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Munsieville

Bianca van Heerden
579760

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Fine Arts by Research.

Johannesburg 2018.

Declaration

I, **Bianca van Heerden, 579760**, declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in Fine Arts by Research, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, nor has it been prepared with the assistance of any other body or organisation or person outside of the University of the Witwatersrand.



3 day of December 2018

Abstract

Munsieville is a township west of Johannesburg, South Africa, located on the outskirts of the town previously known as Krugersdorp, which since February 2001 falls under the Mogale City Municipality. In 2014 a largely Afrikaans-speaking group living in Coronation Park – a caravan park in Krugersdorp – were forced to relocate from the space they named 'die kamp' (Afrikaans for 'the camp') to nearby Munsieville in an attempt to upgrade the dilapidated campsite that was in the process of being revamped. Coronation Park had become home to this group of people for nearly a decade, and they were hesitant to move. At the time of writing this thesis in 2018, the group was living in informal structures on a plot of land in Munsieville in hope of receiving Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing from the local municipality. The creative component of this thesis is a photographic project that focusses on Munsieville, in particular a section known as and referred to by its residents as the 'Pangokamp' (Afrikaans for 'Pango Camp'). *Munsieville* centres on a photographic project that explores the idea of 'home' as a central concept of place. As is argued in this thesis, and what I attempt to show in the creative work, is that the need for establishing one's identity as a person is connected to the notion of feeling like one belongs in a space. I created a body of creative work that explores ideas around identity within what the residents call their 'community' – variously self-identified in a broad sense as changes within their identification around whiteness and Afrikanerness in post-apartheid South Africa. Through analysing theories on 'home' by Peter Somerville, Mary Douglas, Hazel Easthope, and other theorists who explore the meaning of home, this thesis also focuses on the use of documentary photography to create an aesthetic of shock images of poverty by several photographers, including E.G. Malherbe and Dorothea Lange, who are some of the original forerunners of the documentary aesthetic still often used in South Africa.

Acknowledgements and Dedications

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Janet van Heerden.

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Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBD	Central Business District
FFP	Freedom Front Plus
FSA	Farm Security Administration
HNP	Herenigde Nasionale Party
MK	uMkhonto weSizwe
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
TRA	Temporary Relocation Areas
WCI	Wits City Institute
TPO	The Point of Order

Introduction

This dissertation examines how notions of 'home' and 'identity' constitute belonging in the Pangokamp, the informal extension of a section of Munsieville, in Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg. Munsieville is one of the oldest townships in Gauteng, founded in 1903 under Ordinance 58 as a 'Native Location' (Khumalo, undated: 6-7). Identified as a 'black spot'[1] in apartheid terms, many residents of Munsieville were relocated to form Kagiso in the 1990s as influx control laws broke down and Krugersdorp grew. Krugersdorp forms part of a string of mining towns on the West Rand, where gold mining led to settlements being established west of South Africa's sprawling metropolis of Johannesburg. I shall discuss the idea of 'homeliness' that is asserted through the self-fashioning of homes in the space of the Pangokamp in Munsieville and how this is an indication of belonging. Since 2014 the group of people involved in my research have faced displacement, and in 2018, are now living in the space of the camp in a condition of permanence/impermanence. This dissertation sets out to explore their patterns of life and home-making, and to reflect how this might challenge and question the manner that they are and have been represented in the media.

[1] "In the period after 1948, the apartheid government orchestrated a dispossession to evict and relocate Africans from their urban homes in areas that were areas referred to as 'black spots'. This form of forced removal included as many as 3.5 million to be evicted in the process of the reorganisation of rural land to accommodate the evictees" (Vigne, 1997: 94).

Afrikaner Trots

My interest in the life and home-making of the current residents of Munsieville comes from many different areas in my life. As a child I grew up hearing how both my mother and late father were brought up in poor homes. My grandma, Stephanie Roodt (my mother's mother), raised my mother and her six other siblings on a state pension after the death of my grandfather. My mother was only four when her father passed away and my mother, my aunts and uncles grew up in a poor home led by a single mother. Even though they grew up in poverty, my mother always told me how my grandma made sure her brothers and sisters always looked respectable. My father, similarly, always told me how my grandmother on his side, Hansie van Heerden, always made sure that they were dressed properly. She always said to him that "you can be poor, but you need to be clean and neat and poor". In other words, if you're not neat and tidy, as a poor person you will not be seen as someone with dignity, integrity and pride – you would not be respected. I also used to hear that "seep en water kos jou niks nie" (soap and water do not cost you anything).

In her article, '(Dis)Empowered Whiteness: Unwhitely Spaces and the Production of the Good White Home', anthropologist Christi Kruger (2016) argues that poor whites feel pressure to be neat and clean to fall into the notion of being a 'good white'. Kruger (see also Teppo, 2004) uses the term, 'good white' as a description of what was expected and reinforced by Afrikaner nationalist projects to uplift poor whites during the 'poor white' crisis of the 1930s. These upliftment projects were the result of the Carnegie Commission's findings (which will be expanded on in Chapter 2) included the provision of homes and the creation of jobs specifically for poor whites as well as the church providing a basis for what was seen as good whitely morals based on a strong Calvinist point of view, Johann Grosskopf (1932) in *Die Arm Blanke Vraagstuk in Suid Afrika: Verslag van die Carnegie Kommissie (Deel I). Ekonomiese verslag: Plattelandsverandering en Plaasverlating* stated that the Carnegie Commission found that the poor white needed to be uplifted by being educated in "thrift, self-sufficiency, temperance, health, a sense of togetherness and

racial pride". Racial pride included cleanliness and a sense of pride of being a white Afrikaner – qualities that were expected of a 'good white' (Teppo, 2004: 13).

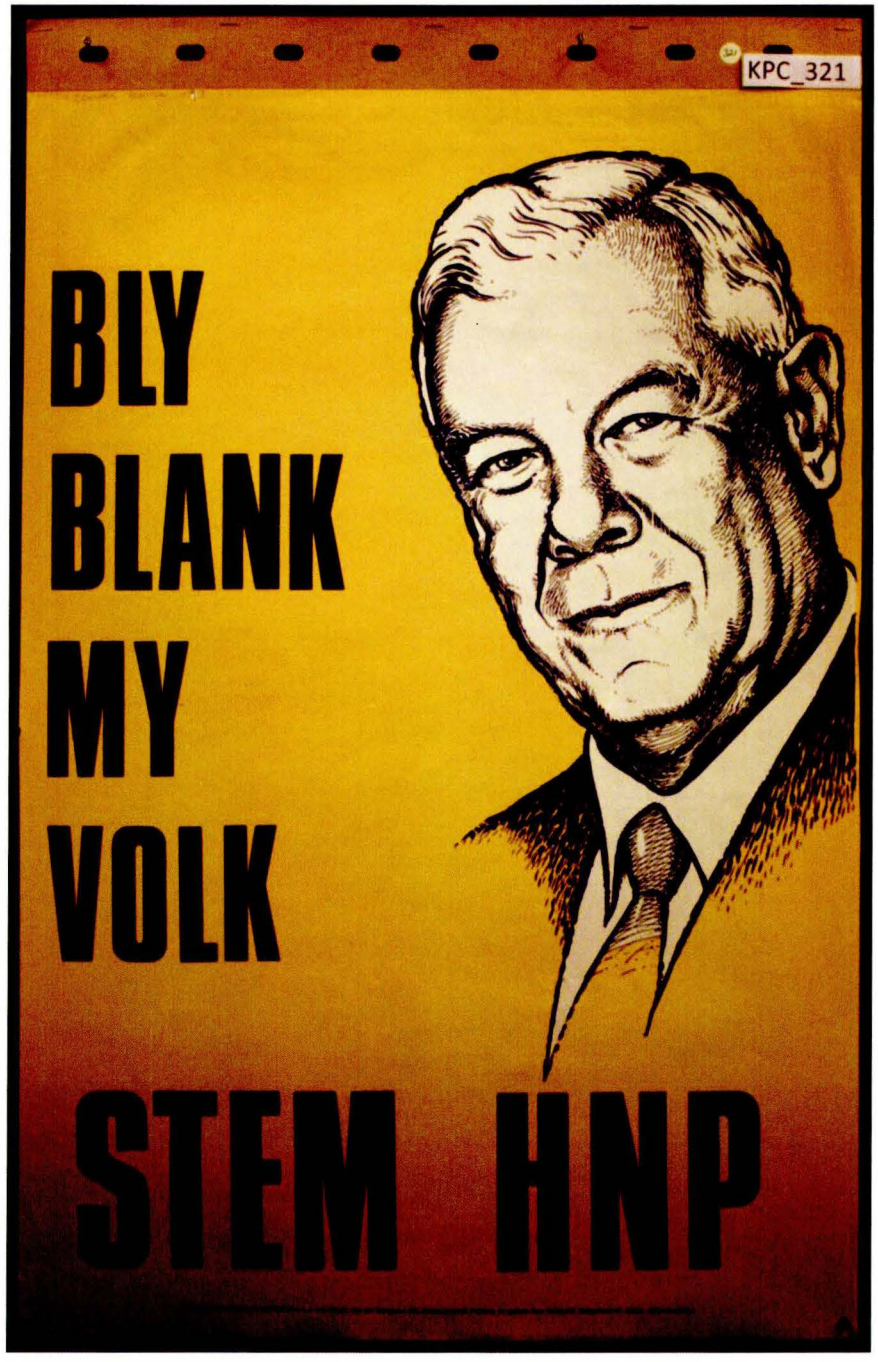


Figure 1: *Poster by the Herenigde Nasionale Party, Calling for Votes*, Undated.

Being physically clean also infers the racist view of a race staying 'clean', i.e. pure, which is echoed in the Herenigde Nasionale Party's (HNP) (Reunited National Party) 1992 slogan, "bly blank my volk" (stay white my people), as seen in Figure 1. Upliftment projects put pressure on whites to act 'whitely' by being a proud Afrikaner who believes in maintaining whiteness and steers clear from interacting with people from other racial groups and preserves their own 'Afrikaner Trots'. The concept of 'Afrikaner Trots' (Afrikaner pride) resonates in the work of historians Hermann Giliomee and Annika Teppo with reference to the idea of nationalist and ethnic pride amongst Afrikaners that emerged in South Africa in the early 1900s, in the build up to the racialised minority identification that culminated in statutory apartheid in 1948 (Giliomee, 2014: 486; Teppo, 2015: 50). These upliftment programmes were put into place not only to ensure a united sense of Afrikaner pride, but also to prevent "racial degeneration" believed to be caused mostly by poverty, and by black and white people living alongside each other (Teppo, 2004: 31). Thus Kruger argues, this concept applies to the ways in which many poor people keep their homes spotlessly clean (Kruger, 2016: 52). As Kruger has argued:

> *Cleanliness, morals and sexuality, family life and structures, and bodily appearances were all anchored, albeit in different ways, in domestic spaces that had been created with the explicit intent of segregating people racially and socially from those considered to be un-whitely* (Kruger, 2016: 52).

In the above quote, Kruger refers to an ingrained sense of categorisation and an expectancy of the poor white body to be what is 'good', or ultimately, a 'good white' (ibid.). Not being clean, not acting 'morally', and being promiscuous, then, would indicate that the poor white does not adhere to the standards of being a 'good white'. In her ethnographic study of poor white suburbs in Cape Town, Annika Teppo, in 'Church rules? The Lines of Ordentlikheid among Stellenbosch Afrikaners' (2015), looks at the "construction" of the 'good white' and the role of "ordentlikheid" (respectability) during the apartheid years, and how these ideals and expectations still remain in post-apartheid South Africa (Teppo, 2015: 13). I use the term 'post-

apartheid' here in all its complexity, as a continuity – not just in the temporal sense, but also to acknowledge, as many scholars have argued, that the end of official apartheid did not necessarily indicate that the effects of apartheid have ended (Norval, 2003: 265). Thus 'ordentlikheid' has remained as a crucial element in Afrikaner culture through apartheid, and into post-apartheid South Africa. In 'Whiteness, Racism, and Afrikaner Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa' (2012) Cornel Verwey and Michael Quayle note that Afrikaners, in many instances, have begun to claim African identity as they attempt to cut the ties with their apartheid past as a means of 'sanitising' their historical wrong doings (Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 560). There is also, according to Verwey and Quayle, a sense of asserting the notion of linking whiteness directly to Afrikaner identity as a strategy to distance Afrikaner identity from black African identity as a claim to white privilege (Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 560).

In many ways I consider that much of my identity has been informed by the space of the house in which I was raised. I grew up living in a middle-class neighbourhood in Wentworth Park, Krugersdorp – a suburb that was previously categorised as a 'White Group Area' during apartheid. I still live in the same face brick house with its 'sink' (corrugated iron) roof, typical of the miners' homes in the area. This has been my and my family's home for over 26 years. Living in Krugersdorp, I encountered poverty in and around the suburb I grew up in. I also encountered people begging at the traffic lights and intersections, and coming past our house asking for food or money as they told us they were homeless, or that they lived "by at [sic] the camp by the dam", which was in Coronation Park. Others I met at local homeless shelters and at soup kitchens in Krugersdorp.

Seeing these people and listening to the way other middle-class people who live in Krugersdorp used to talk about them, sparked my interest in learning more about their personal struggles and stories. I first visited Coronation Park in 2012. I decided to approach the space, then, as someone with an open mind. As a person who has always followed the news on Coronation Park, I had an interest to learn more about

the space. As I walked through the narrow paths leading to each house, I saw that housing structures differed in the park: some lived in tents, others in caravans, wooden shacks and self-constructed dwellings. Comparing this situation to my own, it sparked thoughts around my own home, and what makes a house a home.

The old mining house I grew up in was built around the 1960s, and my father moved into the house in his early thirties. My father, who grew up in a Nationalist home, still had Calvinist, (Afrikaner) nationalist views on South Africa, and had always been outspoken when it came to issues of race, gender roles and class, with a focus on his Afrikaner trots, and on us being an 'ordentlike' (decent) God-fearing family. His focus was always on cleanliness in the home and on a person's outer appearance. He used to remind me of that when we saw people begging at the traffic lights. He would also comment on their appearance, and I, not knowing better, used to keep quiet and listen. He saw it as a 'skande' (a shame) to be poor and dirty, because he grew up in a home where his mother took a lot of pride in how her children were dressed and how outwardly clean they appeared to be. As I grew older I realised how desperately the Afrikaner wants to hold onto the pride that comes with 'ordentlikheid', and how this notion creates something for the Afrikaner to fall back on as a tool for the reassurance of whiteness.

Teppo notes that the role of 'ordentlikheid' is directly associated with whiteness, and that whiteness is not only dependent on skin colour, but on a culturally defined manner of living. This means that you are seen as a 'good white', or as an 'ordentlike' white when: you and your home are clean and neat, an outward symbolisation that you live a moral and sexually 'superior' lifestyle; and that you dress neatly (Teppo, 2004: 16). After the Carnegie Commission's Enquiry in the early 1920s (elaborated on in Chapter 2), there was a lot of pressure placed on poor Afrikaner groups by the rising Nationalist Party regime to act in a 'respectable' manner. In apartheid South Africa, social engineering policies were used by church and state with the aim to raise the socio-economic standing of poor whites to make them live the life of a 'good white' (Giliomee, 2003; Teppo, 2004). That is to say that

through this artificially constructed upliftment programme by the Nationalist Party government, it was expected of them to develop a certain mind-set. This mentality involved pride, cleanliness and whiteness as being directly correlated to each other, as this was necessary for Afrikaners to thrive and develop into a dominant minority group.

Linking to the concept of Afrikaner pride, with its associations of cleanliness to the notion of 'ordentlikheid', is a central theme that has emerged throughout my fieldwork and research for this thesis. Van der Westhuizen (2017: 8) suggests that this Afrikaans word can be associated with terms like 'respectability, presentability, good manners and politeness'. In Van der Westhuizen's book, *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*, this term is applied in both a normative and an analytical manner. Now, in present day South Africa, 'ordentlikheid' is still expected from Afrikaners, and thus it is important that I apply the term 'ordentlikheid' in an analytical manner to the Pangokamp, since, as a white person, if you deviate from these social and cultural expectations, you are seen as though you are living an 'un-whitely' lifestyle, and this is deemed shameful.

I argue that the fear of being 'un-whitely' is associated with the anxiety that was present for Afrikaners during Nationalist Party rule with the racist dread of white and black people 'mixing' (living together). Here I argue that 'ordentlikheid', Afrikaner trots and the 'skande' (shame) are directly linked to the Melissa Steyn's idea of 'White Anxiety'. White Anxiety is the fear that one's whiteness is being threatened by loss of privilege (Steyn, 2004: 153). In the case of poor white Afrikaners, this manifest in worries around not living up to the standards of what is expected of an Afrikaner. This anxiety can manifest in the individual poor, and in outsiders expecting the poor to live up to the standard of 'ordentlikheid', and to have Afrikaner trots.

In Teppo's writings about the concept of 'ordentlikheid', she states the following to expand on this concept:

> *In certain instances and as a variation of the idealised norm, ordentlikheid is bound to 'race' and class. While the rules of respectability are expressed differently in various communities, they compel every member of the community to perform accordingly* (Teppo, 2015: 316).

And in the case of the residents of Coronation Park, who now live in the Pangokamp at Munsieville, 'ordentlikheid' is strongly connected to pride in the form of neatness and cleanliness. An article, *Video: Hof beslis: witplakkers moet uit* (Myburg & Golden, 2014) in the local newspaper, the *Krugersdorp News*, featured the following quote by an unnamed resident before their removal to Munsieville:

> *Armoede beteken nie dat ons nie trots is nie; daar is van ons wat steeds skoon wil wees* (Myburg & Golden, 2014).

> *[Being poor doesn't mean that we are not a proud people; some of us still want to be clean.]*

The link between cleanliness, pride and whiteness is highlighted in the media representation above, showing the link between pride and cleanliness for the interviewee. This can be linked to the notion of 'ordentlikheid', as cleanliness is a significant factor that contributes to being a 'good white'. Having the status of being a 'good white' puts one, as an Afrikaner, in the position of being 'socially acceptable' (Teppo, 2015: 13).

I have been interested in these residents, their social practices, and the ways in which they self-identify in post-apartheid South Africa where, as Christi van der Westhuizen puts it, "Afrikaner Nationalism is in despair" (2017: 8). A key aspect of my research in Munsieville constitutes a series of informal interviews, conducted in Afrikaans, in which I explained to residents about the research I was doing, and gained their permission to make notes of our conversations and use their personal accounts for the purposes of this thesis. I obtained ethical clearance from the Human Research Ethics Clearance Committee (RECC) at the University of the Witwatersrand that allowed me to conduct these informal interviews in the Pangokamp. In the writing contained in this thesis, I have selected to state the interviewees' first names only, as a way of giving each person an active voice, but at the same time providing them with a measure of anonymity. I have presented extracts from my interviews in the original Afrikaans, accompanied by English translations.

Over the last two years I have spent a substantial amount of time in Munsieville, and whenever I've arrived at these homes, people have frequently told me to 'excuse the mess', even when, at times, there was no mess at all. One of the residents of the camp, Riaan, a young man who I interviewed in his home, expressed his feelings towards a clean home in the insert below. Typically on arrival at Riaan's house to speak to him and his mom, Elma, he was busy cooking, cleaning or doing washing. He hardly ever took a break, and only did to smoke or to tell me about his day at college, or about a new guy in his life. In the piece below, Riaan told me about his role in the home and his mother's lessons in 'ordentlikheid':

> *Ek het altyd gedink my ma is lui. Ek moet heeltyd die wasgoed doen, skoon maak en kos maak. Maar ek het die laaste ruk agtergekom dit is omdat sy my wil leer oor hoe om as 'n grootmens te lewe. Ek kan skottelgoed was, klere was en stryk, ek kan kinders oppas. Wat as ek 'n kind van my eie het? Nou*

kan ek na kinders kyk. Ek is baie geseënd om so groot te word. Ander kinders leer nooit hierdie goed nie en kan skaars hul eie klere opvou, want hulle het 'n ousie wat dit vir hulle doen. My ma het my geleer hoe om ordentlik te lewe en te wees. Die plek het my baie geleer (Riaan, 20 December, 2017*).*

[I always thought that my mom was lazy. I always have to do the washing, clean the house and cook food. But recently I realised that it is because she wants to teach me how to live like an adult. I can wash the dishes, wash and iron my clothes and look after kids. What if I have a kid of my own? Now I can look after kids. I am very blessed because I grew up like this. Other kids cannot even fold their own clothes, because they have a maid who will do it for them. My mom taught me about living and being 'ordentlik'. This place has taught me a lot.]

Riaan takes pride in cleaning his mother's home. He also talks a lot about being 'ordentlik', as he prides himself in the manners he was taught and his focus on cleanliness and neatness, on his physical appearance and in the ways he tends to the spaces in his mother's home.

Ek het tot my eie wasmasjien; ek geniet wasgoed doen. As ek oor naweke hier is was ek ons almal se wasgoed en pak dit weg. Ek was dit en ons dra altyd 'n skoon stel klere. Ons lyk altyd skoon en netjies hier tussen die stof. My ma het my reg groot gemaak. Die ander hier in die kamp dink ek's 'stuck-up' maar ek is nie, ek doen net my wasgoed, hou die huis skoon en 'mind' my eie besigheid (Riaan, 20 December, 2017).

[I even have my own washing machine; I enjoy doing the washing. When I am here (at home in Munsieville) I do everyone's (his family's) washing and I pack

it away. I wash it and we all wear a clean set of clothing. We always look clean and neat here in the dust. My mom raised me well. The others here in the camp think that I am stuck up but I'm not, I just do my washing and keep the house clean and I mind my own business.]

Riaan and many others in Munsieville connect 'ordentlikheid' to the way they were raised, as do I – my father always made the idea of "seep en water kos jou niks" clear to me.

Photographing Coronation Park and Munsieville

In my previous work for my undergraduate project at the University of the Witwatersrand, titled *Coronation Park* (Van Heerden, 2013), I did not understand the importance of acquainting myself with the residents of Coronation Park. Upon arriving at Coronation Park, it was more important to me to take photographs, and I was unaware of whether that was invasive or not than talking, asking questions and closely considering the space and its possible meanings. Coronation Park had so much for me to explore and delve into, but I did not see what the place could mean conceptually at that time.

In the beginning of my Honours project, I was drawn to the black and white aesthetic of portraiture that can be seen in the work of photographer Roger Ballen, especially in his *Dorps* (1986) and *Platteland* (1994) series. Roger Ballen is an American-born photographer who is known for his black and white photographs of South Africa's poor, many of whom are disabled or mentally 'unbalanced' (Colberg, 2018). I was taken with the 'aesthetic' that was present in his images. The old, dirty, rusty look of the interiors in his photographs fascinated me. This aesthetic was more interesting to me than getting to know who I was photographing at that time. I shall expand on the

concept of the black and white aesthetic that is present in Ballen's and others' photography in Chapter 3.

Photographing *Coronation Park* (2013) in my Honours year, as seen in Figure 2, I started out with a documentary approach that involved close-up, almost invasive black and white images of residents of Coronation Park. I portrayed my subjects in a manner that was influenced by my fascination with the physical appearance of images by American Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographers, in particular those by Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange. Evans and Lange pioneered documentary photography, capturing images of poor whites in rural America, and used photography as a device for the surveillance and indictment of society (Meltzer, 1978: 230).



Figure 2: Bianca van Heerden, *Coronation Park*, 2013.

I was attracted to the manner in which Lange and Evans were hired for the purpose of showing elements of poverty to the public as part of the FSA's motives to create awareness for 'the plight of the poor white'. My *Coronation Park* (2013) series was, to an extent, motivated by the notion of showing the place and its people, rather than looking at different ways of visually exploring Coronation Park. In this Masters dissertation, which builds on my earlier work, I became aware of the power of the photographic image and, as I shall argue throughout this dissertation, many images that feature in the media and photographs by artists and photographers of poor whites are taken in such a way that evoke emotion, very often along the lines that Susan Sontag (1973: 23-24) describes as 'shock pictures' eliciting sympathy, anger and/or shame and, to an extent, I would argue that *Coronation Park* (2013) adhered to the above-mentioned manner of provoking emotion.

I was born in 1992 as apartheid was being dismantled, and was never actually racially classified, although of course my parents had lived their lives under apartheid, and were classified 'White'. The notion of being an Afrikaner under apartheid was for many an elite Nationalist identification, and many people conformed to this, while others rejected the idea of being labelled Afrikaners. Post-apartheid I am aware of my Afrikaner heritage, but identify myself rather as a South African who is Afrikaans speaking.

I feel that being Afrikaans speaking made it easier for me to communicate with residents in Munsieville about their feelings on home, camp and place, but this does not mean that photographing there was easy. It took a toll on me as a photographer and as a person. Some people have been open to me about things that are necessarily relevant to my research, but were emotionally draining to listen to and to come to terms with. The many stories and things I have seen there have also made me aware of my role as an outsider, removed by class, and because I had not experienced poverty first-hand.

It was difficult for me to deal with all of the things the residents told me, when opening up to me in my informal interviews, about their histories and lives. Some interesting aspects of language use in the Pangokamp emerged through my interviews that I was able to understand as an Afrikaans speaker. I am accustomed to the use of certain terms and have paid attention to their use – for instance Pangokamp is used by residents in its Afrikaans form, whereas Coronation Park is used in the English, rather than translated to 'Kroningspark' – and I have been careful to retain this usage in my writing.

My insiderly position was also a hindrance at times where, for example, I was blind to some norms of Afrikaner tradition – such as in funeral rituals, where I am accustomed to the same traditions, and so they did not always stand out for me because I celebrate these events in the same manner. The concept of insider/outsider was extensively explored by linguist Kenneth Pike in 1967, and is synonymous with the terms that he coined, *emic* and *etic*. *Emic* refers to the researcher's insider knowledge and understanding of the group of people being researched, while *etic* refers to the outsider perspective of the researcher (Harris, 1990: 51). I am in a position where I am both an insider and an outsider in relation to the Pangokamp, and I am thus able to write from both an insider and an outsider perspective. I have seen these aspects as being my idea of 'normal', whereas other photographers or researchers might more easily have questioned them, or seen them as interesting subject matter. Learning self-reflexivity and critical self-consciousness has impacted my artmaking process, and it took some time for me to shift my way of visualising and researching in the Pangokamp.

The impact of insider 'epistemology' has been the subject of much discussion in scholarly circles (especially in disciplines such as anthropology) by researchers who are insiders to the population of study, as well as by those who are outsiders. As Sonya Dwyer and Jennifer Buckle argue in their journal article, 'The Space Between:

On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research', "although the researcher might be part of the culture under study, he or she might not understand the subculture, which points to the need for bracketing assumptions" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009: 54). In citing Phyllis Rose (1985: 77), Dwyer and Buckle expand on this concept:

> *There is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one's biases. And if you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing* (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009: 55).

My position as an outsider is determined by different socio-economic position, and because I do not reside in the Pangokamp; but I am an insider because I am able to communicate with residents in a shared home language, which is Afrikaans. For my Masters research into this thesis I started to explore the space of Munsieville with an analytic lens, this being largely due to the discrepancies between what I observed and experienced in the Pangokamp at Munsieville and the way that space was being represented in the media. My role as an insider is formed by the fact that I am a white Afrikaans-speaking female, which made it easy for me to communicate with residents in their own home language.

Being an outsider also had its advantages, as I noticed things about the homes that one would not have recognised if one is a resident of the Pangokamp, as one becomes used to one's own surroundings and they become ordinary. Being an outsider also meant that I was always treated like a guest, and the privilege to be seen as someone who is welcome to enter a home had to be earned. The moment I was welcomed into a home to visit, more often than not I was told, "Jy is altyd welkom" (you are always welcome), and I was often treated like part of the family. Being an outsider also meant that when I was around, people would not necessarily swear or use the kind of 'vulgar' language that I have heard in passing, or they would

excuse themselves if I entered the house if they were busy consuming alcohol or swearing. Thus being an outsider meant that around me there was always a level of formality, pretence even.

In the early stages of my Master's degree, in 2016, I reconnected with families I had previously known in Coronation Park. I went to their new homes in the Pangokamp in Munsieville, and spent time in the space, and became acquainted with more people. My focus in this research has been on the settled area called the Pangokamp, at Munsieville, where those evicted from Coronation Park in 2014 currently reside. The more time I spent in the Pangokamp and the more energy I invested into understanding the issues that were present, the more it became obvious to me that representing the intricacy of the landscape was neither my privilege nor responsibility. The Pangokamp and the rest of Munsieville is a complex space. Through the process of this research it has become clear that part of the project required critical engagement with the sources of information that exist about the place – both through reading the news articles and other sources in the popular media, as well as through individual accounts in my interviews. When photographing something as personal as someone's home and private life, I came to the conclusion that the idea of home is different for everyone.

