Music through the Lens:

The changing position of photographers in the South African music scene

Fig i.1: Fokofpolisiekar with music photographers in the first few rows. Oppikoppi [Northam], 2016 © Lourens Smit Photography.

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Acknowledgements:

I always thought of acknowledgement pages as a bit tacky and cliché. I now realise that my preconception was based on naivety, and have since left my presumptuous nature far behind. For if it was not for the overwhelming love and support of my family, friends, supervisors and fellow post-graduate students, I am not sure that I would have been able to finish what I started. I would like to thank Finn, Jake and BMO for reminding me to always make some time for adventure. I also need to thank the Nike advertisement and Shia LeBeouf for motivating me by screaming at me to "just do it!".

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To my family, you have been the pillars on which I could always rely to lift me back up. My father is the most industrious person I know, who always worked long, gruelling hours in the mines just to give his children a better opportunity. For that, I am forever grateful and will not squander the privileges you have granted us. My father was also the person that incubated my passion for music by exposing us to the world of Rock music in my formative years. He raised us on the music of Queen, The Beatles and Pink Floyd. Bless his heart for doing so. My dad bought me a guitar when I was twelve, but never complained that I never picked it up until I was sixteen. Since then, I have fallen even deeper in love with music, the way it was composed and the ideas behind the music and lyrics. To my mother, my anchor and endless source of unconditional love, I do not know how to start thanking you for everything you have done for me over the years, but I can only say that I will make you proud of your son. Lastly, to my brother Lucius, you are the calm to my storm and have helped me in more ways than you can imagine. I cannot think of anyone that would have stayed up with me all those long nights when I was writing. You were the only person that knew exactly what was going on in my research study even when you know nothing of the discipline. I will cherish those late-nights and hope I can extend a helping hand with the book you are writing. I know it will be a phenomenal book and I cannot wait to read it.

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Love, peace and music

Lionel

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Table of Content

Prologue: Introduction to the professional world of music photography

Music has always been my passion. In fact, my passion for music borders on an obsession, but I am confident that I am not alone in this regard. My interaction with music goes beyond merely listening to the radio in the background. Music (and the various forms in which it presents itself) has become not simply part of my daily routine, but instrumental to how my days function. For me, the power of music lies in the way that it is able to connect with so many people; people from different backgrounds who interpret both the music and the performance in their own way. This power of unity through music is most evident at live music shows and festivals. Fans screaming the lyrics back at the band, singing in unison and dancing without care. It is moments of communion like those that need to be photographed as mementos of our leisure and group cohesion. As Pierre Bourdieu states:

> "If one accepts, with Durkheim, that the function of festivals is to reify the group,
> one understands why photography should be associated with them, since it provides
> the means of eternalizing and solemnizing these climactic moments of social life
> wherein the group reasserts its unity" (Bourdieu [1964]1990: 20).

Fig. i.2: Francois van Coke [Van Coke Kartel] on the hands of the audience, Oppikoppi [Northam], 2014 (c) Lourens Smit Photography

Upon first glance, a photograph such as figure i.2 strikes the viewer with an interesting subject - a frontman standing on the hands of his fans with his microphone raised in the air. The photograph inspires awe because it shows the dedication of both the band and their fans to interact with each other during a live show. In this specific example, it is the lengths to which they are willing to go to interact that really captures the viewer's attention. You start to think about how the frontman got there, how he was able to balance himself and how heavy he might have been for the fans hoisting him up like an idol. You might try to put yourself in the fans' shoes and wonder what it must have been like to experience this moment. You wonder about the energy in the audience and how it must have felt to have a rockstar walk on your hands. Overall, you get a sense of community and intimacy between the musicians and their fans. The first reason this photograph entices the viewer to look at it with intent is its ability to eternalize and solemnize a climactic moment of social life wherein the group reasserts their unity. The photograph thus acts as a memento of an experience that cannot be replicated.

When you go back to inspect the photograph for a second time, you might start to wonder about how the photograph was taken. Your eye is drawn to the frontman because a spotlight is shining on him. The beam of light catches your eye and guides it to the frontman to make him the subject of the photograph. The photographer had no control over the light, which meant he had to position himself to get this effect. Clearly, the photographer was not standing between members of the audience when this happened. He was standing on the stage, in front of the audience and turned away from the stage (where the rest of the band was playing) to focus on that moment of interaction with the audience.

When I spoke to the photographer, Lourens Smit, about his photograph, he told me he saw the moment coming when the frontman climbed onto the barriers in front of the audience. He wanted to get a different shot than the photographers standing at eye level on the other side of the barriers, so he climbed onto the side of the stage to get a higher angle. He chose the side of the stage because it was less intrusive than standing in the middle of the stage, but also because it gave him the angle to get the spotlight to guide the viewer's eye toward the subject. When you start to talk to music photographers about the photographs they take, you start to understand that the first impressions you have of their photographs do not happen by chance. Rather, these impressions are a product of what the photographer wants you to see - you are supposed to have this sense of wonder because the photographer framed the moment to have that effect. You also learn that this 'produced impression' is the result of calculated movement, positioning and patience to wait for the right moment or shot:

"Good live music photography comes from a couple of things, in my opinion. It is about sharing your perception of the event and the performance, while framing it in an interesting way. The photographer's personal biases and techniques make an impact here: Photography can make an excited atmosphere look placid and vice versa, depending on how the photographer shoots the event and how they choose to tell the story. The photographer also has what the band, media and the general public might like to see, in the back of their mind. My personal theory is that good stage photography comes from the intersection of a couple things: action, place, time, and environment. Getting a combination of all of these is difficult, and photographers often need to choose how they represent them" (Smit, Formal interview, 16/05/2018).

After I met the music photographer that took the photograph of Francois van Coke in the audience, I learned that there are a myriad of choices and techniques photographers employ to get shots like that. A photograph of a live music performance is thus the outcome of technical processes in which artists are skilled, and should therefore be analysed as an *object of art* – something that is <u>made</u> beautiful - as opposed to objects that are beautiful for the aesthetic qualities they intrinsically possess (Gell 1999). The effect an object of art has over the viewer is a sense of intrigue and wonder of how the object was made. According to Alfred Gell (1999), the power of art objects stems from the technical process they objectively embody by casting a spell over us to see the real world in an enchanted form. This power or effect is called the *Enchantment of Technology* and is the source of photographers' power:

"…the photographer, a lowly button-presser, has no prestige, or not until the nature of his photographs is such as to make one start to have difficulties conceptualizing the processes which made them achievable with the familiar apparatus of photography" (Gell 1999: 7).

So, while it might be easy to be fascinated with the face-value of photographs such as these, I found that it is the stories behind the photographs that are truly compelling. Who is the photographer behind the lens and how did they get there? What did they want the viewer to see and how did they go about to achieve that? How did they learn to take such photographs and where (or from who) did they learn to do this? What obstacles do music photographers face to get that shot and how do they navigate around them? I started asking these questions when I met Lourens Smit and starting talking to him about his life as a 'pro' music "tog".

Meeting a professional music photographer

It was the start of the academic year and people started moving back into the commune. I was busy unpacking and putting new posters up on my wall when I remembered there were a few vacant rooms. Expecting new residents, I turned up the volume of my music until roaring riffs and crashing cymbals started to resonate throughout the house. It was an obnoxious move, I would admit, but the commune thrived on music blaring through the walls and I reasoned that new residents would either come in to complain or 'join the party'. Either way, I would meet new people. Soon enough, someone knocked on the door.

A man with horn-rimmed glasses and a camera slung over his shoulder entered the room and introduced himself as Lourens Smit. He did not seem to mind the loud music and admired the posters I was putting up. One poster in particular, the album cover of Abbey Road by The Beatles (see figure i.3), drew his attention. I was expecting him to make a comment about the conspiracies linked to the cover, but he analysed the poster as a photograph of John, Paul, George and Ringo walking across the street: Why did the photographer decide to take this photo? What lens did he use and why? How did they get the street empty of traffic and pedestrians to draw your eye to the members of the band? Who was the photographer?

Fig. i.3: Abbey Road album cover, London, 1969 © Ian Macmillan | Fig. i.4-i.5: Alternative photographs from the same shoot © ibid.

I was dumbfounded. I have seen this image everywhere and I have stared at that poster for hours, but these questions never crossed my mind. I knew I was drawn to the image, but I did not know why. To me, it was an iconic image of the Beatles in their later period and a symbol for the music on that album. Yet, I never thought about the person behind the lens nor the decisions they made to get that specific shot. The alternative photographs (see figures i.4 and i.5) show the photoshoot was more difficult than the photograph chosen for the album cover would have you think. The busy intersection in London had to be cleared of traffic and

pedestrians, which only gave the band and the photographer ten minutes to get their shots. Even then, members of the band had to dodge on-coming traffic, which resulted in blurry shots (see figure i.4). Moreover, it was difficult for the photographer to get a shot of moving subjects that was framed correctly and in focus (see figure i.5).

Lourens' fascination with the poster/photograph made sense when he told me he is a professional music photographer. Curious, I asked, "So, you make a living photographing bands?" He laughed and told me it is nearly impossible to make a living out of music photography, but it gives him the opportunity to attend a lot of live shows and festivals. He invited me back to his room to show me some of the photographs he took at Lush festival 2016 (see figures i.6 – i.7)

Fig. i.6: We are Charlie, Lush Festival, 2016 (c) Lourens Smit Photography | Fig. i.7: Kandja Kabamba, Lush Festival, 2016 (c) ibid.

Lourens opened his Facebook account to show me the Facebook page he created to showcase the photographs he took. The page, Lourens Smit Photography, is an online platform he uses to upload the photographs he took of a show or festival. He tags the band, the event, the sponsors and even some of the audience members he knows. In turn, some of these tagged profiles commented on his photographs and shared them on their profiles. Some bands even used his photographs for their profile pictures or to promote an upcoming show.

Lourens is also part of a media house - a legitimized collective of writers and photographers – called Our Friends. Media houses are at the top of the *Hierarchy of Publication[1]* during the selection process for event photographers and media access. For Lourens, the media house was (and still is) a crucial network and online platform to not simply exhibit his photographs and gain entry to more shows, but most importantly, to meet important role players in the South

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[1] The Hierarchy of Publication is a stratified criterion event management and media liaisons use to determine the potential reach of a photographer's work and what level of access can be granted to the photographer. See chapters 1 and 4.

African music industry. I told Lourens that I was looking for a topic for my dissertation. He agreed to an interview and started recounting his story:

> "I grew up in Pretoria and always loved music. In high school, my friends and I used to sneak into local bars to see the bands playing there. But it was not fun getting caught constantly, nor could we afford to pay entrance fees on our allowances. So, I decided to start bringing my mother's camera to shows and claim I was commissioned to shoot the show. The camera became a powerful symbol. You can lift it in the air and people [in the audience] will make room for you to pass to the front [of the stage]. When you are walking around with a camera around your neck, random people start talking to you or ask you to photograph them. It's a conversation starter, especially with the bands you just photographed.
>
> When I started photographing bands, I quickly realised that togs [colloquial for photographers] in the pit had a major advantage over me, standing behind the barricades. I kept getting bumped by fans while I was trying to shoot and it was difficult to move through the crowd to get different angles. Togs in the pit could move freely and were able to get closer to the stage, which meant they got better photos than me. I had to get into the pits somehow, but I did not know how to apply. I noticed everyone in the pit wore plastic wristbands of the same colour and security guards checked for wristbands before allowing them to enter the pit. To get into the pit, all you need is a matching wristband and a camera hanging around your neck. The colour of the wristbands changed at every show, so I bought a bag of different coloured ones. I put them in my camera bag and started sneaking into pits by putting on wristbands that are the same colour as those of the togs in the pit" (Smit, Semi-structured Interview, 06/01/2017).

The story Lourens Smit told me was fascinating because he explained another side of a live music show that fans, like myself, are not aware of: A live show is not as 'unrestricted' as fans perceive them to be. Amidst the chaos of a performance, there are structures that regulate movement and restrict access to designated spaces/areas. These demarcated spaces are called *pits* and allow photographers to move unobstructed in front of the stage to get their shots. Access to pits are granted to photographers deemed 'worthy' by event organisers, and is symbolised through coloured wristbands and lanyards (see figure i.8).

Fig. i.8: Lourens Smit's media passes and festival shoes

Subsequently, fans with general access might be allowed to stand in front of the stage, but are restricted from entering the space between them and the stage - the pit. However, as Lourens showed, these structural boundaries can be traversed, albeit roguishly, and are thus not as fixed as they appear. For Lourens Smit, it was important to get into these spaces, especially since he lacked the credentials to acquire *pit access* through the formal route[2]. Once he got into the pits, he was able to meet the relevant people to start as a music photographer, as well as take remarkably better photographs. Lourens used the photograph I put on the cover of the research report (see figure i.1) to illustrate how Pit access influenced his work:

> "Getting into the pits changed everything. I could focus more on the behaviour of
> the bands on stage and find spaces where the infrastructure [of the stage] worked in
> my favour. It is not easy getting a shot of Wynand [from Fokofpolisiekar] jumping
> in the air, while the light shines perfectly on him with screaming fans behind him
> [see figure i.1]; but it is the shot photographers know they can get if they are patient
> and have the right access" (Smit, Semi-structured Interview, 06/01/2017).

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[2] The 'formal' or official procedure to obtain *media access* (see chapter 3) and *pit access* (see chapter 4) is a process whereby photographers send applications (with links to their work and/or online portfolios) to event management and media liaisons (see chapter 5).

The same day, Lourens invited me to attend a Desmond and the Tutus show he was planning to shoot that night. We went to a bar in Pretoria called Arcade Empire to watch them perform for their hometown crowd. For Lourens, this show was the perfect opportunity to show me what music photographers do. We both lived in Pretoria and have subsequently both seen Desmond and the Tutus perform numerous times, especially at Arcade Empire. We knew what to expect from the show and how wild their shows at Arcade Empire can get, so I had an idea of what he might try to photograph. That being said, I was still unprepared for what followed.

Ethnographic vignette: Desmond & the Tutus + Lourens Smit   Date: 06/01/2017

Location: Arcade Empire   Pretoria (Gauteng)

I lost track of Lourens as soon as we entered the stage area of the venue. I got swept up in the performance, singing and dancing to the music between the rest of the fans in the general standing area. During the show, I became aware of several obstacles that photographers face. It was dark, the band constantly moved around on stage, and stage lights kept changing colours. In my mind, it should have been nearly impossible for Lourens to photograph in this setting. As I made my way to the front of the stage, I saw Lourens was already there. He kept moving around in front of the stage with his camera aimed at the band. The frontman jumped into the audience and Lourens was standing right next to him, photographing the moment. I have seen the frontman do this at previous shows, so I expected something like that might happen again, but I did not know when. Lourens did, and he was able to position himself to capture the moment.

The next morning, we sat in the garden recounting tales of the previous night. I was nursing a slight hangover and my muscles were sore from the frantic dancing, shoving and chaos of the general standing area. Lourens on the other hand, was fresh and ready for the day. Our nights turned out completely different. While I was partying and drinking, Lourens was working and barely drank at all. He explained that when he attends a live show, his goal is to photograph the performance on stage. Event organisers give him free entrance to shows, but with it comes responsibilities. He needs to capture moments that best represent the show, and he needs to be sober and focused to do this successfully. According to Lourens, the setting of stage photography has a number of obstacles photographers need to overcome while they are focussed on photographing subjects that are moving on stage - a task that is in itself difficult.

As a result, it requires intense focus to take 'good' photographs of a live music show:

> "Stage photography comes with a particularly difficult set of constraints. It is not often that you take photos of someone whose focus is almost never on you. You are in a dark venue with lights that are constantly changing, and surrounded by energetic people whose main priority is to experience the act in front of them. Also, there is a very real possibility that it might start raining beer at any moment. But these are the conditions under which we thrive" (Smit, Semi-structured Interview, 07/01/2017).

For Lourens, the obstacles of stage photography are a challenge, not a hindrance. Obstacles force him to go about stage photography differently by finding angles and shots other photographers cannot. By photographing several shows at the same venue - in this case Arcade Empire - he familiarised himself with the setting. As a result, he knew how the layout of the stage and infrastructure surrounding the stage affect a show, and therefore knew how to move in front of the stage and according to the stage lights. Moreover, he knew how Desmond and the Tutus generally perform on stage. By photographing the same band several times, he could start identifying patterns in their performances and was therefore able to anticipate which song the frontman would jump into the crowd.

Talking to Lourens made me realise that behind every good photograph of a live show, there are a multitude of technical and artistic choices made to represent the moment in the best possible light. Furthermore, the work music photographers produce is both valued by other actors in the music industry – event organisers, bands and their fans – and used by these parties to promote themselves, their taste and what they perceive as their art. As such, music photographers should be considered as professional artists (within the South African music industry) and ought to be compensated as such. The fact, that this is not happening started to bother me.

How can someone be considered 'professional' when they are not paid for their services nor their products? Then again, can an amateur have the resources or prestige to get free and unrestricted access to photograph shows? Maybe my understanding of the title 'professional' was misguided. So, I started to question my assumptions: Why should 'professional' be tied to financial success, when so many artists often struggle to sell their art? Is free, unrestricted access enough compensation, and if so, why is this sort of access so valuable? Lastly, how do music photographers in South Africa legitimise their work?

Chapter 1: Building an ethnographic report

There is an interesting phenomenon regarding the relative fame music photographers can achieve as artists: Music photographers never achieve the wide-spread or critical acclaim of their subjects – musicians and their performances on stage – nor are music photographers (and photographers in general) revered to the same extent as artists of the fine arts. I first noticed this when Lourens Smit asked who the photographer of the Abbey Road album cover was. The photographer, Iain Macmillan, was a friend of John Lennon and Yoko Ono and continued to shoot album covers for the couple's post-Beatles albums, most notably the cloud on the album cover for *Live Peace in Toronto* and photographs on the album *Some Time in New York City.* What was interesting for me about that discussion, was that the photographer of such a monumental photograph remained virtually unknown to the general public.

In an interview with a contemporary South African music photographer, Wayde Flowerday stated there are only a handful of music photographers that are known by the general public, but they are the outliers. Instead, Wayde views music photographers as 'nameless entities':

> "Barring a handful of people that really like my work, they [fans] don't care who is shooting the show. They [the fans] just want to see nice pictures afterwards. I think we [music photographers] are almost a 'nameless entity' most of the time, apart from the people that actually pay attention, like you. I think Sean Brand is one of the few that became a household name. If you followed Fokofpolisiekar, you will know Liam Lynch. But, for the average people… [speech interrupted]. I mean, those are the two 'big' names, that's it. The other guys, internationally, that have built a brand for themselves have done a bit better, but again they are few and far between" (Flowerday, Formal interview, 10/06/2018).

When I met Lourens Smit, I was not aware of the marginal status Wayde Flowerday assigned to music photographers in the public eye. However, I do not fully agree with the statement Wayde made. Based on the data gathered during the fieldwork period, it became apparent that certain music photographers are widely-known and revered inside the South African live music scene(s). Event management and media liaisons know who are good and trustworthy music photographers. Bands and musicians that consciously focus on their public image are not simply aware of good music photographers, they actively seek out those photographers during a live show to perform for their cameras. As for the general public and fans of the band, a large amount of them follow the pages and profiles of music photographers and band.

Study objective, theory and research questions

To uncover the professional world of music photography Lourens introduced me to, I set an objective for this study: To find out what it means to be a 'pro' music "tog" in South Africa.

The word 'pro' is (and will continue to be) written in inverted commas, because it has not yet been established what professional means in this context. Tog is a colloquialism for photographer that acts (in some cases) as a signifier of acceptance by other togs as a professional photographer: "Togs do it [photography] for a living. It's their sole source of income. People with jobs might be good, and even outshoot them [togs], but they are hobbyists" (Wolf, Informal interview, 30/03/2018). However, while this distinction between "togs" and "hobbyists" seemed like an interesting dynamic to focus on, I did not find any evidence that this distinction has any impact or relevance on being a 'pro' music "tog". For event management and media liaisons, it does not matter whether the applicants are togs or hobbyists. For them, 'professional' is not tied to the source of income. Instead, music photographers are granted media accreditation on merit and personal connections (see chapters 4 and 5). Moreover, once music photographers gained entrance to the shared workspaces of music events-and-festivals, they need to be treated like colleagues – with respect and considerate behaviour – whether they are liked or not.

To fulfil the study objective, I set out three research questions to answer:

The research participants in my study focus primarily on stage photography[3], so it is imperative to first establish a music photographer's function in the live music industry. The first research question tries to find out what it means to be a music photographer in South Africa by asking what the roles of music photographers are during and after a live music show.

