sight: African Photographers, 1940 to the Present*, edited by Okwui Enwezor, Octavio Zaya and Olu Oguibe. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2001.
- Ouedraogo, Jean-Bernard. "La Figuration Photographique Des Identités Sociales: Valeurs Et Apparences Au Burkina Faso." *Cahiers D'Etudes Africaines* 36, no. 141/142 (1996): 25-50.
- Parnell, Susan, and Alan Mabin. "Rethinking Urban South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21, no. 1 (1995): 39-61.

- Pauw, Berthold Adolf. *The Second Generation: A Study of the Family among Urbanised Bantu in East London*. Vol. 3, Xhosa in Town: Studies of the Bantu-Speaking Population of East London, Cape Province. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Peffer, John. "Vernacular Recollections and Popular Photography in South Africa." In *The African Photographic Archive*, edited by Christopher Morton and Darren Newbury. London & New York Bloomsbury, 2015.
- . "Introduction: The Study of Photographic Portraiture in Africa." In *Portraiture and Photography in Africa*, edited by John Peffer and Elisabeth L. Cameron. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- . 'Colored Portraits and White Weddings' - Vernacular Reception and Popular Photography in South Africa." Paper presented at the *Beyond the Iconic Image: A Workshop on Microhistory and Photography*, Wits University 2013.
- . "Réflexions Sur La Photographie Sud-Africaine Et L'extra-Photographique." *Africultures* 88 (2012).
- Perrot, Michelle. "Introduction." In *History of Private Life: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, edited by Philippe Ariès and George Duby: Belknap Press, 1994.
- Philips, Ray. *The Bantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand*. Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1938.
- Pinney, Christopher. "Introduction: "How the Other Half..."." In *Photography's Other Histories*, edited by Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.
- . *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Pinney, Christopher, and Nicolas Peterson. *Photography's Other Histories*: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Poole, Deborah. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*: Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Posel, Deborah. "Races to Consume: Revisiting South Africa's History of Race, Consumption and the Struggle for Freedom." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 2 (2010): 157-75.
- . "Social History and the Wits History Workshop." *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 29-40.
- . "Marriage at the Drop of a Hat': Housing and Partnership in South Africa's Urban African Townships, 1920s-1960s." *History Workshop Journal* no. 61 (Spring) (2006): 57-76.
- . "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa." *African Studies Review* 44, no. 2, Ways of Seeing: Beyond the New Nativism (2001): 87-113.
- Priamo, Luís. "Fotografía y Vida Privada, 1870-1930." In *Historia De La Vida Privada En La Argentina*, edited by Fernando Devoto and Marta Maderos, 275-99: Taurus, 1999.
- Radhakrishnan, Smitha. "'Time to Show Our True Colors': The Gendered Politics of "Indianness" in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Gender & Society* 19, no. 2 (2005): 262-81.
- . "'African Dream": The Imaginary of Nation, Race, and Gender in South African Intercultural Dance." *Feminist Studies* 29, no. 3 (2003): 529-37.
- Ranger, Terence. "Colonialism, Consciousness and the Camera." *Past and Present* 171, no. 1 (2001): 203-15.