In my exploration of home in the Pangokamp, my practice as a photographer became directed towards details within the homes, and what these details might mean in the establishment of home, as I explore further in Chapter 3, titled 'Still/Life'. As I became more involved with the Pangokamp, I developed an awareness of what my images reveal about my engagement with the people I have met: this approach is more detail-orientated compared to the way I looked at Coronation Park in 2013. Thus my view on Pangokamp is now no longer focused on who lives in the place, but rather my gaze as an artist has shifted towards the details of place, with the aim to speak differently about the establishment of home and camp than I did before.

I have been interested in how an analogy can be drawn between Coronation Park as it emerged in the years before 2014, to that of a 'Homeless Camp', through the following definition by Charlie Hailey: "Homeless Camps blur the boundaries with conditions of autonomy and control, but arise out of the necessity for space" (Hailey, 2009: 399). The then dilapidated, abandoned recreational park became a refuge for this poor, homeless Afrikaans-speaking community, and was the origin of the establishment of the Pangokamp.

Leading up to the idea of homeliness, I intend to outline the importance of the Pangokamp as a place where the possibility of establishing home is present. By looking at place, one is introduced to the importance of identity and belonging in Munsieville. Sociologist and urban planner, Hazel Easthope (2004: 128), argues that ideas of place are connected to ideas that revolve around, 'collective memory', 'group and individual identity', 'community', 'capital flow' and 'political organisation'. These dynamics are important to individuals who are establishing their homes and identity within a new area and are vital when considering debates by other authors, for example Mamphela Ramphele (1993), Christopher Tilly (1994), Yi-Fu Taun (1976) and Edward Relph (1976) about place and space.

Geographer Edward Relph (1976: 49-53) claims that it is important to have a "sense of place" as it constitutes 'belonging' for individuals as part of a nation or as a cultural group. It is thus important for one to feel like one belongs as an individual in a community, and in a broader sense, in a place, as part of a larger group. I similarly look at the establishment of home through the physical expansion of structures and the decoration of homes in Munsieville's Pangokamp.

I suggest that this area in Munsieville is seen as a permanent/impermanent place, as moving might be possible within the distant or near future, as RDP (Reconstruction and Development Plan) housing might become available for residents to move

into. My argument is that the residents have nevertheless decided to settle in and establish their identities in a physical, more permanent manner, aware of the reality of awaiting RDP housing, but already constructing an identity as a community in their newly allocated home place.

Outline of Chapters

In Chapter 1, titled 'Between Home and Camp', I will discuss themes around home and camp in the Pangokamp. I will give historical context to Coronation Park and Munsieville, both as camps and homes. Here I will also expand on nature of the permanence/impermanence of the home, and of the group of people who refer to themselves as the Pangokamp, as well as on the dynamics within Munsieville, and how attempts to re-establish home were initialised. Drawing strongly on my own field notes, quotes from news articles, and other online archival systems as means of documentation, I will expand on theoretical frameworks around camp and home in the moments before, during and after the group's move from Coronation Park to Munsieville.

Chapter 2, 'Locating Photography and Theory in Practice', begins with a section on self-expression within the home space, which is an extension of the themes around home and homeliness discussed in Chapter 1. This section of Chapter 2 flows into a discussions around photographic theory – Documenting Poverty – and the section The Documentary Aesthetic, which will look at debates around documentary photography and the representation of the poor by looking at the photographic collections: *Migrant Mother*, by Dorothea Lange, and bodies of work by Roger Ballen to explore and what they assert aesthetically. This chapter also includes a discussion around Stacey Kranitz's interrogation of the documentary mode. This chapter aims to expand on questions around the use of documentary images of poverty in the media, and by artists locally and internationally.

Chapter 3, 'Still/Life' focuses on my own work, and begins with images of the portraits, objects and still-life settings I photographed in the Pangokamp. In 'Still/Life' I will discuss my process, and the various artists and ways of looking that influenced this body of work. I will focus on certain images that sparked my interest in the 'still' and 'life' themes, and discuss why I have chosen to look at the Pangokamp from this

point of view. I will expand on my interest in still-life images, the reason why I chose portraiture, and the methodology behind photographing the objects.

Chapter 1

Between Home and Camp

In late 2014, when the notorious private security company known as the Red Ants were deployed to evict the residents of Coronation Park from their homes, residents were allocated space across town in a 'Planned Camp' in Munsieville. Munsieville is a township that was a designated space for black people during the apartheid years (Proctor, 1986: 168). Established by Ordinance 58 of 1903 in the municipality of Krugersdorp as a 'native location', it became known as 'The Old Location', and grew out of informal settlements inhabited by mine labourers on the outskirts of the original mining town of Krugersdorp, after gold was discovered in 1887. The story of its official establishment mirrors the efforts made across South Africa to racially segregate towns and cities and provide housing in the years leading up to statutory apartheid in 1948 and the Group Areas Act of 1950. The conditions in the location led the Johannesburg public health department to note in 1934 that the Council had "not hitherto taken a very active interest in the welfare of the residents of the location". In 1937, The Old Location was disestablished, and a new planned sub-economic housing scheme was implemented. Subsequently, The Old Location was renamed Munsieville in the 1930s after the chief medical officer and sanitary inspector of Krugersdorp, James Munsie, who was known to have overseen this scheme and had improved living conditions (Proctor, 1986: 168).

By the 1980s, because of its proximity to the white suburbs of Krugersdorp, and with a growing population, Munsieville had grown substantially and was overcrowded. It was identified as a 'black spot'[2] in the Apartheid government's terms, and was threatened with destruction and the removal of its residents to Kagiso. Residents of Munsieville fought against relocation and the place survived as one of only two black townships that resisted relocation in the then Transvaal Province. As the history of

[2] "In the period after 1948, the apartheid government orchestrated a dispossession to evict and relocate Africans from their urban homes in areas that were areas referred to as 'black spots'. This form of forced removal included as many as 3.5 million to be evicted in the process of the reorganisation of rural land to accommodate the evictees" (Vigne, 1997: 94).

Munsieville shows, it is a place that has long experienced insecurity of tenure and impermanence in the town of Krugersdorp. By 2011 the official national Census, as seen in Figure 3, showed the racial breakdown of Munsieville, where 19 people residing in Munsieville were counted as 'white'. This change, albeit small, in all likelihood prompted the idea to relocate the informal residents of Coronation Park to Munsieville

Munsieville

Main Place 763005 from Census 2011

Area: 1.55 km²

Population: 19128 (12315.74 per km²)

Households: 6116 (3937.84 per km²)

Gender	People	Percentage
Female	9675	50.58%
Male	9453	49.42%

Population group	People	Percentage
Black African	18920	98.91%
Coloured	116	0.61%
Other	45	0.24%
Indian or Asian	29	0.15%
White	19	0.10%

First language	People	Percentage
Setswana	12846	67.16%
isiZulu	1277	6.68%
isiXhosa	1243	6.50%
Sesotho	1018	5.32%
English	535	2.80%
Sepedi	530	2.77%
isiNdebele	333	1.74%
Xitsonga	329	1.72%
Tshivenda	303	1.58%
Other	272	1.42%
Afrikaans	265	1.39%
Sign language	119	0.62%
SiSwati	59	0.31%

Made up of:

Name	Type	Population	Area (km²)
Munsieville SP	Sub Place	19128	1.55

Figure 3: Census, South Africa, 2012.

When in 2014 a piece of land in Munsieville was set aside in Madiba Road extension by the Mogale City Municipality for the relocation of Coronation Park residents, those who resisted removal were forced to move by the Red Ants. The Red Ants are a military style eviction squad whose infamous red uniforms earned them the name 'red ants' (Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008: 165; Decoteau, 2013: 247) and were employed by the local Mogale City Municipality (Golden, 2014). This eviction squad is synonymous with the eviction of people in informal settlements and "dismantling illegal shack settlements" (Decoteau, 2013: 247). Suddenly Munsieville, the childhood home of Archbishop Emeritus and Nobel Peace Prize recipient Desmond Tutu, ironically become better known as a site of relocation and the presence of 'Poor White' poverty post-apartheid (Burrows, 2016) in a road named after Nelson Mandela.

Camp as Home

As if this ironic twist was not enough, that 'Poor Whites' were relocated to the space of the previous 'black spot' on a road named 'Madiba Road' after Nelson Mandela's clan name, the new space was then named the Pangokamp (Afrikaans for Pango Camp), as seen in the Google Maps image in Figure 4 (Google Inc, 2018). Pangokamp corresponds with the name of one of the African National Congress (ANC) military camps in exile in Angola. This conceptual reference that interplays between notions of home and camp is also evident in Coronation Park, which was established in celebration of King Edward VIII's Coronation on what is widely believed to have been the site of a concentration camp during the Anglo-Boer War. The presence of the Pangokamp in Munsieville in the present day can be read through this association with the idea of the camp as home, as a space of impermanence, of incarceration and, at times, of violence.

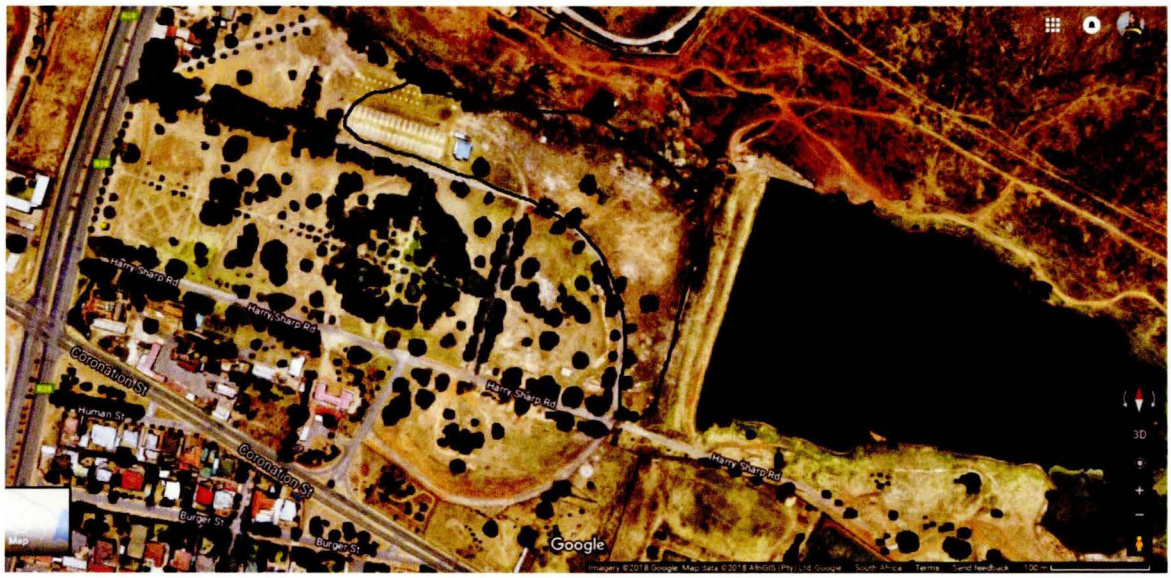


Figure 4: Google Inc, *Coronation Park,* 2018.

As Charlie Hailey (2008) defined it, a 'Planned Camp' is usually intended for displaced individuals as they are planned camps that facilitate security as well as the provision of service (Hailey, 2008: 328). The Pangokamp, according to Hailey's (2009) definition is thus a 'Planned Camp' as it falls under these specifications, offering shelter, portable toilets and running water in taps that are strategically placed throughout the camp. With the forced evictions that residents of the Pangokamp experienced in 2014, they had to re-establish their idea of place and space within the area they now had to call their home. Coronation Park had been their home for over ten years previously, where they had raised their children, and it had been more conveniently located, close to supermarkets, shops and a hospital (Serumula: 2014). A community had formed through their common socio-economic position that drove them to establish their homes in the Coronation Park. Now some four years after being relocated to Munsieville, the residents are settled again, and their experiences of home in the Pangokamp are explored in this chapter through interviews and the use of key texts.

The word 'camp' has many connotations to it. Some see camping as a fun activity and a way to spend time with friends and family. Hailey (2008: xiii) describes camping as a way to escape and retreat, or to find ourselves. Anthropologist Christian Williams describes camps as being "a central component in a globally integrated system for governing people displaced from countries of origin" (2013: 1). In *The Migrant Image: The Art and Politics of Documentary During Global Crisis*, T.J. Demos describes a camp as being "a signifier for where bare life resides" (2013: 229).

Globally, the use of refugee camps is present in areas such as Palestine, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, and many others (Agier: 2002). Refugee camps are usually created in a situation of emergency as a 'protective device' for fugitives and survivors of war, where food, health and safety is usually provided to its inhabitants (Agier, 2002: 318).

In a broader South African context, one needs to consider the different kinds of camps that existed historically. Paul Trewhela in *The ANC Prison Camps: An audit of Three Years (1990-1993)* (1993) discusses the ANC prison camps as well as their human rights abuses (Trewhela: 13). Trewhela talks about the different ANC camps, like Camp 32 (1993: 21), and the mutinies within the Pango Camp (1993: 19) of Angola. The similarities in name between the Pango Camp of Angola and the Pangokamp that is researched in this dissertation will be discussed further in this chapter.

Noëleen Murray and Leslie Witz (2013) in an article titled 'Camp Lwandle: Rehabilitating a Migrant Labour Hostel at the Seaside', discuss the manner in which migrant labour hostels established in South Africa to accommodate male workers, are often referred to as a reminder of the living conditions within labour camps in the apartheid years in South Africa. According to Christian Williams (2013) in his journal

article 'Introduction: Thinking Southern Africa from "The Camp"', "Prisons, labour compounds, rural homelands and urban townships each have camp-like qualities that have shaped the terrains of resistance struggles and nationalist movements, but they have not been theorised as kinds of camps". The settlement that emerged in Coronation Park in the late 1990s was what I would describe as a 'Homeless Camp', as it was a result of a group of Afrikaans-speaking people who established their informal homes in the space of the caravan park at Coronation Park since they had no permanent place to live (Hailey, 2009: 399). Applying Williams' (2013) definition to the case of the move from Coronation Park to Munsieville, it was a move from one kind of camp to another, as the South African 'township' in itself also has "camp-like qualities" of impermanence.

There are also other negative connotations to the word camp, such as the concentration camps, where Afrikaner civilians were held and tortured by the British army during the Second Anglo-Boer War (Giliomee, 2003: 254; Van Heyningen: 2013), and Nazi concentration camps, where an estimated 2.3 million people were murdered between 1933 and 1945 (Wachsmann, 2015: 6).

The idea of photographing a camp is not unique to this project, as artists like Ahlam Shibli, a Palestinian photographer, explores and questions notions around the representation of people in Palestinian refugee camps (Demos, 2013: 229). In *Death* (2012), Shibli presented 68 photographs of what she refers to as "Palestinians' demand for recognition" after the Second Intifada, in the Palestinian uprising against the colonial power in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Shibli used photography to document these happenings, by including images of objects, streets, paintings, photographs, posters and other memorabilia in the homes of martyrs' families. This series is a depiction of temporary spaces that have become permanent for some, and depicts the establishment and assertion of identity within refugee camps in the northern city of the West Bank of Jerusalem called Nablus (Shibli, 2012). On the complicated history of the global phenomenon of different types of

camps, Demos notes that contemporary artists like Shibli have taken up the role to challenge traditional notions of the documentary:

> *... investigat[ing] what political value accrues from those innovative strategies that negotiate the limits of representation yet nevertheless bring visibility to those who exist in globalization's shadows.* (Demos, 2013: xix)

Thus, as through the work of Shibli, the limits of photography as a medium of documentation should be taken into account within a politically charged space, as in the case of the Pangokamp and Coronation Park. More recently, the socio-political aspects of Coronation Park were linked to it being referred to as a 'white squatter camp'. But Coronation Park has its own speculative political and historical background that played a strong role in Afrikaner history. In an interview with Elma, a resident of the Pangokamp, she spoke of Coronation Park as one of the locations where the British kept Afrikaner women and children in a 'Women and Children Concentration Camp' during the second Anglo-Boer War that took place between 1899 and 1902 (Elma, 7 December 2017). In his article in the *Mail & Guardian*, Finbarr O'Reilly describes Coronation Park as being the following:

> *Ringed by yellow-brown hills of earth dug up by generations of gold miners, the park was used by the British as a concentration camp for Afrikaners during the Anglo-Boer war at the start of the 20th century.* (O'Reilly, 2010)

There is also reference to the term 'white squatter camp' that has been used by Hugo van Niekerk, who is the self-proclaimed 'camp leader' of the Pangokamp (widower of the late Irene van Niekerk, sister of the famous South African boxer, Jimmy Abbott) on the social media platform, Facebook, on the 19th of February 2018 in the public group created by van Niekerk called 'Caring Angel's, white squatters,

Pango Camp', as seen in Figure 5 (van Niekerk, 2018). This terminology is used on social media where residents refer to themselves as "die Pangokamp wit plakkers", translated as the "*the Pango Camp white squatters*" (van Niekerk. 2018). The local newspaper, the *Krugersdorp News*, also uses the term, die 'wit plakkerskamp' (white squatter camp) to describe the housing set-up in Coronation Park and in Munsieville, as well as a collective term to refer to this group of people (Myburg, 2014).

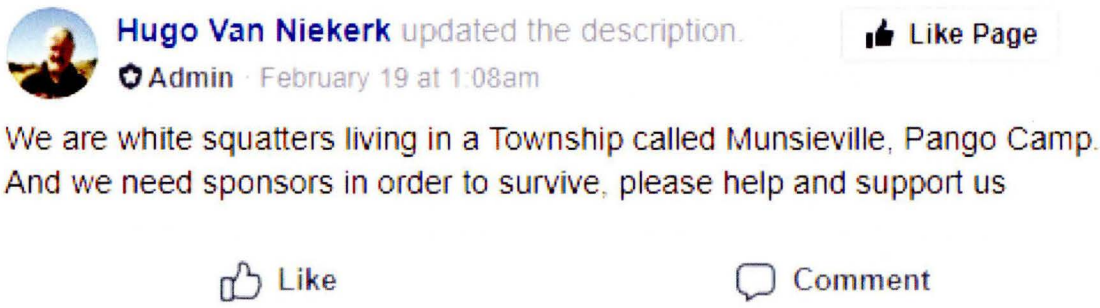


Figure 5: van Niekerk: 'Caring Angel's white Squatters Munsieville'. *Facebook,* 19 February 2018.

In the media reports it is clear that even after the move to Munsieville, this group of people still referred to themselves as the 'white squatters'. Easthope touches on the notion of metaphors of home and 'homeland' being used to identify as separate from 'the other', where this may lead to boundaries being established and an idealisation of the group, which leads to the negative stereotyping of 'the other' (Easthope, 2004: 131). In the media references there is a difference identified between white and black squatters. This complicates the manner in which the idea of the 'white squatter' and the 'camp' has become a term both of identification of this group of people, and as self-identification. In other words the notions of 'squatters' and the 'camp' are reinforced in a manner that is both imposed and asserted.

As Myburg (2014) writes, residents have been referred to as 'plakkers' or squatters as they illegally occupied Coronation Park. Squatters are defined as people who construct makeshift housing out of wood or corrugated iron and usually have connections with "geographic illegitimacy", not being in accordance with the rules of the space in which the squatting is taking place (Dixon, Foster, Durrheim & Wolbraham, 1994: 281-282). The concept of a 'squatter camp' somehow artfully combines the irony of the idea of camping and impermanence. In the case of Coronation Park, the campsite was the area where homes were constructed and it became a residential area. People lived in tents, caravans, shipping containers, Wendy houses (self-made timber bungalow structures) and makeshift structures built from found materials.

This is the point of departure for this Masters project, that is as residents became 'white squatters' and the name the 'Pangokamp' was asserted as a collective term for everyone residing in that specific area of Munsieville, often used as a subject-position through which donations are sought and received. In Figure 6, van Niekerk (2017) thanked 'sponsors' or donors on Facebook in the 'Caring Angel's, white squatters, Munsieville' group by referring to the people who received the donations as *"the Munsieville white squatters"*.



Figure 6: van Niekerk: *Caring Angel's, white squatters, Munsieville*, 25 December 2017.

This concurs with the use of the term 'wit plakker' or white squatter by Susan in the following informal interview:

> *Ons is wit plakkers hier in die Pangokamp, ons kry partykeer donasies. Van die ander mense het ook groente ontvang as skenking om vir ons uit te gee; nie almal van ons ontvang die skenkings nie. Ek het al groente in die asblikke gekry – dit was vars groente, en dan is daar ander mense hier wat honger gaan slaap. Hul het nie eers 'n bord kos om te eet nie. Ek is nie altyd gelukkig met wat hier aangaan nie, maar ek is net dankbaar as ek kos op die tafel het. Ek kan met trots sê ek het met my laaste R40 twee brode gekoop. Nou het ons weer kos in die huis. Ek hou altyd my huis netjies; elke dag maak ek dit skoon want my huis is my trots. (*Susan, 6 April 2017, Fieldnotes)

> *[We are white squatters here in Munsieville in the Pangokamp, we get donations at times. Some of the other people also received donations to hand out to us; not all of us received the donations. I have found vegetables in dustbins before – it was fresh vegetables, and then there are people here who go to bed hungry. They don't even have a plate of food to eat. I'm not always happy with what's going on here, but I am thankful for the food I have on my table. With pride I can say that I bought two loaves of bread with my last R40. Now we have food in the house again. I always keep my house clean; I clean it every day because my house is what I am proud of.]*

Reading this interplay of social identity as being both fluid and constructed – as in the case of the Pangokamp in Munsieville – through the lens of social identity theory, which proposes that people belong to categories and groups, was a useful theoretical starting point for this thesis. Thinkers working with such theory argue that the self is reflexive, meaning the self finds particular ways of placing itself in relation to other social categories. This process is called self-categorisation (Stets and

Burke, 2000: 224). The use of the term 'white squatter' is purposely asserted in many social media posts, as in Figure 6, as not only a manner of self-identification, but also as a way to make outsiders aware of their living situation with a conscious use of wording to attract sympathy and ultimately donations:

> *Ek post maar op Facebook sodat mense van ons weet. Ek het die Caring Angels groep gemaak sodat mense ons maklik in die hande kan kry as hulle iets wil skenk en sodat hulle weet hulle skenk vir 'wit plakkers.* (Van Niekerk, 2018)

> *[I post on Facebook so that people are aware of us. I created the Caring Angels group because I want people to be able to get hold of us if they want to donate something and that they know that the donations will be going to 'white squatters'.]*

This self-categorisation is taken on by the Pangokamp residents as a way to make 'sponsors' or donors aware of the fact that they are indeed white, and that they are squatters. The concept of being a squatter as well as being white while living in an informal housing environment accentuates the situation the residents of then, Coronation Park now the Pangokamp experience, which, as stated in the introduction can be in conflict with Afrikaner trots and ordentlikheid. The media, in their labelling of the camp and their use of the term 'wit plakker' (white squatter) uses a term that the Pangokamp identifies with. But there are other terms that I have heard in conversations about Coronation Park and the Pangokamp that the residents do not agree with. Many people in Krugersdorp attach the 'Hillbilly' stereotype to the residents of Munsieville. Typical ascriptions of this stereotype include commonly stated phrases, such as saying that 'they' need to find a job because 'there is nothing wrong with them', or the use of disparaging names such as 'damduiker' ('dam diver'), as they used to live next to the Coronation Dam, and which is used in a

similar manner as 'hillbilly', or 'kreef' (red crayfish), because of their prominent sunburn from being outdoors working or begging at traffic lights, a term derived from a comedy sketch by Afrikaans comedian Casper de Vries in his 2008 stand-up show called *Mondig* (Of age) .

Residents of the Pangokamp are frequently photographed by journalists, artists and amateur photographers where the subject of these images focuses on their living conditions and the stereotypes that accompany such depictions of poverty. Photographers like Dirk Chalmers , whose images are seen in the *JHB Live* article, 'The White Squatters of Krugersdorp' (Cunliffe, 2012), and James Cheadle, whose images accompanied the *Daily Mail* article, 'The 'WHITE squatter camps' of South Africa: Shanty towns built after the fall of Apartheid are now home to hundreds of families' (Burrows, 2016), are the authors of images that have been adding a visual representation of the space to the articles where they are featured, showing the poverty and the living conditions of a 'poor white' living in Coronation Park and the Pangokamp in a 'what you see is what you get' way of photographing the space and its inhabitants.

My own creative work for this thesis – presented and discussed in Chapter 3 – sought to position myself as a photographer in relation to this phenomenon, and I have sought to bring a self-consciously constructed understanding of my own role throughout my research into my creative practice. In my research I have thus considered the importance of being aware of how this group of people has been represented in the media, and I have purposely chosen to assert myself in a position that does not perpetuate already existing tropes of representation. This manner of representation often asserts an essentialist view upon the Pangokamp, which in this dissertation I believe it is important to be aware of.

The process of believing that people or things have to be placed into set categories is referred to as essentialism (Duncan, 2004: 29). Mary Nussbaum defines essentialism as "the view on human life [that] has certain central, defining features"

(Nussbaum, 1992: 205). Nussbaum continues to describe essentialism as being linked to an ignorance of history, with a lack of sensitivity for the voices of minorities (Nussbaum, 1992: 205). Van der Westhuizen's (2017) work explores international comparisons where South Africa's 'poor whites' are at times likened to the "*American phenomenon of white trash*" (van der Westhuizen, 2017: 5). In my years of living in Krugersdorp I have heard many people refer to this group of people using that stereotype, as well as other derogatory naming and terms that are used as a form of criticism of the group's poverty. The use of these terms is also a comment on the notion of their 'ordentlikheid' as people who are perceived as not living up to the standards of decency in conventional notions of 'whiteness' (Steyn, 2001). Melissa Steyn defines whiteness as:

> *an ideological supported social positionality that has accrued to people of European descent as a consequence of the economic and political advantage gained during and subsequent to European colonial expansion.* (Steyn, 2005: 121)

Thus the stereotypical view of the Pangokamp opens up points of entry into exploring and interrogating the representation of this group of people in relation to their positionality as 'poor whites' living in Munsieville.

Home in Coronation Park

Coronation Park in Krugersdorp was originally established in 1902 as a leisure space in the town, in the proximity of the site of the Boer War concentration camp. It was originally designed and laid out along the lines of the English Landscape tradition, with axial paths, a bandstand and exotic trees, floral beds and lawns to commemorate the Coronation of King Edward VII of England (De Klerk. 1987: 73).

> *Coronation Park was established in 1902 after the South African War (1899-1902) by prominent English speaking citizens of Krugersdorp in commemoration of the coronation of Edward VII as the new British King. The Municipality of Krugersdorp took over the management and development of the park in 1903 and henceforth referred to it as 'Coronation Park'. The original layout of the park provided for a labyrinth similar to the popular maze at Hampton Court in England and it was well known for its rectangular flowerbeds with numerous beds and spacious rose borders, palms and standard golden privets and also a shrubbery, planted with a very fine collection of trees and shrubs of rare quality. The municipal horticulturist, Mr. Harry Sharp, developed the park over a period of 44 years. He retired as Chief Horticulturist in 1950.* (Du Plooy, 2016)

This colourful inscription of British identity onto the landscape of suffering in what is speculated to have been a Boer concentration camp can be seen in the traces of the layout of Coronation Park in its present rundown state. From the 1950s onwards, under apartheid, with its assertion of Afrikaner Nationalism, the use, form and aesthetic of many parks in South Africa's towns and cities changed. Although it is unclear in the records, it would appear that from the 1960s onwards Coronation Park became a 'caravan park' campsite as automobile leisure tourism became popular amongst White South Africans (Du Plooy, 2016).

By the 1980s, Coronation Park had become an attractive campsite frequented by holiday makers travelling in automobile-towed transportable homes known in South Africa as 'caravans'. In Figure 7 one sees an example of a caravan in a photograph that I took in Coronation Park in 2013. This caravan in its state as a vehicle that provides a temporary house when on holiday camping, became a home to many in the park who were lucky enough to have one. The campsite was surrounded by grassy hills next to the Centenary Dam, located on the eastern side of the park, which was "developed in the 1980s to expand the recreational use of the existing dam in commemoration of the centenary of the town in 1987" (Du Plooy, 2016). By the late 1990s this caravan park and camping ground was infrequently used by holiday makers and instead became the place where a group of people settled more permanently. I have conceptualised the area as a campsite where the camping never ended and people never left.