This question stems from a book called *Photography: A middle-brow art* (Bourdieu, [1965] 1990) where photographers in the mid-1960s were analysed through a sociological lens[4]. The book argues that by focussing on the function of photographers in society, it is possible to

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3 Stage photography is a form of music photography where photographers attend live music shows-and-festivals with the goal of capturing moments of the performance and the effect the performance has on the audience. The reason why stage photography has become the predominant practice is discussed later in this chapter under the sub-heading *Why stage photography?*

4 The task of which is to grasp an objectified meaning of the subjective relationships between people, their actions, and the objects in use.

establish the position these photographers occupy in society. The co-authors start by asking questions about the photographic practice, the roles photographers perform, and most importantly the various ways photographers legitimize their work:

> "How and why is the practice of photography predisposed to a diffusion so wide that there are few households, at least in towns, which do not possess a camera? Is it enough to refer to the accessibility of the instruments used in this practice, and the use of those instruments?
>
> There are cheap cameras and, unlike more demanding activities, such as the practice of playing a musical instrument, photography requires little to no training; the absence of economic and technical obstacles is an adequate explanation only if one hypothetically assumes that photographic consumption fills a need that can be satisfied within the limits of economic means" (Bourdieu 1990: 13-14).

The value photographic practices add to our daily lives is shown to be the source of their legitimacy as professional photographers. Conventional photographic practices in the mid-60s served an important family function of capturing/solemnizing/eternalizing moments of social unity. On the other hand, a lot of photographers moved away from the family function to focus more on the aesthetic qualities of the photographs they take. These photographers are called 'aesthetic photographers' and often band together to share resources and information in the form of camera clubs. I would argue that music photographers in the South African context fall in-between these binary classifications. The primary objective for music photographers is to place the show into context – to portray both the social interaction a performance incites and the theatricality that it adds to the performance. Music photographers thus focus on both the family function of photography, as well as the aesthetic qualities of the show.

It is also important to question why stage photography has become the main form of music photography by thinking about the value these photographs have and why. I would argue that this knowledge of 'knowing your worth' is the first step music photographers take toward becoming a professional. Photographers who are aware of the influence their work might have on the public perception of musicians and events, produce better photographs and are able to navigate around exploitation.

The second research question asks how music photographers navigate around the obstacles of stage photography to distinguish themselves from 'amateur' photographers, as well as other 'pro' music "togs". Stage photography was shown from the start to be a particularly difficult

form of photography. Anything can happen on stage, so being able to consistently take quality photographs of fleeting moments is a good start to distinguish yourself from amateur photographers.

After observing Lourens Smit during our first Desmond and the Tutus show, he told me that music photographers thrive in these challenging conditions as they are able to manoeuvre around these obstacles to take photographs others (amateur photographers) cannot take. The experience and knowledge music photographers build by observing and photographing several shows of the same band is the true source of their power and the means to which they can establish themselves as 'pro' music "togs".

According to Alfred Gell in *The Anthropology of Art* (Gell, 1999) photographers struggle to achieve the popular prestige that other artists, such as painters or sculptors, receive in societies who have routinely adopted photography as a technique for producing images. This is because a camera is a familiar apparatus to the general public, which makes the pubic perceive the technical processes involved in photography as an articulation of our notion of human agency, and not artistic techniques. To accrue legitimacy as an artist, photographers thus need to find ways to take a photograph in such a way that the viewer struggles to conceptualise how this was done:

> "The alchemy involved in photography (in which packets of film are inserted into cameras, buttons are pressed, and pictures of Aunt Edna emerge in due course) are regarded as uncanny, but as uncanny processes of a natural rather than a human order…
>
> The photographer, a lonely button-presser, has no prestige, or not until the nature of his photographs is such as to make one start to have difficulties conceptualising the process which made them achievable with the familiar apparatus of photography"
> (Gell 1999: 171).

At this point, it important to avoid an anachronistic argument by taking into account how technological innovations in the last three decades drastically changed the photographic practice. Cameras have transitioned from film to digital which makes the cameras of today easier to use and more available than ever. Digital cameras give photographers more control to calibrate the settings on their cameras, which grants photographers more creative freedom.

For music photographers, digital cameras allow them to adjust the settings of the camera to navigate around the obstacles of stage photography. New features on digital cameras, such as

auto-focus, help photographers to stabilise the focus of their camera while the Automatic function calibrates the settings for the photographer to suit the environment in which photographs are taken. These technological innovations, coupled with the integration of cameras into cell phones, make cameras and photography more wide-spread than ever before. The amount of cell phones pointed at the band during a performance indicates that technological innovations have drastically democratized photography. As a result, the wide-spread use of cameras during a show blurs the line between amateur photographers and 'pros' - If anyone with a camera or phone pointed at the band can be considered as photographers of the show, how do music photographers establish themselves as 'pro' music' "togs"?

Later in the book *Photography: A middle-brow art* (Bourdieu, [1965] 1990), co-authors Castel and Schnapper ([1964]1990) show how aesthetic photographers are united in their desire to photograph differently - without using the family function as a justification for legitimacy. Aesthetic photographers are thus looking for a secondary justification for taking photographs - a means of expression for an aspiration whose origin is not found within photography:

> "Photography is never an end in itself, and once it ceases naively to express social
> relationships it is obliged to reply on a system of norms which are sometimes those
> of art, sometimes those of technology. It might thus be part of the 'essence' of
> photography to oscillate between the imitation of painting and *an interest in
> technology* [original italics], the systematic exploitation of the technical resources
> of photography" (Castel and Schnapper 1990: 104-105).

This brings me to my final research question: <u>How do music photographers establish themselves as 'pro' music "togs"?</u> Economic gain can be ruled out as a criterion for legitimacy as several interviews confirmed that there is little promise of financial compensation for the majority of the photographs they take, edit and publish. According to Henry Marsh, music photographers cannot use financial wealth to legitimise a status of professional music photographer:

> "If you want to make money through photography, be a studio photographer. They
> are paid per shoot and clients buy those photos. For music photographers it is a bit
> different. You are never paid for the shows you shoot and fans rarely buy our photos.
> Festival organisers give you free tickets and access to restricted spaces, but the only
> way you can actually make some money out of music photography is by selling the
> photographs back to the bands. This does not happen as often as we like to claim
> however, so music photographers often need another source of income, and a way

to be considered a professional photographer without using money as the basis"
(Marsh, Formal Interview 19/06/2018).

Based on the data gathered in the fieldwork period, I surmised that music photographers are situated within a *Field of Cultural Production* (Bourdieu 1993) of the South African live music industry. The second justification for music photographers, therefore, lies in the way their photographs acts as catalyst for not only social interaction, but more importantly the acquisition and negotiation of different forms of *capital*. *Capital* according to (Bourdieu, 1986) is a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but also the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world:

> "Capital is accumulated labour (in its materialised form or its embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour" (Bourdieu 1986: 46).

When *economic capital* (the form of capital that is immediately and directly convertible to money) cannot be used as the metric to establish legitimacy, it becomes crucial to look at other forms of *capital* and how this accumulated labour can be utilized to acquire legitimacy. *Social capital* is the aggregate of actual and potential resources shared in a durable network of relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. The resources music photographers acquire through networks of relationships range from important contacts and information regarding stage photography, to the legitimacy needed to obtain access to these shows. *Cultural capital* is most evident in the embodied state where other forms of capital is internalised and incorporated in their daily practices. For music photographers, information and knowledge of the performance on stage shape how photographers go about photographing the show. Knowing how musicians perform on stage gives music photographers the ability to position themselves strategically to capture climatic moments on stage.

It thus stands to reason the prestige of a music photographer relies on the ways in which they are able to initiate opportunities for extracting forms of capital and converting them into a reputation of a 'pro' music "tog".

Methodology, context and ethics

I am trained in the discipline of Social Anthropology by the University of Pretoria, South Africa. As such, I employed techniques of participant observation and interviews to gather data during the fieldwork period. Interviews with photographers were used to gain an in-depth understanding of their work, while participant observation provided me with moments where I could experience first-hand what it meant to be a music photographer at live music shows and festivals. Lastly, research participants often deconstructed their own photographs to explain the techniques they employed and choices they made to photograph moments. These photographs, together with the stories behind them, were included in the report. The data gathered throughout the fieldwork period was analysed through the theoretical framework constructed from the work of predominantly Pierre Bourdieu ([1964]1990, 1977, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1993) and Alfred Gell (1990), and compiled into an ethnographic report.

Methodology

I followed the advice of Lourens Smit and started attending more live music shows at small venues in Pretoria. I frequented Aandklas, Railways Café, Park Acoustics and Arcade Empire to meet other music photographers and soon started approaching potential research informants. When I attended these shows, I had to change my mindset to focus on the show as a performance that needs to be photographed, as opposed to simply enjoying the show like the rest of the members in the audience. It was also initially difficult to focus on music photographers because they were blending in with the darkness surrounding them. As time passed, I started to fixate on the movement of photographers around the stage, because their actions appeared deliberate and strategic. I could see how certain things on stage influenced their movement, most notably the movement of musicians on stage. Yet after my initial observations, I still struggled to understand what music photographers were doing during stage photography and why. So, I followed Lourens' example and borrowed my mother's camera.

Once I started attending live shows with the purpose of photographing them, my perspective changed completely. Even though I was aware of certain obstacles photographers face, I found stage photography to be deceivingly difficult. I struggled to find the correct settings to photograph in an environment with low-light and moving subjects, which often left me with a memory card full of unusable photographs. To focus on dynamic subjects in an environment not suited for conventional forms of photography, photographers need to use the view finder

of their camera instead of the LCD screens on the camera that amateur photographers use. Using the viewfinder allows photographers to focus on the way a photograph is framed, and is thus a necessity to take quality photographs. Once I started using the viewfinder, my photographs not only improved, but I was also able to better understand why music photographers move the way they do and why they employ certain techniques to navigate around these obstacles.

I started discussing my experiences and observations with other music photographers, which provided me with valuable information regarding stage photography. However, music photography demands focus and precision to capture photographs in a limited timeframe while moving in, and sharing, a restricted and narrow workspace. Not only are music photographers' workspaces small in size, but access to some of these spaces are restricted by gatekeepers. Conducting ethnographic fieldwork at these live shows was thus limited by the fast-paced practice and undivided attention the practice of photography demands. Because of this, I structured interviews with music photographers during live music shows-and-festivals as semi-structured (Bernard 2011). Semi-structured interviews allow research participants to guide the conversation by elaborating on broad questions, as opposed to direct questions with short and definitive answers. The interview schedule for these semi-structured interviews focused on the shows they photographed at these events and asked questions about how they went about photographing the show. These interviews provided me with insights on both the obstacles they face during stage photography and how they navigate around these obstacles. Semi-structured interviews thus showed me that the choices photographers make during a show are calculated and should therefore be considered as products of techniques in which an artist is skilled.

I also conducted formal interviews after shows to discuss what it means to be a music photographer in South Africa. The questions for formal interviews were more direct to get clear answers regarding the preparation for the upcoming event, the channels music photographers use to gain access, as well as how they perceive the roles of a 'pro' music "tog". It was also during formal interviews that music photographers deconstructed their photographs to illustrate the choices they made and techniques they employed to get those specific shots. The analysis of photographs was instrumental for me to gain an understanding of this, which led me into the territory of Visual Anthropology as well. I would argue that the incorporation of Visual Anthropology was not only necessitated to uncover hidden techniques of stage photography, but also propped up the study for interdisciplinary debates regarding reflexivity and the

relationship between objects and people: "As we delve into the ''new'' visual research literature it becomes clear that contemporary visual researchers from different disciplines have common interests: reflexivity; collaboration; ethics; and the relationship between the content, social context and materiality of images" (Pink 2003: 179).

The final form of data gathering I employed was participant observation. Participant observation is the bedrock on which anthropological fieldwork is built. The technique forces a researcher to question their initial observations of a study by experiencing the practice first-hand. I decided to consecutively attend two different music festivals (Lush Festival and Oppikoppi Festival) over the course of two years (2017-2018) as fieldwork sites for participant observation of music festivals. During most of these music festivals, I was a general festival goer, which permitted me to use a camera outside of restricted areas. During these times, I was made aware of the stark distinction between amateur photographers with restricted access, and photographers deemed professional enough to be granted unrestricted access. The last Oppikoppi Festival I attended in 2018 was different, however, because I managed to acquire access to the media tent and later (by accident) pit access. It was the first (and only) time I was allowed to enter designated photography spaces, and with it I was made aware of even more obstacles photographers face when they are in these spaces. This festival was therefore a particularly important opportunity for participant observation as it gave me the opportunity to experience a music festival from the perspective of a photographer deemed 'professional'.

Ethics

In accordance with the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology of the University of Pretoria, I followed the standards of professional and ethical conduct set by *The Statement on Ethics: Principles of Professional Responsibilities* (American Anthropology Association: 2012). According to the American Anthropology Association:

> "Anthropologists have an ethical obligation to consider the potential impact of both their research and the communication or dissemination of the results of their research. Anthropologists must consider this issue prior to beginning research as well as throughout the research process. Explicit negotiation with research partners and participants about data ownership and access and about dissemination of results, may be necessary before deciding whether to begin research" (American Anthropology Association 2012).

To comply with the principles set, a research proposal was written to set an outline for the research project and assess the potential effects of gathering, analysing and disseminating the data in this research report. The proposal was presented to several members of the faculty and post-graduate student body of the department, and after receiving valuable questions and critiques, I was granted permission to proceed.

I contacted several music photographers I met in the first few months to discuss the objective of the study, the methodology I planned to use, and ask about potential concerns for participating in the study. Based on these discussions, it became clear that music photographers had previous encounters where their photographs were obtained without permission or published without crediting the photographer. The standard of anonymity was therefore not applicable as the intellectual property of the photographs I incorporated into the report was of the utmost importance. All media content used was acquired in an ethical manner - in a way that does not infringe the intellectual property of the creators and distributors, as well as working in accordance with the legislative procedures in terms of publishing, archiving and correctly referencing the materials used.

To obtain informed consent, research participants were asked to sign a consent form where a brief summary was given of the research goals, methodology and ethical considerations. Research participants were given the option to share their photographs with me by ticking a box on the form, and ticking another box to grant permission to incorporate and credit their photographs in the report. As per agreement, the real names of research informants were used to avoid confusion when discussing their work/art, but also to properly credit their work and words. Dynamic, informed consent was used to protect the safety and integrity of research informants, as well as the reputation of their work/art.

After receiving signed consent forms from research participants, I applied for ethical clearance from the Research Ethical Council of the Faculty of Humanity of the University of Pretoria. My application was approved and I was able to proceed to the period of fieldwork. However, as the American Anthropology Association states: "The informed consent process is necessarily dynamic, continuous and reflexive" (American Anthropology Association 2012: 5). Due to the changing nature of research, consent needed to be continuously renegotiated to ensure that research informants remained informed and involved in the research. I kept research participants up to date on the progress of the study and asked for permission before including photographs they took as part of the analysis.

Why stage photography?

To start unpacking the notion of a 'pro' music "tog", it is important to first establish the function of music photographers in the South African music industry. At the centre of this conversation lies the subject of their photography - the musicians - who's progress in digital marketing shape what it means to be a music photographer. Wayde Flowerday used Fokofpolisiekar as an example of how the band took it upon themselves to build the 'image' of their band. He used the band's official pages on social media platforms as an example of how members of the band have taken the responsibility upon themselves to consistently maintain interaction with fans, as well as promote themselves and their various shows and products. According to him, the way the band collaborated with music photographers over the years set the trend for other bands:

> "There are three types of music photography. You get studio or portrait photography where they pose for photographs that are used for album covers or promotion. These photographs seem artificial or staged and are not used often because South African bands struggle to sell albums. Then you get tour photography where a photographer joins the bands on their tour to document the entire experience. When the band [Fokofpolisiekar] invited Liam Lynch to document their tour in Amsterdam, his photographs were so powerful the band used it [his photographs] to make the music video for [Ek] Skein Heilig. Tour documentary is a powerful tool, but the band subverted their need for a tour photographer when they starting using Instagram Stories to document themselves with their phones.

> The last bastion of music photography in South Africa is stage photography where the energetic performances of musicians [like Fokofpolisiekar] can only be captured, and done justice by, by music photographers moving around the stage to portray the performance in the best possible light" (Flowerday, Formal Interview, 10/07/2018).

At first, I thought this was quite a bold statement to make. The logic of the statement makes sense, but I was weary about the effect personal bias might have had on myself and the photographer. We are both dedicated fans of the band, we have attended a lot of their live shows (some together), but he also became one of their friends by photographing so many of their shows. Wayde even questioned his personal bias during the interview, but after re-reading their biography and analysing the data I gathered in the fieldwork period, I found the example

to be particularly enlightening in a way that shows how musicians and photographers need to work together to build a public image of *artist* and generate exposure for each other.

In *Biografie van 'n Bende* (Klopper 2011), the author chronicled the rise of the infamous Afrikaans Rock band Fokofpolisiekar and wrote that the band realized early on what was lacking in the South African (and more specifically the Afrikaans) music industry of the early 2000's: "They decided that the gap in the South African music industry is marketing. For them, it was clear that most local bands did not put enough effort into creating a specific and established identity, or linking an image to themselves…" (Klopper, 2011: 80). They subsequently spent a lot of time during the first few band meetings discussing the image they wanted to craft for the band, and how they would do it. The band set out a budget for marketing and invited their friend and graphic designer Matt Edwards to become the unofficial sixth member of the band. Matt Edwards worked closely with Hunter Kennedy (the guitarist and lyricist of the band) to design posters, flyers and t-shirts to sell at their shows (Klopper 2011).

The band gained notoriety for their energetic live performances and asked a photographer, Liam Lynch, who became their friend after photographing a lot of their early shows, to photograph their tour in Amsterdam. The tour was gruelling and the band looked burned out. Liam photographed their shows, but more importantly, assumed the role of documentarian to photograph moments of the tour - the high points and the low ones. The result was a series of black-and-white photographs depicting the band in a way their fans have not seen them (Klopper 2011). Unfortunately, I do not have permission to display the photographs, but the power of these photographs can be witnessed in the way it impacted both the band and the photographer's lives.

For the photographer, Liam Lynch, his close collaboration with the band and the immense success of the music video provided him with relative fame, a network of musicians and artists, and a name he could use as a platform to explore other forms of photography. He has held public exhibitions and even held an exhibition at a bar the band now owns. He still collaborates with the band, but dislikes being pigeonholed as a 'music photographer': "I keep telling people I'm not a music photographer. I photograph people. I photograph people who are touched by music and I photograph people who perform it. And because of how I'm touched by it, I'm inspired by those who make it" (Lynch, Public discussion at the Bioscope in Johannesburg, 02/04/2011).

For the band, it was a wake-up call that showed them how the strain of negative feedback from the conservative community had impacted the band. It showed how the frantic tour schedules left them burned out, and it showed how they were nearing the end of the rope. The band released the album *Swanesang* (Swansong) in 2006 to announce that the band was breaking up[5]. The photographs Liam Lynch took were raw and devoid of glamour, which fit the theme of the song they wanted to launch with a music video. The music video for *Ek Skein (Heilig)*[6] was released in 2006, and while the title was a double entendre[7], the message was made clear when the photographs Lynch took were set as the backdrop for the music video. The photographs seemed timed to specific words and phrases which allows the viewer to reinterpret the meaning behind the words. When specific photographs appear when lyrics of deviance are sung, I get the impression that the band is secretly flipping off the conservative community that ridiculed them.

The band created official band pages and profiles on several online platforms - Facebook, Apple music and Instagram - which proved to be powerful platforms for the band to interact with their fans, while expanding their fanbase. They were able to promote upcoming shows (see figure 1.1), launch a successful merchandise brand (see figure 1.2), and raised twice the amount they needed to crowdfund their seventh album *Self Medikasie* in 2017 (see figure 1.3).
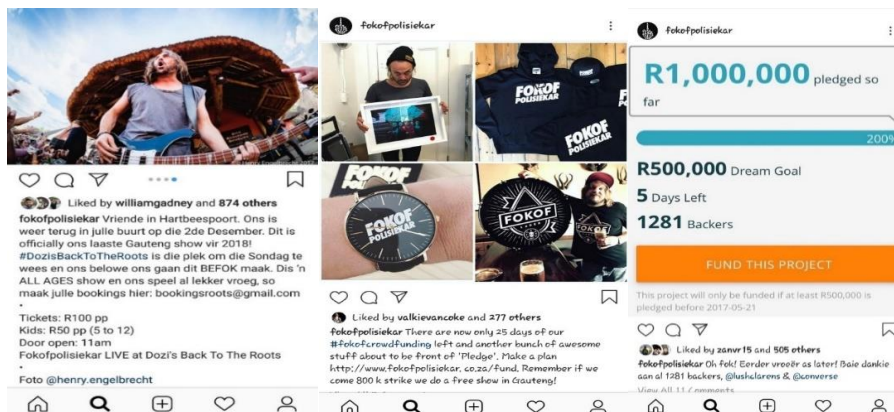

Figure 1.1: Promoting an upcoming show.   Figure 1.2: Selling band merchandise.   Figure 1.3: Crowdfunding pledges

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[5] This was their first break-up. Since then, members of the band started other bands, had solo careers, reunited, went on hiatus again, and is now performing together again as Fokofpolisiekar. They are also co-invested in several side-projects built around names they brand marked such as 'Fokof' followed with the product as the suffix, and 'Van Coke' following the same pattern. The brand they built ranges from general merchandise (t-shirts, hats, etc.) to craft beer, a bar in Pretoria, and even a recording studio in Cape Town called Van Coke Studios. The band has thus done a remarkable job to not only craft a specific public image, but more importantly, to extract all sources of *capital* - social, economic, cultural, and symbolic.