- Rassool, Ciraj. "The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa." *Kronos* 26 (2000): 1-21.
- Rauwerda, Antje. "Whitewashing *Drum* Magazine (1951-1959): Advertising Race and Gender." *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 21, no. 3 (2007): 393-404.
- Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Rillon, Ophélie. "La Mode Des Jeunes Urbains Dans Les Années 1960-1970 Au Mali." *Genèses* 81 (2010): 64-83.
- Robinson, Jenny. *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development* Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.
- Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. London: Sage, 2012.
- Ross, Robert. *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750-1870: A Tragedy of Manners*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- . "Culture in the Historiography of Modern South Africa." *Leidschrift* 4, no. 3 (1988): 5-16.
- . "The Politics of African Household Budget Studies in South Africa." (forthcoming).
- Salo, Elaine Rosa. "Respectable Mothers, Tough Men and Good Daughters: Producing Persons in Manenberg Township South Africa." PhD, Emory University, 2004.
- Samuelson, Megan. "The Urban Palimpsest: Re-Presenting Sophiatown." *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 44, no. 1 (2008): 63-75.
- Sandwith, Corinne. "Contesting a 'Culture' of Respectability: Anti-Colonial Resistance in the Western Cape, 1935-1950." *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa* 16, no. 1 (2011): 33-60.
- Sapiro, H. "African Urbanisation and Struggles against Municipal Control in Brakpan, 1920-1958. ." PhD, University of Witwatersrand, 1989.
- Schapiro, Meyer. "Style." In *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist and Society*. New York: Braziller 1994.
- Schneider, Jürg. "The Topography of the Early History of African Photography." *History of Photography* 34, no. 2 (2010): 134-46.
- Schoeman, Karel. *The Face of the Country : A South African Family Album 1860-1910*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1996.
- Seeling, Thomas. "Introduction: Studio Africa." In *Life and after-Life in Benin*, edited by Alex van Gelder and Okwui Enwezor. London: Phaidon Press, 2005.
- Sekula, Allan, and Victor Burgin. "Thinking Photography." *Thinking Photography* (1982).
- Simone, AbdouMalik. *For the City yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Smith, Shawn Michelle. *Photography on the Color Line: W.E.B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "The Legs of the Countess." *October* 39 (1986).
- Spigel, Lynn. *Welcome to the Dreamhouse: Popular Media and Postwar Suburbs*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Spyer, Patricia, and Mary Margaret Steedly. *Images That Move*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2013.

- Stanton, John. "Snapshots on Dreaming: Photographs of the Past and Present." In *Museums and Source Communities : A Routledge Reader*, edited by Laura Peers and Alison Brown, 136-52. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Stokes, Martin. "Introduction." In *Ethnicity, Identity, Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, edited by Martin Stokes. Oxford: Berg, 1994.
- Stolten, Hans Erik. "Introduction." In *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa*, edited by Hans Erik Stolten. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2006.
- Strassler, Karen. *Refracted Visions: Popular Photography and National Modernity in Java*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Themba, Can. "The Girl with High-Heel Shoes." In *The World of Can Themba*, edited by Essop Patel, 130-32. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1985.
- Thomas, Lynn M. "Skin Lighteners, Black Consumers, and Jewish Entrepreneurs in South Africa." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 73 (2012): 259-83.
- . "Love, Sex, and the Modern Girl in 1930s Southern Africa." In *Love in Africa*, edited by Lynn M. Thomas and Jennifer Cole, 31-57. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- . "The Modern Girl and Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa." *Journal of African History* 47, no. 3 (2006): 461-90.
- Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage, 1966.
- Thompson, Glen. "California Dreaming: Surfing Culture, the Sixties and the Displacement of Identity in South Africa." Paper presented at the *The 23rd Biennial Conference of the Southern African Historical Society*, Durban 2011.
- Tinkler, Penny. *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2012.
- Torr, Louise. "Providing for The "Better-Class Native": The Creation of Lamontville." *South African Geographical Journal* 69 (1987): 31-46.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Van Onselen, Charles. *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982.
- Vansina, Jan. *Oral Traditions: A Study in Historical Methodology*. Chicago: Aldine Transaction, 1965.
- Walker, Cheryl. "Part Special Issue: Reflections on the 1913 Land Act and Its Legacies, 1913-2013." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 4 (2014): 655-779.
- Wendl, Tobias. "Entangled Tradition: Photography and the History of Media in Ghana." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 39 (2001): 78-101.
- . "Future Remembrance: Photography and Image Arts in Ghana." Germany, 1998.
- Werner, Jean-François. "Photography and Individualization in Contemporary Africa: An Ivorian Case-Study." *Visual Anthropology* 14, no. 3 (2001): 251-68.
- Witz, Leslie, and Ciraj Rassool. "Making Histories." *Kronos* 34, no. 1 (2008): 6-15.
- Wood, Nancy. "Memory's Remains: Les Lieux De Memoires." *History and Memory* 6, no. 1 (1994): 123-49.
- Zeitlyn, David. "Photographic Props/ the Photographer as Prop: The Many Faces of Jacques Tousselle." *History and Anthropology* 21, no. 4 (2010): 453-77.
- Zezeza, Tiyambe, and Cassndra R. Veney. *Leisure in Urban Africa*. Trenton: African World Press, 2003.