Figure 7: Bianca van Heerden, *Coronation Park*, 2013.

In the newly settled space of Coronation Park, the hierarchical social structures that emerged were reflected in the living arrangements on the site. Camp leaders lived in a large house, which they had built for themselves. It was a timber structure with a corrugated iron roof, and was large and spacious – almost like two Wendy houses had been joined together – and with a shaded 'stoep' (porch). In addition, it had an entertainment area and a large shipping container, which was a storeroom where they kept clothing and food donations. The camp leaders, Hugo and Irene van Niekerk, controlled, stored and distributed donations that they solicited and received, amongst ordinary residents of the place. This resulted in tensions between the leaders and the rest of the community. In an interview for this research, Hugo van Niekerk stated the following:

> *Ons het altyd donasies gekry by mense toe ons in Coronation Park gebly het, meer as wat ons nou kry. Ons het ook vir elke een elke dag 'n bord kos aangebied. Hul moes net R15 'n week gegee het sodat ons die badkamers kon skoon hou.* (Hugo van Niekerk 17 September 2017. Fieldnotes)

> *[We aways received donations when we stayed in Coronation Park, more than we get now. We also prepared a plate of food for everybody every day. They just needed to pay R15 a week for us to keep the bathrooms clean.]*

Food was donated either by Good Samaritans, groups of people who came together to help the poor, church organisations, individuals and/or local businesses. It was not uncommon to see people donating food, second-hand clothes and goods, and other daily necessities to the poor of Coronation Park. Once a day each resident received a fresh meal made by the camp leaders. Each resident had to pay R15 a day for their plate of food and for the upkeep of the ablution facility. Life in Coronation Park was simple, and the steady flow of donations meant that their basic needs would

always be met. Once a week food items that were close to their dates of expiry were dropped off by local businesses. Many of the people I interviewed for this project spoke of how everyone knew each other and a sense of community was present as people found a way to help one another. Some of the donated goods were sold by the Van Niekerk family in charge as a means to make extra money, and some residents did not approve of that as they felt they were being cheated out of donations meant for their families.

> *Ons was een keer op TV hieroor, hulle het ons gevra oor die donasies wat verkoop word en ek het die waarheid gepraat. Hulle het die klere en kos verkoop aan mense wat verby die park geloop het, en by markte, en dan het ons niks daarvan gesien nie. Hulle het die geld gebruik om hulle huis grooter en beter te maak, en vir ander goed ook, soos selfone.* (Herman, 6 July 2017. Fieldnotes)

> *[We were on TV once talking about this, they asked us about the donations that are being sold and we spoke the truth. They sold the food and clothing to passersby and at markets and then we didn't see any of it. They used the money to expand on the size of their house, they made it bigger and better and they also bought things like cellphones with it.]*

The Van Niekerk's home was quite large compared to other houses and homes in Coronation Park. Figures 8, 9 and 10 show homes constructed out of timber planks and 'sink' or 'sinkplaat' (Afrikaans for corrugated iron sheeting), or temporary bungalow structures (known as Wendy houses), tents and caravans that typified the ways in which people made homes that I took photographs of in Coronation Park when I was exploring different ways of representing the space (Van Heerden, 2013).



Figure 8: Bianca van Heerden, *Coronation Park,* 2013.

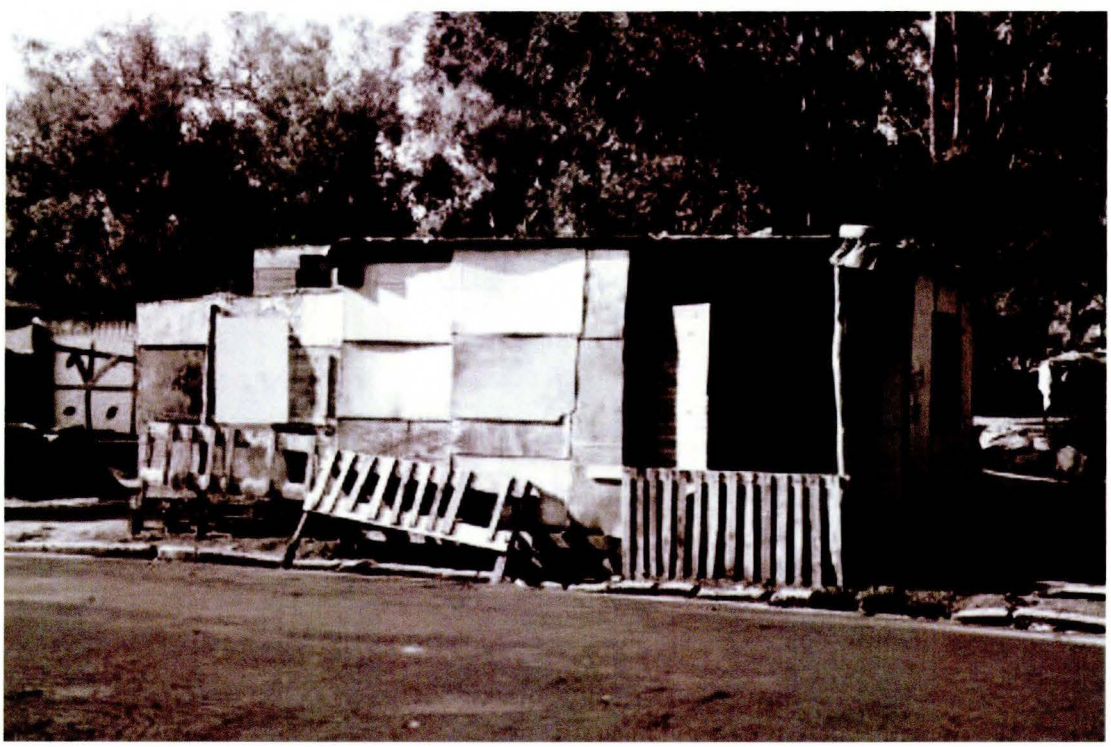


Figure 9: Bianca van Heerden, *Coronation Park*, 2013.



Figure 10: Bianca van Heerden, *Coronation Park,* 2013.

Observing the landscape of the campsite, more permanent structures were built in close proximity to the entrance to the site and the more temporary structures like tents and makeshift 'sink' structures were constructed close to each other as people grouped and established a sense of community. Next to the camp was the dam in which residents of Coronation Park caught fish and hunted ducks, as not all of them had money at hand for food, especially when donations were scarce. Constructing home and life in the space of the camp was precarious at all levels. In Coronation Park the ideas around camp and home were conflicted. Coronation Park was often referred to as the 'park' and the 'camp', and the possibility of 'getting out of the camp' was at times brought up in conversations that I have had with residents, for example in my interview with Chantel:

> *Ons was daai keer uit die park uit, ons het op 'n plot in Tarlton gaan bly, maar toe verloor Oom Gerrie (haar man) sy werk en ons moes terug trek na die park. Darem het sy suster ons toegelaat om by hulle te bly totdat ons*

weer 'n plek van ons eie kon kry (in die Pangokamp). Nou as Oom Gerrie weer 'n goeie werk gekry het trek ons. (Chantel, 3 July 2017. Fieldnotes).

[We moved out of the park one time, we stayed on a smallholding in Tarlton, but then Uncle Gerrie (her husband) lost his job and we had to move back to the park. At least his sister allowed us to move back in with them until we found a place of our own (in the Pango Camp). We want to move again if Uncle Gerrie gets a good job.]

In addition, Coronation Park was conveniently situated close to Krugersdorp's central business district and to major shopping centres. It was also close to major intersections where some of the residents of Coronation Park used to beg. Many of the interviewees spoke about how begging was part of day-to-day life, since many residents were unemployed, and how many people who lived in Coronation Park were related in some way. They were mostly family of the camp leaders. They were children, aunts, uncles, cousins, friends and approved acquaintances who lived together in their own makeshift housing within that space. People were only given approval to reside in the park/camp if leaders felt that they would fit into the community, as Van Niekerk described:

Ons was regverdig oor wie by ons bly in die park. Ons wou ook nie bakleiery in die park gehad het nie. Ons kon ook nie enige een in laat nie. Party van die hawelose mense in die dorp (Krugersdorp) gebruik drugs en ons het alklaar 'n drug probleem in die park gehad. Ons wou nie nog mense in laat wat ook drugs gebruik nie. (Van Niekerk, 2 March 2017. Fieldnotes)

[We were fair about who we allowed to stay with us in the park. We also didn't want fights to break out in the park and we also couldn't just let anyone

in. Some homeless people in the dorp (Krugersdorp) use drugs and we already have a drug problem in the park. We didn't want to let people in who use drugs.]

Van Niekerk in the above quote mentioned that he and Irene were conscious of who they allowed to live in Coronation Park at the time. Thus Coronation Park was a complex space that was established through necessity because of the pressure of its residents having a low economic standing. The camp's politics played a great role in who 'belonged' in the park and who did not. Coronation Park, made up of different kinds of self-constructed houses, was a refuge and a home for many, especially those who the 'camp leaders' approved of.

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Discourses of Dislocation: From Coronation Park to the Pangokamp

When the residents of Coronation Park were forcefully evicted by the Red Ants and evictees were ordered to move to Munsieville, many didn't want to leave as they had already established their lives and homes in Coronation Park (Myburg & Golden: 2014). In Munsieville, the area set aside for the residents of Coronation Park was later renamed Pangokamp (Fourie: 2015). Figure 11 illustrates the location of the Pangokamp in Munsieville using Google Maps (Google Inc, 2018). This area to the west of Munsieville is wedged between the Blougat Municipal Nature Reserve and the original blockhouses of Munsieville (Proctor, 1986: 169). The governance of space has always been a fundamental feature of racial dominance in South Africa, where spatial divisions perpetually provided a firm basis for moral, political and economic divisions and led to the establishment of areas like Munsieville and other informal settlements (Dixon, Foster, Durrheim & Wolbraham, 1994: 277).



Figure 11: Google Inc. *Munsieville,* 2018.

On the day of their eviction notice – 9 December 2014 – residents were forced to move from Coronation Park, as seen in Figure 12.

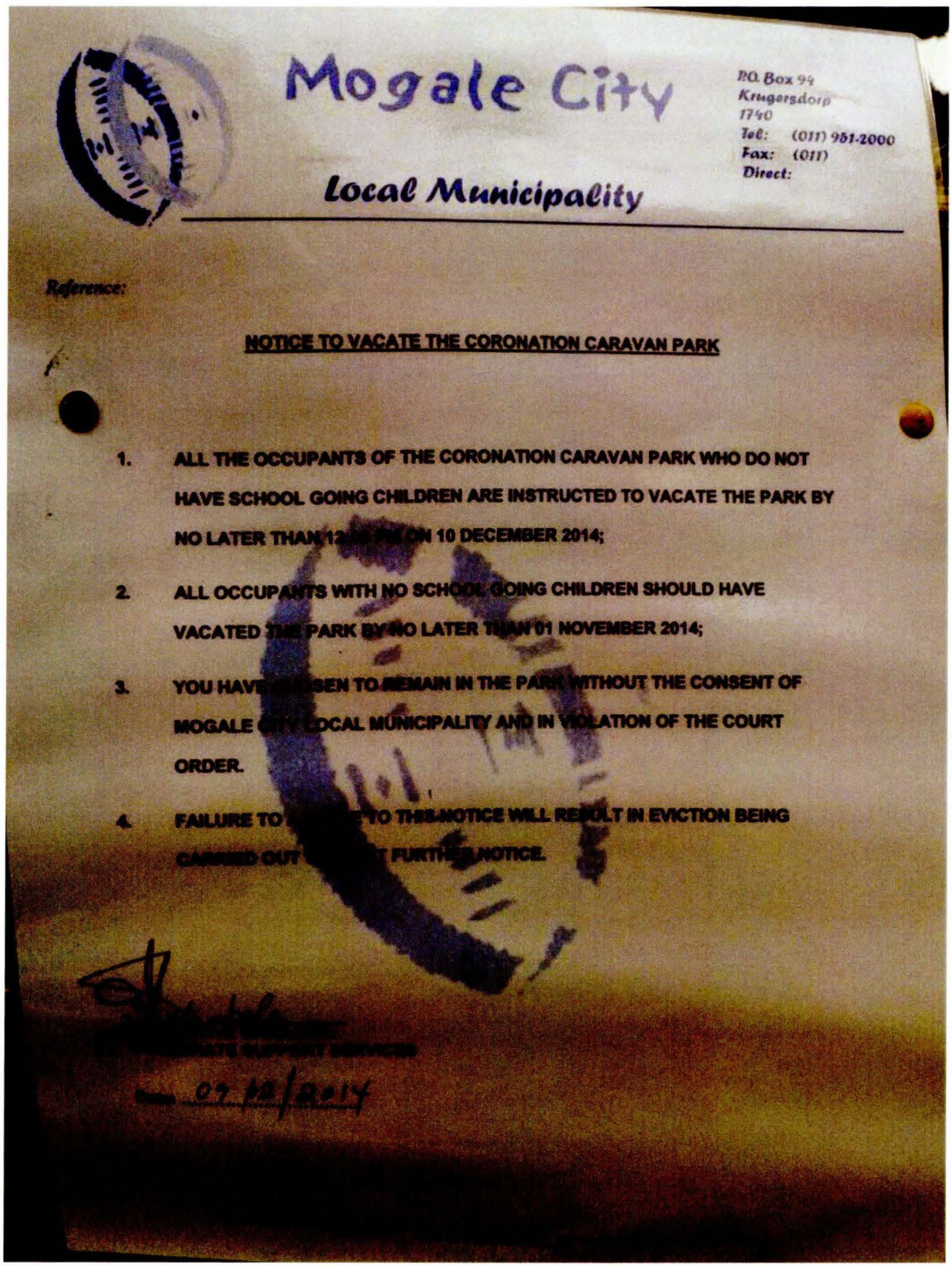


Figure 12: *Eviction Notice*, Coronation Park, 9 December 2014.

Rinus Bouwer, the Parks Department Manager at the Mogale City Municipality, told the local newspaper, the *Krugersdorp News*, that "Coronation Park is not a township" (Fourie, 2015). Nevertheless, residents expressed racial fear at being removed and relocated to a 'township' as they were told by the Mogale City Municipality, even though it was communicated to them that the piece of land would be given to them to live on temporarily in Munsieville until RDP housing became available. Racist rumours spread within the camp of apparent threats that women and children would be raped and killed if they moved to Munsieville. A video clip that featured on the *Beeld* YouTube page featured the following words by a female resident, Amanda Lynn, who was interviewed by *Beeld* journalist Jana van der Merwe about having to relocate:

> *They told us you are white trash. We are going to kill you and rape your women and children*. (Van Der Merwe, 2014)

The next excerpt is from a *Krugersdorp News* article published in September of 2014, where the local newspaper interviewed the residents of Munsieville. The interview was conducted to find out how they felt about residents of Coronation Park moving to Munsieville. A local resident, Thabo Mathule said the following:

> *It's not a nice environment to live in and we don't have anything against them living here. We are all human beings.* (Myburg, 2014)

Amanda de Lange, a representative of the South African right-wing political party, the Freedom Front Plus (FFP), said the following about the welcoming attitudes of the Munsieville residents to the *Krugersdorp News* on the 17th of October, 2017:

Ons tree reeds voorkomend op om konflik te vermy, maar dis nie juis nodig nie omdat die mense van Munsieville groot bereidwilligheid toon om saam met Kroningspark se mense te woon. (De Lange, 2017)

[We are acting in a preventative manner to avoid conflict, but it is not really necessary as the people of Munsieville are showing us that they are willing to live together with the people of Coronation Park.]

De Lange's statement shows an outlook that is shared with a Nationalist point of view that has its origins in the apartheid era and the fear mongering in local and international news sources. This is usually associated with white lives being 'in danger' because of the notion of the 'swart gevaar'[3] (black threat) (Teppo, 2004: 31). What de Lange touches on is the fear of revenge taking place in the form of violent murders and policies, according to some local and international news articles (which will be expanded on in Chapter 3), that aim to specifically disadvantage whites (O' Reilly, 2010; Burrows, 2016; Simpson, 2013). But such fears are disproven in a recent interview with Hugo van Niekerk as part of this research, where he stated the following:

Het jy gehoor van die mense daar in Westvillage wat so beroof was? Ek is

veiliger hier in die lokasie. Hier doen hulle sommer 'mob justice' daar in die pad as hulle jou aanval of beroof. (Hugo van Niekerk, 17 September 2017. Fieldnotes)

[3] 'Swart gevaar' or 'Black Peril' refers to a notion of black people being dangerous, and also malicious, towards white people, and they are thus feared. This was a mind-set that was ingrained into the minds of white South Africans by the Nationalist regime to clear the voting rosters of black voters and to create a "system of residential 'townships' or homelands for all 'non-whites'" (Mitchell, 2009: 13).

[Have you heard about the people who were robbed in Westvillage? I am safer here in a township. Here they do 'mob justice' there in the road where they attack and rob you.]

Expanding on van Niekerk's concept of safety in the Pangokamp, Elma elaborated on what she has learned from more established residents of Munsieville:

Jy ken mos vir Mamma, die swart vrou wat altyd hier kom kuier? Sy het my vertel wat om te doen as jy gevaar in die area sien. As jy iemand sien wat lyk asof hy vir iemand anders soek, hou jou huis deure oop. Jou lewe kan in gevaar wees as iemand dink jy steek 'n dief in jou huis weg. Partykeer skuld een person 'n ander person geld en as die ooreenkoms nie nagekom word nie word die dief gedryg totdat hy die ooreenkoms na kom. As daar verdink word dat jy die dief weg steek is jy net so skuldig soos die dief en kan ook aangerand word. (Elma, 7 December 2017. Fieldnotes)

[You know Mamma? The black lady who always visits my house? She told me what to do when I see danger approaching in the area. If you see someone looking for someone else, keep all your doors open. Your life can be danger when someone thinks you're hiding a thief in your house. Sometimes one person owes another money and if the money isn't paid back, the thief will be threatened until he pays back the money. If there's any suspicion that you might be hiding the thief, you are considered to be just as guilty as the thief and you could also be assulted.]

This appears to state that the Pangokamp residents are part of that community and that there is no tension between black and white residents of Munsieville. White residents are also in a position to learn, adopt and adapt to life in a township.

In the months following the evictions, the municipality gave the residents some leeway and only in late December of 2014, just after Christmas, were families officially evicted by the Red Ants. Families had to find a way to get their belongings to Munsieville, but somehow they managed through family networks and kind-hearted community members who helped them. Not all of their possessions made it to Munsieville in one piece though. Some lost beds, cupboards and other belongings, which was a great loss as many people hardly owned anything. Others lost sentimental objects given to them by family members and friends. But some also managed to take the plants they had nurtured in Coronation Park to replant as they moved camp to Munsieville. These were recurrent themes in the interviews:

> *Van die plante in my tuin kom nog van toe ons in Coronation (Park) gebly het. Ek het hulle hierna toe gebring. Ons tuin was so mooi toe ons daar gebly het. Onthou jy? Ek het mooi lelies gehad wat so hoog gegroei het.* (Dot, 6 January 2018. Fieldnotes)

> [*Some of the plants in our garden are from when we stayed in Coronation (Park). I brought them here with me. Our garden was so beautiful. Do you remember? I had beautiful lilies and they grew so tall.*]

In re-establishing home, plants were planted and homes were adjusted in the new camp. Individual homes were rebuilt and reconstructed in this new space in the same form as before. The concept of a camp as having 'do it yourself elements', as well as "neoprimitivism and an appropriation of the old for the new" could be seen

clearly in the new homes being constructed (Hailey, 2008: 60). Many residents described how living in a camp means one has to improvise. Some even suggested that it offers one the freedom of creating a living space that one builds on and expands gradually as materials are acquired, and as one uses old and new to create a new living space. Ramphele (1993: 23), writing about the space of the migrant labour hostel in South Africa's dehumanising space of the labour compound, likens being poor to being an artist, as it forces one to "imagine a space where there is none". Creativity and improvisation in the space of the homes in the newly formed camp became an area of research focus for me as I began to contextualise my photographic approach to this thesis.

The creativity started with Hugo van Niekerk and his late wife choosing the name 'Pangokamp' for the plot of land and shack-like house structures allocated to them in Munsieville. The naming of the new Pangokamp was a means to identify the sub-community of Munsieville and to keep donors and sponsors in the know. The name in itself is a curious reference to the space of one of the ANC Camps in the 1980s. The original Pango Camp was an uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) training camp in Angola, a camp that specialised in training in explosives and assassinations in the 1980s (Harris, 2012: 42). That Pango Camp prepared soldiers for infiltration of enemy bases, and was also implemented as a base that provided crash courses for soldiers specialising in underground operations who then infiltrated South African borders (Davies-Webb. 1991.4).

According to Hugo van Niekerk, he and his late wife Irene named the area the Pangokamp as a direct reference to the MK training camp in Angola. According to Van Niekerk, the area where the Pangokamp is located was also a training camp in the 1980s where ANC members were trained before they were sent to the Pango Camp in Angola. Hugo said the following:

> *Ons het die plek Pango Camp genoem want hierdie grond was eers die gronde waarop die ANC soldate geoefen het en hul was daarna na Angola*

gestuur om hulle opleiding te ondergaan. Het jy dit geweet van die opleiding in Angola? Soek bietjie 'Pango Camp' op Google, jy sal sien. Na dit was hierdie 'n ashoop en toe maak hulle dit vir ons skoon. Hul het toe vir ons klein sink kamertjies opgerig en nou bly ons hier. (Hugo van Niekerk, 17 September 2017. Fieldnotes)

[We called the place Pango Camp because this area was once the place where ANC soldiers trained before they were sent to Angola for training. Did you know about the training in Angola? Look for 'Pango Camp' on Google, you will see. After that this area became a rubbish dump and then they cleaned it for us. After that they gave us small tin rooms and we are now living here.]

In reporting on the establishment of the camp, the *Krugersdorp News* subheading to an article titled 'White Squatters happy in Munsieville' claimed:

Welcome to Pango Camp, Coronation Squatters' new home, where skin colour makes no difference to being a good neighbour (Fourie, 2015 as cited in the *Krugersdorp News* of 23 July, 2015).

From 2015 the name Pangokamp became well-established as the name of the new home of the 'Coronation squatters' in the media (Fourie, 2015). The invocation of racial harmony and neighbourliness in the media contrasts significantly with the fears expressed by residents about moving to the township (De Lange: 2014). The notion of the camp space as a home space was thus in continuation when the residents of Coronation Park were forced to move to a new camp in Munsieville.

Tuis

It was clear in 2014 that the residents had come to feel 'tuis' (at home) in Coronation Park, and were initially unhappy with the prospect of being relocated to the newly allocated section of Munsieville. The Afrikaans word 'tuis' is extremely expressive and has the dual meaning of being 'at home' as well as connoting 'feeling at home'. Another inflection of the term is when entering a home, the homeowner might say 'maak jouself tuis', meaning 'make yourself feel at home'. This is a way of saying that you are happy with another person's presence in your home, and that you want them to feel like they are welcome in your house.

As the months went by, fear of forced eviction and removal became heightened. In an article featured in the *Krugersdorp News* on 29 August 2013, residents of Coronation Park poured their hearts out about moving to Munsieville. According to an interview by the *Krugersdorp News* with Francois van Niekerk, a resident of then Coronation Park, Van Niekerk said the following about the relocation:

> *I have been living there for more than four years. For me and many others, it is the only place we call home.* (Myburg, 2013)

Speaking for Coronation Park's residents. Van Niekerk added:

> *We will be ready for them if they want to move us forcefully.* (Myburg, 2013)

This sentiment of resistance to removal was expressed by many of the people I interviewed in Coronation Park, as many remembered feeling uneasy about packing up their lives and homes and moving to a future that seemed unreal and unknown.

Some residents like Herman still miss Coronation Park and reminisce over the community that was established in the area:

> *Ons was soos een groot familie, 'n gemeenskap van plakkers waaroor mense baie te sê gehad het en nooit moeite gedoen het om te leer ken nie. Ons was bietjie van die uitgegooide groepie van die volk, ons het nie ingepas nie, maar tog het ons lekker gelewe saam mekaar. Daar was ons op ons eie en het ons eie ding gedoen.* (Herman, 27 February 2016. Fieldnotes)

> *[We were like one big family, a community of squatters that people had a lot to say about and never made an effort to get to know. We were a people who were tossed aside, we did not fit in, but we enjoyed life alongside each other. We were on our own and we did our own thing.]*

Another resident, Oom (uncle) Johan, has very little inside his home. His house is practically empty. He told me he doesn't need much. But as he described how he lived in Coronation Park, and the more he explained his life there to me, the more I realised that he doesn't feel at home in Munsieville. He had felt free in Coronation Park – he had lived in a shipping container that he could lock up, and spoke about having felt safe there. In the Pangokamp, however, he explained that some of his belongings had been stolen and that he suspected the culprits had sold his things for drug money. He told me about his neighbours, and of feeling alienated from them, as they are constantly swearing, drinking and fighting. He has always had many dogs, but since being in Munsieville he said he was too scared to rescue any animals because of his neighbours being rowdy, and being known for abusing their own animals, especially when they are drunk. He claimed that they had also poisoned some of his dogs. He described that it is only him and his dogs living inside his *sink* house in Munsieville, and that his house regularly floods – the roof of his house having been ripped off a few times when a storm has set in. His only source of

income, he described, is a government old age pension and the money he makes when standing at the robot (traffic light). He buys food for himself and his fourteen dogs, and other hungry dogs. Oom Johan describes his experience of home in the Pangokamp:

> *Munsieville is nie 'n plek waar ek wil bly nie. Ek bly op die laaste huis hier in die Pangokamp want ek wil nie deel wees van die moeilikheid nie. Die probleem is ek kry nooit skenkings nie. Ek het net een broek wat ek kan dra. As jy kan, dame, kyk asseblief vir my vir 'n size 32 broek. Hierdie mense vat net die beste vir hulself.* (Johan, 4 December 2017. Fieldnotes)

> *[Munsieville is not a place where I want to stay. I stay in the last house here in the Pango Camp because I do not want to be part of any conflict. The problem is I never get any donations. I only have one pair of pants that I can wear. If you can, lady, please see if you can find a size 32 pants for me to wear. These people only take the best for themselves.]*

In *A Place Called Home* (2004), Hazel Easthope argued that there can be an "alienation produced by a 'placeless' environment" (2004: 130). In theory, this could be the reason for Oom Johan's longing for Coronation Park. Yet, six months (many months before my interview with Oom Johan) after the move, the media reported, on 23 July 2015, in the *Krugersdorp News*, that life in Munsieville was "pretty much the same" for the 'white squatters' from Coronation Park (Fourie, 2015). Lizette, in contrast to Oom Johan's experience, describes the feeling she gets when she arrives at home after selling newspapers on street corner as 'tuis':

> *Na 'n lang dag van koerante verkoop wil ek net by die huis kom. Dit maak my gelukkig om te sien alles is net soos ek dit daar gelos het. Ek voel tuis in my*

plekkie al is ek alleen, weet ek ek behoort hier. Ek, my man en my twee katte bly vreeslik lekker hier. Ons maak dinge werk. (Lizette, 27 February 2018. Fieldnotes)

[After a long day of selling newspapers I just want to go home. It makes me happy to see that everything is just as I have left it. I feel at home in my place and even if I am alone, I know I belong here. My husband and my two cats enjoy staying here. We make things work.]

Feeling at home (tuis) means that an individual dedicates time to making a place feel and look like a home. Agostino Petrillo and Paolo Bellaviti (2017) write that in many cases when individuals await the allocation of RDP housing, they do not invest time in improving on and expanding their own home structures (Pretillo & Bellavati, 2017: 56). This is an indication that some residents might literally not feel 'tuis' as they are still awaiting homes. The RDP housing scheme in post-apartheid South Africa has had varied 'delivery' success, where some have received housing, but others are still waiting as they fall under the 'housing backlog' (Tiwari, Rao & Day. 2016: 119). Since 1994, the RDP housing programme was implemented to realise the "establishment of housing right as a human right" as enshrined in the South African Constitution (1994). A target was set by the ANC Government to build one million houses between 1994 and 1999 (Bond & Khosa,1999: 10), and is a continuing project that still exists in 2018. This target was not reached, as the ANC government lacked the knowledge to implement the project as planned, thus creating a 'housing backlog' (Tiwari, Rao & Day. 2016: 119). This 'backlog' is also noted by Petrillo and Bellavati (2017) as in some cases people wait for more than twenty years to receive their homes. These long delays in the promise of the provision of housing in post-apartheid South African has led to many South Africans living in informal structures and settlements in which they variously 'camp', create 'home' and generally try to feel 'tuis'.