[6] Official music video for Ek Skein(Heilig) by Fokofpolisiekar: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hDdnz4j6f7E

[7] The title has two meanings, leaving the song open for interpretation, or as the band referred to their work, misinterpretation. The first interpretation is a statement that the light from the moon and a street light makes them appear holy, while the second interpretation is a confession that they (whoever they are) are actually hypocritical.

To maintain interaction with fans, they regularly post photographs of their shows; photographs sent to the band by music photographers. To reciprocate exposure to photographers, the band credits the photographers and often encourages their fans to follow the photographer's profiles. In figure 1.1, Fokofpolisiekar posted a photo of their bassist performing at the front of the stage, to promote an upcoming live show. As can be seen at the bottom of figure 1.1, the photographer, Henry Engelbrecht, is credited properly for the photo. Moreover, the photo credit is a hyperlink to Henry's photography page, allowing users to simply click on the '@henry.engelbrecht' to be redirected to his photography profile.

It appears that after shows, musicians and music photographers play a significant role in providing exposure for each other. As this research report unfolds, the relationship between photographers and musicians is shown to be a co-creative relationship. Both need each other to build a public image and gain a reputation. However, musicians can be misrepresented and photographers can be exploited by not being credited when their photographs are used. A professional relationship between music photographers and musicians should thus be built around a negotiation of trust and voluntary acts of reciprocity.

Chapter Outline

This research report consists of four data chapters, each focussing on a specific set of relationships that are vital for people to establish themselves as 'pro' music "togs".

Chapter 2 focusses on the relationships between music photographers and the musicians they photograph. The chapter starts by establish the function of music photographers in the South African live music industry. The relationships are shown to be built around a professional dynamic of artist-and-subject. Social relationships with musicians are equally important, as they can provide access to spaces and moments other photographers cannot experience. Moreover, these relationships are shown to be co-creative and thus need negotiations and agreements to ensure mutual benefit, based on acts of voluntary reciprocity.

While the second chapter investigates the ways in which music photographers create exposure for bands, Chapter 3 looks at how music photographers utilise designated photography pages and profiles on social media platforms to create exposure for themselves and build a reputation of a 'pro' music "tog". The type of social media platform music photographers prefer is based on the capabilities of the platform and what the extra features allow music photographers to do.

Chapter 4 looks at the interpersonal networks and relationships in, and among, music photographers and everyone working in the music industry. These relationships are important, especially for upcoming photographers who lack the knowledge, personal contacts and skill to acquire media accreditation and take quality photographs. Furthermore, music photographers do not act in a vacuum. During live music shows-and-festivals, music photographers are situated in shared workspaces that require professional conduct and calculated movement.

The final data chapter, Chapter 5, unpacks what music photographers and event management deem 'good' or 'quality' photographs. It is shown that stage photography has numerous obstacles, but it is the ways in which music photographers circumnavigate the obstacles that draw the viewer's attention. Furthermore, it is shown that consistent use of artistic techniques creates associative links between the names of music photographers and the work they produce. Artistic techniques are thus not simply to overcome the obstacles of stage photography, but the outcome of calculated choices and movement that is intended to distinguish themselves from other music photographers.

Chapter 2: Photographers of musicians and producers of a band's image

To start unpacking what it means to be a 'pro' music' "tog", it is important to first establish what a music photographer is - what or who do they photograph, and why? What is the function of music photographers based on their roles during and after a show? And most importantly, what makes the photographs they take valuable?

In the preceding chapter, I started to make the argument that music photographers are situated within a *Field of Cultural Production* (Bourdieu 1993) of the South African live music industry. The first chapter used the chronicled rise of the band Fokofpolisiekar to show how the form of music photography was directly shaped by bands who took it upon themselves to consciously build the image of their band, choosing how they are portrayed in the public sphere, and by whom. This new-found autonomy bands have over the production of their image is brought on by technological innovations of cell phone camera capabilities[8] and social media platforms[9] that make it possible to instantly upload and share media (photographs and videos) on their official band pages. As such, the transition to digital marketing forces music photographers to abandon other forms of music photography (such as album portrait photography and tour documentarian) to focus on stage photography, which requires a certain set of skills that is discussed throughout the report (specifically in chapters 4 and 5).

Since musicians dictate the form of music photography, it is important to start the enquiry by examining the relationship between music photographers and musicians/bands. These relationships were often the topic of discussion when research informants explained how they go about stage photography, as well as how they established themselves as 'pro' music "togs". For example, for Christelle Duvenage, it is important to build and maintain a comfortable relationship with musicians, without becoming a 'boring familiarity' to them (Duvenage, Semi-

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8 The integration of quality-camera capabilities into smartphones makes it possible for anyone (be it the event media liaisons, the band manager or the band themselves) to photograph moments of the tour, off-stage and behind the scenes.

9 Innovations in social media platforms, and the integration of these platforms into cell phones through apps (applications), made connectivity between bands and their fans wide-spread and instant. In the first chapter, the official band profiles/pages of Fokofpolisiekar on social media platforms were used as an example of how bands use these platforms to build a set identity or image for the band, promote upcoming shows and sell merchandise. Wayde Flowerday used the Instagram profile of the band to explain how the band subverted the need for a tour documentarian through the feature Instagram stories.

Structured Interview, 24/10/2018). Christelle tries to avoid taking repetitive photographs of musicians she has photographed before by finding different shots and angles during shows. In addition, she is extremely selective of the photographs she sends to musicians and posts on her photography pages on social media platforms (see chapter 5). To understand the professional relationship between music photographers and musicians, it is important to first establish the roles each perform in the South African music industry.

The roles of photographers and musicians during and after a show

While photographing a show, musicians are, as Lourens Smit states, the subject of stage photography. As such, the behaviour and movement of musicians during a performance shape the images music photographers are able to capture:

> "As the subject of our photography, musicians (and what they do on stage) shape the photos we take. Interesting subjects make for interesting photographs. It's pretty simple. If the act is energetic, it makes energetic and exciting images." (Smit, Informal Interview, 03/02/2018).

Professional relationships between photographers and musicians during a live show thus revolve around the dynamic of artist and subject: Photographers assume the role of artist, keenly observing the subject of their photography (musicians performing on stage) to find interesting ways to capture and portray the performance. At the same time, musicians need to give a performance worth photographing and often seek out cameras to perform to.

Stage photography

To explain conduct on stage and the roles of photographers and musicians during a show, I will use an ethnographic vignette from a show at a music festival in Clarens (Free State) called Lush Festival 2017. It was another Desmond and the Tutus show, but this time to a much larger audience. This show was chosen for the vignette as it provided me with a clear example of how musicians provide moments worth capturing while performing, as well as how photographers go about capturing these moments in a professional manner. It was also the first time I noticed that interaction between photographers and musicians during a show is often hidden in plain sight.

A crowd had formed in front of the Willow Stage, waiting in anticipation for Desmond & the Tutus. The lights on the stage went out and the crowd started to howl at the moon[10]. A steady beat from the kick drum drew their attention back to the show. A spotlight appeared on the drummer and the audience burst out in howls and cheers. The show had finally started! Lights swept across the stage and focussed on the guitarist as he strummed a chord that resonated through the valley…

"She hangs the picture on the wall!" a voice yelled through the speakers.

The frontman appeared from the side of the stage and ran to the guitarist to wrestle the guitar away from him. He threw the strap over one shoulder and started to play. He missed a few notes and gave the guitar back, then ran to the front to face his audience. The guitarist muted the strings of his guitar with his palm and the drummer started playing softer. Tension started to build up until he screamed again: "She hangs the picture…", and pointed his microphone toward the audience. "… on the wall!" the audience replied. He waited for them to sing another sentence before he joined in again.

As the show continued, the band kept the audience on their toes with antics similar to their entrance. At the command of the frontman, members of the audience danced with the person next to them and gave each other a kiss on the cheek. It seemed as if anything the band did on stage was accepted as simply 'part of the show'.

During the show, people in dark clothes could sometimes be seen moving along the outskirts of the stage. Some were members of the stage crew who frequently had to adjust a cable or instrument, but they rarely drew attention to themselves. Among the stage crew, a few photographers moved along the side of the stage. They had their cameras aimed at the band, but were facing them from the side. Other photographers were standing inside a barricaded area in front of the stage, which gave them an angle facing the band.

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[10] Howling at the moon is a tradition of the festival. When someone starts howling at the moon, the rest of the festival goers quickly follow suit.

To the left, a photographer next to the sound technician caught the frontman's eye. He moved his mic stand to face the photographer and performed for the camera, pulling faces and making gestures. I was ecstatic: "Get the shot! Please get the shot!", I screamed in my head. The moment passed and he ran back to the front of the stage to get the audience dancing again.

Based on the vignette, the roles of photographers and musicians during a show appear fairly straight-forward: Musicians perform on stage to entertain the audience, while photographers move along the peripheral areas of the stage to capture moments of the performance. Per stage etiquette[11], photographers are to remain out of sight and never draw attention to themselves or away from the band. They do this by wearing black clothing, refraining from flash photography, and moving within the demarcated[12] peripheral areas - around the stage and in front of it.

During the Desmond and the Tutus show at Lush festival, the band remained the focal point of the show. To make the show more theatrical, stage lights were focussed on each member of the band while different colours lit up the stage and changed according to the music being played. Moreover, the band kept the attention of their audience through their wild behaviour on stage and the vocalist, who often pointed his microphone to the audience, signalling them to sing the lyrics. At the same time, several photographers were moving around the stage to photograph everything happening. Photographers were hardly seen between the theatrics of the show, even though they were either on the side of the stage or right in front of it.

Despite this, I witnessed a moment where attention was drawn to a photographer when the frontman performed for him. I was intrigued by what I witnessed, but after speaking to several festival goers, I realized that no one really remembered that it happened. They only remembered the lights, the songs and some of the band's behaviour on stage. However, I also spoke to several photographers who could recall the incident and identified the photographer, Alexander Wolf. Alexander said he missed the shot, but gave an explanation as to why the frontman might have performed for him:

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[11] Formal and informal agreements that structure stage conduct and is reinforced through *practice* (Bourdieu 1977).
See Chapter 4 – Professional conduct in shared workspaces.

[12] Live shows (especially larger shows and festivals) demarcate photography spaces around stages, called 'pits' (ibid).

> "Stage photography can be tricky. I was standing in a good position and focussed on the guitarist when Shane [the frontman] moved towards me. So, I was caught a little off-guard. You don't have time to worry about the shots you missed. You just have to keep shooting. There will be more moments in the show. I think he performed for me because he recognised me. I have shot a lot of their shows over the years and we became friends in the process, so he knows me and is familiar with my work" (Wolf, Informal interview, 31/03/2018).

Even though the moment caught him off-guard, he still had an advantage over the other photographers. The musician was facing him directly, as opposed to the angle from where the rest of the photographers were standing. Moreover, the frontman dramatized his movement by performing for the camera and holding poses longer. Alexander Wolf attributed the performance for the camera to their friendship. For more than a decade, Desmond & the Tutus has regularly performed in venues in Pretoria and the surrounding cities in Gauteng like Centurion and Johannesburg. As a Johannesburg-based photographer with a decade's experience of shooting live shows in the area, Alexander has had numerous opportunities to photograph the band.

Another photographer, Wayde Flowerday, remarked that the frontman would probably perform for any camera. According to Wayde, it is the role of a frontman to not only entertain the audience, but also seek out cameras to perform to. Furthermore, the vocalist of Desmond and the Tutus is known (among photographers) to perform for cameras, so the performance could be attributed to that as well. However, he added that the fact that Alexander and the frontman are friends probably made him hold the poses a bit longer:

> "There are specific bands that are just very good at playing up no matter who is behind the camera. A Faith like Yours's vocalist knows 'you look for every camera', because that's just the type of frontman he is. Maybe you will get a better moment if he [the performer] knows the person behind the camera and will hold the pose a bit longer" (Flowerday, Informal Interview, 01/04/2018).

Unfortunately, I did not get the opportunity to speak to the frontman and get a definitive explanation for his performance, but the incident left me with several important insights:

The first important insight was that a live show is a performance. There is a routine, a setlist, and a plan for how the show ought to be performed. This sound obvious, but audience members often get enthralled by the spectacle and seem to forget this. In *The presentation of self in everyday life* (Goffman 1959) a *performance* is defined as: "… all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" (Goffman 1959: 32). As such, it is the role of musicians to entertain their audience, interact with their fans, and involve members of the audience in the performance. At the same time, music photographers are granted access to capture these theatrical moments on stage and share them with the band, fans, and the organisers of the show or festival. For music photographers, the realisation that a show is a performance grants them the foresight to anticipate moments on stage and move accordingly (see chapters 4 and 5).

The second insight was that a live show is built around the performance of musicians. During a show, bands are <u>made</u> to be the focus of the show, as opposed to naturally assuming the role simply because they are performing. Musicians are made to be the centre of attention by stage lights that are focussed on the performers and follow them as they move across the stage. By utilizing the infrastructure surrounding the stage, stage managers and their crew add theatricality to the show. Fog machines add ambience to the stage, while stage lights create optical illusions for the performance by sweeping across the stage and changing colour according to the music being performed. This is the *front* – the expressive equipment which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance (Goffman 1959: 32). It is thus important for music photographers to not simply be aware of the front of a show, but to incorporate the expressive equipment into the photographs they take.

To maintain this focus on the performers, music photographers need to follow the stage etiquette set out by stage managers. When photographers and members of the crew appear on stage (or next to it) they are to remain out of sight and refrain from flash photography. Dark clothing (preferably black) help music photographers blend into the shadows and not draw any attention away from the band.

Lastly, even though the performance is primarily for the audience, musicians are aware of the photographers surrounding them and some decide to perform for the cameras. After this incident, I became aware of more instances where musicians directly perform for music photographers without the audience even realizing it.

A performance for the camera can be easily overlooked by audience members because it appears as simply 'part of the show'. Most of these times, the audience is not even aware of the performance for the camera because the photographer is standing in front of the stage at the level of the audience. What might look like a bassist holding a note long while he smiles (see figure 2.1) or screaming at his fans (see figure 2.2) is actually a pose by the musician for the camera. Other gestures, such as pointing the microphone to the photographer (see figure 2.3) or pulling a duck face at the camera (see figure 2.4) are more overt, but still hidden in plain sight.

Fig.2.1: Made for Broadway, Arcade Empire, 2014© Christelle Duvenage | Fig.2.2: Black Cat Bones, Oppikoppi, 2018 © Henry Engelbrecht

Fig 2.3: Francois van Coke, Van Coke en Vriende 2018 © Wayde Flowerday | Fig.2.4: Hellcats, Park Acoustics, 2016, © Christelle Duvenage

Producing an image of 'professional artist'

Musicians in South Africa rely heavily on performing at live shows and music festivals as a form of income and a way to grow their fan base. To do this, musicians need publicity and therefore need to hire a public relations manager to promote the band. However, hiring a public relations manager can be costly and often unnecessary. Instead, many South African bands promote themselves through social media platforms like Facebook and Instagram. These platforms have become powerful mechanisms for musicians to communicate and interact with fans, sell merchandise, and promote upcoming shows. The content musicians use to promote themselves are primarily photographs of their previous performances - photographs taken and sent to them by music photographers. Music photographers therefore play an active role in building the 'image' of musicians within the live music industry.

Musicians need music photographers to get good photographs to promote themselves and their upcoming shows. It is important for them to maintain a good relationship with music photographers to ensure they are sent enough photos to post on a regular basis. Music photographers, on the other hand, need the exposure and legitimacy musicians provide by using their photographs on social media platforms and crediting the photographer. Photographers benefit when musicians credit them when sharing their photos, as it can attract more viewers to their profiles. As a result, the profile accumulates *reach*[13] - the total amount of unique users and interaction on the page. Reach is one of the criterions event management use to grant media access to music photographers for music shows and festivals.

The relationship between photographers and musicians is therefore a co-creative relationship; both need each other to build a public image and gain a reputation. However, musicians can be misrepresented and photographers can be exploited by not being credited when their photographs are used. A professional relationship between music photographers and musicians should thus be built around a negotiation of trust and voluntary acts of reciprocity. The roles of musicians and photographers after shows are to work together to build exposure not only for themselves, but each other as well. But how exactly does this process work?

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[13] See chapter 4 – Collaborations and networks of shared information.

After a show, music photographers enter the phase of post-production (see Chapter 4). Post-production is a process of refinement where photographers upload the photographs they took during the show, sift through them and choose the best ones to edit. After editing, they either send the refined photographs to the musicians or post them on their Facebook or Instagram profiles (see Chapter 3). These processes - capturing a performance (stage photography), refining the raw photographs taken (post production), and sharing the refined images on social media platforms - cumulate into a *produced image of bands*.

When photographs are posted, the profiles of the musicians photographed and the venue of the show are tagged (see figure 2.5), which makes the photographs visible to not only the tagged profiles, but also people who follow the profiles. Other Facebook and Instagram users, including the tagged musicians, can then interact with these photos by 'liking' and 'sharing' them. The 'like' feature allows users to show their approval of something, while the 'share' feature allows Facebook users to post another profile's photo on their own profile.
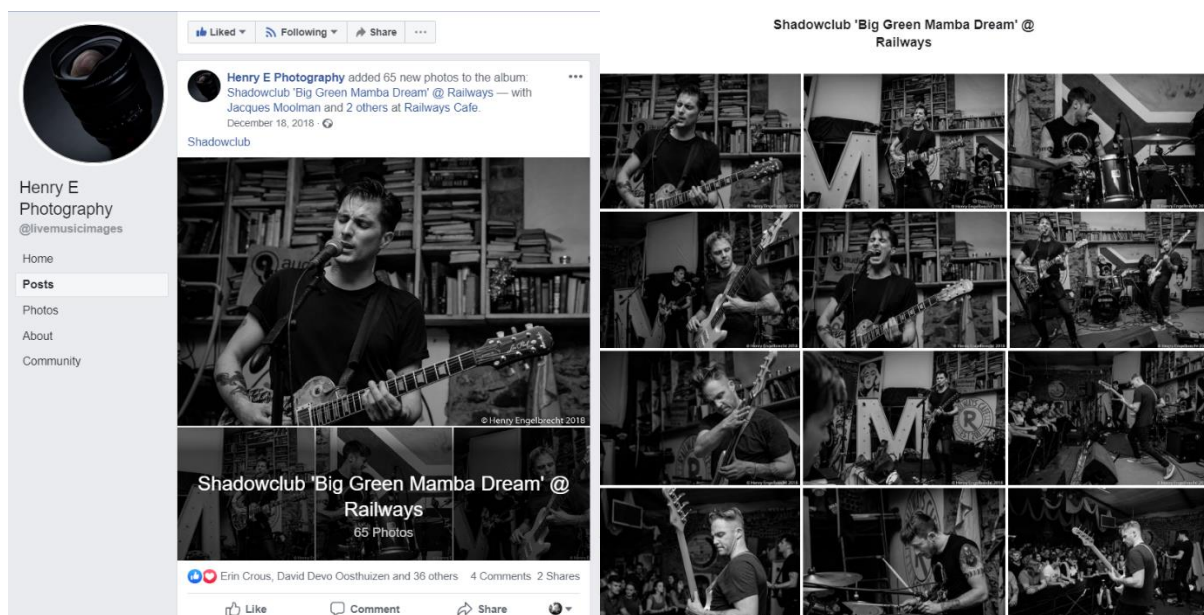

Figure 2.5: A post on Facebook by Henry Engelbrecht where he shared photographs of Shadowclub. He tagged the band and the event.

This leads to an important dynamic in the relationship between photographers and musicians: There needs to be mutual respect for each other's image as 'professional artist'. Music photographers can easily be exploited by musicians and event organisers. At the same time, musicians can be misrepresented or 'portrayed in a bad light'.

According to Wayde Flowerday, established musicians are aware that their fame or prestige will ensure a crowd of eager photographers awaiting them in front of the stage. As a result, these bands will have a lot of photographs of their shows posted on social media platforms and sent to them without having to pay a specific photographer (Flowerday, Formal Interview, 10/07/2018). According to Henry Engelbrecht, musicians get annoyed when photographers post and tag them in bad or repetitive photographs or even report bad photos of them to have them removed (Engelbrecht, Formal Interview, 22/10/2018). Photographers therefore need to be aware of the impact their photographs might have on the image of the band. Accordingly, photographers should respect the *image* of a band and take that into consideration before uploading photographs of them on social media platforms. Henry believes that trying to portray musicians in 'the best possible light' will establish a relationship of trust: "Musicians trust you when they know that you want to portray them in the best possible light. We [music photographers] always have to remember that our work becomes a part of building their [musicians] image" (Engelbrecht, Formal Interview, 22/10/2018). Henry Engelbrecht is aware that his photographs help many bands draw people to their shows, and in exchange for the photographs and rights of exclusivity, he ensures musicians credit him in their posts and redirect their fans to his social media accounts:

> "When I am commissioned by a blog or event to cover a show, I usually give them a week or so of 'exclusivity' on the photographs. This means that, after the band and event used my photos to create exposure for them (and myself, by crediting me and promoting my pages), I will post some of the photos on my pages. If people are already tagged in the other photos, I won't tag them again. You should always keep in mind that you could potentially have an effect on the 'brand'/ 'image' of the bands when you tag them in photographs. You should respect that" (Engelbrecht, Formal Interview, 22/10/2018).

When both musicians and photographers maintain this mutual respect for each other, both stand to benefit. Both musicians and photographers have to fulfil their roles both during and after shows in order to keep improving their 'image' as artists. For musicians, this entails giving a performance worth photographing when on stage, and afterwards actively promoting themselves and photographers by sharing the photographs that are sent to them and crediting the photographer. It is the photographer's role to photograph the best moments of the show and post these photos, as well as tag the relevant musicians. When both parties continuously fulfil these roles, a professional relationship may develop between them.

The band Hellcats actively uses their Instagram account to create exposure for the band. They continuously share spectacular photographs of their shows and always credit photographers. The band maintains good relationships with a lot of photographers, and as a result have more photographers photographing their shows and sending the photos to the band. This gives them more photographs to choose from and more to post on a weekly basis. In Figure 2.6, a post on the band's Instagram profile thanked their "...main brah[14] @henry.engelbrecht [for] documenting our [their] best lives @bloodbrotherssa..."[15]. In doing this, the band actively promotes themselves and the photographers of the photographs they share.

Figure 2.6: A 'Stella Tuesday' post by Scarlotte Will. Figure 2.7: Hellcats thanking Henry Engelbrecht.

Bands like Scarlotte Will often shares posts on social media platforms where they thank music photographers for their work. Scarlotte Will started thanking Christelle Duvenage by posting a photograph she took of them every Tuesday with a link to her page on Instagram, @stellateleur (See Figure 2.7). They called it "Stella Tuesday" and encouraged people to share photographs she took of them. The photographs Christelle took of them would then be linked together by using the hashtag #Stellatuesday, making them all visible on the hyperlink page of the hashtag.

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[14] An Afrikaans colloquial term of endearment, meaning brother.

[15] It was the first time Hellcats was invited to perform for the annual Blood Brothers show, and Henry Engelbrecht (among others) was there to photograph the show.

Building social and professional relationships with musicians

While professional relationships between music photographers and musicians might be built upon the fulfilment of their respective roles to provide exposure for each other, these relationships often extend to (or are rooted in) social relationships. Musicians and photographers share the same restricted spaces during festivals – they camp together, share drinks and stories in the media tent, they see each other backstage before and after the shows, and musicians often seek out specific photographers to perform to during a show.

Some photographers were friends with the musicians before they started photographing, and in these cases, the social relationships with musicians gave aspiring photographers a foot in the door. Erin Crous was working for a clothing company called Mr Price when some of her friends started a band in the local Durban music scene. The band needed publicity, and photographs to do so, which is when Erin offered her services. She had already been photographing the band's early shows, which she used to start promoting the band. Erin took an informal position of band manager for her friends that allowed her to meet the important role players in the South African music industry. She soon transferred her knowledge and skills to become a music photographer and later worked at event companies such as Big Concerts – the previous organisers of Oppikoppi festival.

Wayde Flowerday was a journalist for online music magazines, such as the Metalist ZA, which allowed him to meet and befriend the local bands in South Africa. Wayde argues that these social relationships with musicians made his transition to music photography easier because he already knew the bands and their managers. Lourens Smit also showed (toward the end of this chapter) how his close friendship with members of The December Streets helped him to take better photographs and gain access to more shows and festivals.

To start building social relationships with the local bands, photographers need to cover their local music scene first. Within metropolitan cities like Pretoria and Johannesburg, musical acts can perform between various bars and day festivals with relative ease. These small venues provide performers with a space to develop and play their own music to lively, but small audiences, while building a fanbase in the process.

Cover your local music scene first

Like most of my research participants, Henry Engelbrecht started as a music photographer by attending and photographing small live shows in bars around the city. According to Henry, music photographers need to start by covering their local music scene first. In doing this, upcoming photographers immerse themselves in environments where they can practice stage photography, and restricted access is not an obstacle yet.

> "You start by shooting local bands at small bars and venues. These places don't usually go through the trouble of putting up barriers in front of the stage, so anyone can go with a camera to photograph the show. In Pretoria you go to shows at bars like Platteland, Arcade Empire, Railways Café, and of course wild punk shows at Thrashers [the skatepark].
>
> Cover your local music scene, support local talent, become friends with them, and attend enough of their shows to learn how they perform on stage" (Engelbrecht, Formal Interview, 19/10/2018).

Fig.2.8: Facing the Gallows, Platteland, 2019 © Henry Engelbrecht | Fig 2.9 Deadline, Arcade Empire, 2017 © Henry Engelbrecht.

Fig.2.10: Go the Rodeo, Railways Café, 2018 © Henry Engelbrecht | Fig 2.11 Fuzigish, Thrashers skatepark 2017 © Henry Engelbrecht.

In the book *How music works* (Byrne 2013) musicologist and Talking Heads frontman David Byrne defines a music scene as: "…a special moment when a creative flowering seems to issue forth from a social nexus – a clump of galleries, a neighbourhood, or a bar that doubles as a music club" (Byrne 2013: 268). These external factors are argued to be dependent on the venue and its policies, which gives local talent an outlet and platform to develop and express themselves. Byrne used his experiences as an upcoming musician in 1970s New York City to explain how a creative scene was created in The Bowery, an area that was at risk of gentrification. According to Byrne (2013), there have been numerous places with the potential to become creative hubs, but failed to come into being because they lacked catalysts to initiate the scene.

For David Byrne (2013), the most important part of starting a creative scene was for there to be a venue with the appropriate size and location in which to present new material. If the venue is in the right location, it can act as social nexus where the local talent can develop their work. Cheap accommodation allows artists, musicians, and writers to live without a lot of income during their formative years, giving them time to develop. It also gives creative communities that nurture and support their members time to form. However, low rent is not enough to sustain struggling artists, which is why Hilly Kristal (club-owner) set policies to make CBGB a safety net for artists, both creatively and financially:

> "CBGB was, from a structural point of view, a perfect, self-actuating, self-organizing system ... An emergent entity governed by a few simple rules that Hilly established at the start, rules that made it possible for the whole scene to emerge, and, subsequently, to flow and flourish with a life all its own" (Byrne 2013: 270-271).

Artists were encouraged to play their own material, bands were paid fairly by allocating entrance fees to the performing artists, as well as free entrance for those artists on nights they weren't performing. This encouraged performers to attend each other's shows and formed a sense of camaraderie amongst performers. Byrne (2013) further argues that the policies and layout of CBGB enforced social transparency. The doors of the dressing rooms were taken off so that the artists were always in the public eye, which meant any 'diva behaviour' would be visible to the audience. There were no VIP areas and performers were encouraged to interact with their audience. Most importantly, the layout of the bar made it possible for people to ignore the bands if they were so inclined. Byrne (2013) recounts that most people would be at

the bar or the pool table, while only the 'real' fans would stand in front of the stage. As such, Byrne (2013) argues that the structural layout and policies of the venue acted as a platform for artists to not only express themselves creatively, but also actively define their taste and structure the venue around it:

> "The fact that there came into existence a forum within which anyone with a band and some songs could broadcast their insights, fury and lunacy did not just get the water flowing, it actually helped bring the water into existence" (Byrne 2013: 273).

What Byrne omitted to mention was that these policies enforcing social transparency also provided anyone with a camera the opportunity to take photos of incredible live performances in a space where anything goes and everything happening is visible to the crowd. In the case of CBGB, policies which encouraged social interaction made it easier for fans and aspiring photographers to befriend performers and build careers out of music photography. The Morrison Hotel Gallery - an online gallery and archive of music history – wrote an article on the photographers who managed to capture the vibrant Punk counter-culture in 1970s New York City. The article *1970's NYC and The Rise of Punk Rock*[16] shows how music photographers like Bob Gruen and Ebet Roberts established themselves as 'pro' music "togs" in the Punk scene centred around CBGB.

Ebet Roberts photographed countless shows at CBGB and befriended the musicians he photographed after their shows. The fact that he knew the bands on a personal level allowed him to take candid photographs of pioneers like Television off-stage - in this case, in the entrance of the bar (see figure 2.12). Roberts also photographed the legendary Sonic Youth performing in CBGB before the building, like the scene, fell to ruin (see figure 2.13).
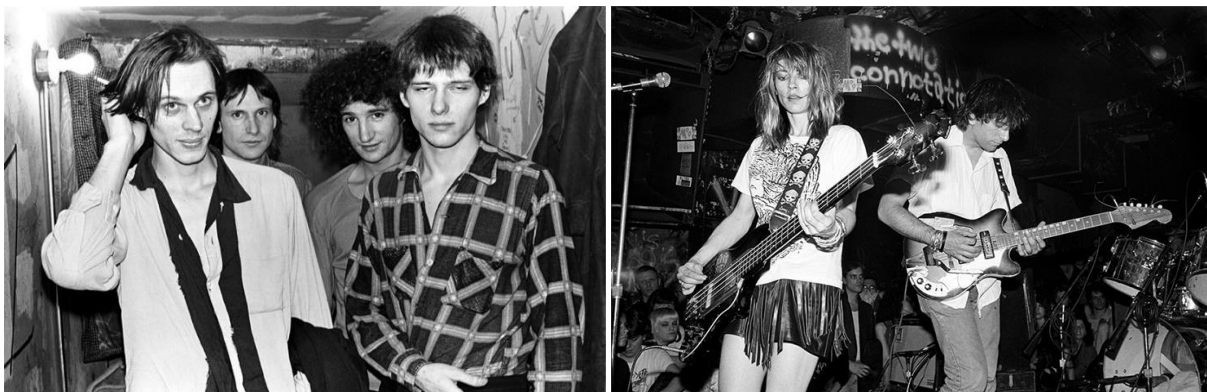

Fig. 2.12: Television, CBGB, NYC, 1977 © Ebet Roberts | Fig. 2.13: Sonic Youth, CBGB, NYC, 1986 © Ebet Roberts

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[16] https://www.morrisonhotelgallery.com/collections/ZH8XM7/1970s-NYC-and-The-Rise-of-Punk-Rock

Fig. 2.14: Sic F*cks, CBGB, NYC, 1977 © Bob Gruen | Fig. 2.15: The Dead Boys with Divine and friends, CBGB, NYC, 1978 © Bob Gruen

Some of the photographs Bob Gruen took during those shows represented how extreme these punks were in challenging the moral-and-heteronormative norms of society at that time. In 1977, he photographed the band Sic F*cks (see figure 2.14) who performed as nuns wearing lingerie, studded wrist-bands and swastikas around their arms. He also photographed The Dead Boys in 1978 (see figure 2.15) when the band invited transvestite icons Divine and friends to share the stage.

In similar fashion, South African music photographers are fans (of the local bands, shows and scenes) who took it upon themselves to represent the music and performances visually. Alexander Wolf started photographing Punk and Metal bands because he wanted to show people what they were 'missing out on' by not attending live music events. He began attending shows to not simply enjoy the 'intensity of the shows', but also capture these moments:

> "I wanted to expose the fans out there to the intensity of shows, and grow the bands
> I was photographing. It was about documenting what people missed out on, and has
> now become a big part of letting people relive moments from shows" (Wolf,
> Informal Interview, 19/06/2018).

His technique is focussed on anticipating and capturing moments in the performance when the band incites reaction or interaction with audience members. A photograph (see figure 2.16) of the vocalist of Riddlebreak growling into the microphone was taken from the side of the stage to not only face the vocalist, but also capture audience members headbanging in response. An equally powerful impression of crowd interaction is a photograph taken from behind the audience (see figure 2.17). The intensity of the Fit for a King show at Arcade Empire can be seen in the photograph of a mosh pit in the small space.

Fig.2.16: Riddlebreak, Arcade Empire, 2018 (c) Alexander Wolf Photography | Fig. 2.17: Mosh pit, Arcade Empire, 2018 (c) ibid.

Alexander (like most music photographers) had to start by covering his local scene, not simply because the small venues have frequent shows, but more importantly because these small venues utilize their structural layout to enforce policies of social transparency and social interaction amongst musicians and audience members. During (and prior to) the fieldwork period, a bar called Arcade Empire was[17] at the epicentre of live music shows in Pretoria. Regular live performances and ease of access made Arcade Empire an ideal space for aspiring photographers to practice band photography in front of the stage. With no barricaded areas to separate musicians from audience members, social interaction with musicians is practically guaranteed. Musicians frequent the bar while bands performing that night join the audience in between shows. Hanging a camera around your neck and having taken photos of the band can be a conversation starter and a means to establish a working relationship with the band.

Pretoria-based photographers recounted in interviews how important Arcade Empire was for them to not only practice stage photography, but also establish relationships with the bands they were photographing. Henry Marsh spent his first three years practicing band photography at Arcade Empire. He was commissioned by a photographic collective called Our Friends[18] to cover everything that took place at Arcade Empire. Henry subsequently spent every Wednesday, Friday and Saturday at the venue and met bands, their managers and other music photographers. According to Henry Marsh, Arcade Empire provided an environment where he could submerge himself into the local music scene, and 'get sucked in' even further:

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[17] Over the last two years (2018-2019) Arcade Empire changed ownership. This resulted in new policies for the bar and on-going structural renovations to the venue. Most importantly, the music of the venue changed to more mainstream genres such as Afrikaans Pop and Electronic Dance Music. The original patrons of the venue voiced their discontent for these changes on the official Facebook page of Arcade Empire, and has since stopped frequenting the bar. It thus stands to reason that the Underground/Alternative music scene surrounding Arcade Empire has dissipated and moved to new venues, such as Platteland.

[18] Initially (and at that time) called Drop your Drink. See Chapter 4 – Collaborations and networks of shared information

"Arcade [Empire] is a great place for 'shutterbug' fans to practice stage photography on as many bands as possible. You discover new bands you might like, meet the musicians, and just get sucked in from there" (Marsh, Formal Interview 19/06/2018).

Visual Arts students such as Christelle Duvenage were required to take photos of live music for a photography module. She started taking high contrast photographs of Punk and Metal bands, and experimented with a high-grain editing style. She admits to being quite introverted, so she needed a space where she could observe other photographers without being forced into direct contact with the subjects of her photographs, the bands:

"I learned by watching other photographers. So, I observed what they were doing and always stood back when they asked me if I want to go before them. Then, the bands started noticing me. It becomes easier if they like your stuff and post it on Facebook (and actually credit you). Eventually, if you do this good enough, it becomes easier to approach a festival or a blog" (Duvenage, Translated Interview, 03/07/2017).

Fig.2.18: The Olympic, Arcade Empire, 2012 (c) Christelle Duvenage | Fig. 2.19: Jerry and the Bandits, Arcade Empire, 2014 (c) ibid

Her photographs developed over time to capture the raw emotion (see figure 2.18) or passion (see figure 2.19). Arcade Empire was thus a conducive environment for Christelle to not only learn from other photographers, but more importantly, to become more comfortable interacting with the musicians she photographed. She was able to meet the musicians at the bar afterwards, talk to them, and establish professional and social relationships with them.

It is therefore crucial for music photographers to start by covering their local music scene first. In doing so, they can practice stage photography in unrestricted environments, befriend local musicians, and build social-professional relationships of mutual respect and benefit.

The benefits of becoming 'friends with the band(s)'

According to Lourens Smit social relationships with musicians provide photographers with several benefits and reaffirm professional relationships of mutual benefit and trust. He used his friendship with a local band called The December Streets to elaborate:

> "I started taking photos around 2011 and got really interested in live music photography. Around this time, I started getting really interested in taking portraits of bands backstage before or after their shows. While I'd been shooting bands for a while, I didn't really know them personally, so I had to start somewhere. I asked a friend of mine, who was dating the bassist of The December Streets at the time, if they would be okay with me taking pictures of them backstage after their upcoming show. To my surprise they were very open to it and I got the photo [see figure 2.20].

> The band doesn't even remember this photo being taken when I brought it up recently, but a couple things happened after this. I continued shooting portraits of musicians and now, 6 years later, myself and Tristan [the frontman of The December Streets] are friends and we even own a successful company together. Over the years these relationships have reinforced themselves." (Smit, Formal interview, 13/07/2018).

Fig. 2.20: The photograph Lourens took behind stage after his friend introduced them. The December Streets, Pretoria, 2012 © Lourens Smit.

Lourens told me this story to show me how social relationships of trust allow photographers access to spaces, opportunities and moments other photographers can only dream of. After Lourens met The December Streets backstage in 2012, he established relationships with the members of the band that are both social and professional in nature. According to Lourens (Smit, Formal interview, 13/07/2018), the social relationships reinforce the professional relationships of artist-and-subject for three reasons:

First, musicians are already working in the music industry and are thus valuable sources of information and contacts. Lourens later started a digital marketing company called *Run. Jump. Fly.* with Tristan, the vocalist of The December Streets. Secondly, bands can provide photographers with media access to more shows and festivals. If a band likes (or are friends with) a music photographer and the photographs they take, the band can stipulate that 'their' music photographer be granted media access. Among other shows, he photographed their first performance when Lush festival started in 2016 (see figure 2.21). He was invited to photograph the first Lush Festival through the band's manager who knew the festival organiser and made Lourens the band's 'personal' music photographer.

Throughout the years, Lourens Smit maintained a social-professional relationship with The December Streets. Because of this, he was able to learn how the band performs on stage and their stage behaviour, and therefore consistently captured great photographs of the band performing at various venues (see figure 2.22).
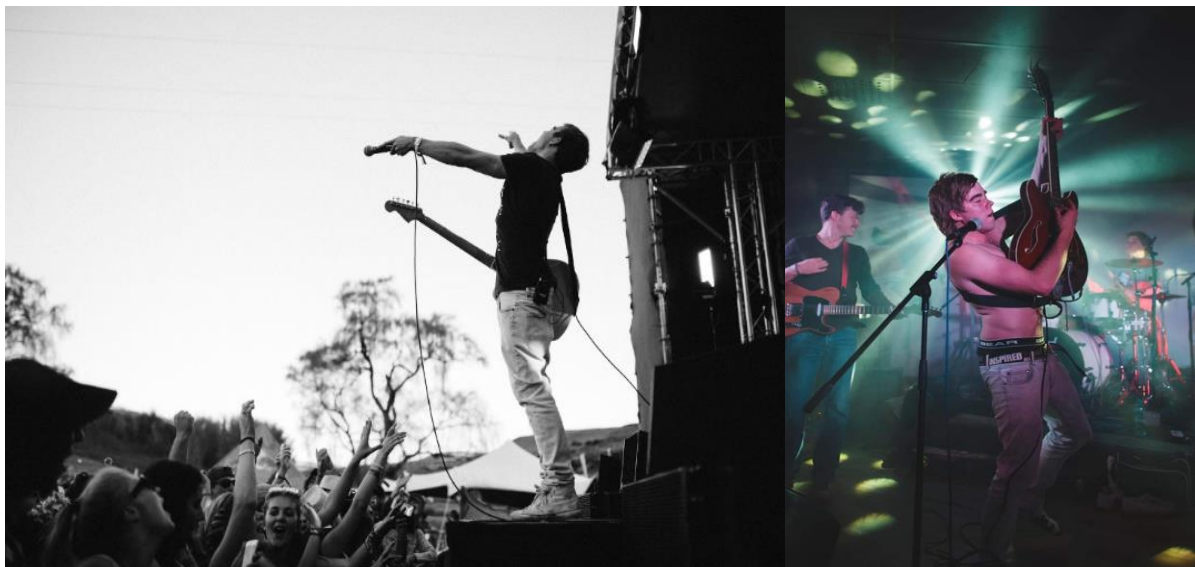

Fig 2.21: The December Streets, Lush Festival, 2016 © Lourens Smit. | Fig. 2.22: The December Streets, 2012 © ibid.

Lastly, social relationships with musicians can reinforce professional relationships by creating a sense of intimacy, relaxation and casualness in the photographs:

> "When the band is comfortable with the photographer, they allow more access. They do things on stage that people might not expect to be captured and that's when really great photographs come to life" (Smit, Formal interview, 13/07/2018).