In this chapter I have explored the move across town in Krugersdorp, from Coronation Park to the Pangokamp in Munsieville. It has set out a conceptual framework for thinking through a set of ideas that locate this research 'Between Home and Camp', as the chapter title suggests. The following chapter, Locating Photography and Theory in Practice, focusses on photographic theory as it relates to the histories of documentary photography, representations of people, place, and home.

Chapter 2

Locating Photography and Theory in Practice

In his seminal text, *Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre (1991) presented an expanded conceptual schema for the consideration of space. In his theorisation of a triad of ideas around space, he defines *Representational Space* as 'perceived space', as it links directly to the understanding of the symbolic use of objects and the description of a space by looking at signs and symbols that are present within the space (1991: 3, 37). The use of signs and symbols to make sense of a space is key to the practical component of this research project, namely creating the body of work contained in the photographs in the series titled *Still/Life*, elaborated on in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

I was conscious of how as an artist and researcher I was constructing, or in Lefebvre's terms, creating 'perceived space' – representational space, and that the work I would produce would inevitably and unavoidably become a form of my own self-expression in relation to that of my subjects in their home spaces. To understand home spaces, one firstly needs to understand what 'home' is, and what makes a home 'homely', especially in a space where the idea of home is new or uncertain. By conducting informal interviews about home, I was able to extrapolate information that influenced the direction that my work took.

In the following Chapter I will look at the instances where home and camp meet as a means to understanding 'homeliness' in the Pangokamp. I will discuss the role of images, such as the Carnegie Commission photographs, especially *Migrant Mother* (1936) by Dorothea Lange that shaped the way that poverty was and still is broadly represented in the mainstream media.

Self-Expression within the home space

Daniel Miller (2001: 11) unpacks the tension that exists between the house structure that has its own legacy, but becomes a canvas for expression as the person or family who inhabits the house asserts their own identity onto that structure. According to Tim Putman and Charles Newton (1990) the appropriation and modification of the home is influenced by the individual taste of a person and their own lifestyle choices, rather than an approach that adheres to conventional housing standards. In Munsieville, transposed residents of the Pangokamp were presented with simple, square shacks referred to as TRA housing, an acronym for Temporary Relocation Areas. The residents, however, still used these shacks as an opportunity to express their sense of self, sense of belonging, and their own identity.

In my interviews with Lizette, who lives close to the entrance of the Pangokamp in Munsieville with her husband, she mentioned that they started decorating and expanding their home when they realised that an RDP house would not become available for them anytime soon. She felt that there was no point in waiting forever for a house, and that they needed to start settling in because they might wait for "years and years" (Lizette, 27 February 2018. Fieldnotes). Upon entering their home, family photographs are arranged in a decorative manner on the left-hand corrugated wall, which is covered in these images. On the right hand side there is a shrine built with a praying figure, like the Mother Mary, in the middle. Lizette described wanting to acquire more objects for decoration. She also showed me images of her son and other family members, whom she misses (as seen in Figure 13).

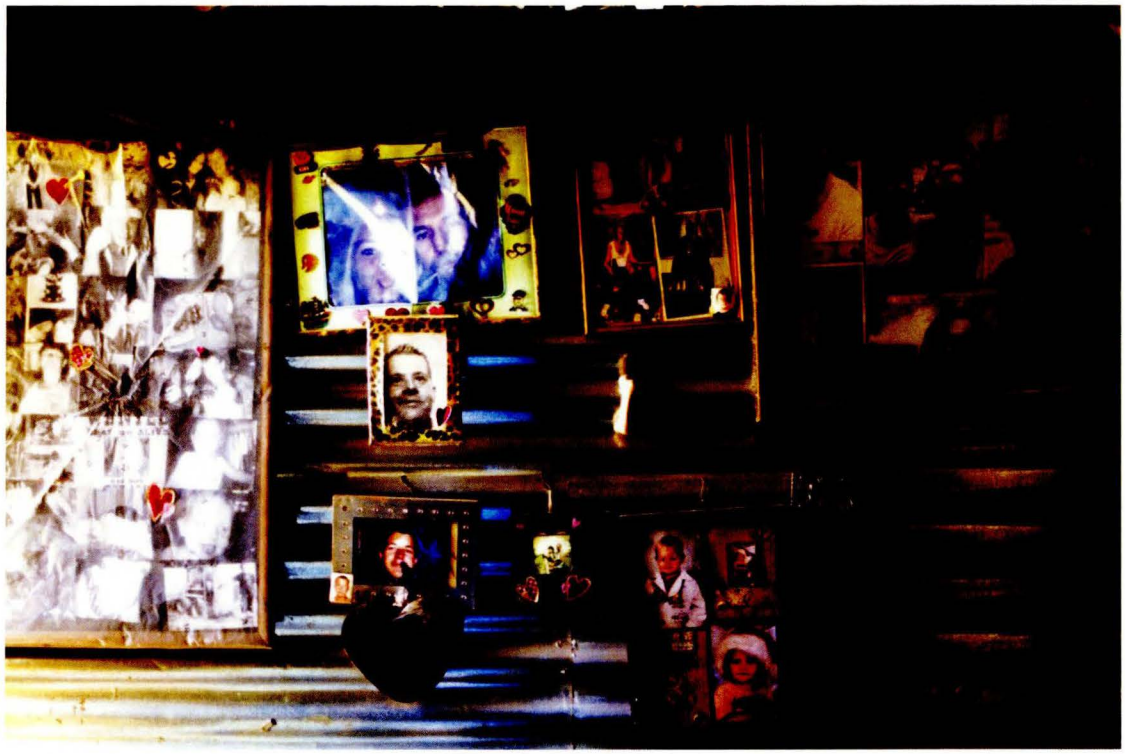


Figure 13: *Frames*, Munsieville, 2017.

I learned in an informal discussion with Lizette's neighbour, Chantel, that Chantel shared a different view on her home. Chantel told me that her house is currently 'empty' and that the ornaments she has are quite dirty. She seemed to be ashamed of the fact that she did not have many ornaments, and also of the fact that the ones she had were dirty. Drawing on the themes around Afrikaner Trots and 'ordentlikheid', a dirty home isn't what would be considered as being 'ordentlik' (Teppo, 2004; van der Westhuizen, 2017). She claimed that when she was in a safe house with her newborn baby in 2016, people who live in the Pangokamp broke into her home and stole many of her possessions. She also claimed that they sold the items for drugs. She stressed her pride in the new objects she had been able to acquire since, though – her baby's new bed and all of her toys, and the ornaments decorating the framed photographs of her daughter. She proudly boasted that her daughter is the head girl at a local school.

Against this scenario of impermanence, homeliness can be seen through the ways individuals in Coronation Park and the Pangokamp decorated their home spaces as a way of continuing living life in the long wait for RDP housing. The interiors of many homes in the Pangokamp are decorated with small objects, trinkets, self-made shrines and, at times, handmade furniture. Photographic collages are hung on the walls depicting family members and friends whom the home's inhabitants hold dear. Some have small wall shelves where objects are packed and intentionally arranged according to type, shape and the material of which they are made. These objects are on display in living rooms and television rooms where visitors are able to see them. The objects range from small souvenirs from places visited in South Africa, to copper oddments, glass ornaments, porcelain animal, sundries and dwarf statues – all objects salvaged from many different places. Some are found and others were gifts or donations, yet all serve the purpose of being decorative objects within the home that were brought in and gathered to be placed on display, as in Figure 14 as seen in Lizette's home. When homes are extended by these residents, the placement and display of these objects is often planned for in the renovations.



Figure 14: *Objects*, Munsieville, 2017.

In *The Casket of Magic: Home and Identity from Salvaged Objects* (2006), Susan Digby argues that the meaning of objects extends beyond the place and the situation the objects were retrieved from, for example from a rubbish bin or in a box full of donations (Digby, 2006: 175). Many souvenirs found within the home in the Pangokamp in Munsieville are salvaged objects, donations or gifts. Yet they all carry personal meaning to their current owners, and choosing to display these objects within the home space is an assertion of identity and the physical creation of a homely space. Russell Belk (1989) in his article 'Possessions and the Extended Self' used the terms 'sense of self' and 'identity' as synonyms for how an individual subjectively perceives who he or she is. Belk also argues that we, as humans, are more likely to become attached to things that are significant to our identity, and defines the specifications of attachment as being more emotional than functional. For example, the loss of an object that one is attached to is not necessarily defined by how useful it is, but rather how it resonates with us in a sentimental manner (Belk, 1989: 130).

In the Pangokamp, some residents put great emphasis on how objects are arranged within their home space. Some meticulously decorate each room in a specific style. An example of this is the layout of miniature shrine-like arrangements of photographs and objects. Some create collages of photographs decorated with stickers or Bible Verses and others arrange and position objects in a sequence aesthetically pleasing to them in a special designated area within the home. There is a sense of importance placed upon the objects as they are up for display, curated even, as a means to assert individuality within the home. Objects and arrangements show visitors the pride the residents find in creating a homely home space that speaks of individual identity. This is linked to the decoration of a space purposefully to create a place that makes whoever lives in it and is in control of it feel 'tuis'.

John Di Stefano (2002) argues that, more often than not, people who find themselves in a position of displacement attempt to make tangible what is missing or absent in their lives. He argues that for a displaced person, the longing is a "process

of attempting to appear". That which has disappeared is just waiting to reappear and manifest through the desire to reinstate what has been lost (Di Stefano, 2014: 39). The rebuilding and decorating of houses in the Pangokamp draws upon the idea of attempting to reinstate what once was seen as a home.

In contrast to the argument that a sense of home can be created through the establishment of homeliness in the reinstatement of what once had disappeared, Hamid Naficy (as cited in Shohat & Stam, 2003) argues that the physical home can also become oppressive and imprisoning as it is often restricted to established scenes, routines and symbols that can be related to a specific space. Naficy argues that routine and establishment of scenes and symbols can result in being an imprisoning factor and that it can create a space for the feeling of Wanderlust, the longing to travel to other places, or to travel back 'home' (Naficy, 1996: 208). But, according to Naficy, some may fear that they might never return to what they would call home completely. Therefore a tension exists between wanting to return to a place that signifies home, and for residents such as those in the Pangokamp knowing that they will possibly never return to what they imagine having been their ideal home.

But the search for what once was there, or the aspiration of creating something that is better than what one aspires to, can be located in the designing, creating and building of what one now wants home to be. Lawrence (1987: 7) argues that the recreation of the built environment of the house is what ultimately turns a personally adjusted structure into a home. Marcus (2006), in her study, noted in her interviews with participants who took part in building their own homes, that self-building contributes to personal family development on a significant level.

Deon, whom I informally interviewed in his home, decided that from the moment he moved into his family 'shack' in Munsieville, he would make it a home for himself, his

wife and his children. He managed to salvage pressed wood offcuts and clad the interior walls of his home with these panels. He decorated the panels with images of whatever he thought his children would love, including a poster of the Disney Channel star, Hannah Montana. He hung teddy bears on the wall at the entrance, and placed small ornaments and statues in their green garden. He did this all for his family because he wanted this place to be a home where they would feel "safe and where they know they are loved" (Deon, 6 September 2017. Fieldnotes). Amos Rapport (1990) suggests that the self-made built environment offers powerful indicators of self-identity and also provides a sense of the context of the sociocultural context in which these structures are constructed.

Documenting Poverty

In *Scenes of Life/Kentucky Mountains* (2002: 349pg), photographer and writer Kathleen Stuart describes the act of documenting through photography as a documentation of a "charged border between the image and matter, the framed and the unframed, the seen and the noticed". The documentary mode cannot be put into one absolute category, but it has, in its many branches of documentary photography, its own aesthetic that it adheres to. Abigail Solomon-Godeau argues that all images of the past can now be placed into the category of being documentary of sorts (Wellz, 2000: 75).

In this section I shall look at the documentary images taken by E.G. Malherbe for the Carnegie Commission inquiry of the late 1800s and early 1900s into the 'poor white problem' (Iliffe, 1987: 117), and examine early traces of documentary photography in South Africa and how it can be situated in debates around documentary photography as a practice.

> *In South Africa, advertisements, political cartoons and ethnographic documentary photography, have all used visual imagery to represent debates over meaning, history and social relations.* (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 42)

In the early 1900s, white poverty was seen as a great crisis in South Africa. The Carnegie Commission launched a probe of investigation into the matter to establish the reason for 'the poor white' problem. During the 1930s the term 'the poor white problem' was used to refer to white farmers and 'bywoners' (tenant farmers) who lived in poverty due to the economic climate after World War One (Giliomee, 2003). The Commission's inquiry was carried out between 1929 and 1932 with the aim of investigating the root of white poverty and to find strategies to solve this 'problem' (Bell, 2000: 481). The 'poor white problem' was also a consequence of the Anglo-Boer war that took place between 1899-1902 (Giliomee, 2003: 296; Teppo, 2004: 14). White poverty was seen as an anomaly to the emerging white nationalists (Meade & Walker, 1991: 159). It was estimated that more than 300,000 whites (approximately one sixth of the total white population) were very poor, and the majority of them were Afrikaans speaking (Norval, 1996: 16).

At the time, the Carnegie Commission was the first South African study of poverty that made use of photographs as evidence (Du Toit, 2006: 49; Willowby-Herrard, 2015: 44). Art historian Michael Godby, writing about the photographs that E.G. Malherbe presented to the Commission, describes the photographer's limited, unsympathetic, racist engagement with his subjects (Du Toit, 2006: 50). In his article, 'Then and Now' (Undated), Godby talks about the power of images by Malherbe, and the other Carnegie photographers. When looking at the visual records that the inquiry produced, Godby notes, one could imagine and reconstruct the encounter between photographer and subjects. Godby described the Carnegie Commission's inquiry into the 'Poor White Problem' as "unattributed and stereotyped", where the focus was on 'types of poor whites' and their homes, as seen in Figure 15 (Godby, Undated: 10) – an image by Malherbe described as "A poor digger's wife and the family's 'kaja'" by Marijke du Toit (2006) in 'Binnelandse Reise (Journeys to the

Interior): Photographs from the Carnegie Commission of Investigation into the Poor White Problem, 1929/1932'.



Figure 15: E.G. Malherbe, '*A Poor Digger's Wife and the Family's 'Kaja'*. (1929-1932).

Subjects were mostly photographed in front of their dwellings facing forward, almost like a "police mugshot" (Godby, Undated: 10). The manner in which the sitters were instructed to present themselves to the photographer and the camera was intentional. In Figure 16, Malherbe's *Residents of Baviaanskloof* (1929-1932) shows the photographer's deliberate choice of focusing on the sitter's dwelling, physical appearance, as well as facial type to use as evidence in determining the conclusion the commission would put forward as their findings to improve life of these subjects, namely that of forwarding the notion of Afrikaner Trots and respectability (Willoughby-Herrard, 2015: 44). These 'mugshots' as described by Godby, are comparable to Walker Evans' subsequent image of Alie Mae Burroughs (which is also the title of the image) for the Farm Security Administration (FSA). Burroughs was a sharecropper photographed against the wall of she and her husband's four room cabin.



Figure 16: E.G. Malherbe: '*Residents of Baviaanskloof*'. (1929-1932).

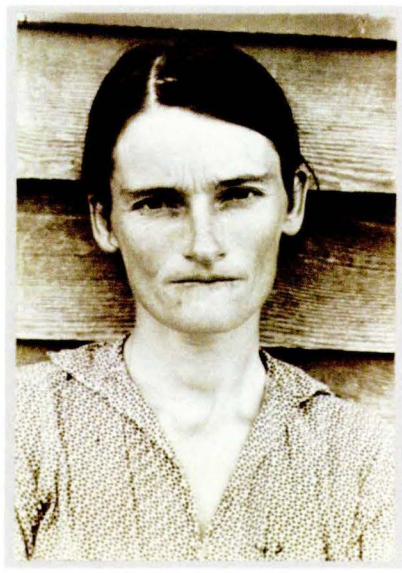


Figure 17: Walker Evans: *'Alie Mae Burroughs'*. (1936)

As Susan Sontag states in her book, *On Photography*, "a photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened" (Sontag, 1973: 3). According to John Roberts in *The Art of Interruption: Realism, Photography and the Everyday*, photography has the ability to "capture the political and utopian content" of 'realism' and of the 'everyday' (Roberts, 1998: 2). In the early years of the 1900s photography was a fairly new medium, and discussions around photography were limited. Documentary photography was regarded as a means of legitimate proof and was used in the Carnegie Commission's study in South Africa as a means of scientific research (Willoughby-Herard. 2015: 44). Du Toit argues that the Carnegie Commission's photographic representation served as evidence of white impoverishment in South Africa (Du Toit, 2006: 49).

Allan Sekula, in his essay 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning' (1974), proposes that the meaning of a photographic message is context determined and that the meaning and the context cannot be separated, as the context plays a great role in determining the meaning of the image. He suggests that the concept of photography is a limiting discourse because it is "shared within a group whereby information is exchanged" (1989: 4). This means that anything communicated through photography carries authority and is already loaded with political and cultural meaning (Sekula, 1989: 4). As in the case of the Carnegie Commission's inquiry, the images produced were for a stipulated assignment that was given to the researchers, and photographers like Malherbe (Du Toit, 2006: 49). Malherbe's images were thus used as a tool to convey a message that was determined by the stipulated guidelines provided, that guided him to take images that had to motivate the importance of the plight of the poor white.

As Du Toit suggests, Malherbe's images were produced as a means of creating awareness of the hardship and dehumanising living conditions of poor whites. The images produced were deliberately sensational as they were intended to expose the dire need of poor white people of the time, supporting the growing calls for state intervention (Du Toit, 2006: 60). These images, taken in a 'snapshot' or 'Kodak'

style, with the titles and comments that accompanied them, served the purpose of supporting the Commission's racist agenda (Du Toit, 2006: 52). Photographs in the documentation of the poverty genre are often images that are designed to shock the viewer and, as Mark Rawlinson (2009: 96) argues, these images at times expose the plight of the poor and are often intended to promote social change.

In photographing poor white people from the 1900s to the present, Afrikaner historian Herman Giliomee has argued that it is something that is often seen as an anomaly in South Africa where poverty is racialised, and white poverty is unexpected (Giliomee, 2003). Due to it being unexpected, white poverty had to be addressed in a certain fashion, by enforcing Afrikaner Trots as something to strive for and to use these findings as proof to support policies to create a division between white and black South Africans (Giliomee, 2014: 486; Teppo, 2015: 50).

Sontag (1974: 14) suggests that photographers use shocking images either as a way to draw attention to the plight of the people they photograph, or simply as a way of drawing viewership. She argues against the use of the documentary image in photographing marginalised people and people who face atrocities like war, famine and poverty. In her book, *Regarding The Pain Of Others,* Sontag makes a compelling argument for self-awareness by photographers, stating that the documentary image is a powerful tool and the photographer should always be aware of the power of the image (Sontag, 2003: 17). She emphasises that the viewer, educated or not in the reading of photographic images, perceives what has been captured in the image (Tsonchev, 2010).

Sontag (2000: 4) scrutinises the use of what she terms "shock pictures". She describes shock photographs as images that expose the privileged viewer to the 'real' that they might not encounter nor be exposed to in their lives. Sontag's notion of the 'privileged', more precisely, are those not directly affected by the dangers that

are depicted in the images (Sontag, 2000: 4). The 'real' for Sontag is the reality experienced by the subjects affected in the images (ibid.).

Sontag's concern about the use of shock images is important when considering the use of the Carnegie images for their shock value as a tactic to enforce an agenda, as noted in Gilliomee (2014) and Teppo (2015). The photographs for the Commission by Malherbe fit into this notion of 'shock pictures', where the snapshots, along with their associated descriptions, were shocking enough to convince the Commission of the existence of white poverty, and to support the growing race-based ideology of apartheid.

In her book, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (2008), Ariella Azoulay discusses the role of the photographer as the following:

> *Roland Barthes*[4]*, Jean Baudrillard, or Susan Sontag – who bore witness to a glut of images were the first to fall prey to a kind of 'image fatigue'; they simply stopped looking. The world filled up with images of horrors, and they loudly proclaimed that viewers' eyes had grown unseeing, proceeding to unburden themselves of the responsibility to hold onto the elementary gesture of looking at what is presented to one's gaze.* (Azoulay, 2008: 11)

[4] Graham Clarke, discussing Roland Barthes' concept of the 'punctum', puts forward how a disconcerting detail that ,"disturbs the surface unity and stability of an image" may "like a cut, begin the process of opening up that space to critical analysis' (Clarke,1997: 9). The punctum, as coined by Barthes, is the moment the photograph "pricks the viewer" – or "pierces his/her consciousness" (Ribiére, 2008: 64). Clarke continues to note that "once we have discovered our punctum we become, irredeemably, active readers of the scene" (Clarke, 1997: 9). In Barthes' punctum, the viewer animates and is animated by the photograph.

Azoulay (2008) also analyses Roland Barthes' view on images of horror where he describes the hunger for horror being what drives him to look at images that are made up of shocking content. Azoulay further analyses Sontag's image fatigue, referring to the viewer's hunger for shock that gets depleted because of the desensitisation towards the shock value of the image. For Azoulay, unlike Barthes and Sontag, the discussion is not about the image, but instead about the person who is gazing at the image (Azoulay, 2008:119).

The individual gaze and the yearning for horror is what keeps the viewer from delving into the complexities of the image, Azoulay (2008: 11) argues. She stresses the importance of separating the image that is printed on paper from the event that is documented in the image. The context of the moment that is represented in the image, and the actual image, are separate and they should be seen as such. The image, in Azoulay's words, after print, "lacks a predictable end" (Azoulay, 2008: 129). Therefore, according to Azoulay (2008), as time passes the image may lose its original meaning, or it might be viewed in a different light when the image is taken at its face value.

Azoulay thus encourages the viewer to look past the shock that attracts us to the image, and to analyse not only the image, but everything that made it come into existence. This is where the shock image, when looked at today and not analysed, becomes just another image of white poverty that stands alone as proof that poor whites living in slums was seen before apartheid and in post 1994 South Africa – as in the case of the documentation of poverty by Malherbe. Before the apartheid regime moved in and improved life for poor whites, looking at white poverty today, and the documentation of it, the online news site *The Telegraph* (2004) mentioned that some might claim that life was 'better' for poor whites under the apartheid government's ruling. There were upliftment programmes introduced, but it did not solve the 'poor white problem'.

Returning to Azoulay's argument, the shock image should not just be taken for what it was intended for, but that the intention should also be analysed by the 'spectator' (Azoulay, 2008. 21). The 'spectator' (Azoulay refers to the viewer as a spectator, as she encourages us not to look at the image but to start "watching" (Azoulay, 2008: 14) thus has the responsibility to read past the text (Sekula, 1989: 4) and start seeing the image for its different meanings throughout time. By 'watching' the image, a relationship between the viewer, the image and the photographer can come into existence over time and the 'stateless citizen' (the sitter) can gain a sense of citizenship through photography, which goes beyond the aesthetics of poverty, thus enabling a new set of representational conditions to be addressed (Azoulay, 2008:14).

The Documentary Aesthetic

Kris Belden-Adams describes documentary photography as a medium that "in a way or another, offer[s] testimony to some degree of truth" (Belden-Adams, 2017: 65). He also states that images that are used for journalistic purposes as well as to be displayed in a gallery setting can be classified as being documentary of sorts (Belden-Adams, 2017: 65). In the process of this research I was challenged to analyse the manner in which photography is regularly represented, by focusing on the aesthetics that are often seen in documentary images.

Here I note that there is a convention of creating and recreating the documentary aesthetic[5] that one finds in the images by the FSA photographers of the early 1900s, by some contemporary artists, amateur photographers and journalists. Many

[5] Aesthetics refers to a broad term that was widely explored by theorists like Lord Shaftesbury, Francis Hutcheson and Alexander Baumgarten, who could be seen as Immanuel Kant's forerunners (Grote, 2017: 06). Kant, however, defined aesthetics, according to Albert Hofstadter and Richard Kuhns (2009: xvii) as an argument towards the "clarification of beauty, genius, judgement, the sublime, the classification of the arts, and related problems ...:

contemporary artists are known for using the same aesthetics as seen in images by Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans as a mode associated with images of poverty, and it is employed by journalistic photographers and studio photographers, for example Dirk Chalmers (Figure 18), Dale Yudelman (Figure 19) and James Cheadle (Figure 20), who have each photographed people in the Pangokamp in Munsieville and previously in Coronation Park.



Figure 18: Dirk Chalmers: *The White Squatters of Krugersdorp are a Collection of Destitute South Africans Who have Been Visited by Journous Before*, JHB Live, 2009. Coronation Park.

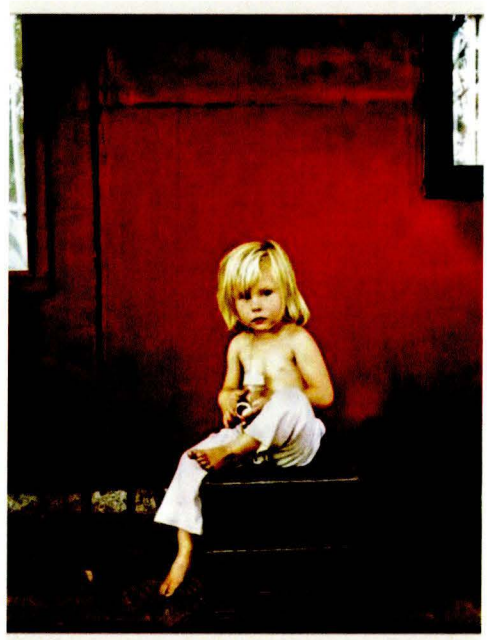


Figure 19: Dale Yudelman, *Girl – Coronation Park – Krugersdorp.*2012.



Figure 20: James Cheadle, *Mother and Child in the Camp,* Coronaton Park, Undated

According to Elizabeth Edwards in *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination* (2012), images of poverty and economic distress that were taken in the early 1900s were considered as a picturesque depiction of poverty that were located in the aesthetic codes of the bourgeoisie, and thus were also seen as art. Images of poverty are largely known for their harsh elements of broken, rusty and faded surroundings, and it is just these elements, Edwards argues, that add to the aesthetics of the image and attract viewership and interest (Edwards, 2012: 238). These elements are what make the image visually appealing and aesthetically pleasing, and thus entice interest of the viewer.

The mode followed in photographing 'poor whites' in South Africa has mostly remained within the same bounds. E.G Malherbe in his Carnegie Commission images, and Dorothea Lange in her *Migrant Mother* photograph (1936), seen in Figure 21, used a black and white approach to documenting poverty. While this was due to colour photography's popularity only developing during 1937 (Gernsheim, 1986: 28), the choice of using black and white as a medium persisted and has become an aesthetic associated with the documentation of poverty and with a certain kind of documentary image. This aesthetic is seen in the shock value of the

image, as well as in the way the photographer chooses to represent the sitter within the image, as Sontag explores extensively.

> *How else to get attention for one's product or one's art? How else to make a dent when there is incessant exposure to images, and overexposure to a handful of images seen again and again? The image as shock and the image as cliché are two aspects of the same presence.* (Sontag, 2003: 16)

In the above quote, Sontag refers to the reproduction of images in the same form that is deemed suitable and almost expected for a certain event or a group of people. A visual trend is established in images by Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans, where documenting and focusing on poverty is the main theme of these images, and in more recent times, Dirk Chalmers, Dale Yudelman and James Cheadle's photographs of Coronation Park and the Pangokamp all share the same sentiment, i.e. to expose living conditions by focusing on poverty to create an image that falls into the expected visual trope of the genre – white poverty.