During the EP launch of The December Streets, the band was comfortable enough with the photographer, Lourens, to allow him to climb on stage and photograph the show from that position. By standing right next to the frontman, he was able to get a close-up shot of him from the side. The angle and the shot are different from those of other photographers at the show because he was permitted to stand in a space other photographer were not allowed to enter. As a result, the photograph Lourens took of the EP launch (see figure 2.22) is a) framed better, because he incorporated the glow emanating from the fairy lights surrounding the stage, and b) portrays a sense of closeness or intimacy with the musician.

Fig 2.22: The December Streets, EP Launch in the vocalist's backyard, Pretoria, 2017 © Lourens Smit.

Wayde Flowerday also stressed the importance of social relationships with bands in an interview. Being friends with members of the band makes it possible for him to draw their attention (in a professional manner) to get a different shot (see figure 2.23). According to Wayde, his 'misdemeanour' (of distracting the band) was only possible because they are friends:

> "Your [personal/social] connection with the band(s) do help a lot. You feel that you can call the guys on stage to get their attention if you want to. You do it very seldom, but I mean... watching [photographing] Facing the Gallows the other day, I was trying to get a shot of Ray, so, I tickled his leg and he looked down at me and gave me 'eyes', and that was it, you know?" (Flowerday, Formal Interview, 10/07/2018).

Fig 2.23: Ray James [Facing the Gallows], Rumour Rock City 2018 © Wayde Flowerday

Lastly, Wayde Flowerday discussed how social relationships with bands reinforce the professional relationship through tacit/informal agreements regarding the use of photographs:

> "I would go and shoot for a particular band and then a few other bands, incidentally. So, we [the photographer and the band] almost have a tacit agreement that I am doing the shooting [photographing the show] and you [the band] are only going to use my photos" (Flowerday, Formal Interview, 10/07/2018).

According to Wayde, it is not a necessity for music photographers to be friends with the musicians they photograph, but (he added) if photographers are not friends with bands by the end of the year, they are doing something wrong and not enmeshed in the local music scenes as music photographers ought to be (Flowerday, Formal Interview, 10/07/2018).

Negotiating relationships of mutual benefit and reciprocity

At the start of this chapter, I posed three questions regarding what it means to be a music photographer in South Africa. These questions worked as steps to unpack how the music "togs" in my research study got interested in music photography and, in doing so, gain an understanding of what being a music photographer means to them. The relationships between music photographers and the musicians they photograph are at the centre of this conversation. These relationships take on different forms, originate in different ways, serve certain functions, and reap several benefits.

The first question asked what or who is the subject of music photography. Music photographers often refer to themselves as "band photographers" or "concert photographers". Although this is usually used to avoid confusion upon introduction[19], I find this reveals a certain truth to how they perceive themselves. Based on formal interviews where music photographers discussed their work and photographs, it is evident that music "togs" are first-and-foremost fans of the bands, their music and live shows. So, instead of having a subject like music which is abstract and immaterial to photograph (i.e. to capture through the lens of a camera), the subject of a music "tog" is the band and their performance (or concert).

As "band photographers", they focus on the performance of the band - how musicians (as performers) portray themselves on stage to their audience (observers), as well as interaction between members of the band. As "concert photographers", they focus on the expressive equipment or *front* (Goffman 1959) used to make a show more theatrical, but most importantly on the effect the performance and the *front* have on observers. The most prominent examples of this were the photographs Alexander Wolf took during the Fit for a King show at Arcade Empire. In this particular example, Alexander photographed both the intensity of the performance of the metal band Riddlebreak (see figure 2.16) as well as the ensuing mosh pit in the general standing area (see figure 2.17).

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[19] Much like anthropologists need to spend the first ten minutes of their introduction to explain what Anthropology is, how it is possible to be a 'professional' or employed anthropologist, and explain how it is not Forensic Anthropology like the television series Bones.

The second question tried to establish the function of music photographers based on their roles during and after a show. During a live show, musicians assume the role of performers who need to entertain their audience by performing for them and interacting with members of the audience. However, for music photographers (and musicians that are conscious of the cameras surrounding them) musicians and their performance is the *subject* of stage photography. Thus, while a show is built around the performance, music photographers assume the role of an *artist* tasked to capture moments of the performance. After a show, music photographers enter the phase of post-production, where they upload the raw/unrefined photographs onto editing software (see chapter 5). The refined photographs are then sent to the band which provides bands with content to promote themselves and their upcoming shows. In addition, music "togs" create spontaneous exposure for musicians by uploading the refined photographs of the show onto their profiles or pages on social media platforms. However, even after shows, music "togs" need to consider how their subjects should (and want to be) portrayed in the public sphere. Professional relationships between music "togs" and bands are therefore built around the dynamic of *artist-and-subject*.

The final question attempted to approximate the value of the work of music photographers, based on the function they fulfil. The work of music photographers is valuable for musicians because the photographs provide bands with the means to promote themselves and build the image of the band. As such, it is important for bands to not exploit music photographers and credit them when using their work. At the same time, music "togs" need to be weary of misrepresenting bands. It is therefore important for music "togs" and bands to negotiate a symbiotic relationship of mutual trust and benefit. Henry Engelbrecht and Wayde Flowerday, for instance, have achieved this through informal agreements between themselves and bands regarding the use of their photographs and periods of exclusivity. Professional relationships thus function on acts of voluntary reciprocity built upon, and reinforced by, social solidarity and mutual benefit (Polanyi 1944).

Lastly, as data in this chapter has shown, professional relationships often originate or are reinforced through social relationships. Being friends with members of the bands can provide access, and a sense of intimacy or relaxation of the subject. Lourens Smit was allowed to stand on stage to photograph the EP launch of The December Streets because he is friends with them. Wayde Flowerday was allowed to tickle the leg of the bassist of Facing the Gallows because he is friends with him. Social relationships enrich professional relationships.

Chapter 3: Social media platforms

In the preceding chapters, music photographers were shown to play an integral part in producing the public image of musicians. The refined[20] photographs of live music shows are sent to musicians[21] and media liaisons[22] to promote the South African live music scene – i.e. local bands and upcoming music events-and-festivals. In addition, music photographers generate spontaneous publicity for musicians by uploading and tagging photographs of their performances onto social media platforms.

Based on the data and arguments presented in the second chapter, one of the key tenants of a 'pro' music "tog" is the ability to establish and negotiate professional relationships of mutual reciprocity with the subjects of their photography. This entails informal agreements that subvert misrepresentation of musicians and exploitation of music photographers. In doing so, music photographers (with the consent of the musicians portrayed) actively shape how South African bands are portrayed in the public/online sphere.

While the second chapter focussed on how music photographers provide exposure for musicians through social media platforms, it is equally important to investigate how music photographers use social media platforms for their own benefit. To do this, this chapter will explain what social media platforms and their added features allow music photographers to do. An argument will be built to show how the process of becoming a 'pro' music "tog" relies, to a large extent, on the way photographers manage the social media accounts they created explicitly for music photography. As the chapter unfolds, the value of social media platforms is shown to reach beyond the primary functions (connecting, communicating and sharing content) to platforms which enable music photographers to construct an online portfolio, accumulate prestige and build a reputation of 'pro' music "tog".

It is important to state, however, that most music photographers are not able to acquire media accreditation through their pages on social media platforms alone: "The type of access togs get

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[20] In the second chapter, it was mentioned that photographs undergo a process of refinement, called post-production after a show. Chapter 5 explains Post-production, the necessity thereof, and how some photographers use editing to enchant.

[21] Bands use the photographs to interact with their fans, promote upcoming shows and sell merchandise. See chapters 1 and 2.

[22] Media liaisons work for media houses (online publications) and event management companies for music events-and-festivals. They are tasked with promoting shows or festivals predominantly through the photographs sent to them by music photographers. Media liaisons are also responsible for acceding music photographers with Media Access. See chapter 4.

will depend on where they are placed on the Hierarchy of Publication, which favours media houses[23], then good photographers, and lastly young or upcoming togs" (Crous, Formal interview, 04/04/2018). This leaves music photographers with two options: either use your pages on social media platforms to build a reputation of a 'good' or known music photographer, or utilise your pages to attract the attention of media houses to become a freelance photographer for a media outlet.

Before delving into the intricacies of social media platforms, I want to share my experiences inside the media tent of Oppikoppi in 2018. Up until this point, I had a misconception of the work ethic of music photographers during a festival, as well as the need for facilities with power outlets and wireless internet (Wi-Fi).

Inside the media tent of Oppikoppi 24[24]

The media tent is a regulated space for staff and musicians during a music festival. Security guards are stationed at the entrances to control access to the space based on the type of wristband the person wears[25]. My first impression of the space was a nexus of information and social interaction. Other music photographers spent most of their free time in the media tent and everyone scheduled to perform made an appearance in the area, which made the media tent an ideal location for meeting (and connecting with) musicians.

I discovered on my first day inside the media tent that there is a second (and arguably more important) function of the media tent for music photographers. Photographers need the facilities of the media tent, specifically the power outlets and Wi-Fi, to perform the process of producing an image for musicians. The batteries of their cameras and laptops cannot last for an entire festival, which means photographers need access to power outlets to charge the batteries. Photographers also need the Wi-Fi of the media tent to upload the refined photographs onto social media platforms. It is thus imperative for music photographers to be granted access to media tents and the facilities they provide.

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[23] Media houses are predominantly online media outlets that use freelance photographers to photograph shows for review articles or promotional work.

[24] The official name for the festival in 2018 was Oppikoppi 24: Nomakanjani. It was the twenty-fourth official Oppikoppi festival and the theme, Nomakanjani, means "no matter what" in isiZulu. Nomakanjani was also a hit song in 1999 and chosen to pay tribute to the late-South-African icon Brenda Fassie.

[25] It is, however, possible to enter the media tent without a media pass if you capitalize on the initial chaos of the first day.

Media personnel and musicians were lounging in the shade, sharing stories and drinks while they waited for the first shows to start. Bands were discussing their setlists, but conversations soon centred around one band, Bam Bam Brown, who were in a car accident en route to the festival. Some of their instruments were damaged in the crash, but other musicians lent them their instruments to play the show. It appears as if the live music industry really is as small and close-knit as research informants kept telling me. Everyone seems to know each other and truly care for each other. To me, this made the media tent appear like a hub for social interaction, and possibly networking.

However, as the music festival ensued, it became clear that social interaction was a secondary function of media tents. The line checks of the first bands beckoned photographers toward the stages, leaving the media tent empty.

It was only after the first few performances that photographers started to return to the media tent, this time to find a table near a power outlet and within range of the Wi-Fi signal. Some photographers were on their phones, managing and uploading new media onto their Instagram profiles, while others connected their cameras to their laptops. While charging their cameras' batteries, photographers started uploading the raw images they just shot onto their laptops for editing. A substantial amount of time was spent browsing through the images, selecting images with potential and editing the chosen images. Once satisfied, photographers could connect to the Wi-Fi to manage their social media accounts and post new photographs.

I found Lourens Smit walking around in the media tent, with his laptop in his arms, in search of a stronger Wi-Fi connection. He needed to download an update for the editing software, Adobe Creative Suite, without which he would not be able to properly edit the photographs he just took. He explained the urgency of the task by elaborating on his role as a site activation photographer for the promotional Ray-Ban stage:

> "I'm shooting for Ray-Ban man! They approached me to provide immediate exposure for the unannounced performances on their small stage. Because the line-up was never added to the official Oppikoppi line-up, I need to create hype around upcoming shows by posting photos of some of the performances that already happened on the stage" (Smit, Informal Interview, 09/08/2018).

At Oppikoppi 2018, the sunglass brand Ray-Ban secured a small stage where bands scheduled to play at the festival could perform unplugged versions of their songs. To maintain an element of mystery, festival goers were never told who might perform or even when. Instead, Lourens was tasked with 'activating the site'. For media personnel, this means drawing attention to an area where activities are used to promote a brand that sponsored the event. For Lourens, this entailed keeping a schedule to edit and send photographs to the media content manager for Ray-Ban in between shows. With time being of the essence, Lourens had to have access to the free facilities (uncapped Wi-Fi and power outlets) the media tent provided.

The brief encounter with Lourens was insightful for me for two reasons: First, it showed me how important it is for music photographers to have access to the facilities in the media tent. Secondly, it showed that the principle of first-to-press is in effect in music photography as well. The encounter confirmed the deductions I made regarding the effect this principle has on how quick music photographers publish their refined photographs on social media platforms.

Prior to this, I monitored the social media accounts of the photographers in my study to see if I could find a correlation between the time it takes photographers to edit and upload/share their photographs, and the amount of exposure these posts get. I found that photographs that are shared instantly (without editing) garner immediate exposure by capitalising on the hype created by the show. These photographs, however, are not on par with the quality photographs that are shared after photographers took the time to individually edit each photograph. When I spoke to Wayde Flowerday about the principle of 'first to press', he agreed that it is definitely in effect amongst music photographers who publish quality photographs of shows:

> "Between the togs that take music photography seriously, it is important to publish your photographs as soon as possible. It is not just about losing momentum or hype after a show. After two or three photographers posted their photos of the same show, fans start to lose interest because they get saturated with photographs of the same performance on the [social media platform] feeds. The first one out with amazing, quality photographs will naturally get the most likes and interaction on their page" (Flowerday, Formal Interview, 10/07/2018).

It thus stands to reason that music photographers need to find a mid-way between taking enough time to individually edit their photographs (to produce quality images) without losing the immediate exposure (that declines over time) that the performance provides for fans. I met

a music photographer inside the media tent of Oppikoppi that showed me how she found an equilibrium for this conundrum. Essentially, the photographer utilizes the features of one social media platform to lure followers to her page on that platform, as well as her page on another social media platform. The features on Instagram allow her to take fairly good quality photographs from her cell phone which can be instantly uploaded to the platform. She uses hyperlinks to guide new followers to her other pages and connect with wider online communities.

Ethnographic vignette: Meeting Leigh-Anne Kenny from @killkenny_photography   Date: 10/08/2018

Location: Media tent [Oppikoppi Festival]   Northam (Limpopo)

On the second day of Oppikoppi, I decided to walk around in the media tent in search of new information. I was wandering around aimlessly when a photographer noticed me and invited me to sit with her. She introduced herself as Leigh-Anne Kenny from KillKenny Photography and asked what media house I belong to. I explained my role as researcher and obtained verbal informed consent to interview her. We started discussing the band she had just photographed and she handed me her camera to show the photos she took of them.

Nearing the end of the montage of photographs, she took out her phone to show me the videos she took. She showed me how she uses an application of the social media platform Instagram to record, edit and share photographs and videos, as well as tag people in them. Leigh-Anne also uses a feature of the application called Instagram Stories to record and share snippets of live music performances from inside the pit. She uses the feature to lure new followers to her page: "Instagram Stories is revolutionary for photographers, especially music photographers who want to easily share the experience as it is happening. When people see the videos I take from inside the pit, they usually go to my profile afterwards and follow it" (Kenny, Informal Interview, 10/08/2018). The feature, Instagram Stories, allows the user to slightly edit the media, tag other profiles and add hashtags before sharing it. By tagging the band, festival and their sponsors, the videos she shares are seen by followers of all the profiles she tagged. As a result, more people see the content she shares and some may decide to view her profile.

Leigh-Anne Kenny created a separate Instagram profile dedicated to publishing her photos of live music performances. The profile, *@killkenny_photography*, is meticulously designed to facilitate communication, as well as provide exposure to the bands she is photographing and

the media house she is building - KillKenny Photography. To elaborate, five images pertaining to the @*killkenny_photography* profile will be discussed.

Figure 3.1 is the opening page of the profile. As this is the first thing people see when they click on the profile, Leigh-Anne uses the profile template to define the purpose of the profile, the type of content followers can expect, as well as provide information on how to contact her. When opening the profile, Instagram users see the name and logo of KillKenny Photography. Underneath the name, the profile is designated as *artist* with the biography underneath stating the nature of the profile and the genres of photography she specializes in. The biography section of the profile is concluded with hyperlinks (indicated by the blue colour of the font) to the Facebook profile of KillKenny Photography and the city she currently lives in, Cape Town. The hyperlinks serve a dual purpose: as a link to redirect users to her Facebook profile, and also a mechanism to link the Instagram profile to the virtual community of Cape Town on Instagram. By utilizing the capabilities of hyperlinks, @killkenny_photography connects to wider networks and platforms, which generates new followers.
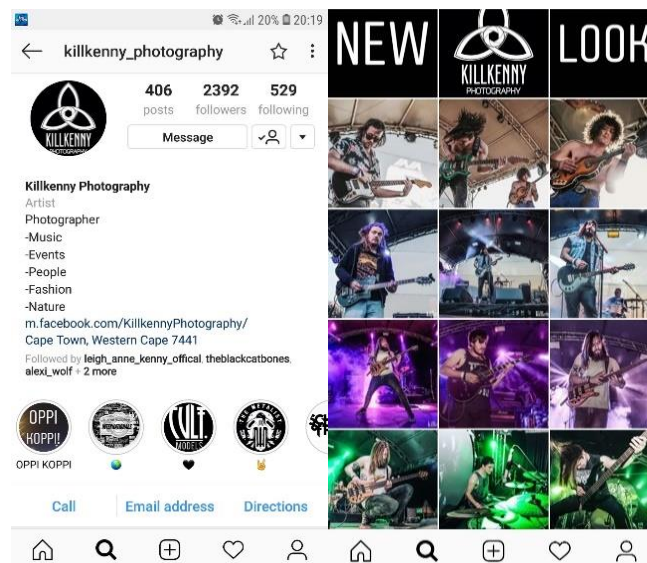

Fig.3.1: Profile home page | Fig.3.2: Profile layout

When scrolling down the profile, Instagram users can browse through the photographs posted. Leigh-Anne is selective when posting photographs on the profile and her choices serve functions. As can be seen in figure 3.2, a row of three photographs are posted of every performance shot. Posting the three best photographs of every band featured prevents saturating the profile and ensures that the quality of photographs remains consistent. In addition, an editing colour scheme is assigned to each row, drawing attention to each row of photographs.

According to her, assigning a colour scheme to each row makes the profile more aesthetically pleasing and illustrates the time and skill she invested to edit each photograph. She also feels that this way of managing content makes the profile appear more organised and professional.

The third image (see figure 3.3) is a screenshot of a video recorded and posted through the Instagram Stories feature by @killkenny_photography. Both the band (@strokerband) and the festival (@Oppikoppi) are tagged in the post, making the post visible to everyone who follows the band Stroker and/or Oppikoppi on Instagram. Sharing the performance during (or directly after) the show results in increased exposure and interaction with followers for every party tagged. This includes her media house, the band and the festival. To maintain the shared exposure that Instagram Stories provides, the media content was saved and organised into groups of videos. For example, the Instagram stories Leigh-Anne took at Oppikoppi 2018 were, until recently, still visible on her profile. These photos and videos could be viewed by clicking on the 'OPPI KOPPI' icon in the Instagram Stories Groups banner (on the bottom of fig 3.1).

Fig 3.3: An Instagram Stories video of Stoker | Fig 3.4: A tagged post on Instagram | Fig 3.5: Response from the band on Instagram Stories

When photographs are posted (see figure 3.4), the description is used to tag the band and festival/venue, followed by a paragraph of hashtags. As will be explained later in this chapter, hashtags are used to convey meaning and information regarding the post, while making the post visible to more Instagram users. What may seem as excessive use of hashtags can easily be justified by the number of new followers acquired through the post.

While the fourth image might portray the post as mildly successful, garnering merely 33 likes, the fifth image shows how the band's reply provided more exposure to her profile (see figure

3.5). Tagging the band, Grassy Spark, resulted in the band sharing the photograph she took of them, thanking her and advising their fans to follow her profile. The festival was tagged again in the post, but this time by the band to promote the media house to festival organisers. Acknowledgment from the bands facilitates further exposure for music photographers' Instagram profiles and reaffirms good working relationships between photographers and musicians. Most importantly, by crediting photographers when reposting their photographs, musicians legitimise music photographers and their social media platforms. Fans of the musicians now see the photographer's page as 'something liked by one of my idols' instead of 'just another photography page'.

The Instagram profile @killkenny_photography shows how a music photographer can utilize a social media platform to continuously share and curate the exhibition of her photographs while growing her professional network. Instagram allows Leigh-Anne Kenny to manage the content on her profile to attract new followers, while also easing communication between her and followers. As she showed during the brief conversation, creative and entrepreneurial choices need to be actively made to facilitate processes that in turn generate reach and expand professional networks.

Managing a social media profile requires planning, time and skill, but it allows photographers to build a network of business contacts varying from musicians to other photographers, media liaisons and festival organisers. Within five years of creating and actively managing the Instagram profile, Leigh-Anne started establishing herself as a music photographer in her hometown, Cape Town, and later across the country. The Instagram profile provided enough exposure and contacts for her media house to successfully apply for media access to most live music performances in South Africa. For Oppikoppi 2018, the media house KillKenny Photography obtained full media access for Leigh-Anne and her apprentice.

Social media platforms

For music photographers, social media platforms are powerful online platforms for creating and maintaining networks of social and professional relationships with people in the South African music industry. Posting photographs of live performances and tagging the relevant parties incites interaction between musicians and their fans, as well as organisers of the event. Musicians and their fans interact with the posted photographs by liking, commenting and sharing the posts. From there, photographers can start to negotiate their position in the South African music industry by forming connections with various actors in the industry.

Every photographer in the research study has created, and actively manages, at least one dedicated 'music photography' profile or page on a social media platform. Social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram are used interchangeably, depending on which features photographers wish to utilize. Each platform is designed to serve certain functions, while added features can be customised (to varying degrees) to serve additional functions.

Facebook, for example, allows photographers to upload large amounts of photographs to be organised into folders with captions, which are used to give folders a title and a short description of the content. Instagram, on the other hand, restricts users to upload a maximum of ten photographs or videos per post. This makes photographers more selective when choosing which photographs to upload. On Facebook, other profiles can interact with every photograph posted in a folder, while Instagram only allows profiles to interact with the entire post and not individual photographs. As a result, Instagram profiles tend to post single photographs to garner more exposure for every photograph.

The Graphic User Interface of social media platforms is an interface that coders of the platform created to give users more control over the design and functions of the platform. Photographers use this interface to manage their profiles and pages, curate the content posted, and make meaningful connections with fans, bands, and festival organisers. The Graphic User Interface thus allows photographers to facilitate processes to benefit more from the functions of social media platforms.

Instagram

Instagram allows users to capture, edit, and instantly share media through an application on their phone. The application is integrated with the phone's camera, allowing users to take photographs, while built-in features allow users to crop and rotate images, apply filters, and add text. They can then decide to post the content onto their feed, stories, or both. The developers of Instagram designed the Graphic User Interface to enable users to fully utilise the platform to serve several functions, while encouraging users to post 'original content':

> "We provide the Instagram Platform to support several types of apps and services. First, we provide them to help members of our community share their own content with apps or services. We also support apps and services that help brands and advertisers understand and manage their audience, develop their content strategy, and obtain digital rights. Finally, we provide the Instagram Platform to help broadcasters and publishers discover content, get digital rights to media, and share media using web embeds" (Instagram 2018).

Hashtags are used to convey information regarding the photograph, while also adding the post to a Hashtag page - a gallery of Instagram posts that used the same hashtag. Hashtags such as #livemusicphotography, #bandphotography, and #musicphotographer are used to both signify the genre of photography as well as publish the photographs to a wider audience. As shown through the case of @killkenny_photography, Instagram has become a viable platform for music photographers to create and edit media content to share and promote live music performances. Leigh-Anne uses Instagram not only to exhibit the photographs she took, but also to provide exposure and redirect followers to other profiles. In doing this, she establishes working relationships between her media house, bands and festival organisers.

Music photographers like Leigh-Anne Kenny use their cell phones to capture relatively good quality photographs and videos of the performance from inside the pit. Moreover, the additional qualities of the performance such as music, movement and crowd interaction can be recorded and shared through the Instagram Stories feature, which Leigh-Anne Kenny argues adds to the representation of the moment. For her, it is important to capture a moment that best represents the performance, as well as the interaction between musicians and audience members. Inside the pit, she is able to observe the performance and record a moment where the music starts, or heightens, interaction between musicians and the audience. To create immediate exposure for the performance, she often uses the Live Stream feature that records and streams the

performance as it is happening. Notifications are sent to everyone following her profile, the profiles of the people tagged in the videos, and the location and hashtags used in the post. As shown at the start of the chapter, this has become a successful strategy for her media house.

There is another benefit to using Instagram that some photographers find crucial. Increased security measures of the platform give photographers more control over the distribution and use of their photographs. There is no share or download buttons on posts, making it difficult for followers to share or steal photographs posted (as is the case with Facebook pages). If copyright is breached, the photographer can alert the content managers of Instagram and have the matter swiftly dealt with. Lourens reported a post where a cropped screenshot of one of his photographs was used to promote an event. His name and logo were cropped out of the picture and the profile neither asked for permission nor credited the photographer. The post was reported and removed within the hour. As per agreement, Instagram helped him assert his digital rights to his photographs. After the incident, he felt more comfortable uploading high-quality versions of his photographs onto Instagram than his Facebook page, where instances of infringement still remain unsolved.

For music photographers, having an Instagram profile designated for music photography can be a powerful platform to promote their work and provide exposure for other profiles such as their Facebook pages. Unlike Facebook, all the profiles on Instagram can be tagged and interacted with, whether profiles follow each other or not. This means photographers who are not connected with musicians on the platform can still tag the musician's profile. The tagged musician will get a notification of the tag, see the photograph, and decide whether they wish to contact the photographer. By tagging and sharing media regarding the performance, music photographers provide exposure to the tagged profiles (usually the band and event) while initiating interaction between the profiles and their followers.

Facebook

Facebook is a popular and easily accessible social media network that offers a large variety of features to its users. Most Facebook users only create a private profile, which they use to post status updates, photos and short videos that are only viewable to friends. Facebook profiles allow users to follow pages, send friend requests to add profiles to their network and communicate with these profiles. In addition, Facebook allows anyone to create a 'page' - a Facebook entity that is separate from their private profile, where they can upload, manage and share content through the page. For music photographers, creating a Facebook page specifically for publishing their photographs of live performances has become a necessity.

> "You have to have a Facebook page! All the bands, music festivals and their organisers have Facebook pages. Also, all the other [music] photographers have their own pages for their photos. A part of the creative committee screening process involves going through the applicant's photography [Facebook] page. You can call it part of their 'online portfolio'. They will browse through your page to get an idea of the quality of your photos, how you display it, and more importantly, how you use your page to promote your images to give exposure to the bands and event.
>
> Having a page on Facebook for your photography can kind of be compared to the 'tree falling in the woods' allegory; if you don't have a Facebook page to publish your photos of shows, can you even consider yourself as a music photographer?" (Crous, Formal Interview, 13/02/2018).

Most bands and music festivals created, and actively manage, Facebook pages to relay information regarding upcoming performances and projects by creating 'Events'. These 'Events' are temporary 'pages' designed to promote a specific occurrence, like a music tour or live performance. An application for the platform can be downloaded onto smartphones. The majority of fans and festival goers have Facebook accounts to remain updated on their favourite bands, music festivals and live performances. Music photographers follow the pages and events of musicians and music festivals for similar reasons. By managing their event suggestion feature, photographers can browse through upcoming events and plan which events they want to shoot.

The Graphic-User-Interface and sharing capabilities of Facebook make it a good online platform to post the majority of media. On the opening page, followers can click on a variety of links to navigate through the page, rate, share and promote the page, or contact the page creator (see figure 3.6). Wayde uses all of these features to personalise his photography page and promote the content he posts. Facebook allows users to upload more photos and videos at once than Instagram, enabling photographers to upload entire folders of media to create albums. Albums can be organized and given a title, which gives the creator of the profile/page creative control to exhibit their photographs (see figure 3.7). These factors make the platform an ideal repository for the bulk of their photographs, and act as an online portfolio.
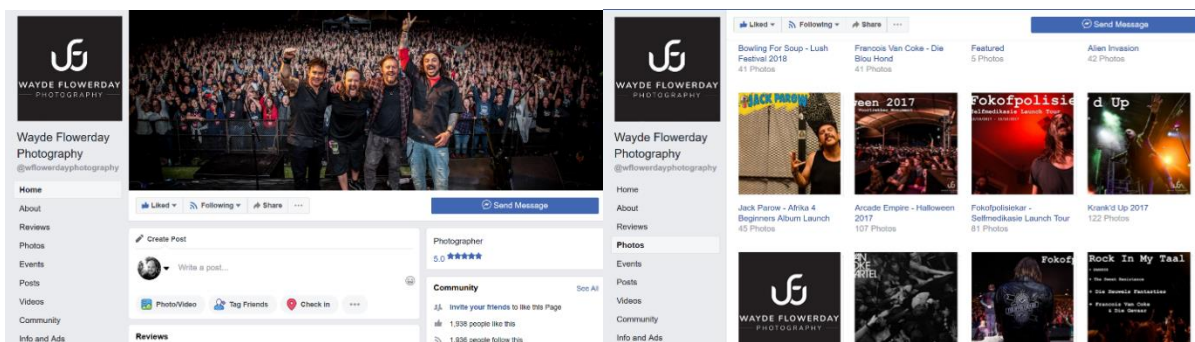

Fig. 3.6: The opening page of Wayde Flowerday Photography on Facebook. Fig. 3.7: The gallery or 'Photos' page of the same profile.

An interesting thing about these Facebook pages is that the majority of music photographers incorporate their name and surname into their page's titles. 'Photography' is added to the title to indicate the nature of the profile, but none of these pages specify that it is for music photography. The pattern of [Name] [Surname] Photography was most evident on Facebook, which made me wonder why this is the case. Wayde Flowerday explained the name for his Facebook page as a strategic choice to link his name with his work:

> "I mean, the initials for Wayde Thomas Flowerday [WTF] are perfect for a great page name, but my Facebook page has to use my full names. It's kind of like making your name your brand. A logo with my name – Wayde Flowerday Photography – is in the corner of every photo I post, so people will start associating my name with my work. It has happened once or twice where people recognised me from my photos after I introduced myself, but I think most photographers use their names so that bands and media liaisons get familiar with their work" (Flowerday, Formal Interview, 10/07/2018).

The privacy settings of folders, pictures and posts can be adjusted, giving photographers more control over who can view the content. This does not, however, ensure the safety of digital rights for media on the public platform. According to Wayde Flowerday, logos are added to

indicate and assert the digital rights to his media. He is aware that Facebook allows users to download media from other profiles without requesting consent, so by adding the logo he makes it more difficult for photographers to crop his name out without ruining the photograph. If his photographs are downloaded without permission, the culprit will have to either post the image with the logo still visible (giving him enough evidence to prove theft) or crop the logo out of the picture (to which he can refer to his original photograph with the logo signifying property rights). However, as he mentioned, the logo is predominantly used to create a link between his name and his photographs.

As figure 3.8 shows, Wayde posts a photograph on his photography page with the description column containing relevant information - such as the event's name and date, property rights, and hyperlinks to his Facebook and Instagram photography pages/profiles. The artists and event location have also been tagged. Like Instagram, tagging other profiles makes the post visible to the tagged profiles, pages, and location, as well as their followers and friends. However, an added feature allows the post to be (re)shared by everyone that can see the post. This provides posts with the potential to be seen and shared by more profiles on the platform, resulting in increased interaction on the post and page.
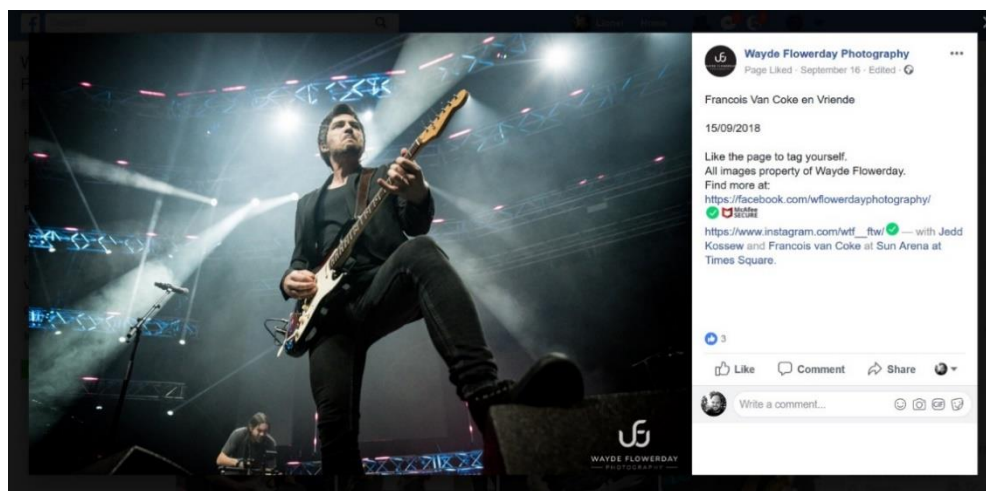

Figure 3.8: An individual photograph posted on the Facebook book page Wayde Flowerday Photography.

These qualities make Facebook a viable platform for music photographers to create and curate an online portfolio. Large amounts of photographs can be uploaded and organised to improve the repertoire of the portfolio. Moreover, the page can connect and communicate with other profiles and pages to negotiate media access for upcoming events. Facebook pages are therefore powerful, if not necessary, platforms where photographers can accumulate reputation and prestige.

Platforms for enchanting and connecting

When I started the fieldwork period, I had a misconception about the artist profiles-and-pages music photographers create and manage on social media platforms. My mistake was to think of these profiles and pages only as online platforms to exhibit photographs. Online exhibition can still be considered a primary function, but the true power of these platforms lies in the way exhibiting photographs acts as a catalyst for social interaction. Posting a photograph creates an opportunity for people to interact with the photograph (by liking, commenting or sharing the image), as well as easy conversation starters between the photographer and others. It is therefore important to look at the various ways in which photographers use social media platforms to establish themselves as 'pro' music "togs".

The extensive development and integrated features of social media platforms have enabled photographers to achieve a few things. As artists, music photographers need a platform to exhibit their photographs in the public domain to incite interaction and commentary. As the chapter explained, social media networks allow photographers to choose how they want to share their photographs, and more importantly how to promote it on various online platforms When photographs are published on public domains, photographers need to protect the digital rights of their media. Differing privacy and sharing policies protect or endanger the digital rights of the photographs posted. As a result, some photographers choose to only upload low quality versions of their photographs on Facebook, for instance, as opposed to high-quality versions on their Instagram profiles. Social media platforms are chosen not only for their abilities to share media and protect digital rights, but also for the creative control the platform allows for the management and display of photographs.

Depending on the GUI and design of the platform, photographers can catalogue and exhibit their work through a variety of ways: Facebook enables photographers to upload entire folders of photographs which can be grouped together and titled as an album, while a 10-image limit of each Instagram post fosters selective posting. Therefore, social media platforms enable photographers to not only choose how they want to upload and share their work, but also exert control over how it should be displayed and to whom. With the data presented, I argue that the management and design of profiles and pages on social media platforms is an imperative step in the process of 'enchantment' (Gell 1999).

As freelance photographers, social-and-professional networks need to be continuously expanded through connecting and interacting with other profiles on the platform. Both social media platforms discussed allow photographers to connect and communicate with fans, musicians, festival organisers and other photographers. The process of creating and managing networks through social media platforms is important as it results in the accumulation of social capital.

By actively managing networks of professional relationships, music photographers can negotiate their position to acquire access to spaces (media accreditation) and people (fans, musicians, festival organisers and other photographers). Their Facebook profiles are usually used to facilitate this process. There is a pattern on Facebook pages where music photographers link their name to their work by incorporating their names into the title. Logos containing the photographer's name are placed on the edges of photographs to both establish digital rights and create an association between photographers and their work. Social media platforms are used to manage and distribute photographs, thus promoting the reputation and prestige of the photographer and media house. In doing so, music photographers start establishing themselves as 'pro' music "togs".

Chapter 4: Relationships with other music "togs" and media personnel

> "I think the [personal] connections are drastically important. Barring that, the interpersonal networks in and amongst photographers themselves, and the people that actually work in the industry, are also vitally important. So, if I don't know who to contact (which fortunately is quite rare), I will reach out to another photographer that has shot that type of event before, and they will put me in touch. This industry is definitely a case of who you know, more than what you know" (Flowerday, Semi-structured interview, 10/07/2018).

The interpersonal networks and relationships amongst music photographers, as well as everyone working in the South African live music industry, have been a key factor since the outset of the research project. During the research proposal period, personal connections were valuable sources of contacts and information. Lourens Smit introduced me to almost every research participant I approached for the study, while Erin Crous personally contacted media liaisons and festival organisers and opened online chat rooms to discuss the aspects of, and criterion for, media access. While my personal connections with Erin and Lourens initially provided me with contacts, the value of these relationships became truly evident when I conducted participant observation.

I realised early on that I would not be able to obtain media access through credentials or merit, as I had none. I did, however, have personal connections, which is all a music photographer needs to get a foot in the door: "…if you are sub-par or at least average and you've got personal connections, you can get in" (Flowerday, Formal interview, 10/07/2018). When I applied for media access to Oppikoppi 2018, applicants were required to belong to a reputable media house. Lacking in reputation and experience, I had to rely on established photographers to vouch for me. The first research informant to extend a helping hand was Erin Crous, a photographer and previous employee of Hilltop Live. My application was submitted through Erin Crous under her personal media house, Love Hate Music. The application was accepted, but ran into difficulties when Erin could not attend the festival due to an illness. Without the physical presence of Erin, I was denied media access. During this time, Lourens Smit entered the media tent and explained my role as researcher to the media liaison. Lourens re-affirmed my intent as a participant observer, which secured me media access.

Above all, other music photographers are rich sources of information and techniques for stage photography. I started practicing stage photography at small venues through trial-and-error, but struggled to improve the quality of my photographs. After each show, I perused the photographs I had taken to find common errors, and although I was able to notice what was wrong, I had no idea how to rectify my mistakes. It was only after I started talking to other music photographers about the problems I was facing that I learned how to move in front of the stage, calibrate my camera to more suitable settings, and time my shots better (see Chapter 5).

While it could be argued that my position as researcher made photographers more willing to help me start out, the majority of music photographers admit to acquiring this knowledge through other photographers. Christelle Duvenage, for instance, learned stage photography by observing other photographers and mimicking their movement (see chapter 2). Wayde Flowerday, on the other hand, took on a mentor who helped him learn faster than through trial-and-error: "I bought a camera and because I already knew the photography guys in the industry, they offered to teach me. So, they got me up to speed fairly quickly I think" (Flowerday, Formal interview, 10/07/2018). These types of relationships are thus not simply for companionship, but also a means to accrue and transform different forms of *capital* (Bourdieu 1986).

Collaborations and networks of shared information

During the fieldwork period, two mentorship relationships were functioning independently among the group of research informants. One mentor relationship was brought to my attention during Oppikoppi 2018, where Leigh-Anne Kenny obtained media accreditation for her apprentice (see chapter 3). The second was the relationship between Alexander Wolf and Wayde Flowerday, both of whom are considered 'pro' music "togs" by their peers.

After being mentored by South African music photography legend, Sean Brand, Alexander Wolf decided to assume the role of music photography mentor for Wayde Flowerday. Both Wayde and Alexander feel the relationship is mutually beneficial, which sustains the relationship. The experimental style of Wayde's photographic practice motivates Alexander to reconceptualise his own photographic practice. At the same time, Wayde assimilates the techniques, knowledge and movement from Alexander to build his photographic practice.

These relationships are particularly fascinating because music photography is an individualistic practice. None of my research participants photograph live music shows as a collective entity, i.e. under the same name. For instance, Alexander Wolf collaborates with another music photographer/videographer, Chris Preyser, to make promotional videos for music events (among other things). Their videos are released under their company name WolfPrey Photographic Collective, but both publish their photographs on their own music photography pages using their names. According to Alexander, music photographers cannot photograph together or use each other's work because the differences in techniques and style is to prominent and contradicting: "Music is extremely hard to shoot as a unit outside video. Different styles of shooting, different editing processes. So, we [Alexander and Chris] have always kept that as our own things" (Wolf, Formal interview, 24/01/2018).

That being said, relationships with other music photographers are important because they are situated in (and allow access to) networks of shared information regarding music photography. These networks are sources of *social capital* (Coleman 1988; Burt 2000; Lin 2001) that are especially important for up-coming music photographers. During the initial phase of building a professional network of media personnel, other music photographers can provide information regarding photography opportunities and contact information. Wayde Flowerday emphasized the importance of the interpersonal networks amongst music photographers and media personnel when he discussed his transition from music journalism to music photography:

> "It [music journalism] opened up a lot of doors for me. If you look behind you, all the signed stuff is from working for Music Review. I got to interview everyone from the likes of Deftones to Asking Alexandria, to Metallica to Rise Against. Having done the music journalist thing (and putting my blood sweat and tears into that) I knew all the organisers, and I knew who to contact for what.
>
> So, I think that especially younger people trying to start out do not know who to speak to. They do not know who to email, who is in what band, or who organises what. The average person doesn't even know who runs Oppikoppi, or what the company's name is, or who runs Krank'd Up, for instance. Just by having those personal connections already opens the door a lot wider.
>
> It is still up to you to deliver at the end of the day, however, because a personal connection will only get you so far. But if you are sub-par or at least average and you've got personal connections, you can get in" (Flowerday, Formal interview, 10/07/2018).