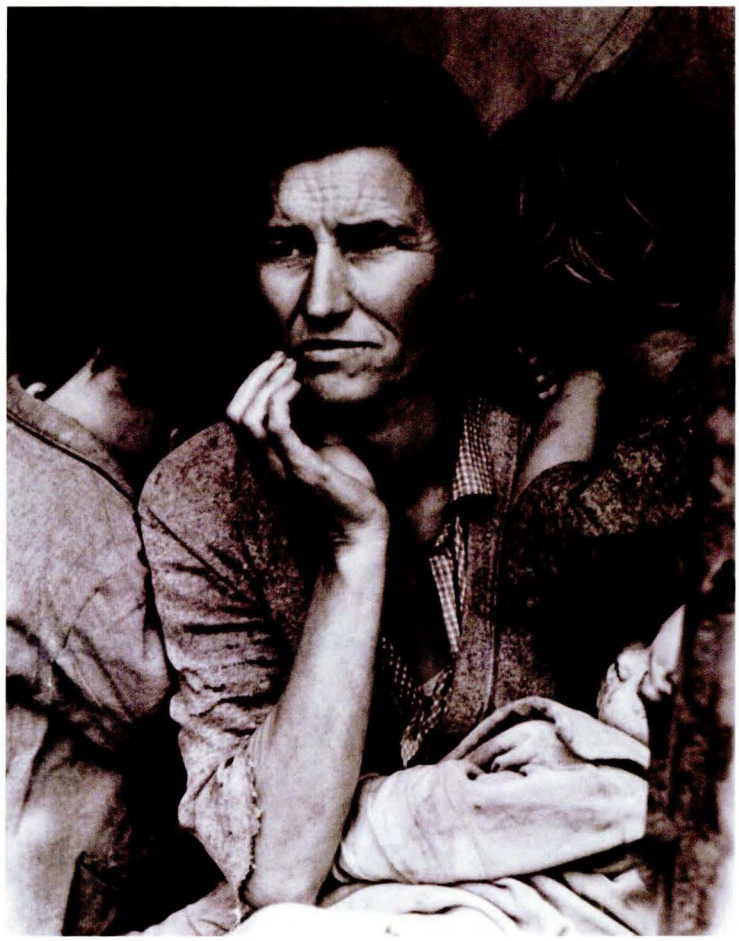


Figure 21: Dorothea Lange, *Migrant Mother*, 1936.

The concept of the documentary aesthetic started off with early documentary photographers, like Dorothea Lange and South African photographer E.G. Malherbe, who were responsible for setting the mode of image making that is still a popular manner of photographing the poor, and poverty stricken areas. The aesthetic of photographing poverty manifests in the documentation of the image for desired social change, and in the physical appearance of the documentary image. An example of the use of the documentary aesthetic is present in the photo-essay, *Seacoal* (1988) by Chris Killip. In this series, the images are described as having an aesthetic that is associated with "tropes of the representation of poverty" (Korte & Zipp, 2014: 106). *Seacoal* is a photo essay in a book form about the collectors of sea coal during the 'Thatcher years', as the body of work was first published in the year that Margaret Thatcher came into power as British prime minister (O'Hagan, 2016).

Figure 22 by Chris Killip, titled *Boo and His Rabbit* (1988) from the *Seacoal* series, shows a young boy standing next to white bags possibly containing coal, on his right, and holding a rabbit in his left hand. The boy is standing up straight, staring into the camera with an expressionless face. In the background one sees a structure that might be a house or a storage place. A donkey is in front of this structure. The image is taken in black and white in landscape format, not only to focus on the subject, but to bring the vastness of his surroundings forward. Korte and Zipp describe the images in the *Seacoal* series as "black and white and showing images of people shovelling coal, [where] the photographs have almost a nineteenth-century look" (Korte & Zipp, 2014: 106). This description of this body of work draws a link between the depiction of the working class and poor then, and the aesthetic choices that were made in popular images of poverty during the nineteenth century.



Figure 22: Chris Killip, *Boo and his Rabbit.* 1982 – 1984.

In *Photography as Activism: Images of Social Change*, Michelle Bogre (2012) discusses the visual methodology employed to photograph the poor of the depression years by the FSA for ultimate efficiency. The head of the FSA, Roy Stryker, hired twenty photographers – among which was Dorothea Lange – to document the effects of poverty in America (Bogre, 2012: 34). Stryker's control over the assignments he allocated to each photographer was credited by him as being "FSA-style documentary" (Bogre, 2012: 35). This idea of searching for the cliché and the aesthetic in photography is strengthened by Martha Rosler's critique of photographing the Bowery, a decapitated slum in New York City that came to be just after the Civil War in America, where photographers were drawn to this area because, as Rosler described it, it was the "archetypal skid row" (Rosler, 1981: 175). Here the 'archetypal skid row' refers to a way of creating a documentary image by using a chosen existing aesthetic as a standard mode of photographing something or someone to create the most attractive kind of image.

This aesthetic is what attracts the viewer's attention to the subject and his or her position within public culture (Lucaites, 2001: 6). But this aesthetic can also be located in the physical representation of the subject within the image, capturing the tell-tale facial expression of the hardship of poverty (Meltzer,1987: xvii). Rosler, in the case of the Bowery, saw the place as overly photographed, describing that *"It is no longer possible to evoke the camouflaging impulses to 'help' drunks and down-and-outers or 'expose' their dangerous existence*" (Rosler, 1981: I).

This aesthetic can also be seen as a template that the documentary image can create if an existing cliché is used to photograph a certain group of people. The template is described as the moment when the image is used by other photographers and illustrators as something to fall back on as a kind of a source material that links the present to values and ideals of the past (Foss, 2004: 180). An example of the establishment of this aesthetic is the black and white images taken

by Malherbe, as well as Dorothea Lange's popular image of the great depression, *Migrant Mother* (1936). Lange took this photograph (Figure 21) during the depression years as part of an assignment by the Farm Security Administration. The *Migrant Mother* is not a snapshot: as one can see in the composition of the image, thought has gone into the way the image is read as a "textual object" (Sekula, 1982: 3). Lange was aware of how she wanted to portray the situation, and was aware of the manner in which she wanted to approach the framing of the mother to capture the emotions she picked up from the situation to create an image that projects a set form of meaning.

The black and white image is focussed on the mother, but is successful in the sense that it gives the viewer information about the mother, and possibly about what women went through during the depression era (Nadel, 2003: 185). *Migrant Mother* is a portrait of a woman and her three children who were affected by the economic conditions of the Great Depression (Lange, 1936). The mother, with a deep, pensive expression on her face, dirty-looking ragged clothes, baby on her lap, and two messy-haired children on either side of her, became a symbol of the great depression, and a reference for photographers to work from. The image evokes not only emotion, but also questions about the living conditions of people during the Great Depression. It has become something that the viewer can relate to, or even a symbol of the viewer's fear of becoming the migrant mother or being in the same situation. It shows that this is someone who is deeply affected by the great depression and in its aesthetic form shows poverty in the way that the photographer aimed to portray it: the intimacy of the image makes it an object the viewer can relate to. The image encapsulates, as I argue, a mode of aesthetic representation of poverty that has persisted ever since.

Roy Stryker, who headed the Information Division at the FSA, described the *Migrant Mother* to be the "ultimate image of the depression era" (Stryker as cited in Angier, 2015: 49). The image invokes enough emotion as a standalone object that it encapsulates what the FSA aimed to do, namely to show poverty in the way they

wanted the viewers to see it, and at the end to create an iconic image of the era that would draw attention to their project through emotional imagery. In *Appalachia as Other* (2015), Kate Fowler deduces the above quote by Roy Stryker as pointing to the idea that poverty and suffering have a form of aesthetic, and thus many artists aim to produce images according to that aesthetic (Fowler, 2015). This aesthetic has been successful and is the kind of mode people have come to expect from a documentary project.

The image therefore becomes a depiction of an aesthetic that comes with photographing poverty, such as that of *Migrant Mother*. In photographing homeless camps in America, Lange was deployed to photograph two major camps on the American River where the iconic *Migrant Mother* was photographed (Maharidge, 2013: 216). The aesthetic of the documentary image, however, does not necessarily refer to a visual duplication of the *Migrant Mother*, but it is seen in the use of creating a link between the public and private life of the sitter (Bogre, 2012: 38). The documentary image *voyeurs* into the life of the sitter and creates an intimacy between the viewer and the sitter within the image. The social cliché of the image is pointed out by Sontag where she talks about the documentary photographer's fascination with "social adventurism" (Sontag, 1974: 42). A social cliché is a setting that is easily recognised by the viewer. These images are without character, as Christian Lotz (2015) describes them in *The Art of Gerard Richter: Hermeneutics, Images and Meaning* (2015: 189). This is the fascination with photographing the 'strange' that will attract viewers, but also being attracted to the strange that the poverty setting offers the photographer.

Roger Ballen is known for his assertion of an aesthetic that is unique to his practice. Ballen works in a square format, black and white mode that is synonymous with the aesthetic present in his of images of marginalised people throughout the different bodies of work he has created. In Ballen's earlier work, such as *Dorps* (1968) and *Platteland* (1994), was of an exploration of people living in poverty-stricken mining towns in South Africa (Kerr, 2011: 20). These two bodies of work were part of which

inspired my aesthetic choices in the body of work titled *Coronation Park* (2013). This aesthetic can be linked back to Sontag's idea of the cliché, as the aesthetic becomes the cliché and the image becomes aesthetically pleasing to the viewer as it contains some of the clichés that are expected in an image of poverty. The problem with photographing poverty, according to Sontag (2003) is that photographers see image making just as capturing the 'right' image of poverty, where the sitter is "decorated" by the worn down, emaciated surroundings that poverty offers the photographer to play around with.

In Ballen's later work, he shifts his manner of production to a more visually performative mode that includes animals, wires and drawings, that continues into his more recent practice in work such as *Outland* (2001), *Shadow Chamber* (2005), *Boarding House* (2009), *Asylum of Birds* (2014) and The *Theatre of Apparitions* (2016), which also feature in his new book, *Ballenesque: Roger Ballen: A Retrospective* (2017). Figure 23 is an image from Ballen's *Asylum of Birds*, titled *Scream* (2014), that depicts this mode of image making that he still commonly uses today. In Ballen's assertion of this aesthetic in his work after *Dorps* (1968) and *Platteland* (1994), Jörg Colberg (2017) argues that Ballen falls victim to the pitfalls of that aesthetic, creating images that cannot speak for themselves, noting that in Ballen's work after *Platteland "... the irony is that Ballen's photographs for the most parts resist their maker's efforts to steer the conversation"*.

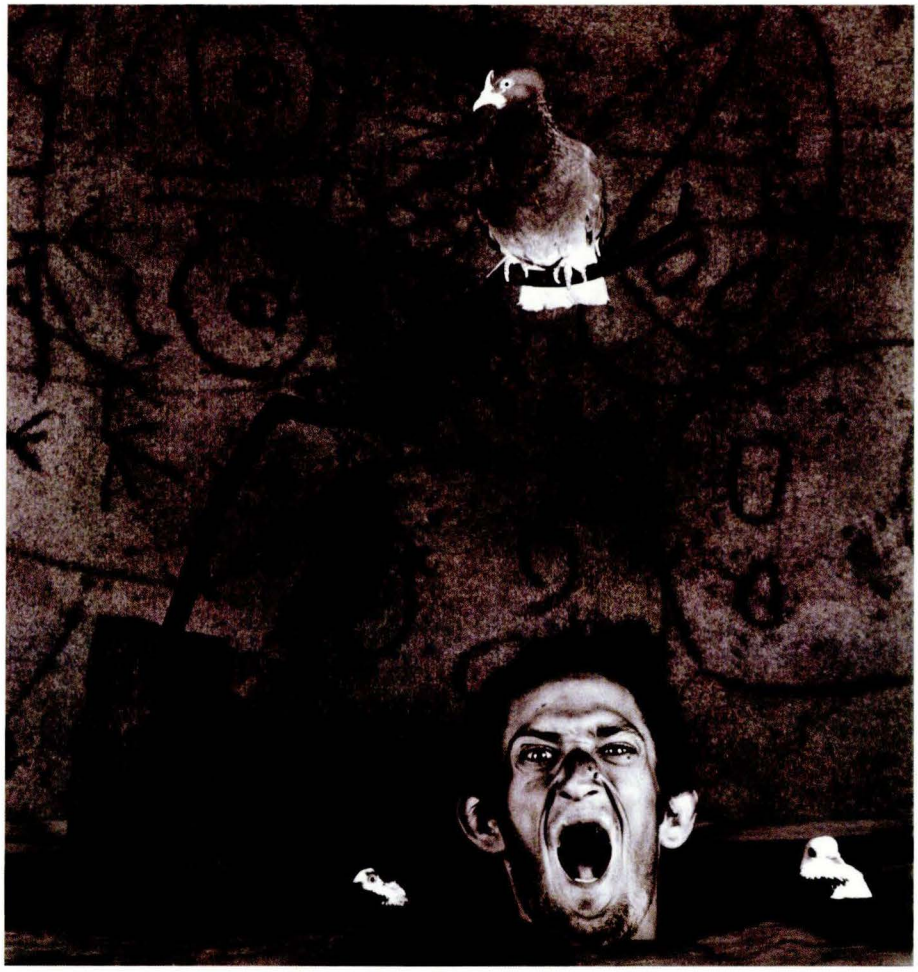


Figure 23: Roger Ballen, *Scream,* 2012.

Drawing upon Colberg's statement of Ballen's work resisting the maker's efforts to steer itself, the use of the same manner of photographing poor whites, especially the images of Coronation Park and the Pangokamp that are often found in the media – as in the examples identified above – have the same effect. Thus, when photographing the Pangokamp, it was my goal to avoid this manner of representing its residents as it falls into the representational tropes that have been repeated by artists like Ballen and artists in the media such as Chalmers, Cheadle and Yudelman. There is a lack of conversation if the photographer falls into an aesthetic trap that has been used before and the viewer becomes used to the mode of photographing, and at the end is desensitised, as Sontag (1973) argued.

Expanding on Sontag's argument, Tascon reiterates that in representing the pain of others, it is easy to show the suffering as "the others provide the spectacle of suffering for the privileged who can choose to be unaffected" (Tascon 2012: 872). Sontag argues that, a lot of the time, viewers start to suffer from "compassion fatigue" because the images are overwhelming, and so they choose, instead, to desensitise themselves (Sontag, 1973).

Sontag, in *On Photography* (1973), gives a reason for the possibility for viewer to become desensitised:

> *Despite the illusion of giving understanding, what seeing through photographs really invites is an acquisitive relation to the world that nourishes aesthetic awareness and promotes emotional detachment.* (Sontag, 1973: 87)

Thus, expanding on Sontag's argument, when photographing people who are economically disadvantaged, it often happens that the photographer becomes the teller of the tale, and the saviour who conveys the message of the people he/she is photographing to create awareness and bring financial help and possible relief to the situation. Thus, at times, the sitter does not get what they are promised as the image loses its emotional appeal and shock value quickly. Some photographers are out to create the shock image of the already shocking situation because the viewer's need for seeing the next shock image grows (Sontag, 2003: 14). The more shocking, the more the interest grows. According to Azoulay (2008), and expanding on the previous 'Documenting Poverty' section of this chapter, theorists like Sontag and Barthes themselves fell victim to 'image fatigue', where overanalysing their idea behind the motive of the image lead them to simply stop looking.

Azoulay argues that there is much more to an image than the horror and tragedy behind it, and one can always read more into an image by taking the time to look at what else is present in the image. An image has much more to offer the viewer when it is not only looked at, but watched, as if the moment the image was taken is acted out in the viewer's imagination. The photograph has multiple meanings and cannot only be defined by the tragedy that is documented in it. Thus, instead of falling into the trap of desensitisation, the viewer should watch the image, question it and elaborate on it, as the image can become a communal space for discussion. The image, according to Azoulay, can become a space for the establishment of citizenship, for the photographed, the photographer and whoever actively engages with the image. As Joscelyn Jurich explains:

> *Azoulay's* The Civil Contract of Photography *(2008) argues that photography creates its own "citizenry," and that when an individual (photographer or photographed) "tries to address others through a photograph, she is becoming a citizen in the citizenry of photography". Photography, writes Azoulay, is a civil action, but it is one outside of the state and even outside of property.* (Jurich, 2015: 11)

Azoulay encourages us to engage with photography at every level by looking past shock and horror, especially in the case of poverty and stigmatisation (Azoulay: 2008, 187). Azoulay argues that photography should be seen as a mode of activism in creating citizenship for everyone who find themselves in a position of being 'stateless' and stigmatised, as photography is the entry point into citizenship (Azoulay, 2008).

Artist Stacey Kranitz questions this notion of the aesthetic of the documentary image that started with the depiction of the *Migrant Mother* and her children (Fowler, 2015). In her series, *As it Was Give(n) To Me* (2018), Kranitz interrogates the stereotypes and photographic aesthetic that comes with photographing the

Appalachian South of America. Kranitz described this body of work as "documents [that] reflect on our relationship to representations of reality and the inherent flaws and ruptures in the constructed notions of truth" (Kranitz, Undated).

Kranitz created a comprehensive body of work of a group of people that, according to her, has fallen into a representational aesthetic. She describes this work in an interview with The Guardian (2015), as an exploration into the stereotypes of the Appalachian people. Interestingly enough, in 2012, CNN published some of Kranitz's images in an online article called *Life in Appalachia, a Regression to the Mean* by journalists Robert Johnson and Matthew Rond (Johnson & Rond, 2016). CNN chose to show her the most common, stereotypical images of the area, the images that the viewer would be attracted to see of the Appalachian area feeding into the cliché and stereotype that the viewers expected from the Appalachian region, instead of looking comprehensively at the images that are "not so Appalachian", or that show another side of life in the Appalachian region. This leads back to Sontag, Barthes and Azoulay's arguments around images of horror in that Kranitz, in keeping with Azoulay's sentiments in *The Civil Contract of Photography* (2008), extends citizenship towards her sitters by the use of photography.

Azoulay mentions that the cliché of the image speaking a thousand words holds some truth, as watching the image of shock, horror and discomfort opens it up for discussion, and that it should not just be shunned and placed aside as just another image of shock (Azoulay, 2008: 159). Azoulay argues that to watch the image is the only way to battle the viewer becoming desensitised by the shock image, and thus the viewer becomes the spectator with a duty to actively watch the picture (Azoulay, 2008: 159). As in the case of Kranitz's photographs in her wide-ranging body of images, drawings and quotes, the body of work speaks of a multiplicand Appalachia more than as just a series of images that feeds into the existing stereotypes of the space. Kranitz chooses to include the stereotypes and clichés of the people she is photographing, but still manages not to overemphasise them as they form part of a greater whole. As in the words of Colberg:

> *I think all we have to do as viewers is to crack the shell, go past the artist's words where necessary and needed, and then engage with the work to see what it can tell us.* (Colberg: 2017)

Thus, drawing on Azoulay, it is important for the viewer to look past what the image shows, and not to descend into the pitfalls of shock and horror (Sontag: 2003), but to consider that watching the image will provide a greater, more informative experience. Using this analysis of aesthetic pitfalls, I focus on moving away from what is repeatedly seen in the media to attempt to create a discussion about home and homeliness in the Pangokamp in Chapter 3.

Photographing a place and its people

Photography has been scrutinised as a medium by theorists like Sontag and Rosler for its ability to exploit its sitters (Sontag, 1977: 23; Rosler, 1981: I). Azoulay, however, sees the medium as having the possibility to be more than just a moment of the viewer voyeuring into the life of the sitter. As a photographer, I have experienced many mixed emotions when photographing the two bodies of creative work, *Coronation Park* and *Still/Life*.

The complexities of a space become apparent when a photographer needs to find his or her feet within the setting. The other dilemma in photography is knowing when to photograph what, and how to do so. On this subject, Sontag says the following:

> *According to one attitude, there is nothing that should not be seen; according to the other, there is nothing that should not be recorded. Cameras implement an aesthetic view of reality by being a machine-toy that extends to everyone the possibility of making disinterested judgments about importance, interest, beauty. ("That would make a good picture.") Cameras implement the instrumental view of reality by gathering information that enables us to make a more accurate and much quicker response to whatever is going on* (Sontag, 2003: 138).

Rosler and Sontag have been outspoken about what one could refer to as the damaging effects of documentary photography on the sitter, as well as the worrying attraction of the photographer to the sitter and his or her surroundings. Sontag (1977: 23) acknowledges that: "Photography implies that we know about the world if we accept it as the camera records it". When one believes what the photograph coveys, we become less curious about looking. Photographs manifest in the imaginary and give us, the viewers, mental pictures of things that took place, and of places, but they inevitably only show a small section of what took place there and then. John Tagg (as cited in Wells, 2003: 257-60) concurs that the photograph is never innocent or neutral, as the power the image wields is "vested with particular authority to arrest, picture and transform daily life: a power to see and record; a power of surveillance".

This is where Azoulay, in her *Civil Contract of Photography* (2008), chooses to find alternative roles for the photographic image. Azoulay does this by not just looking at its 'wrongs' but what it can mean and how we as people can learn from the image and use it for better understanding situations, as well as just our own human condition (Azoulay, 2008: 49). Considering my practice of photographing elements of home in the Pangokamp, I am aware of Azoulay's theory regarding the extension of citizenship that comes with the act of photography.

In considering the dynamics around photography in the Pangokamp, I was aware of the images that appear in the media's chosen aesthetic in depicting the Pangokamp and its people, as discussed earlier in this chapter. In my practice, I have attempted to move away from this manner of representation towards photography being able to act as a tool that grants citizenship to the poor, displaced and stateless. Jurich explains the following about Azoulay's *Civil Contract of Photography:*

> *Photography is always a civil contract, according to Azoulay, regardless of one's citizenship. It is this special contract that is increasingly empowering individuals not only to use the camera as a weapon against state aggression, but also to view the very act of being photographed as emboldening rather than victimizing* (Jurich, 2015: 11).

In the following chapter, 'Still/Life', I look at the creative interpretation of this research project and discuss my process of art making.