Photographers are able to reify and formalise these social relationships into professional networks by forming photographic collectives or joining a media house. The result is platforms that grant music photographers more prestige (in the eye of event management). Media houses are powerful platforms for music photographers to acquire media accreditation, because they are at the top of the Hierarchy of Publications (see chapter 3). As such, media houses are the most effective ways for music photographers to obtain media-and-pit access. Moreover, media houses are rich sources of information regarding music photography, which intensifies or further develops the photographic practice: "It is their interest in photography that unites the members of a camera club in the first place, and they have in common a rate of practice within a group which supplies formulas and tips in order to intensify photographic activity" (Castel and Schnapper 1990: 104).

The life history of Henry Marsh showed how his initial start in live music photography relied heavily on the help of other, more established photographers. Henry took a cheap camera to his first Oppikoppi and took a few photographs of the Blues artist Dan Patlansky performing, among others. He liked the photographs and posted them on his Facebook account, thinking nothing more of it. To his surprise, Dan Patlansky saw the photographs and contacted him. A photographic collective called Our Friends also contacted him soon after as they were recruiting aspiring photographers to cover the vibrant live music scene in bars and festivals in South Africa. The collective, founded by Deji and Yetunde Dada, started as a platform called Drop Your Drink, but soon expanded with the help of other photographers such as Lourens Smit, Paddy Eriksen and Henry Marsh. The photographic collective, now rebranded as Our Friends, provided Marsh with a platform and brand which he utilized to acquire media access to most live music performances in the Gauteng area. Henry could then utilize his position in the collective to develop his photographic practice and technique through constant interaction with musicians, other photographers and feedback on the media platform Our Friends provided. Henry Marsh negotiated and navigated his initial start in music photography through the photographic collective to become the Public Relations Officer of the collective, as well as establish himself as a photographer through Henry Marsh Photography. According to Marsh, it took one photograph, a photograph Henry now considers 'completely average', to start a snowball effect of continuously meeting musicians, photographers and videographers, and of crucial importance, event organisers. Marsh attributed the relative ease of transitioning into music photography to the exponential growth in his social and professional network, during his 'formative years'.

Professional conduct in shared work spaces

Based on notable shifts to more 'professional'[26] conduct between photographers at live music events, it is fair to argue that shared workspaces, such as media tents and pits, facilitate a more institutionalised form of conduct among photographers. As soon as a photographer gained media access for a music festival, they become part of the media crew. During a brief conversation with Lourens Smit in the media tent of Oppikoppi, he pointed out how most photographers at music festivals spend their time either in the pits in front of stages or at the media tent editing and managing the content on their social media platforms. Lourens continued to explain that limited space within demarcated media spaces - the media tent and pits in front of stages - forces photographers to work in close proximity and mutual respect must be upheld. (Smit, Semi-structured Interview, 10/08/2018).

Above all, mutual respect must be upheld between photographers, regardless of personal opinions. Within concentrated workspaces, such as pits in front of stages, this mutual respect for photographers needs to be put into practice through calculated and mindful movement within the space. In the pit, the 'professional' photographer is focussed on finding spaces to capture moments that best represent the performance; while remaining constantly aware of their own position as a possible obstruction for other photographers. This form of conduct, albeit temporary, requires knowledge and experience to master, yet remains integral to the process of professionalisation. To acquire this knowledge, music photographers can either spend months learning through trial-and-error, or observe other music photographers and ask for their advice. Since the first method would take too long and diminish the professional image through unprofessional behaviour, most music photographers choose to learn from more experienced photographers.

Regulated spaces during a music festival

The first regulated space music photographers can enter is the Media tent, which was explained in the preceding chapter. This space does not have a lot of rules to abide by, when compared to pits, but does not condone drunk and disorderly behaviour. When music photographers transgress this rule, they would not necessarily be kicked out of the space, but instead be perceived as unprofessional. As a result, they will not be granted media access for future events, lose the respect of other music photographers, and might even get blacklisted.

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[26] In this context, being mindful and treating other photographers (with media access) with respect.

Due to the difficulty[27] of photographing large shows from within the general standing area, event organisers usually create designated photography spaces by putting up barricades in front of the stage and regulating access to the space. The result is a narrow passage, called 'the pit'. The barricade separates the stage from the general standing area, allowing photographers to move unobstructed in front of the stage.

In Figure 4.1 a photographer is standing in the pit of the Willow stage of Lush Festival 2016. The image shows that the pit is fairly empty when compared to the general standing area behind the barricades. The photographer could easily move in front of the stage, find angles for his shots and leave the area to make space for other photographers. As a result of better working conditions in the pit, photographers are able to take better quality pictures and get their shots faster. It also speeds up the rotation process, where photographers take turns to enter the pit and get their shots[28].

Fig 4.1: A tog in the pit, Lush Festival, 2017 (c) Lourens Smit.   Fig 4.2: A tog in the pit of the James Phillips stage, Oppikoppi, 2017 (c) Lionel Potgieter.

Figure 4.2 shows a photographer trying to capture the audience from inside the pit. The pit gives him the space to photograph members of the audience that are pressed up against the barricades. These photographs tend to be powerful images that illustrates the dedication of fans, screaming for their favourite bands. Behind the photographer are several security guards tasked with regulating access to the pit. Security guards are stationed in front the entrances to the pit and only permit entry to those wearing wristbands that state "Pit".

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[27] In chapter 5 – Ease of access, I show how both the distance from the stage and members of the audience are obstructions.

[28] Accelerating the rotation process is an important factor for event organisers. The number of photographers granted access to pits far outweigh the maximum capacity of the space. In addition, shows are scheduled to last a limited amount of time (usually 45 minutes), which needs to be divided between photographers to give everyone an equal opportunity. By accelerating the rotation process, event managers are able to ensure that every photographer with pit access is able to get their shots.

In the case of Oppikoppi 2018, festival organisers designated pits in front of the three main stages of the festival. As usual, both the James Phillips and Bruilof stages had pits in front of the stages, but to the surprise of music photographers, the legendary Top Bar had a pit for the first time. A pit in front of the Top Bar became a talking point amongst music photographers in the media tent, and photographers expressed the importance of this pit with excitement. With lively acts such as Black Cat Bones, Hellcats and Akkedis performing at the Top Bar, photographers could move freely in front of the stage to capture the fast-paced performances of these acts.

Nearing the entrance to a pit, I flashed my media access wristband (see figure 4.3), brazenly adjusted the camera slung over my shoulder, and waited for the security guard to let me through. Nothing happened. It was only after being denied entry to the Bruilof stage's pit, twice, that I resigned to the guards' rebuttal that having media access does not permit entrance into the pits. The media liaison, together with the creative committee, divided and controlled access to spaces through different levels of media access. Wristbands, varying in colour and design (see figure 4.4), were used to indicate which restricted areas media personnel could enter. To enter a pit, photographers needed *Pit Access* and a wristband to prove it.

Fig 4.3: Media access wristband | Fig 4.4: Wristbands signifying types of access at Oppikoppi | Fig 4.5: My Pit-and-media access wristbands.

The division of media and pit access indicated a difference between photographers who only received media access, and photographers the creative committee deemed worthy of access to these spaces. It can thus be argued that the regulation of pit access at Oppikoppi indicated that event management and the media liaison perceive certain music photographers to be more 'professional' than others (that were merely granted media access). It is, however, not impossible to obtain pit access when you capitalise on the chaos at the start of a festival. Upon the suggestion of Leigh-Anne Kenny, I went back and spoke to the media liaison scurrying around in the media tent. He did not have time to hear my full story, so when he mistakenly heard pit (instead of pin) he gave me a pit access wristband. I am confident he made the mistake

just to stop me from talking more, but it worked and I was finally able to enter these spaces as well.

My newfound *Pit Access* was tied to expectations of professional conduct and calculated movement in the space. Interviews with Lourens Smit, Henry Engelbrecht and Christelle Duvenage covered the unwritten rules for conduct within the pit. They spoke about the rules they had to follow, and how strict these rules are reinforced by other photographers in the pit. According to Lourens, every photographer inside the pit represents the media crew. Improper conduct such as climbing on top of the stage (or the infrastructure and equipment surrounding it) reflects badly on the media crew as a whole. Other discretions such as flash photography, or wearing distracting and bright clothing, make photographers more visible when they ought to remain peripheral characters.

Thus, it stands to reason that photographers inside the pit need to follow rules of conduct to not only present themselves as professional, but also the media crew and orchestrators thereof – festival organisers, the creative committee and media liaisons. Henry Engelbrecht also addressed this issue when he spoke about professional conduct in shared workspaces during live music events:

> "Like everything in the music industry, it [being a 'pro' music "tog"] is about the relationships you build in the process. Your work ethic during events builds your reputation of professional. People think it's cool to photograph bands, but quickly stop when they realise how much work it actually is. If you think you are there because it is cool to have that type of access, and that you are going to party with the bands and such nonsense, you are in for a rude awakening.
>
> Being a music photographer is about attending the event to actually work, and not sitting in the media tent drinking. It's about respecting everyone's space and covering the event in a manner where you don't get in the way of the fans or the band. So, it is about trust. If people [event management, bands and media liaisons] know that they can trust you with the access they granted you, it becomes easier" (Engelbrecht, Informal interview, 10/08/2018).

Being a professional "tog" in a shared workspace, such as a music festival, is measured by not only gaining access to better photography spaces like pits, but also knowing how to act within them. Being accepted as a professional "tog" starts by upholding the ethos for professional conduct inside the pit.

Lastly, two varieties of a 'three-song rule' were mentioned. A photographer I met earlier the day suggested to wait out the first three songs of the show. Leigh-Anne Kenny stated that inexperienced photographers in the pit get swept up in the moment of the start of the show and flock to any space they find available. The result being photographers stuck in that space until the initial "frenzy" wears down (Kenny, Informal Interview, 10/08/2018). The second version of a 'three song rule' was reiterated when Lourens saw the *Pit access* wristband I procured from the media liaison earlier that day: "The pit is small and cramped. People move all over the place to get their shots. If you're not doing something in the pit, get out. The golden rule is: get your shot and get out" (Smit, Informal Interview, 10/08/2018). Lourens advised me to only remain in a pit for a maximum duration of three songs. It is more an act of courtesy to other photographers in the pit than an enforced rule, but the act serves various functions. The confined space of the pit can get crowded quick, especially during the start of the show. Limiting the time each photographer can spend inside the pit not only facilitates rapid movement inside the pit, but also acts as an equalizing mechanism to provide every photographer with an opportunity to find spaces to photograph from. With this in mind, I headed for the pits.

The benefits of observing other "togs" inside the 'pit'

Before venturing into the pit of a highly anticipated show of a band I've never seen perform live, I asked Christelle Duvenage what to expect from The Hellcats. Christelle warned me against obstructing my movement in the pit, as the energetic frontman darts across the stage and into the crowd. At first, I thought she was referring to stage equipment filling the frame or unexpected light glares from the stage lighting, but as the artists walked on stage the pit became filled with photographers, each finding a suitable space to shoot from.

By the time the band started to play, movement in the crowded pit became more difficult. Christelle advised me to stand on the outskirts of the pit, observe, and then move into the space I feel will give me the best angle to shoot from. She added that by standing on the outskirts, I won't be caught off-guard when the frontman jumps into the audience and can quickly move to a space to photograph the stage dive.

When I entered the pit through a makeshift[29] gate, I was taken aback by how narrow the hallway was. With the middle of the stage extending toward the audience, the infrastructural design proved both beneficial and restricting for photographers in the pit. The extended stage, verging on the barricade, left a single lane of space for photographers to move between sides of the stage. The only entrance for the pit was located on the right side, which soon became crowded with photographers waiting their turn.

As time drew closer to the start of the show, the pit started to fill up with photographers and media personnel. It quickly became apparent that we were exceeding the capacity of the space. More importantly, movement between the two sides of the stage became entirely obstructed by other photographers. Nearing the start of the show, certain photographers moved to assume their desired position in front of the stage, while inexperienced photographers flocked the front of the extended stage. As a result, most photographers remained stuck in that space until photographers calmed down and started moving between spaces. This spatial restriction left photographers with no choice than to be particularly mindful of where they stand and how they move.

As soon as the initial 'frenzy' wore down, photographers started making calculated movements to attain other angles, often waiting for a space to become available. It soon became apparent that certain spaces are particularly favoured, with photographers waiting for their turn to use the space. The favourability of these spaces necessitated a more rapid flow, which was achieved by photographers moving into the space, getting their shot(s), and quickly moving out again. These favoured spaces are usually between stage lights and speakers, or in front of a captivating performer. The unobstructed or up-close angles photographers get from these spaces increase the chances of taking a memorable photograph, but sometimes the space has a price. In instances where the frontman stood with one foot on the edge and the other on the barricade of the pit, photographers had to sit on their haunches while the photographers behind them took their turn capturing the moments.

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[29] A large piece of plywood that security guards drag across the floor

After my own frenzy of 'getting good shots' subsided, I started to focus more on the movement of experienced music photographers. Christelle Duvenage, who is short, easily weaved through the crowd of photographers to position herself up-front with a performer. For Henry Engelbrecht, who towered above the rest, the crowded pit posed no difficulties. By observing the movement of other photographers in the pit, Henry was able to move fairly unobstructed through the pit to find the spaces and angles he wanted. While everyone was concentrated in one area, Henry would utilise that moment to move to the side of the stage and capture the same moment from a different angle (see figure 4.6). He also used those moments of distraction to move easier between sides of the stage. Moreover, his experience with photographing the band allowed him to position himself to capture moments of the performance which may have caught other photographers off guard (see figure 4.7). When the frontman decided to lie on his back on top of a speaker cabinet, Henry was the only photographer who, in anticipation, already navigated his way onto the side of the stage to get the perfect angle (see figure 4.8). Before the final song, Henry was perfectly positioned to capture the frontman's journey through the crowd to play on top of a table (see figure 4.9).

Fig. 4.6: Hellcats from the side, Oppikoppi, Top Bar, 2018 © Henry Engelbrecht | Fig. 4.7: Hellcats standing on the barricade © ibid.

Fig. 4.8: Hellcats from the side again, Oppikoppi, Top Bar, 2018 © Henry Engelbrecht | Fig: 4.9: Hellcats inside the crowd © ibid.

Relationships of shared capital with the field of music photography

After my experience as a music photographer with media accreditation for Oppikoppi 2018, it became abundantly clear that stage photography at a music festival is situated within a *cultural field* (Bourdieu 1993). A music festival is a temporary, separate space from everyday life that functions according to a different set of rules, has a unique set of power relations and hierarchical structural, and thus forces people to behave in a different manner. The field is controlled by the event organisers who construct structuring structures – the festival grounds for the general public, the media tent for personnel, and pits for music photographers – which regulate movement into these spaces and behaviour within them. Different rules apply to different spaces and only a select few are allowed entrance to certain spaces.

For music photographers, it is imperative to portray themselves as 'professional' within these spaces by being aware of the criterion for professional conduct and appropriating their behaviour accordingly. Failure to do so will result in a diminished reputation or even exile (blacklisted). A 'pro' music "tog" must thus adopt the *habitus*[30] (Bourdieu 1984) of the *field* to be considered professional by other actors within the field. This can only be achieved through socialisation by other music photographers that imbue this cultural knowledge onto them.

Furthermore, other music photographers are gracious educators in the art of stage photography. The only way I, and many other research participants, could learn to take quality photographs of live performances, was through the help and advice of other music photographers. (This point is explained further in the next chapter).

It can therefore be argued that relationships with other music photographers are powerful sources of *social capital* that offer upcoming music photographers with *cultural capital* that can be transformed into *symbolic capital*, i.e. reputation and prestige. So, although music photography is considered an individualistic practice, the interrelationships between music photographers are necessities, especially for music photographers that are starting out.

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[30] An acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted.

Chapter 5: The art of stage photography

Fig. 5.1: Wynand Myburgh [Fokofpolisiekar], Halloween at Loftus Versveld, Pretoria, 2017 © Lourens Smit Photography

"Good live music photography comes from a couple of things, in my opinion. **It is about sharing your perception of the event and the performance, while framing it in an interesting way.** The photographer's personal biases and techniques make an impact here: Photography can make an excited atmosphere look placid and vice versa, depending on how the photographer shoots the event and how they choose to tell the story. The photographer also has what the band, media and the general public might like to see, in the back of their mind. **My personal theory is that good stage photography comes from the intersection of a couple things: action, place, time, and environment.** Getting a combination of all of these is difficult, and photographers often need to choose how they represent them" (Smit, Semi-structured Interview, 16/05/2018, emphasis added).

At the start of the research report (see Prologue), I used this quote from Lourens Smit to explain what goes through the mind of a music photographer during stage photography. In this chapter, I want to focus on the two emboldened sentences, and how they eloquently summarize the art of stage photography.

According to Lourens Smit, good stage photography comes from the intersection of action, place, time and environment. While these terms might sound vague, the data in this chapter shows how these factors influence the way a photograph turns out. Action refers to a photographer's ability to not simply predict the behaviour of musicians on stage, but also to have the skill to be able to photograph movement/action. This involves calculated movements to spaces (place) where the angle compliments the performance and portrays action accurately, without blurring the photograph. Time is an important factor for music photographers, because a performance is set to a routine of theatricality, induced by the *front* (Goffman 1959) of the stage. This means that the stage lights, for example, are synchronised to the rhythm and beat of the music. By meticulously observing the stage lights, photographers can start to identify patterns in the movement of the lights. This takes away the unpredictability of stage lights and allows music photographers to photograph according to the lights. Lastly, environment refers to the venue of the show. When photographers are aware of the effect the conditions of the venue/environment have on the camera's ability to capture moments, they can reconfigure the settings of their camera to suite the environment.

According to Lourens Smit, the main objective of music photography is to share the photographer's perception of the event and performance, and to frame it in an interesting way. This is where interpretation starts to play a major role in the outcome of a photograph. Music photographers experience and perceive live music shows differently from one another, which leads them to portray the same performance in different ways. Music photographers who utilise the same techniques to achieve this start developing a distinct artistic style that becomes their defining feature and method of enchantment.

When Lourens and I discussed his understanding of stage photography, it sounded logical to me and even attainable for an amateur photographer such as myself. However, as soon as I tried my hand at stage photography, I could not attain the results I desired and had to go back to the music photographers to learn how to circumnavigate the obstacles that are inherent to stage photography.

Learning to navigate around the obstacles of stage photography

As a participant observer, I assumed the role of an amateur photographer that had to learn to photograph in a context that is not particularly suited for conventional forms of photography. To start learning, I spoke to Henry Marsh about the difference between stage photography and the more conventional photographic practice of studio photography.

According to Henry Marsh, music photographers need to adapt to the loss of control over their settings and subjects, and realise that their objective is to capture images that represent the performance as it is happening (Marsh, Formal Interview 25/07/2018). He explained the conditions of stage photography by drawing a comparison with studio photography:

> "Studio photography gives photographers complete control over the setting, lighting and subject of their photography. The process is slow and methodical, where the photographer can interact with their subject by giving instructions on how to pose or what to do. Decor and props can be added or removed at the whim of the photographer, while lights can be directed to focal points they wish to accentuate.
>
> Music photographers do not have these luxuries during stage photography. If they did, the shows would revolve around musicians striking random poses on stage, instead of performing. It is our job, as music photographers, to capture moments of bands performing on stage. So, we move around the stage, draw as little attention as possible to ourselves and find good angles we can capture the performance from" (Marsh, Formal Interview 25/07/2018).

The loss of control over the setting and subjects force music photographers to use different techniques and styles of photography than that of more conventional forms of photography, such as studio photography. Where studio photographers can instruct movement and poses from their subjects, music photographers need to anticipate moves on stage and position themselves accordingly. To do this, photographers need to have knowledge of the band's behaviour and use this to position themselves to take the shot. Above all, photographers are to remain peripheral characters and thus move in small passages around the stage according to the infrastructure of the stage.

Due to the difficult nature of stage photography, music photographers need to both master the fundamentals of photography, and apply various techniques to ensure quality photographs. An argument can thus be made that stage photography becomes a technical process in which the artist is skilled (Gell 1999) when photographers adapt their actions or employ techniques to not simply subvert the obstacles they face in these unfavourable conditions, but actively use these conditions to their advantage to create 'better images' - photographs others are not able to capture themselves, nor replicate.

Based on data gathered through participant observation[31] and interviews with several photographers, I have identified four types of obstacles of stage photography: 1) movement and ease of access, 2) lighting, 3) moving subjects, and 4) the infrastructure of, and around, the stage. These obstacles impede photographers to abide by the *Technical fundamentals of photography – colour*, *focus*, and *composition*.