Chapter 3

Still/Life



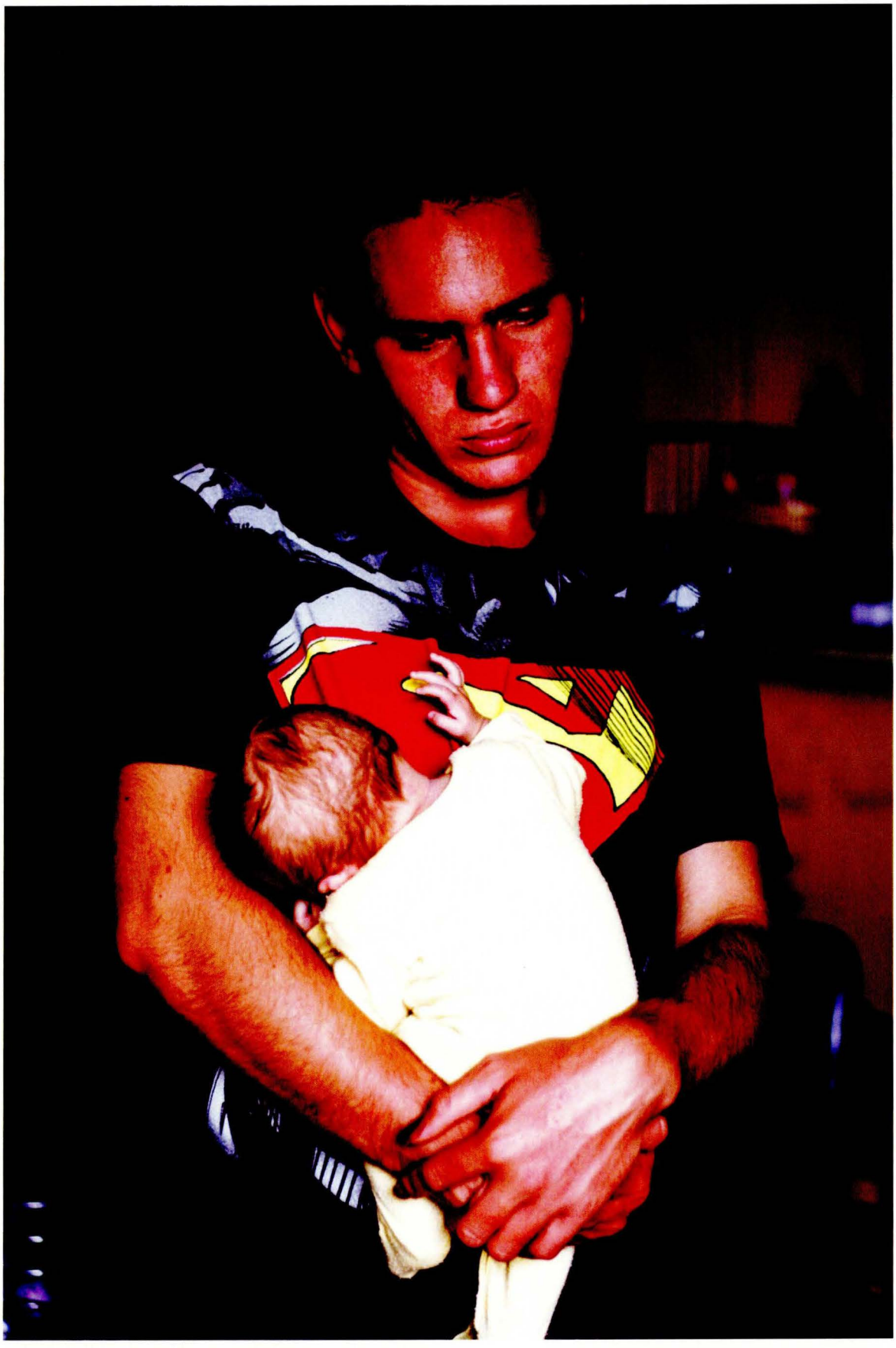
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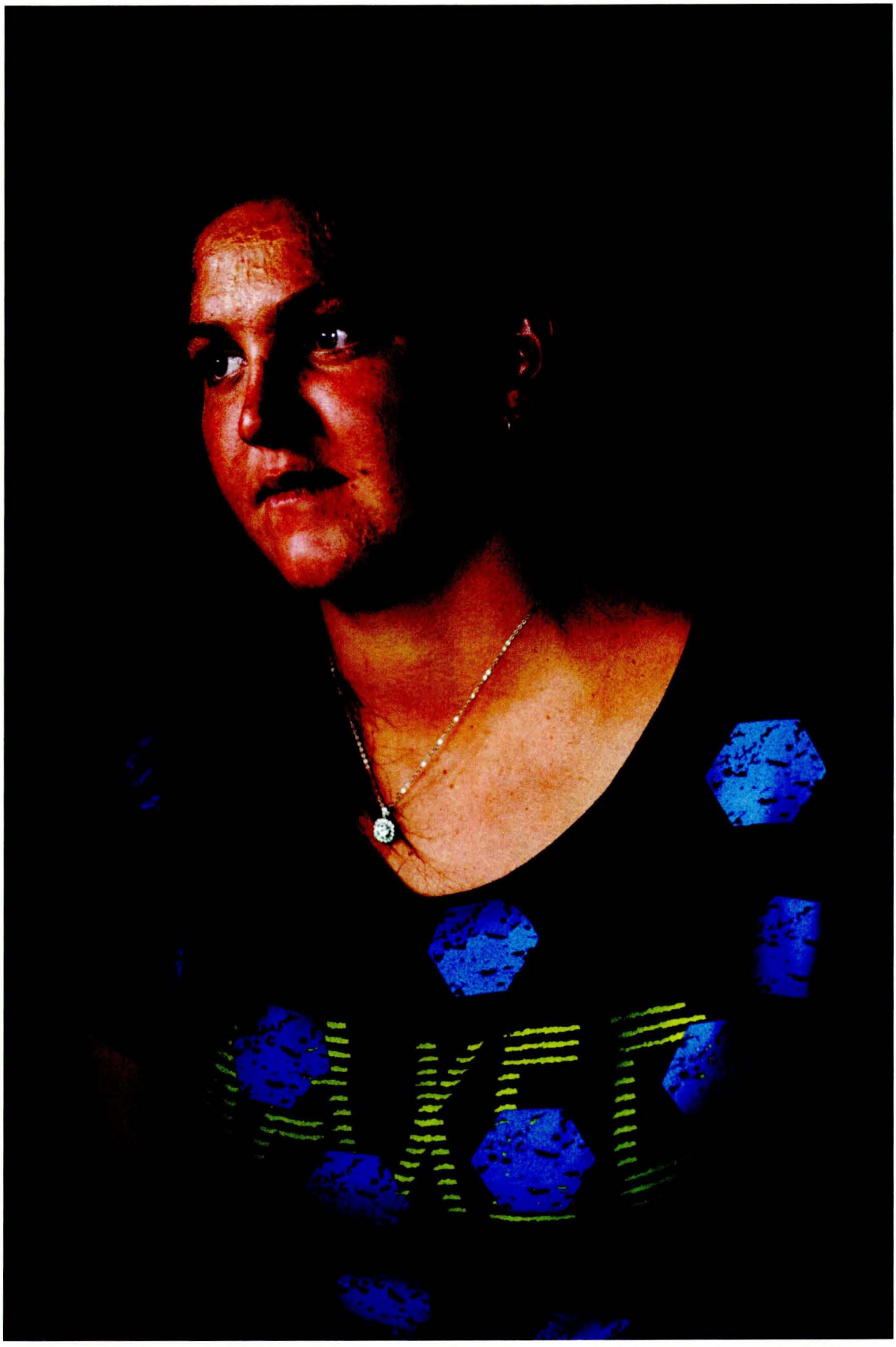
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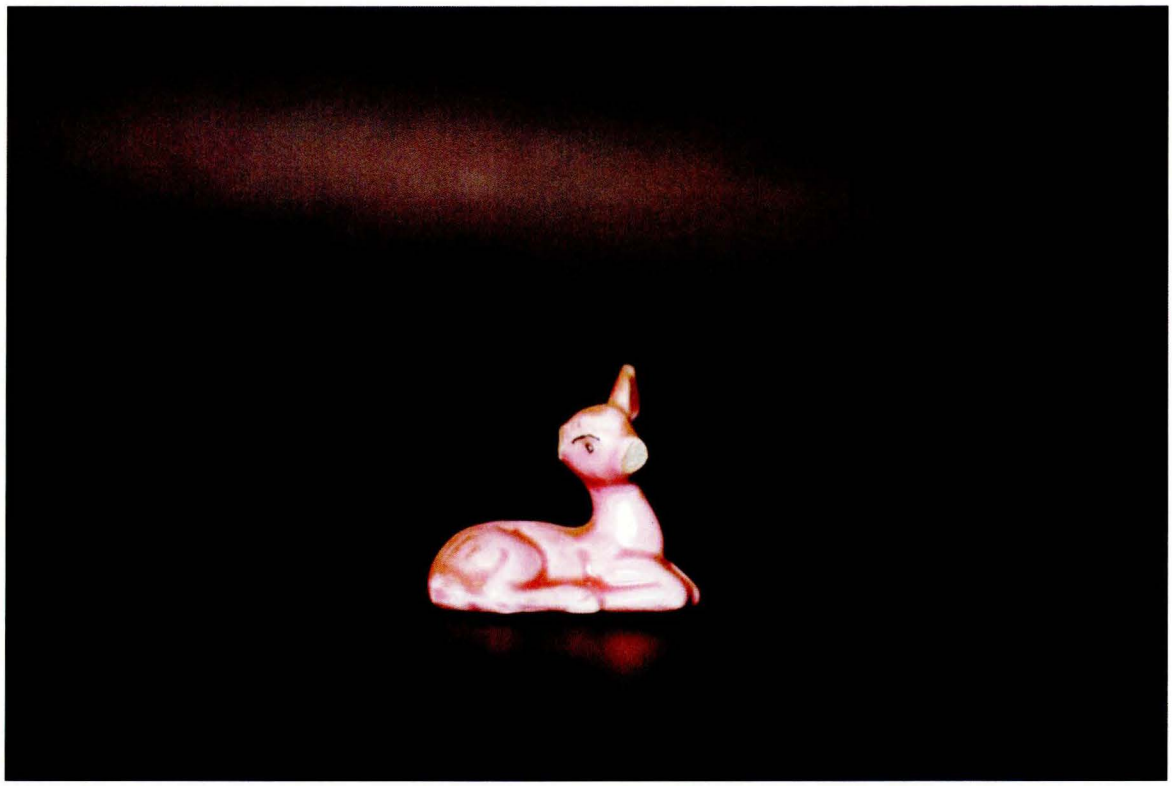
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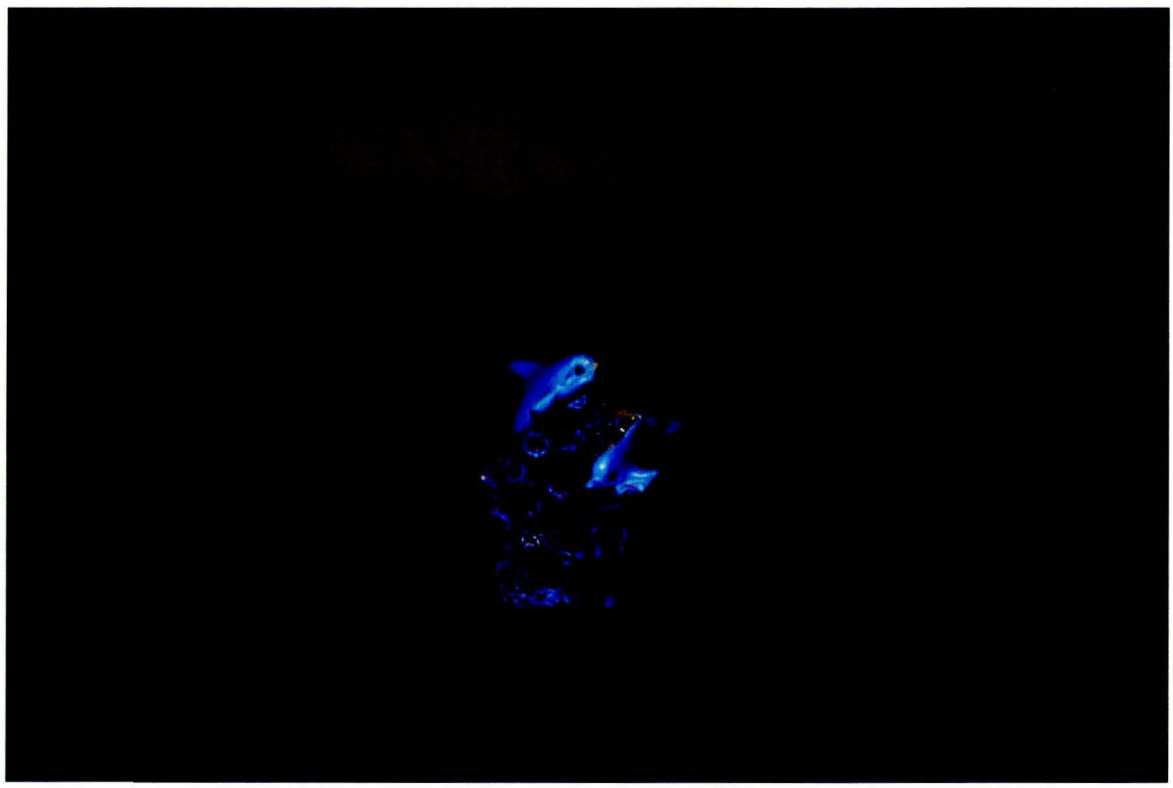
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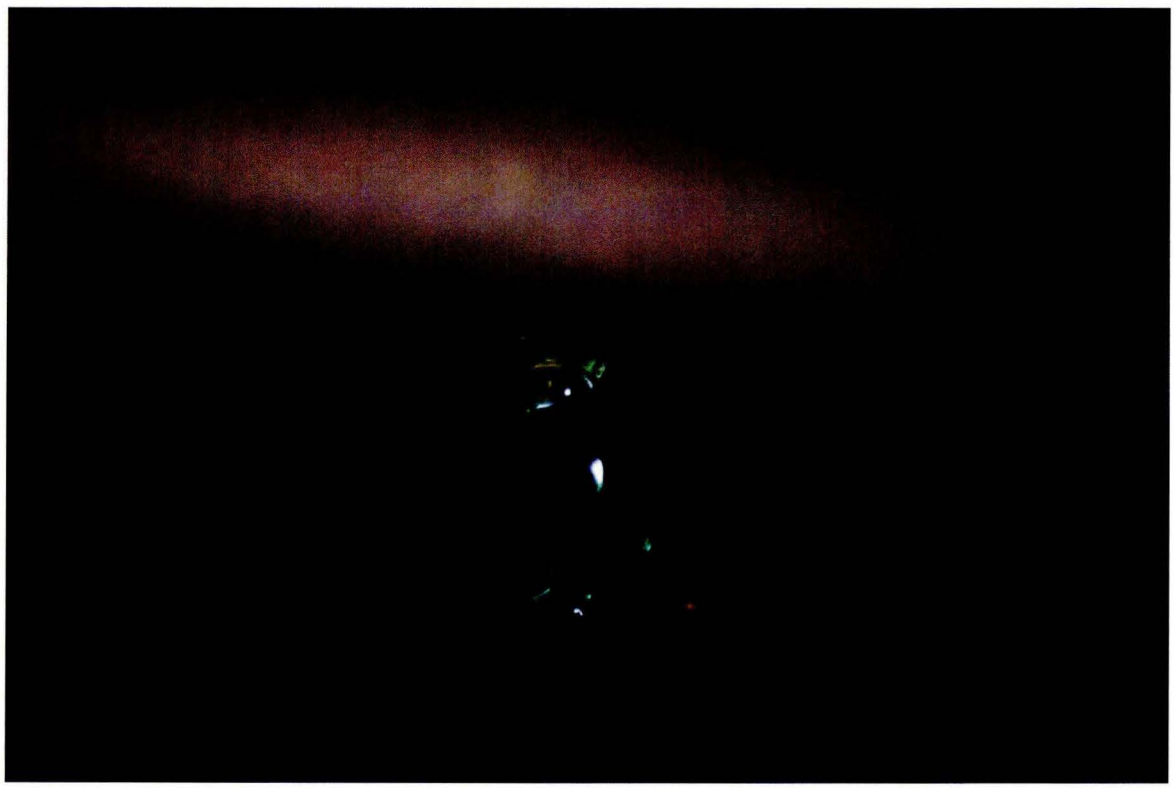
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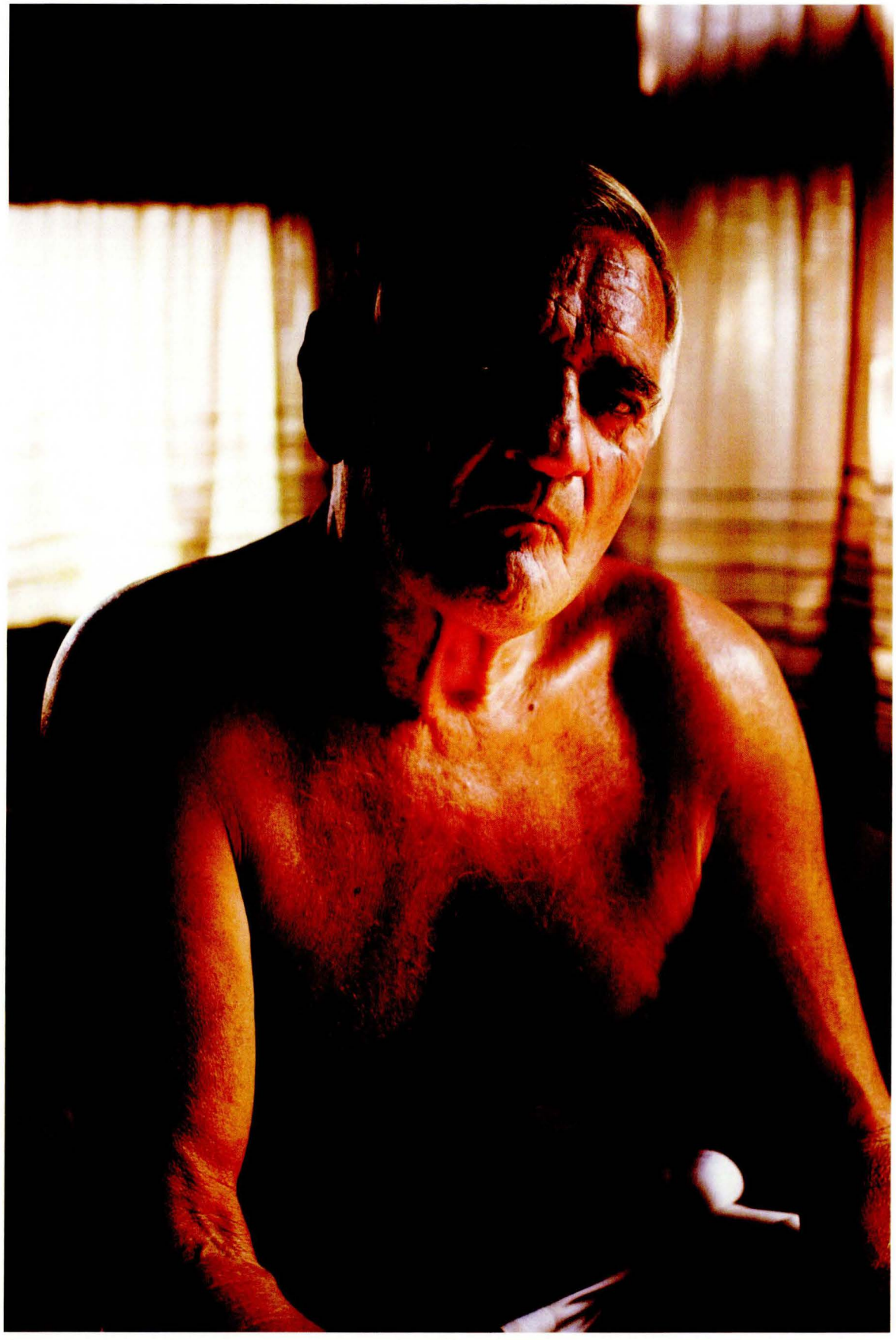
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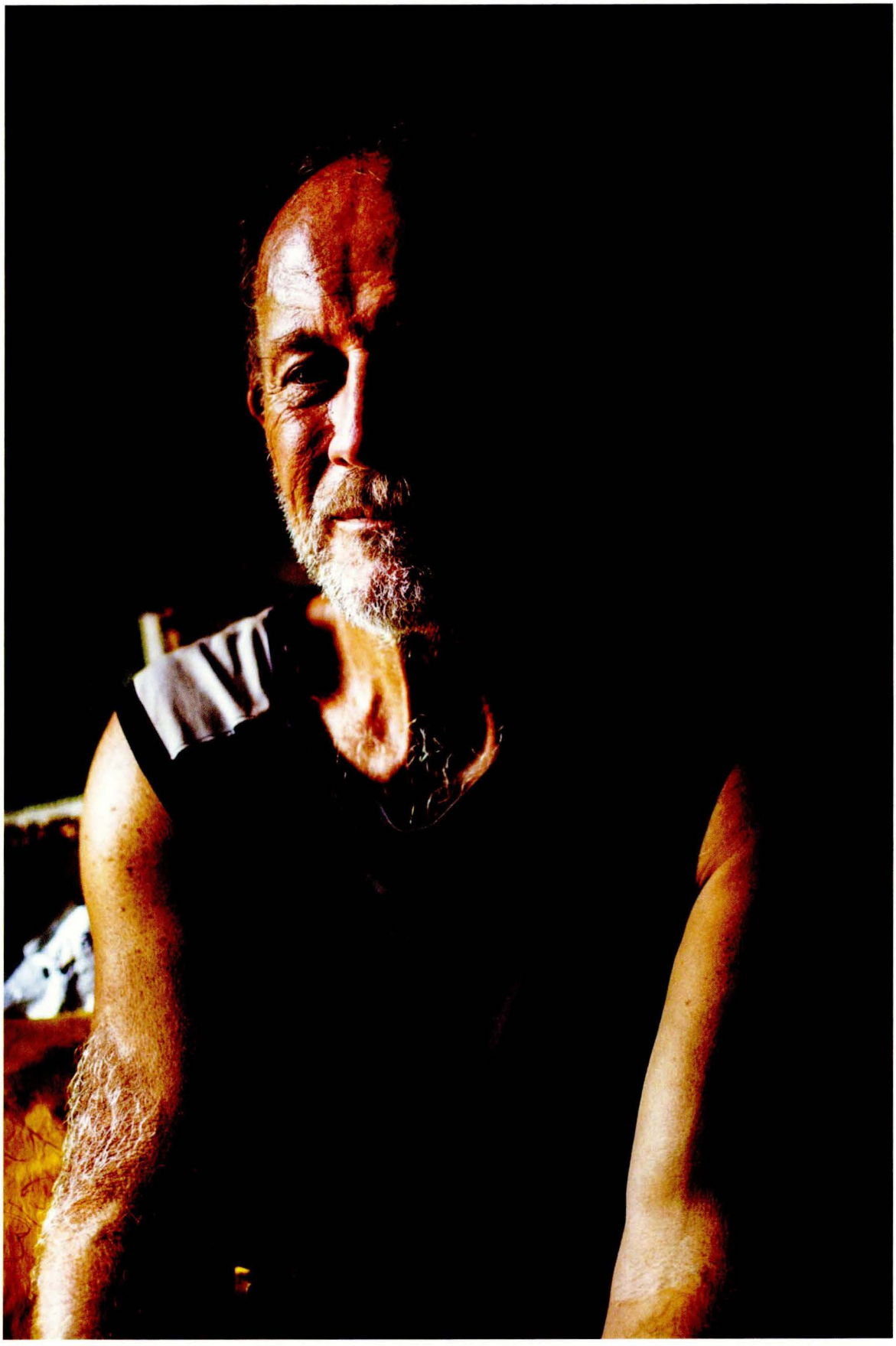
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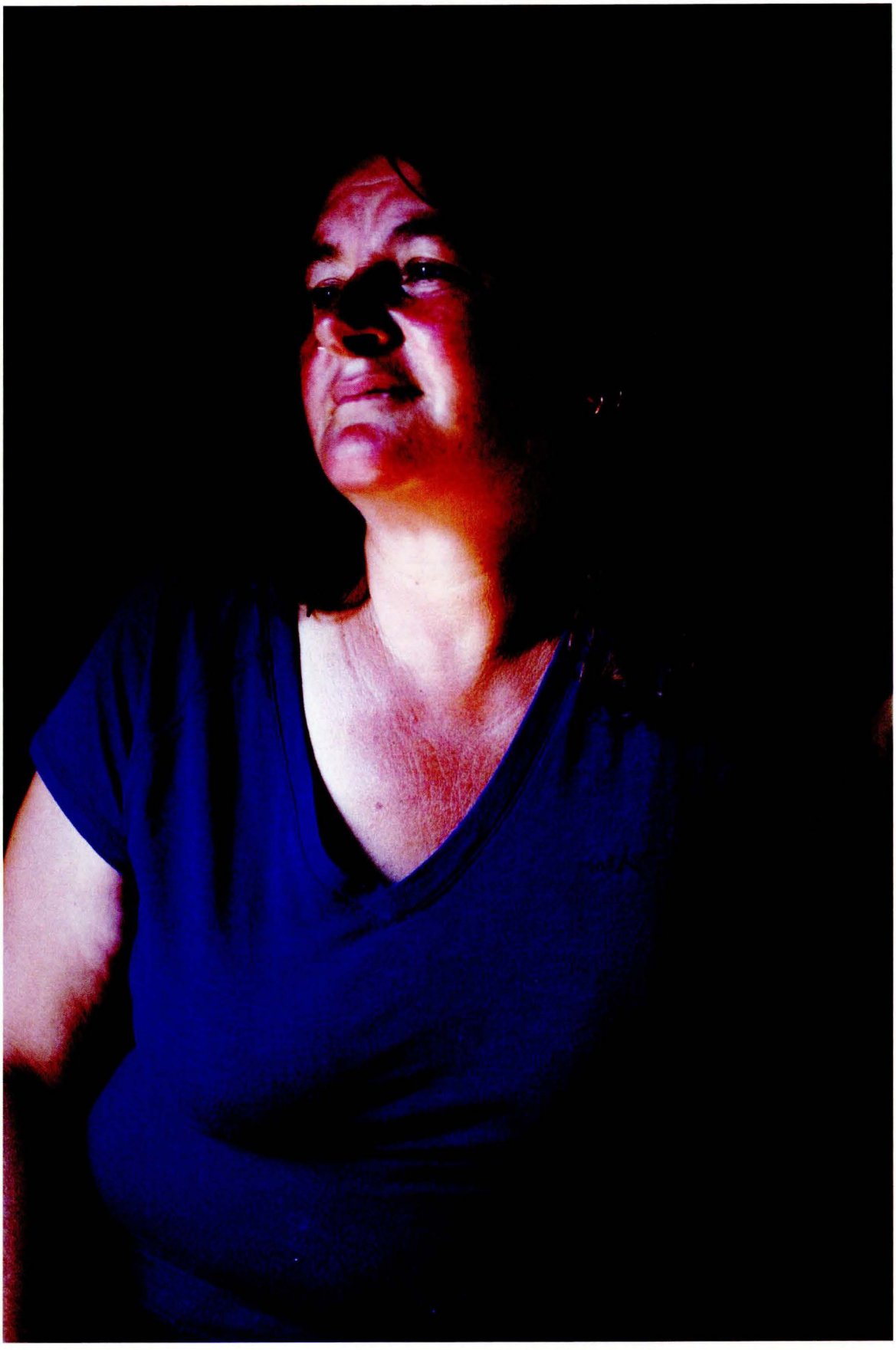
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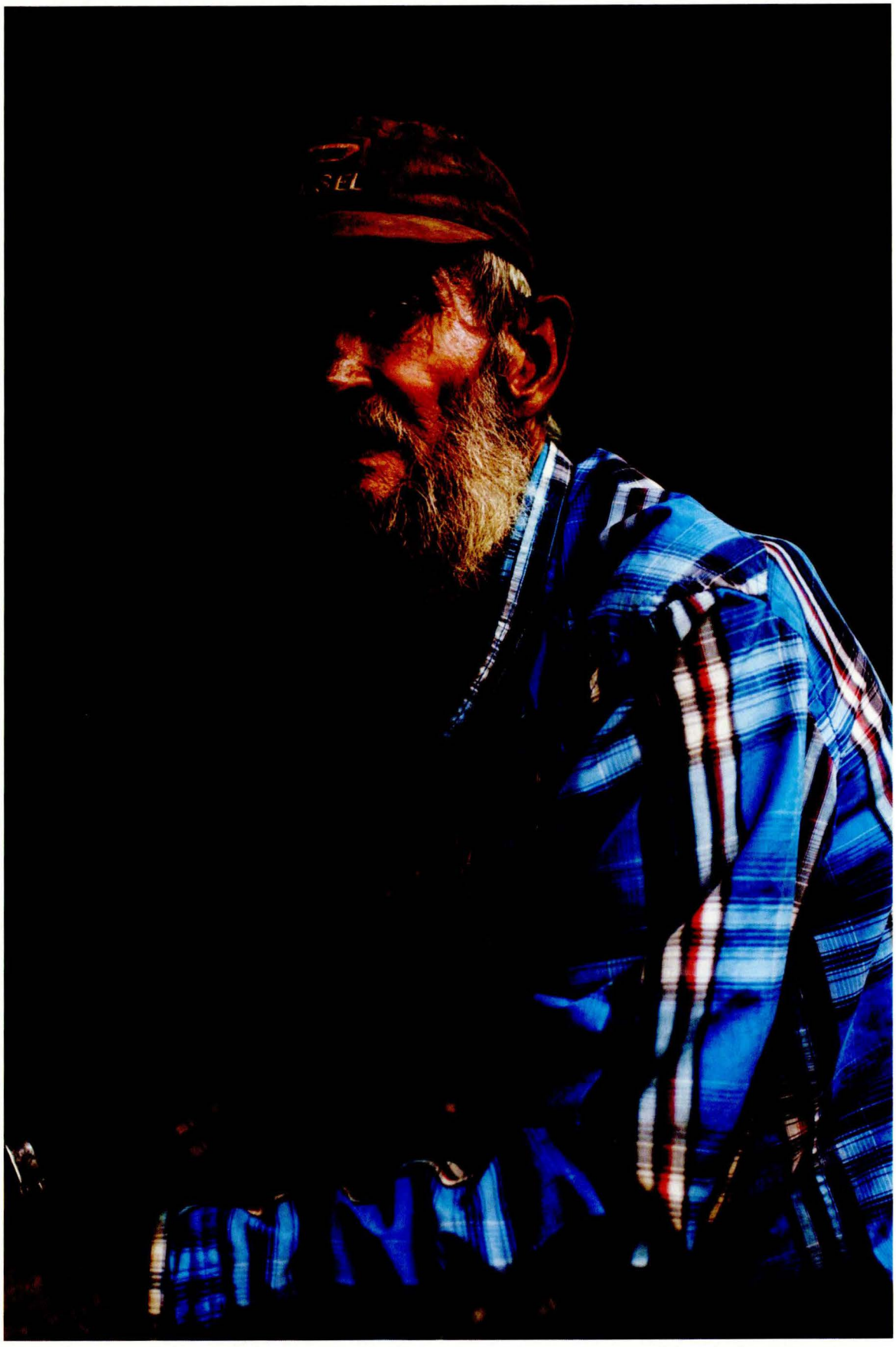
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XX



XXI



XXII

Still/Life

Still/Life was an exhibition that took place on the 27th and the 28th of June 2018 in the Munsieville Community Hall. This body of work consisted of three different approaches to the Pangokamp that I explored photographically: objects, portraits and still-life images. I photographed objects that I encountered within homes in the camp, portraits of people in their homes, and still life views of decorative arrangements that I came across when I visited people in their homes. Before I started this project I was aware of the manner in which Coronation Park and the Pangokamp were depicted in the media. I attempted to find other ways of photographing aspects of the Pangokamp that one would not normally come across when looking at images of Coronation Park or the Pangokamp. In images such as the series of pictures published in the *Daily Mail* (Burrows, 2016) and in the *Mail & Guardian* (O' Reilly, 2010) the focus has been on the living conditions of the people who live in the Pangokamp. That focus is frequently written into the titles of news articles, where authors speak about white poverty being a result of discrimination, and the articles serve as self-proclaiming exposés of white poverty, to show the world how white South Africans are living in 'post-apartheid' South Africa. These conventions can be found across both conservative and liberal news sources and display an interesting similarity in form and approach. This body of creative work, *Still/Life*, intends to avoid these conventions that have been used in photographic images in the media of residents of the Pangokamp.

The title, *Still/Life,* while a direct reference to the still life mode in an artistic practice commonly associated with painting, is also explicitly intended as a play on the words 'Still' and 'Life'. This is where 'Still' indicates the idea of stillness and the camp, and 'Life' ultimately visually represents what it is to 'be alive' within the Pangokamp. Camping is usually associated with stillness and looking for solitude. In the Pangokamp, people often feel a little disconnected from the outside world as many are unemployed and have no reason to leave the camp. As a child, my parents and I used to camp a lot, with the hopes of finding a place that is still, away from everybody, where we could be in awe of nature. While camping, we used to live in a

way that needed as little from the outside world as possible. We did not require electricity and used torches and a gas stove on which to cook food. The same way of life is present in the camp, not out of the desire for leisure, but out of necessity. Throughout my research I observed how the camp becomes the home, with intended qualities of the home, as in the choice of layout and expansion of the space. In some cases the home space is open to being rearranged, while other areas within the home are fixed.

The sequencing of images in this body of photographic work called */Life* is deliberate, directing the viewer through the works presented. It starts off with the three still life images that serve as an introduction to the theme of *Still/Life*. They are placed next to each other to allow the eye to move across each and draw comparisons, because they have similar visual qualities as they have been taken from a similar angle. These images are not only an indication of the *Still/Life* theme but they also serve as an entry point into the concept of home and homeliness: they have been taken in these homes, and are an indication of what one would find in homes in the Pangokamp. These arrangements are an indication of scenes that I found within many of the homes, where objects have been placed on tables next to each other in a manner of decoration to create a sense of feeling 'tuis' (at home). The images presented here are a selection from a larger body of still life images which I have shown, placed between some of the portraits, in the Munsieville Community Hall.

These artworks are purposefully untitled to retain a minimalist approach to the images, but are numbered here in order to write about them in the space of the thesis. Images I to III are all still life images taken in the Pangokamp, images IV to VI and XIII to XXII are portraits of residents of the camp, and images VII to XII are images of objects found in the Pangokamp. The sequence of portraits is placed after the still life photographs as an introduction to the people of the Pangokamp. The portraits are then disrupted by images of objects from VII to XII, and then the portraits continue from XIII to XVII. The portraits were photographed in a conscious

manner where I was mindful to try and counter the representational tropes that have been established in the widely recognisable media images that circulate of the Pangokamp. I chose and worked to establish a close relationship with the people I photographed, and as a result they allowed me into their homes. I struggled with the idea of portraiture at first: I had photographed the people in the Pangokamp in my previous body of work, *Coronation Park* (2013), and was not entirely comfortable with those images. I have become very weary of the power of documentary photography and how portraits can come across as being exploitative. But I decided that the people who live in the Pangokamp should be an important element in this body of work, and I therefore discussed the wish to include portraits in my field work interviews with the residents, before including them.

Images VII to XII are images of objects that I have come across in homes in the Pangokamp, and are of interest to me because these objects are deliberately put on display in these homes to create a feeling of preciousness and homeliness. They are prominent features in each home. I worked with exhibiting the series of thirty images of objects that I have photographed in a grid for the purpose of the exhibition held in the Munsieville Community Centre. . Images IV to VI and XIII to XVII are an extension of portraits of people that I have photographed who live in the camp. I chose to take the portraits inside of each person's home to create a feeling of intimacy between the viewer and the sitter, and to show a more intimate manner of representing people in the Pangokamp that is not usually explored. It was my intention not to take images of residents next to shacks, nor to focus on their poverty – I did not wish to create another body of work that attempts to serve as a depiction of poverty. Instead my intention was to try and depict a group of people often misrepresented, or overly-represented as poor, in a different, more sensitive manner.

Portrait IV and still life I were my points of entry into taking portraits and still life images in the Pangokamp, as they speak to the feeling of 'stillness' that I have experienced in the camp that I attempted to recreate visually with the use of light and darkness. In portrait IV, I see an image that reflects a moment of stillness that I feel

the subject experienced. And next to image I, I attempted to recreate this stillness in the other images through the use of light, and then applied this throughout the series of images. These images intend to speak of a moment in time of stillness and contemplation, which reminds me of the balance between sadness and happiness that I have experienced in my encounters with the residents of the Pangokamp.

Some in the Pangokamp talk about the way that the space is only temporary for them, yet they still expand their homes and improve their living spaces. Others do not talk about getting out of the camp, and live a life of permanence, erecting structures that are durable. The stillness I have described is also present in the way I have experienced how people accept the ups and downs of life in the camp. It is as if each day is awaited, and accepted as it comes, in a resigned, calm, accepting and still manner. The Pangokamp offers a way of life to its inhabitants that is influenced by their socio-economic position in society, where they live only with what they need or can come by for a day or two. At face value, it seems easy to read this place for what it is, namely a poverty-stricken environment; but it takes time and effort to find other ways of exploring and cultivating the themes present in the camp. I thus, realised, through the time spent in the camp, that I needed to avoid pitfalls in representation, and to find ways of representation that tell another story of the camp and its inhabitants.

The idea of using different types of images was derived from the work of Paul Graham in *Does Yellow Run Forever* (2014). In his book, Graham used three different perspectives when looking at the spaces he photographed. Firstly he photographed a woman – his partner – sleeping; secondly, pictures of rainbow-filled landscapes; and thirdly, the front façades of pawn shops (Rosenberg: 2014). Some images were taken in New Zealand and others in Western Ireland, where Graham used three different perspectives to create a body of work that, when read together, results in a more complex set of meanings. The constructed use of the three different kinds of photographs comes across in ways as simple as, in love – in images of the sleeping woman; beauty, in the images of rainbows within landscapes; and wealth, in

the depictions of the pawn shops (Meads, 2015). The use of different types of images in one body of work is also seen in Jean-Robert Dantou and Florence Weber's photobook, *The Walls Don't Speak/Les Murs Ne Parlent Pas* (2016).

As my ideas progressed and I experimented with different ways of photographing the objects I encountered, I also became aware of other artists who seek alternative ways of representation through photographing objects. I was particularly interested in *Walls Don't Speak/Les Murs Ne Parlent Pas* (2016) by photographer Jean-Robert Dantou with the writings of anthropologist Florence Weber, as the images that I took of objects reflected a similar process to theirs. Their photobook presents an alternative approach in depicting subjects who have been diagnosed with psychiatric illnesses and have been admitted to various French institutions, hospitals and clinics. The body of photographic work by Dantou was taken over the span of three years and is an extensive exploration of the limitation of how photography has previously engaged psychiatric hospitals and clinics in relation to a particular history of the portrayal of psychiatric patients. Traditionally images have been taken in either a 'clinical' or in a 'documentary style' of photography (*labex transferS*, 2018). The photographic component of their book consists of images of objects that the psychiatric patients carried with them; portraits of patients and caregivers, without distinction made between them; and photographs that challenge the limitations of photography within the space of the clinic and hospital. The objects in Dantou's body of work were photographed in front of a well-lit white background, as way of playing with the harsh quality of the clinical environment. In contrast to this, portraits of caregivers and patients were taken in a dark room, where the lighting and focus was on the human subject, somehow mirroring the dark space of mental illness. A third chapter of the book features images in and around the sites and buildings of the asylum-like clinics.

Drawing on this work by Dantou and Weber, I explored photographing in the Pangokamp in ways that departed from the media conventions. My body of work does not intend to expose anything about Munsieville, nor purposefully depict

conditions of poverty. I consider the Pangokamp as a place where people live. I wished to approach my subjects and the place in a respectful and sensitive manner. Therefore this body of work seeks to find ways to expand the photographic depictions of life in the Pangokamp by focusing on more than just people in poverty settings, through directing my eye (and lens) to objects, still life images and portraits that were captured within the homes of people who live in the camp. Thus images VII to XII are of objects, with the focus on these objects. They were taken in a straightforward front-facing mode within the homes in the Pangokamp by using natural light and a low camera shutter speed.

I remember when I was a child, around the age of five or six years old, I used to have my own set of objects on my windowsill in my room. I had two pink and blue pastel-coloured plaster of paris dogs, one blue glass dolphin, and a green-eyed black cat made from cement or some other form of heavy material. I used to pick them up, spray all-purpose cleaner on them, and rub them until they were shiny. I used to clean the dust off the windowsill and rearrange them in a way that made sense to me at an imaginative level. Being a child, it was like a game to me. The one dog faced towards the dolphin, and the other dog turned his back on the other, rather talking to the cat. Thinking back, this was my way of asserting my own identity as a single child obsessed with animals. Decorating my room with animal ornaments showed a part of myself that I wanted others to see, i.e. my love of animals. I always think that the things you have on display in your home, speak of who you are as a person, and are consciously or subconsciously chosen to portray aspects of your identity.

The objects I photographed in images VII and XII are of significance to this project because they are valued by the people to which they belong. Some objects have travelled with their owners from Coronation Park to the Pangokamp, and they have been placed on shelves and on tables as displays, while others were acquired subsequent to the move and added to existing collections. They are decorative objects that are placed on display for decorative purposes. Some people in the camp

pride themselves on their collection of objects, and prepare shelves and cases in which they are displayed. These objects became an important part of my body of photographic work as they are valuable components of the representational system through which home can be understood in the Pangokamp.

I started off experimenting with different kinds of backgrounds when photographing these objects. At first I photographed the objects as they were displayed next to each other in the knick-knack cases they were placed in for display. I then experimented with each object placed on their own in front of a white backdrop, with a self-made infinity curve using white and black cardboard (as seen in Figure 24). An infinity curve means curving the background in such a way that it seems like the background extends to infinity, where one cannot see where the backdrop begins and ends (Davies, 2005: 53). In the process of experimenting I then photographed the objects in front of a black infinity curve. The objects were all lit with natural light and each was photographed *in situ* in homes in the Pangokamp. I chose to photograph these objects in front of a black background as a visual strategy to create a continuity with the use of darkness in the portraits and in the still lifes. Objects were photographed one by one, separately, as a way of showing that each object is regarded as valuable in its own right by its owners.

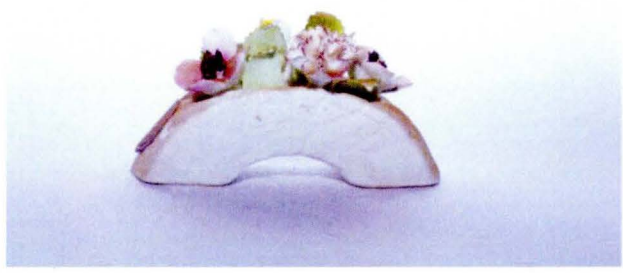


Figure 24: *Object – White Background*, Munsieville, 2016

This manner of photographing objects relates to a similar process that Dantou employs in *The Walls Don't Speak/Les Murs Ne Parlent Pas* (2016). His photographs of objects featured in the beginning of the photobook serve as an introduction to exploring the history of documenting people who suffer from various mental illnesses (Burgos, 2016). Dantou photographed these objects as an alternative to photographing people with mental illnesses – representing these people without actually photographing them. Photographing something without actually photographing the people whom I interviewed was important to my project too, as my project is not about showing what has been reflected previously of the Pangokamp, but rather finding other ways of showing life there that is not normally explored in the bodies of images that have been taken of Munsieville by others. Objects, ornaments and trinkets became one way for me to counter the convention of the images of the camp that one can access online.

In my initial exploration of the Pangokamp, I was interested in the decorative elements that were found in the homes. Flowers that 'sponsors' (van Niekerk, 2018) dropped off were placed in vases, and some made striking arrangements with found objects and placed them in the spaces that were seen as 'living areas'. The creativity and the decorative qualities of these objects within the homes created what I can only describe as a homely feeling. I wanted to capture this setting in the form of still life photography as they had a decorative quality that spoke strongly of home, and the desire to create the pride of home within the camp. Wolfgang Tillmans, in his body of work titled *Still Life* (2002) took images of everyday life. In an interview with the New York Times Online, Tilllmans speaks about his use of the power of still-life portraiture, and describes the use of still life images in 18th and 19th century paintings. He speaks about how his still life images depict moments in contemporary life, as did those in earlier still life paintings:

> *My starting position was, I wanted to make contemporary pictures, to make art that makes you feel like what it is to be alive today.* (Tillmans, 2015 as quoted in the *New York Times* online; Lubow, 2015)

This is relevant to Tillmans' images that are taken at a certain time and place. These images have the qualities of the spaces that Tillmans was photographing, and they make the viewer aware of the feeling one gets when one is present in those specific spaces (Lubow, 2015). Drawing from this, I would argue that my still lifes in the *Still/Life* series have the qualities of the spaces that feature in this body of work, and that they are a visual representation of what it is to 'be alive' in the Pangokamp (see images I to III). The use of still life in painting originated in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, and usually comprise of neatly composed objects and fruits or vegetables. In *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (1990), Norman Bryson describes still life painting as the following:

> *Human presence is not only expelled physically: still life also expels the values which human presence expels on the world. While history painting is constructed around narrative, still life is the world minus its narratives, or better, the world minus its capacity for generating narrative interest.* (Bryson, 1990: 60)

I concur with the concept of human presence being "expelled physically", as creating a still life and choosing the subject for the still life is a conscious choice, but on the other hand I feel that Bryson underestimates the capacity of the still life to be the vessel of a narrative when created in a certain space at a certain time, as in the work of Tillmans, and as I attempted to accomplish in images I to III. The still life can carry a narrative that is connected to it through the space and time it was created. The still life, in its early manifestation, was also seen as a metaphor for abundance, made literal through the use of fruit and food and beautiful ornaments that were placed together to create a scene (Laszlo, 2008: 160). The still lifes that I have featured in this body of work are intended to guide the viewer to slowly look at the details that are present in the installation, and in the composition of each setting. Some of these

still lifes were found and photographed in the houses, while others were moved around and placed where adequate natural light could illuminate the composition.

When I composed image III, I was fascinated by the details that were around the wilted flower arrangement. The flower arrangement had been in the home I visited for quite some time. The wooden stand the arrangement was placed on was darkly lit. On the stand was a half-smoked cigarette, next to the pot in which the arrangement was placed. Behind the stand was a bamboo bar stand, which had been appropriated and turned into a tall table. The whole scene reminded me of the importance of attention to detail in photography, as the combination of details created a space that to me spoke of the stillness I intended to assert in this body of work.

The portraits that feature in *Still/Life* are of people who reside in the Pangokamp. The intention of the portraits was not necessarily to put a face to who lives in the camp, but to create an intimacy between the viewer and the sitter around detail within the portraits. The portraits also speak of my relationship with some residents of the camp. As previously mentioned, I chose to photograph all of the sitters inside their homes. These homes are not usually well lit, as they are small structures without, or with only tiny windows, and so often doors and openings in the structures were my only light sources. Visually I wanted to photograph the sitter as the main focus of the image with the background showing little detail, as I did not want to show the dilapidated condition of the structure. I feel that the idea behind the Pangokamp being a 'white squatter camp' has featured as a method of representing the Pangokamp repeatedly in articles and documentaries, and I did not want to fall into a similar trap of repeating that (Myburg, 2014a; Myburg, 2014b; Myburg & Golden, 2014; O'Reily, 2010, etc). Metaphorically the darkness in my images aimed to signify a feeling of despondency that I have encountered in Munsieville when talking to people and residents. In many of the stories I have been told I have found that some have big dreams, but cannot always find ways to realise them.

This is where I link the decorative elements of the images I took of the objects and still lifes I found in homes to creating the feeling of being 'tuis'. Here I assert the notion of homeliness being defined by the manner in which homes are ornamented – using objects, and fresh/dead and artificial flowers as creative elements that establish places where creativity manifests the feeling of homeliness. This body of work is a culmination of three approaches that feature a similar methodology to that of Tillmans' in his photographing of the everyday, where I photographed scenes of the everyday in the Pangokamp by focusing on still life images. The *Still/Life* images, I hope, are an indication of the Pangokamp as a place in space and time in South Africa in 2016-2018. The portraits feature another element of the camp of people inside their homes. And through the objects I offer a deeper view into the notion of home, because of the importance these objects hold within the camp, and how they are put on display to reveal something of the interiority of homes throughout the Pangokamp.

Conclusion

The overly photographed

In my third year of undergraduate study as a Fine Arts student at the University of the Witwatersrand, I decided to explore a small settlement close to my house, using photography as my mode of exploration. This was the 'camp by the dam', Coronation Park; some also referred to it as 'the camp' or 'the park'. In my Honours project, titled *Coronation Park* (2013), I used a black and white documentary photography approach, influenced by the work of Roger Ballen, Walter Evans and Dorothea Lange (as seen in Figures 24, 17, and 21) to document the living conditions of some of these people who lived so close to my own home.

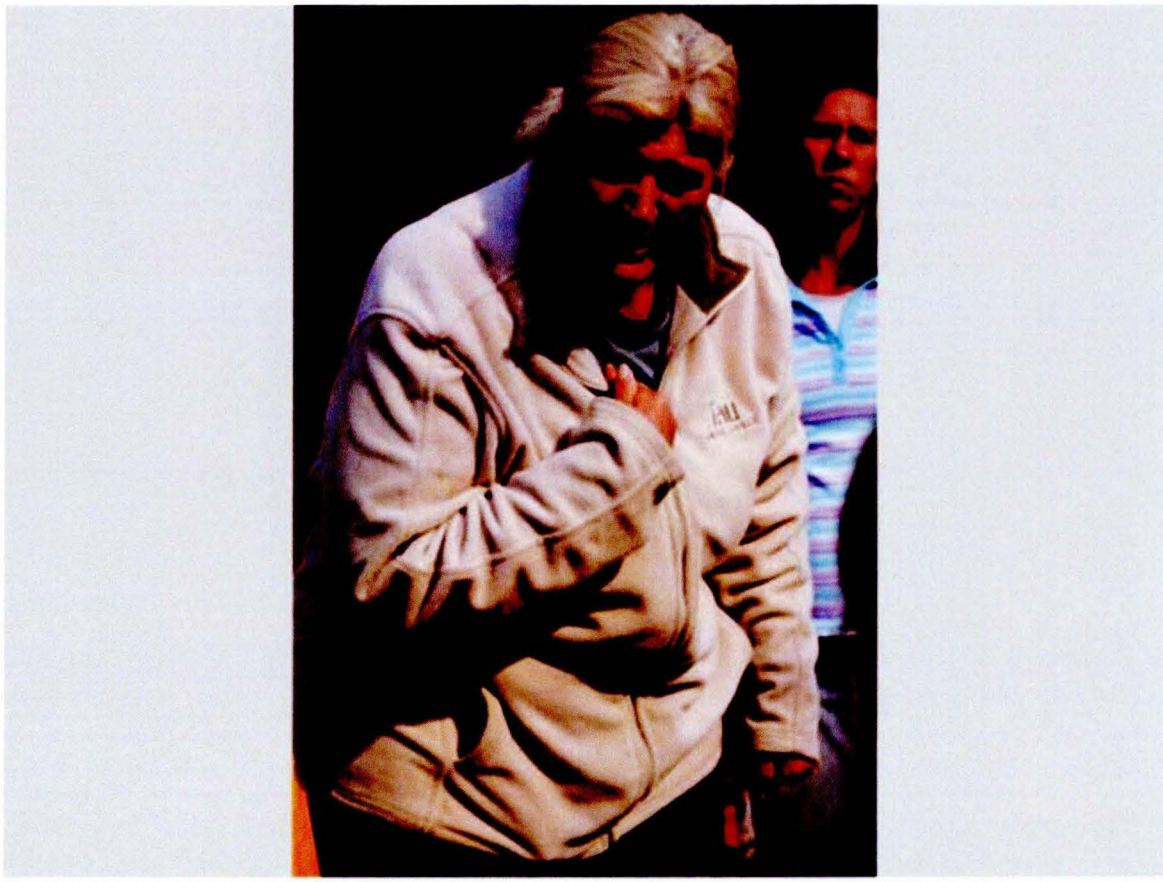
At that time I was interested in the way that Ballen documented people in his photographs. The image that especially caught my eye was that of *Dresie and Casie* (1993) (as seen in Figure 21). I was mesmerised by the way that Ballen could create a portrait that was so simply framed, but also so shocking. It showed two young men depicted in a way that was disturbing to me, and showed a side of photography that I didn't know existed. This was the use of shock and horror that is often seen in images by Ballen (Gabrielsen, 2016). The shock that I experienced made me question Ballen's motives as a photographer. I was also interested in *Migrant Mother* (1936) by Dorothea Lange as an image that was used with the intent, by the Farm Security Administration, of highlight the "plight of the poor white" – which at that time referred to the hardships that poor and working class whites found themselves in during the Great Depression years (1929 to 1939) in the United States of America. The same probe into white poverty was also documented in the Carnegie Commission's report of 1929 in South Africa, and these two studies sparked my interest in photographing the poor, in a black and white mode, in my *Coronation Park* series in 2013.



Figure 25: Roger Ballen, *Dresie and Casie,* 1994.

As time progressed I became more and more interested in these people's lives, and also in the way the media chose to represent them, which I've become aware is a standard way in which poverty has been portrayed over and over again. I was interested both in the way in which residents had become what I have termed 'the overly photographed', as well as in the repetitive tropes of language used to describe them, like 'die wit plakkers' (the white squatters), as seen in multiple articles by the

Krugersdorp News (Myburg, 2014; Myburg, 2016; Myburg & Golden, 2014). Images that accompanied these articles also attracted my attention, and soon I started following all articles about Coronation Park and Munsieville (Myburg, 2014; Myburg & Golden, 2014; Burrows, 2016).



'n Emosionele Irene van Niekerk deel haar vrese oor die hervestiging. Van Niekerk en haar familie woon al vir meer as 'n dekade in Kroningspark.

Figure 26: *Jacobus Myburg & Amoryn Golden, 'n Emosionele Irene van Niekerk deel haar vrese oor die hervestiging. Van Niekerk en haar familie woon al vir meer as 'n dekade in Kroningspark, 2016.*

Text from image under photograph in the Krugersdorp News translated:

['An emotional Irene van Niekerk shares her fears about relocating, van Niekerk and her family have lived in Kroningspark (Coronation Park) for more than a decade']

The images featured in these articles are usually taken in action, and a caption is added to accompany and add illustrative emphasis to the ideas that are being discussed in the article. Figure 27 is an image that was featured in the *Krugersdorp News* article titled, *Hof beslis: wit plakkers moet uit* (Myburg & Golden, 2014) that shows former self-appointed 'kampbestuurder' (camp manager) Irene van Niekerk (née Abbott – she was also the sister of the famous South Afrikaner boxer after whom the area Abbotsville in Coronation Park was named), who passed away in 2017, photographed and described in the article's caption as "an emotional Irene Van Niekerk". The image shows her in a dramatic, forward-facing pose as she addresses the other residents, pointing to her chest, in a gestural action of showing that she is speaking strongly from her own experience as a leader of the community and someone who is about to be relocated.

In following the articles and in studying the photographic images, I have found the use of words like 'emotional' and 'battle lost', as seen in Figure 27 (Myburg & Golden, 2014), are applied to shift attention away from sensation seeking, but to draw attention to the 'plight of the poor white'. The use of terms like 'the plight of the poor white' have been thoroughly visualised and documented in the past by photographers like Walker Evans (see Figure 17) and Dorothea Lange (see Figure 21). The concept of said plight is usually accompanied by 'emotional' images, and articles are used to draw the viewer in by using sympathy (Sontag, 1973: 85). This strategy has often been used in the documentation of white poverty, which has been expanded on throughout this dissertation.

Chapter 1 provided background discussion to life in Coronation Park and discussed how residents of that camp felt about their move to Munsieville, through the on-site

interviews conducted over 2016-2018 during this research, as well as how this event was reported on by online media sources. It then provided an in-depth account of the dynamics within Coronation Park and the Pangokamp, outlining and setting the stage for discussion on themes around 'home', 'place' and 'camp', with the Pangokamp residents' perceptions of home being grounded in a theoretical discussion.

In this chapter I drew heavily on media articles about both Coronation Park and the Pangokamp. Many of these articles were discussed to be sympathetically orientated with the aim of drawing in viewer/readership with the 'plight of the poor white'. For example the focus on joblessness in Coronation Park and the Pangokamp, in Munsieville, blamed on 'reverse racism' and an apparent fall of the Afrikaner in what is referred to as 'post-apartheid' South Africa, with an emphasis on the fact that 'white squatter camps' exist specifically as a phenomenon in the post-apartheid era (Briefly mentioned in Chapter 3). The online news site, *Dailymail.uk*, used the Pangokamp as an example of such 'inequity': *"Seeking to undo years of racial inequality, the ruling African National Congress (ANC) government introduced laws that promoted employment for blacks and aimed to give them a greater share of the economy"* (Burrows, 2016). In the quote below, Kruger (2016) expands on the local and international media's role in the use of 'the poor white' to assert the idea that the poor white is being singled out and oppressed by the post-apartheid government:

> *Employing a rhetoric that draws on words such as "abandonment," "discrimination," "reverse racism" and "reverse apartheid," neo-conservative white South Africans have entangled older ideas of Afrikaner and white identity with contemporary discourses of minority rights in order to argue that South African whites are systematically being oppressed.* (Kruger, 2016: 47)

The notion of reverse racism exists in the 'social imaginary', a concept rooted in a social group's ideas of the world they live in, whether realistic or not, to suit their own beliefs. As argued by Adams, Blokker, Doyle et al (2016: 7), the concept of the 'social imaginary' is in short defined as a tension found between 'reason' and its "situatedness of human knowledge". Thus the social imaginary in this case is the view of the imaginary oppression of the Afrikaner in terms of job opportunities as a result of 'black empowerment and affirmative action'. Some Afrikaners lost their jobs post-1994, but according to Melissa Steyn (2009: 157), reverse racism has its roots in the Afrikaner claiming to be the victim in many situations.

Similarly, there is a history of this style of depiction and representation in the media. News agencies like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), newspapers like *The Daily Mail,* and some local news organisations have reported on the living conditions of the poor Afrikaner in Coronation Park and the Pango Camp. In an article by the BBC titled, 'Do White People Have a Future in South Africa?' (2013), World Affairs editor John Simpson wrote about the economic security of whites, using Coronation Park as an example. In 2016 *The Daily Mail* online edition posted a photographic essay called 'The 'WHITE Squatter Camps' of South Africa: Shanty towns built after the fall of Apartheid are now home to hundreds of families', and the focus of this article and its pictures was on Munsieville (Burrows, 2016). There is also the photo essay, 'Tough Time for White South African Squatters' by Finbarr O'Reilly, a journalist at Reuters, which circulated widely, featuring photographs taken in Coronation Park of 'white poverty in South Africa' (Burrows, 2016). These journalistic articles, photographs and documentary videos are in the public domain and are at times highly selective in their portrayals, as they promote, publicise and perpetuate the idea of Afrikaner poverty. In scrutinising this media presence and its recurrence, I have suggested that this topic appears to entice a form of post-apartheid sensationalism, as whiteness in South Africa is not always associated with poverty.

An article in *JHB Live* online by Tessa Cunliffe (2012), titled 'The White Squatters of Krugersdorp', describes Coronation Park as the following:

> *Strewn around the camp are relics of past lives – broken down cars, old paintings, chipped ornaments and three-legged chairs. Many of the squatters once lived in comfortable homes and held stable jobs, but the lethal combination of economic crisis and affirmative action has left them retrenched and unemployable.* (Cunliffe, 2012)

This description refers to the 'inequalities' mentioned above, of the notion of reverse racism, where in the images, the focus is on the dilapidated conditions residents of Coronation Park and now the Pangokamp find themselves in. The major question in this thesis was how to approach portraiture in a manner that does not perpetuate and add onto the mode of image making that is often seen in the media, and that I find to be problematic. I find these articles and images of the residents of Coronation Park and the Pangokamp that occasionally feature in local and international media sources as being problematic because of their exploitative manner of framing and capturing images of this group of people in the name of sympathy and the 'plight of the poor white', using poverty as an aesthetic.

In Chapter 2, I contextualised themes around home and homeliness by looking at place, space, home, home making and objects within the home as an expression of belonging. This discussion is important as it serves as a field reference for the creation of the Still/Life body of images. Later in this chapter discussed literature and theories of documentary photography around the convention of the 'photography of poverty', in particular in relation to the claims to white poverty that are the subject of this research. Here I also considered the work of artists like Dorothea Lange, Roger Ballen and Stacey Kranitz, and compared their methodologies of creating images of people who are photographed and often marginalised. Central to this chapter was

the intention to the surface the use of what is termed 'a documentary aesthetic' that has become convention in the depiction of 'poor whites', and some other marginalised people. This 'aesthetic' is discussed in relation to the theoretical frameworks provided by Susan Sontag, Alan Sekula and Martha Rosler, who argue strongly against the use of images of shock and horror. These concepts are ultimately challenged by Ariella Azoulay's thesis described in *The Civil Contract of Photography* (2008).

In the process of my research, I considered the following: the history of documentary photography; photography documenting white poverty; media photography and portraits of poverty that is the use of photography and the mode of creating portraits that speak of poverty as an aesthetic that has been followed by artists and journalists. Some may argue that photography has been used as a means of documentation since its invention in the 1830s, but the term 'photojournalism' was coined in the early 1920s (Brennen, Hardt, 1999: 122). Documentary photographers of the early 1900s, like Dorothea Lange, benefited from the aesthetic that the poverty image provided, and Lange's *Migrant Mother* was referred to by Roy Stryker as "ultimate image of the depression era" (Stryker as cited in Angier, 2015: 49). The same aesthetic and manner of approach to sitters can also be seen in both 'old-timey' black and white images, and at times in contemporary colour images, that feature in the media, where the appearance of poverty and dilapidated homes are a continual appearance. The success of the documentation of poverty in the early 1900s by Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange and E.G. Malherbe has served as a motivation and a reference to work from for some photographers and journalists to create iconic images that attract viewership and create a dialogue between the viewers (Azoulay, 2008). I was originally attracted to this mode of image making in my *Coronation Park* (2013) series, as it felt to me fitting at the time to explore black and white photography as an aesthetic choice that I could use to recreate the visual qualities that I thought would attract attention and viewership to my images. I have however come to the conclusion that this is not a productive means of image making because it has become visually redundant, and that I needed to look into other ways of photographing the Pangokamp that has not usually been explored in the images

of this group of people, and to add to a richer understanding around representations of home within the home-camp dynamic.

In Chapter 3 I presented my own process in creating the body of work called *Still/Life* and discussed both the images in the series, and presented writing that reflects on my creative art making processes that resulted in the different photographs presented. This dissertation has explored the dynamics around the photographic representation of Coronation Park and the Pangokamp in Munsieville, in which a key question that has been discussed is the repetitive modes of representing these residents. My creative component seeks not to perpetuate the already redundant and existent ways of documenting this group of people, with *Still/Life* proposing that through focussing on ideas around notions of 'home' and 'camp', an alternative entry point into representing life in the Pangokamp can be made possible.

This chapter also considers my progression through different ways of thinking about creating this body of work, and my choice of three different approaches to representing the space through objects, portraits and still lifes. *Still/Life* is created with a deep sense of awareness of my positionality in the Pangokamp, which departs from the photographic body of work I produced in studying as an undergraduate student called *Coronation Park* (2013). As I developed as an artist and as a photographer I started to confront my own insecurities and preconceptions about the space, and of my identity as an insider and an outsider.

Exhibition Proposal

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An introduction to *Still/Life*: The Exhibition

This exhibition proposal is for the purpose of the completion of the degree of Master of Art in Fine Art. The aim of this proposal is to establish a vision of the outcome of the field research I have done in Munsieville and in the Pangokamp. This proposal will show the phonetic and conceptual interplay between the two terms that make up the title of the exhibition *Still/Life* - Still and Life. Still referring to moments of quietness and Life, which speaks about the tension that exists where one wants to establish home in a space where the physical home structure is impermanent, as I argued in Chapter 1 when referring to the concept of 'camp'. The proposed exhibition is reimagined in the exhibition space of the Point of Order (TPO). Situated on the corner of Bertha and Stiemans Street in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, TPO offers artists an experimental exhibition space and is run by the University of the Witwatersrand's Division of Visual Arts (DIVA).

Chapter 3 explains the premise of the decisions I have made in the exhibition titled *Still/Life* I held at the Munsieville Community Hall in late June 2018. This exhibition, however, was not a final exhibition but as part of the research and fieldwork that was needed to help me create an exhibition includes elements of the Pangokamp that manifests in other ways than previously presented. The aim, as argued throughout *Munsieville* (written component) is to create images that do not fall into aesthetic traps of the past or create the same version of the Pangokamp that has been seen countless times in the media. Because of this, I have participated in many workshops and discussions about the images in Chapter 3 after the *Still/Life* exhibition took place in Munsievile.

At the time, I was still in the process of researching how the different elements of the exhibition would intertwine in a space such as the Munsieville Community Hall and opinions and discussions with my peers were thus of importance to me in developing aspects of this project. The exhibition in June 2018 included portraits of residents of Munsieville, still life images of people and images of found objects. On 29 August

2018 I presented *Still/Life* to a group of panelists and other artists working in the mode of photography including Gabriella Goliath, Juan Orrantia and John Fleetwood at a workshop hosted by Photo: and the Photography Education Trust called 10:10. A lot of the focus was on the still life images and the objects photographed and before the exhibition, I showed some of my images to Wits City Institute (WCI) fellows and other researchers at the first WCI Fellows' tea of 2018. The portraits were scrutinized as it was mentioned that they have the possibility to fall back into what I want to avoid in a representational sense. My aim, from the beginning of this project was to steer clear of exploitative images as I argue, in Chapter 2 are present in the media.

In this exhibition proposal I have made the deliberate choice of leaving the portraits of residents of the Pangokamp out in its curation. The concept of using three different approaches in an exhibition is still present, but just taking on a different form. Thus I was left with still life images and images of objects. In this exhibition proposal, the technical errors in the images of the objects have been addressed by attentively focusing the camera lens on each object, making sure all of the details are sharp. If presented in the proposed exhibition, the images are clear, cropped and in focus. Extra objects have been added to the series of images. The objects are square cropped photographs of trinkets and sundries that have been collected by people in the Pangokamp and kept within their homes. See below in Figure 1 images of objects and still life images (still life images are discussed in the next paragraph):

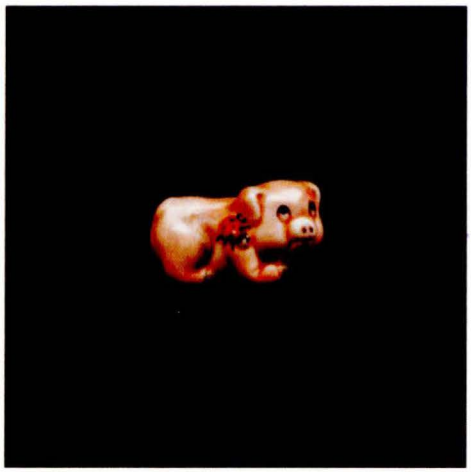
















Figure 1: Photographed cropped objects and two added still life images.

The still life images are a repetition of flower arrangements found in Pangokamp homes taken in a portrait mode. I have added two more still life images and now there will be 9 in total. An additional element was needed to create a connection and an understanding of why there are images of flowers and objects and how they are related, and where common ground can be found. I have recorded a man and a woman in the Pangokamp who speak about their homes and the objects within their homes as well as their experiences of life within the Pangokamp. I have chosen two recordings to play in the proposed exhibition. The recordings made will be used in the exhibition to connect the objects and still life images through the voices of residents.

These recordings, seen later in Transcriptions, serve as a connection between still life images and images of objects as the recordings are snippets of a discussion around home and the creation of home in the Pangokamp. As argued in this dissertation in Chapter 2, the decoration, extension and investment in the home space are elements that contribute to the establishment of homeliness. But home is an unstable premise for residents of the Pangokamp - because of the promise of RDP housing – and tension erupts between permanents and impermanence.

Permanence is something that in this body of images, is associated with structure whereas instability and at times, chaos is associated with impermanence of awaiting RDP housing. Thus the arrangement and positioning in the space of the exhibition is of importance, as it speaks about attempting to establish home in a space that is impermanent and indeterminate. These ideas will become clearer in a visual representation of the space. The gallery space that I will use to create this imagined exhibition will be the The Point of Order (TPO) as seen in Figure 2.

Floorplan of TPO:

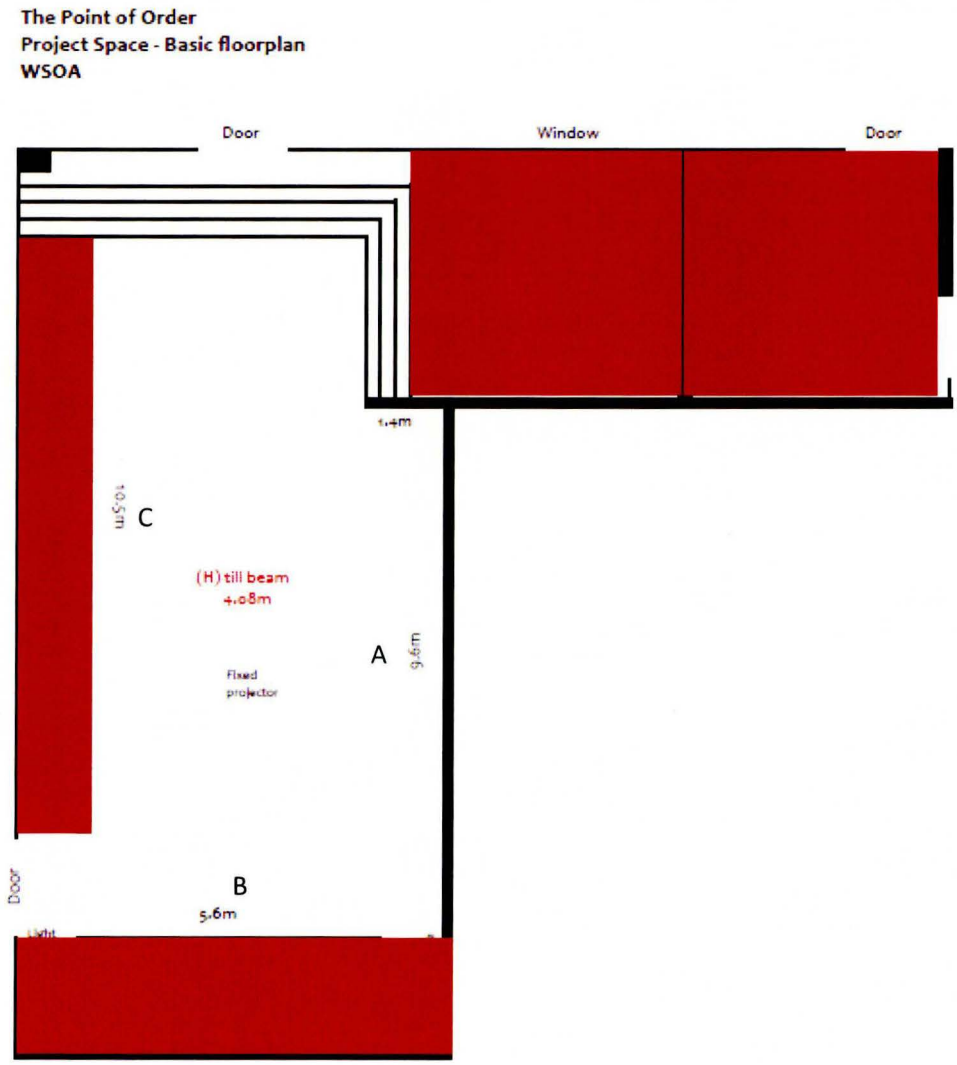


Figure 2: *The Point of Order Project Space – Basic Floorplan WSOA*

Method

The area indicated (as specified in Figure 3) in white will be used as the exhibition space. The areas in red will not be used and the space, left of the main entrance will be painted black. The main entrance of TPO is situated at the top of the floorplan (Corner of Bertha and Stiegman Street). This is the entrance that will be open to the public. As one enters the space, the first thing that will be seen is wall B as it is right across the entrance. This wall is comprised of images 19 15x15cm (Figure 3) sized photographs, square cropped and displayed randomly (not in a particular order). As mentioned in the introduction, the conceptual base of this exhibition is grounded in the notions of still and of life and visually both these elements should be present. Wall A and C, as seen in Figure 3 and 4 will have the 9 still life images on them, each image printed in A1 size – 59,4cm in width and 84,1cm in height – two extra images, extending the previous exhibition.

The struggle between life going on and the chaos and the instability of home in a camp situation (as argued in the written component - *Munsievile*) is what I aim to show here. The adjunct walls (wall A and C as indicated in Figure 3 - A is shown in Figure 3, and Figure 4 is C) will have still life images of flowers in an ordered fashion of display, spaced out evenly on the white walls of the exhibition space – this is to indicate moments of stillness and quietness experienced when reminiscing about home. This statement might seem a bit loose but the layout and the idea of home, still and life tie together by the two recordings that will be available to the viewer to listen to. Headphones are chosen for the replay of what has been said in the recordings to preserve the theme of stillness, while listening to two residents of the Pangokamp, Lüzette and Rudolph describe how they experience home, their method of home making and their dreams (or not) of leaving the Pangokamp as seen in Transcriptions.

I will include the surnames of the individual home owners (permission obtained) in which I photographed the still life images on the left hand corner of wall A and on the

left hand side of wall C. Each image will be numbered by using the Roman numerical system, for example the first image on Wall A will the titled I and the second image will be II (Figure 5). This will also be printed on an A4 piece of cartridge paper in the form of a handout (See Figure 6). The surnames will not be at the bottom of each image as I would like to keep the display simple and minimal, for the viewer's gaze to be on the still life images.

When I decided on resizing the still life images, I realised that they need to be bigger, to make a greater impact on the viewer as the objects around the flower arrangements give tiny bits of information about the Pangokamp and the creation of home. This is an important element of this body of work and of *Munsieville* as a written piece. The images have thus been resized to an A1 size (59,4 x 42cm). The sizing is also an of importance in the consideration of the space of TPO, because of its large, long walls (Figure 3 and Figure 4 below), smaller images will get lost and will not fill up the space or have the desired impact on the viewer.



Figure 3: *Wall A.*

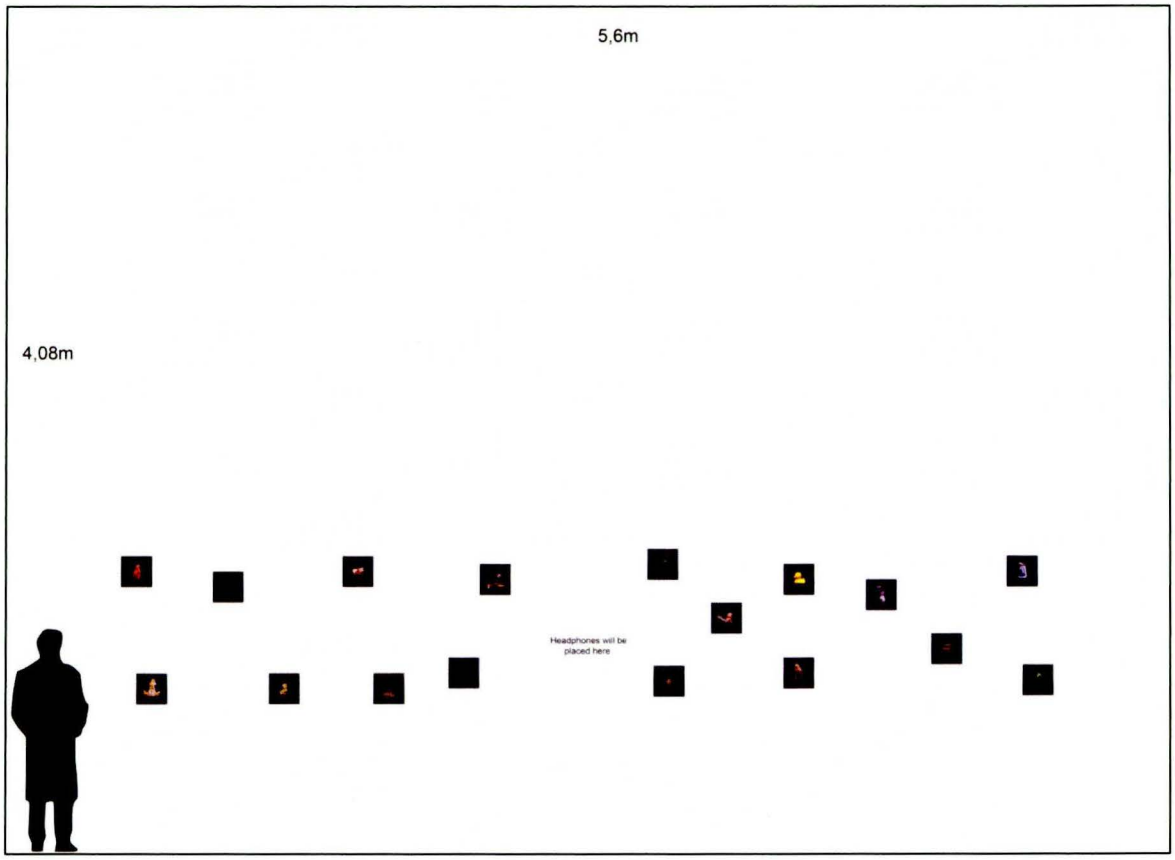


Figure 4: *Wall B.*

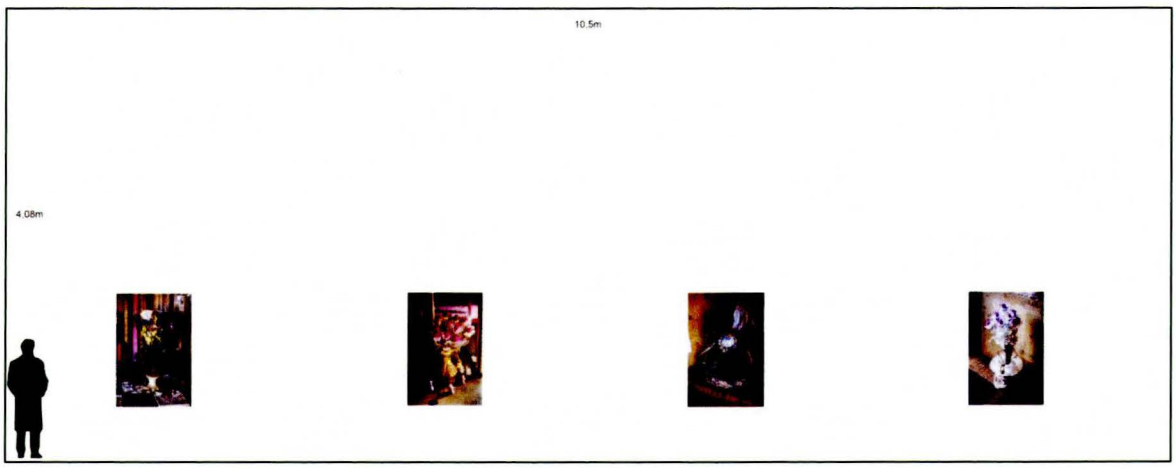
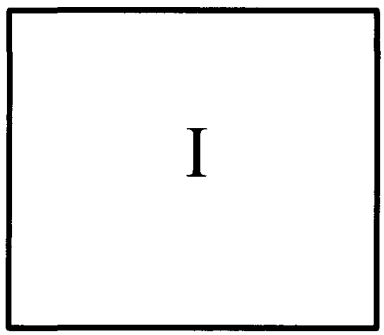


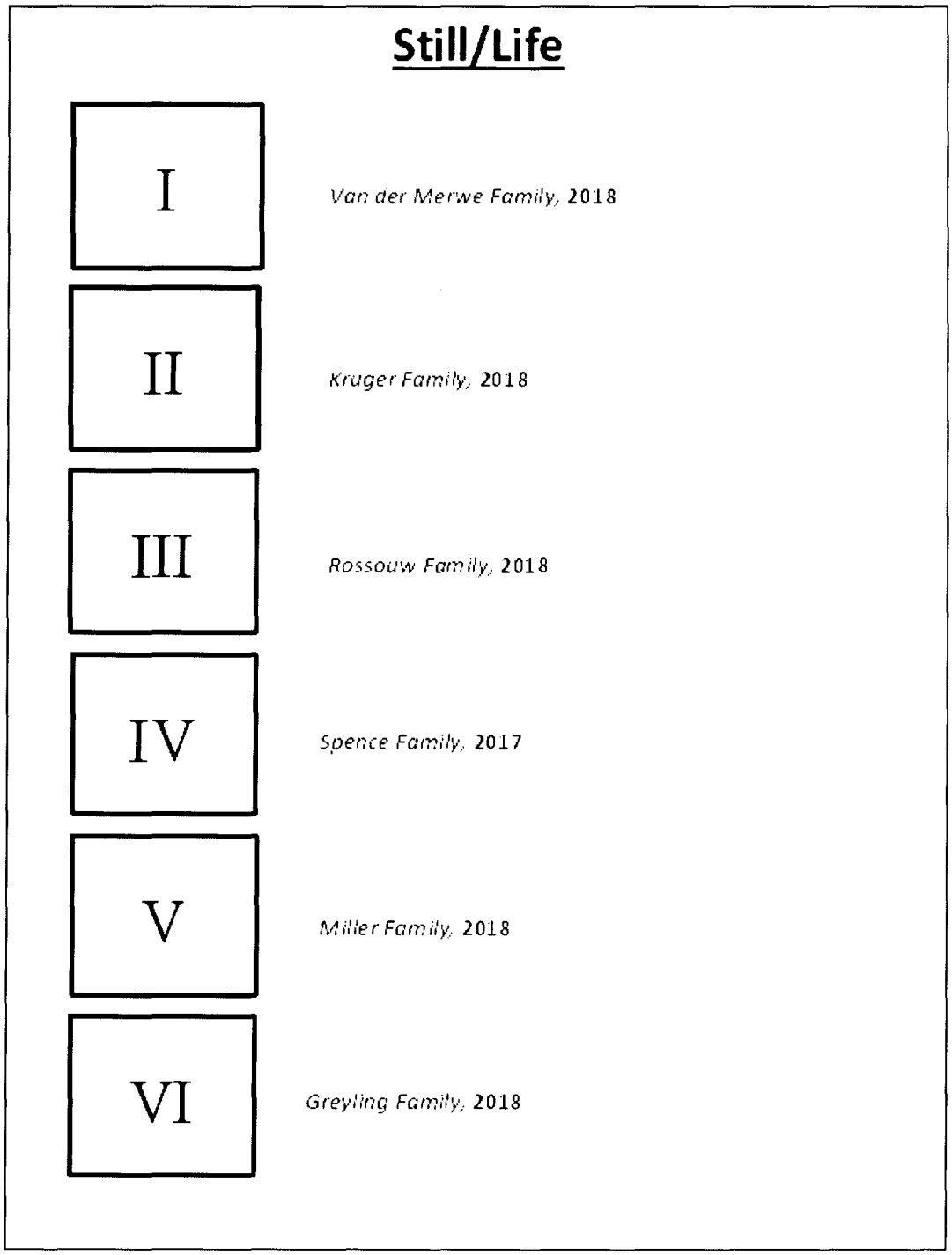
Figure 5: *Wall C.*

An example of how each artwork will be numbered with Roman numerals:

Figure 6: *I.* Times New Roman



Exhibition Handout (Figure 2):



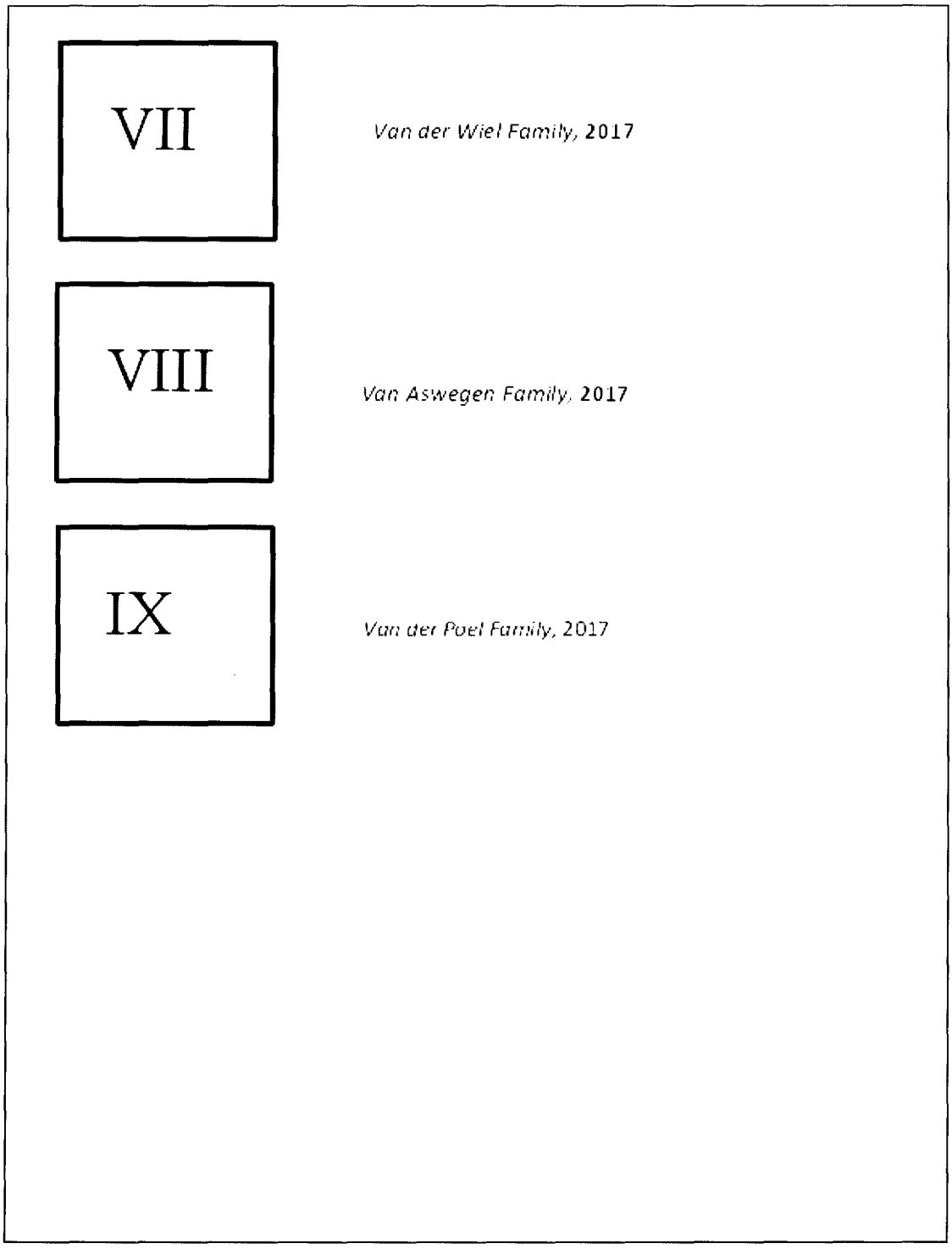


Figure 7: *Two Page Exhibition Handout.*

Transcriptions

The transcriptions that were recorded are that of Rudolph and Lüzette where they talk about their feelings of home. Translated from Afrikaans, these transcriptions will be handed out with the Two Page Exhibition Layout. The following are the two chosen recordings that will be accessible on Wall B (Figure 4):

Rudolph:

At first it was... we were scared. It was a big change from Coronation to Munsieville. You didn't know what will happen or what to expect.

Cleaning the house, for me it was a hobby, I did it for her because my mom has done a lot for me.

I felt that it is a way to show something, and it makes the house look nice, even if you live in a shack.

When we just moved into Munsieville we didn't know what to do or where to go, but now it is my home, and I think it will always be.

We as a family are happy in Munsieville but the people who we live with make it uncomfortable. When it comes to donations people interpret donations wrong, they think they deserve it. It is actually just a blessing and a honour if you receive anything from sponsors.

Yes obviously I'd like to get them out of there, in just a normal, everyday house.

Lüzette

I feel 100% about my home. I am happy. I think poverty is something that should not break your spirit. Home isn't where your body is, it's where your soul is.

Family, hope, in a way. I don't believe… I don't know if I will always be staying here. I will hit the lotto or something. I think if I can get a better life I will leave this place, but at the moment I am happy.

As long as I have my husband, I am happy. I think without him this house would be a home.

Okay this is my favourite. And I have a real… What do you call those dolls. Let me take it out. I'm just scared of the spiders. See here's all of my stuff. Even a Barbie. And I have a little Buddha. All of my kids have clothes on. I have so many dolls.

I have so many things in here. I picked this up one day. I'm just looking for the Buddha and those other things. But I believe in God. I have a cat that you can take if you want it. Stick it on your dash. Then I have an elephant. I have a whole collection of animals. And I like animals.

See now you understand. These are my animals. Pretty hey? They need to go back onto my rack. I need to clean it soon.

There's something of everything. I'm telling you. And then I of course have my tree.

I don't know. This thing is very old but it's also pretty. I collect all sorts of nonsense, even this parrot. This one you don't have to feed.

That radio doesn't want to work. Look this is Nemo. That fish. But now I am looking for that other one.

I even have Capricorns. A lot of things I picked up.

This one? Yeah it's also broken. Its nose broke off.

There are so many different things. My husband picked this one up for me. Also made out of glass but the little fish broke off, now it's just a dolphin.

This I got from some if my customers who come past on a Sunday. But now I'm wondering if they are still alive. You grow so fond of the old people. They apparently bought this in Durban, just for me.

These things were my sister's. This little worm, my sister bought it for me.

The Garfields, my husband picked them up for me.

This is the monkey that used to hang on my tree. I had this little tree that had some stones on it. He used to hang on its branch.

This is my pool table. And my kettle. I think it is brass, I am not sure what this is.

This photo is a little dirty. It's a Mona Lisa or something.

My favourite is my Mother Mary. I love her. My child gave this to me… I don't know how many years back.

I still make my flower arrangements. But I don't get value for money here. They are prepared to pay R30 and your time, your hands… You're actually wasting your time. You throw your art away and everything. There's no value in making something that's beautiful here.

Conclusion

After many discussions about the *Still/Life* series of images presented to a panel of my peers I have come to the conclusion that the relevance of the portraits should be reconsidered. The manner in which the exhibition that took place in Munsieville was executed and presented left me with constructive criticism that I needed to address and to finalize the practical component (*Still/Life*) of this dissertation called *Munsieville*. The exhibition served as a point of departure into the conceptual elements of what would create an exhibition that speaks of what home is in the Pangokamp. This also prompted me to find alternative ways of adding people into the exhibition, instead of using portraiture, where the use of sound clips create a link between the still life images and the square images of the portraits. Both linked in home making but different as the one is structured and the other randomly placed to create a sense of disorder. This, combined with a piece of sound that connects not only the bodies of work, but gives the viewer more information about the Pangokamp aims to create a richer display of home in the Pangokamp.

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