Colour, the fundamental, refers to the way the camera is able to capture the colour spectrum, highlights and shadows of a still moment; and how these factors create the definition of a photograph through depth of field. Lack of light and dynamic stage lights make it difficult for the image sensors of cameras to capture the full colour spectrum. *Focus* refers to the clarity of photographs and is dependent on a variety of factors. Taking photographs of moving subjects is difficult, which makes photographers struggle with focus and composition. In addition, music-and-stage equipment often obstruct the frame or disrupt the focus of the lens, thus distracting the viewer's eye from musicians. *Composition* is the way in which an image is framed - how objects and subjects in the photograph are portrayed – and influence the viewer's perception of the photograph. As a rule of thumb, photographers try to guide the viewer's eye to the subject and avoid obstacles that distract from the focal point.

According to Erin Crous, the Technical fundamentals of photography are important because media liaisons and event management use it as a rubric to assess the quality of photographs from photographers applying for media and/or pit access. Erin further stated that music photographers need to find techniques to not simply overcome the obstacles of stage photography, but more importantly 'communicate stories'; it is the ways in which photographers choose to communicate these stories that become their defining features and draw people to their photographs:

> "There are two parts of aesthetic judgement for event management. The first part is based on the Technical fundamentals of photography: colour, focus and composition. The second is visual preference, which you do not have any control over unless you can communicate stories. Photographers use different techniques to do this and that is what really draws people to a photograph" (Crous, Formal interview, 04/04/2018).

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[31] In chapter 1, I discussed the field sites for participant observation. I attend various live music shows-and-festivals to both observe stage photography as well as attempt to photograph the shows myself.

Ease of access and movement

Music festivals and shows at larger venues are difficult to photograph from inside the general standing area. The stages are built higher and further away from the general standing area, which makes it difficult to find shots that are in focus, especially of the drummer at the back of the stage. I attended two large music festivals (Oppikoppi 2017 and Lush Festival 2018) with the goal of photographing the event from the general standing area. It was a disaster.

The first problem I encountered was the distance between myself (the photographer) and the performance on stage. The focus on lenses is calculated by this distance, and subjects become unclear and out of focus when the distance exceeds that of the lens. To compensate, photographers can change their lens to one more suited for long distance or attempt to move closer to the stage. However, changing the lens would not subvert the second problem. Members of the audience often obstruct shots by absentmindedly walking in front of the camera and inadvertently disrupting the point of focus of the camera (see figure 5.2). Cameras focus on the closest object in its range, and as a result, photographers in the general standing area need to shoot over the heads of audience members, often resulting in blurry photographs.

Fig 5.2: Grassy Spark, Oppikoppi, Main stage, 2017 (c) Lionel Potgieter. | Fig 5.3: Grassy Spark, Willow stage, Lush Festival, 2018 (c) ibid.

The most prominent example of audience members obstructing shots was when I photographed Grassy Spark at Lush festival in 2018. I managed to get fairly close to the stage and was under the impression that I will get a few good photographs. The band captivated their audience and I thought I had a great shot when the guitarist instructed the audience to replicate his actions. However, when the members of the audience raised their hands, the point of focus was disrupted and blurred the audience member's outstretched arm (see figure 5.3).

Audience members are thus obstructions for music photographers and, as a result, photographers need to move closer to the stage, or preferably gain entry to the pit in front.

What I found most annoying though was not being able to move around to find other angles. At the Albert Frost show of Oppikoppi 2017, I was stuck standing on the right side of the stage. I could not move through to the other side of the stage and the quality of my photographs suffered as a result. Figures 5.4 - 5.6 are all essentially the same photograph, even though they were shot at different times during the show. The angles are the same, the frames are filled with stage equipment, and there is simply no variation in the photographs except for the different positions he is standing in. Although I am by no means a 'pro' "tog", I felt extremely restricted shooting this show.

Fig 5.4-6: Albert Frost, James Phillips stage, Oppikoppi, 2017 (c) Lionel Potgieter.

In 2018, I attended Lush Festival again without access to the pits, but discussed my frustrations of photographing from the general standing area with the music photographers at the festival. Henry Marsh laughed at my grievances and told me it was my inexperience that led me astray. According to Henry, all I had to do was lift up my camera and weave myself through to the front of the stage: "You need to walk into an audience as if you are meant to be at the front and know what you are doing. People tend to give way when they see a camera raised in the air" (Marsh, Informal interview, 30/03/2018).

I was determined to get my shots of Albert Frost this time, so while he was performing with Anton Goosen, I lifted up my camera and started moving to the front of the stage. People were dancing in front of the stage, which made me hesitant to intrude their space. I took a photograph from that position (see figure 5.7), but was unsatisfied with the result. So, I moved a little closer and asked the people for permission to stand between them to take a better shot (see figure 5.8).

Fig 5.7-8: Albert Frost and Anton Goosen, Owl stage, Lush Festival, 2018 (c) Lionel Potgieter.

It was only once I gained entrance to the pits (at Oppikoppi 2018, see Chapter 4) that I realised the benefit and privilege of the demarcated space. No one bumped me or obstructed my shots, which meant I could finally focus solely on photographing the performances. I was able to concentrate on what and who was in my frame and moved around when I did not find an angle or position pleasing. Because I was closer to the stage, it was easier for me to get shots that are in focus, framed well and nothing obstructing my shot (see figure 5.9). I was also able to photograph the fans in the front row for the first time, which yielded some interesting shots (see figure 5.10).

Fig 5.9: Retro Dizzy, Bruilof stage, Oppikoppi, 2018 (c) Lionel Potgieter. | Fig 5.10: Fans in the front row, Top Bar, Oppikoppi, 2018 (c) ibid
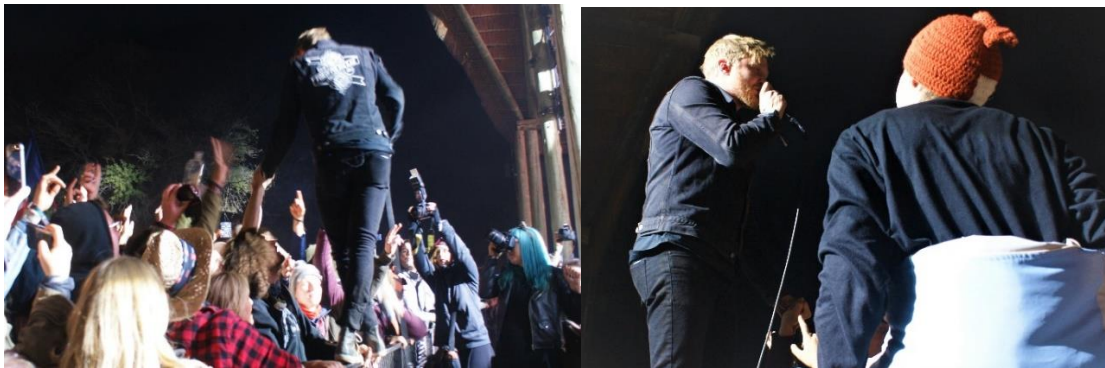

Fig 5.11: Francois van Coke walking on the barricade, Oppikoppi, 2018 (c) Lionel Potgieter. | Fig 5.12: Francois van Coke serenading his fans, James Phillips stage, Oppikoppi, 2018 (c) ibid

What I enjoyed most about photographing from inside the pit was the fact that I was able to photograph Francois van Coke climbing onto the barricade of the pit (see figure 5.11) and walking toward his fans to serenade them (see figure 5.12) during the song *Komma*. The reason these photographs are so valuable to me is because I knew I would not have been able to get them from inside the general standing area. The crowd was frantic, so they would have bumped me or obstructed my shots. More importantly, even if I was able to take good photographs between the fans, the angles and framing would not have done the moments justice. I had to be inside the pit to not simply ease my movement, but also focus on other obstacles.

<u>Lighting</u>

The second type of obstacle is the lighting of venues. Lighting is an important factor for photographers, as cameras use light as the source to capture a still image and imprint colour onto it. Natural light (sunlight) is the optimal source of light, which makes stage photography in the daytime relatively easier. However, with the exception of day festivals, it has become custom for most live music shows to start at dusk. Even during music festivals, the headliners tend to perform late at night, going on into the midnight hours[32]. Live music shows are thus usually performed in dark venues with stage lights that sweep over the stage in seemingly unpredictable patterns, changing colours at random. Since music photographers have no control over the lighting setup of the show, they need to find ways to photograph according to the lights.

When I photographed the show of Fokofpolisiekar at Oppikoppi 2018, I struggled with the unpredictable lighting patterns of the show. Just when I thought I had a good shot; the lights went out and left a silhouette in the dark (see figure 5.13). I knew the shot was ruined as soon as the lights went off, but tried to take another shot when the stage lights suddenly appeared again. This time, however, the glare from the screen behind the performer was too bright for the settings I set the camera to, and as a result the photograph was too bright to capture the shadows (see figure 5.14). When I spoke to Lourens about this problem, he told me about a technique he uses to predict the lighting patterns of stage lights. This is discussed later in the chapter under the sub-heading 'Artistic techniques-and-styles'.
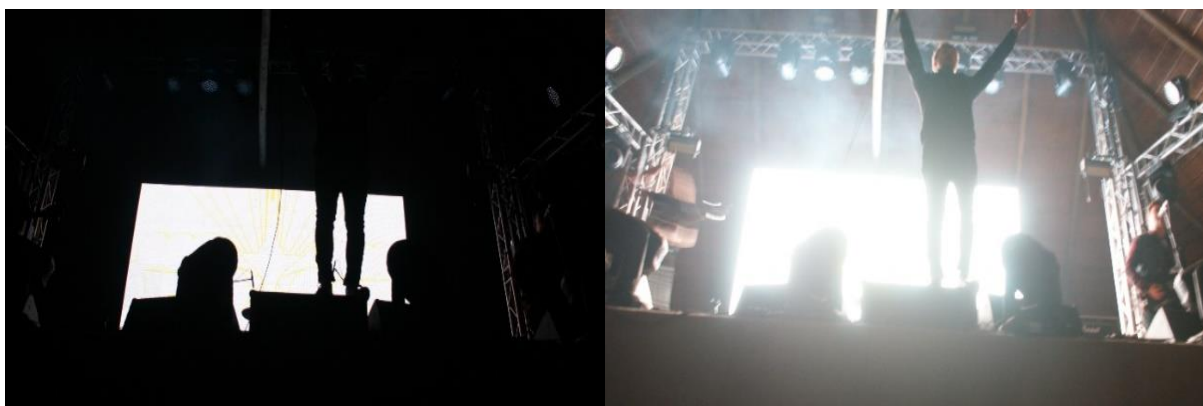

Fig 5.13: When the stage lights went out, Oppikoppi. 2018 (c) Lionel Potgieter. | Fig 5.14: When the stage lights flashed, Oppikoppi (c) ibid

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[32] The tendency to start shows at dusk is (in my opinion) a strategic decision by the organisers to build anticipation for a show, which they capitalise on by enhancing the theatricality with vibrant and dynamic stage lights (as was evident in the ethnographic vignette of chapter 2).

As most venues are too dark to photograph without resorting to flash photography (which is prohibited), the settings on the camera need to be recalibrated to accommodate artificial sources of light. To find the correct exposure, photographers use a framework called the *Triangle of Exposure* to adjust the settings on their camera to suit the light in the venue and the movement of subjects:

> "To get quality photographs of a live show, you need to keep the Triangle of Exposure in the back of your mind. You use the triangle as a framework to photograph according to the stage lights" (Smit, Semi-structured Interview 25/07/2018).
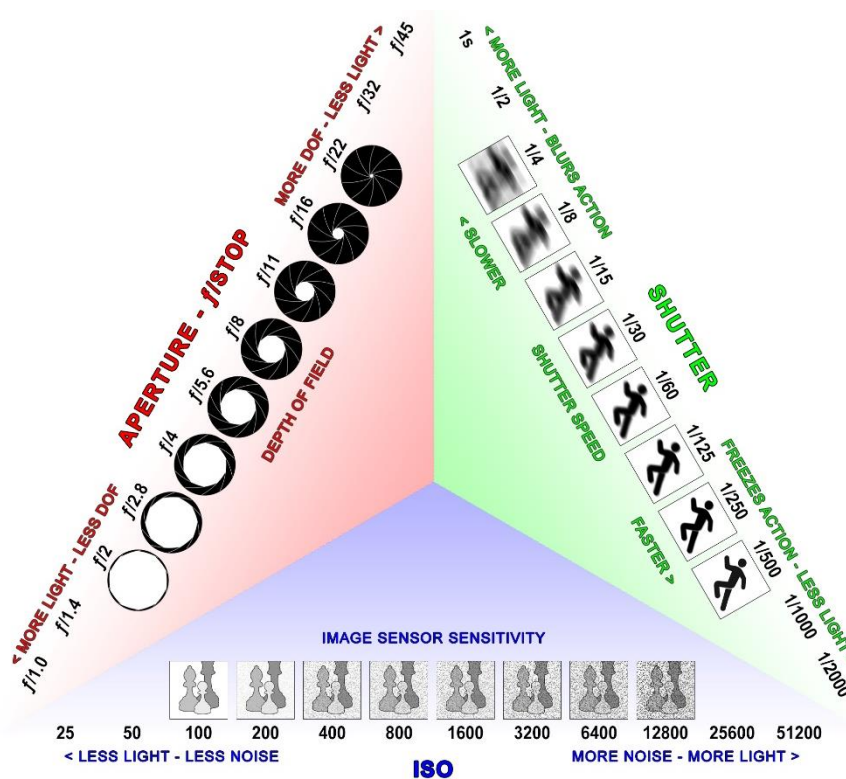

Figure 5.15: The Triangle of Exposure

The *Triangle of Exposure* (see Figure 5.15) consists of *Aperture*, *Shutter Speed* and *ISO*. The three factors of the Triangle of Exposure function in conjunction with one another. Thus, when one factor or setting is changed, the other two need to be recalibrated as well. When photographers fail to take the Triangle of Exposure into consideration, they will be left sifting through dozens of unusable photographs after a show. Even photographs that are usable will need extensive editing during post-production, which is discussed later in the chapter.

Aperture controls the amount of light passing through the lens to expose the image sensors of a camera. As figure 5.15 illustrates, this is done by adjusting how wide the lens's diaphragm (through which light passes) opens. As the diaphragm opens, more light is allowed through the lens and subsequently expose the image sensors to more light. Aperture is measured in f/stops, where the size of the opening increases as numbers descend. Music photographers therefore need to set their aperture lower (f/2 – f/5.6) in dark settings to allow a larger beam of light to pass through the lens.

If aperture is disregarded, the photograph will either be overexposed or underexposed. When the image sensors of cameras are exposed to too much light, the sensors are unable to capture the bright and light colours in an image. As a result, the highlights of the image will be 'blown out' and the photograph will look 'washed out' or overexposed (see figure 5.16). An underexposed photograph is the inverse. When the image sensors are not exposed to enough light, the image will be too dark (see figure 5.17). As a result, it becomes difficult to distinguish between objects and subjects in the photograph.

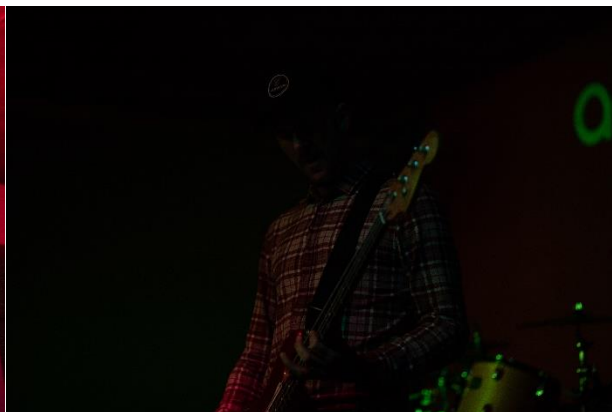Fig. 5.16: Overexposure of aperture (c) Lourens Smit   Fig. 5.17: Underexposure of aperture (c) Lourens Smit

Aperture also affects the depth of field of photographs. Depth of field refers to the three-dimensional space of a photograph and how this factor effects the focus of a photograph. It is a property of refraction whereby the size of the hole in the diaphragm (and subsequently the amount of light that passes through) delineates the field of focus. When aperture is set high (and the hole is smaller) the beam of light is more concentrated which makes it possible for the camera to get the entire frame in focus. However, because music photographers set their aperture as low as possible in dark venues, the field of focus is drastically decreased. As a result, these photographs tend to focus on the person in front and blurs the rest of the band behind them, or vice versa. Music photographers therefore need to find ways to focus on specific subjects in low light venues that necessitate a low aperture.

Shutter speed is used to 'freeze action', i.e. to capture a still moment in time. By adjusting the shutter speed, photographers can control how long the shutter in front of the lens stays open to expose the camera's image sensors to light. In dark settings with moving subjects, music photographers need to set their shutter speed faster (1/250s – 1/200s) to get images that are in focus (see figure 5.15). If the shutter speed is set low, the shutter in front of the lens takes longer to open and shut. So, with fast-paced movement, a low shutter speed will not be able to capture a 'still moment' of the movement, and will result in photos where the subject is blurry (see figure 5.18).
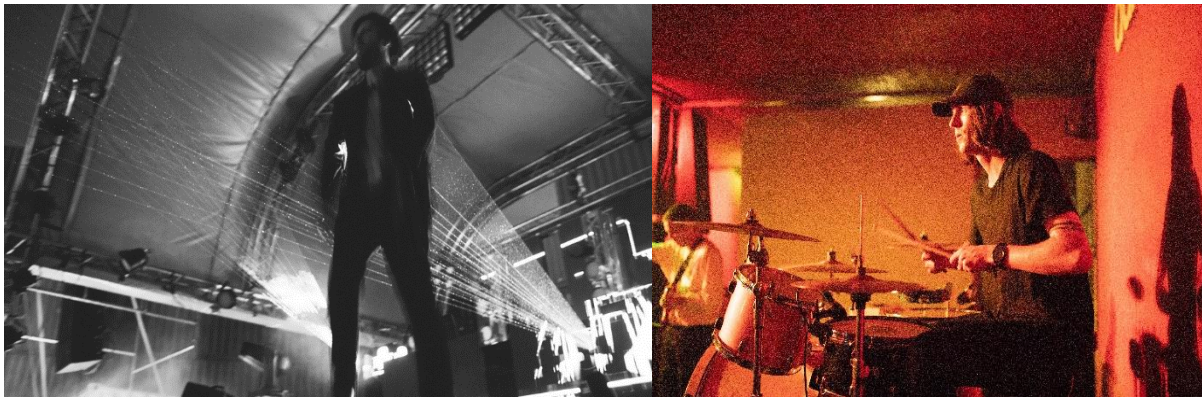

Fig. 5.18: Blurry due to low shutter speed (c) Lourens Smit | Fig. 5.19: Noise caused by high ISO settings (c) Lourens Smit

ISO refers to the image sensors' sensitivity to light and is used to give texture to photographs. However, as figure 5.15 illustrates, higher ISO settings give photographs more grain, which appears as flakes and can be distracting. Photographers therefore need to find an ISO setting according to the amount of grain and texture they want in the photograph. When the shutter speed is raised to capture the fast-paced movement of their subjects, photographers need to compensate for the dark setting and artificial light by raising their ISO settings as well.

When the ISO settings are wrong, the photograph will have too much 'noise', or no definition at all. 'Noise' is a term that photographers use to signify the amount of extra detail in the image that distracts the viewer from the focal point of the photo (see figure 5.19). Photographers therefore try to keep the level of 'noise' as low as possible to ensure that the viewer's eyes are instantly directed to the musicians performing and not objects in the background.

Moving subjects

The largest obstacle for the focus of a photograph is the movement of musicians performing on stage. Musicians constantly move on stage, making it difficult to capture moments where the movement of the subject is 'freezed' and captured without being blurred. For instance, when I tried to photograph Fokofpolisiekar at Oppikoppi 2018, the rapid movement of the musician was too fast for the shutter speed I set the camera to. As a result, the motion of his action formed lines and left a blurry, almost ghostly image (see figure 5.20).

Fig. 5.20: Blurry due to fast-paced movement (c) Lionel Potgieter | Fig.5.21: Biffy Clyro, Ramfest, 2014 (c) Lourens Smit

Another obstacle for focus is the focal point of the lens. Cameras focus on the closest object in its range, so when something like droplets of water are thrown in between the photographer and the subject, the focus will be on the water and not the musician (see figure 5.21).

The infrastructure of (and around) the stage

The final type of obstacle of stage photography is the design and infrastructure of the stage. The infrastructure - sound equipment, stage lights and fog machines - is a double-edged sword for photographers. On the one side, the infrastructure makes shows more theatrical, which creates opportunities for photographers to take interesting photographs of the shows. At the same time, the infrastructure can just as easily ruin a photograph with bad lighting or by obstructing the composition of the frame.

The equipment on stage, specifically the stage monitors and speakers in front of the stage, often obstruct a shot or distracts the viewer from the musician standing behind the equipment (see figure 5.22).

Fig. 5.22: Obstructed shot between two monitors/speakers on stage (c) Lourens Smit

A common obstruction for photographing vocalists is the microphone and its stand. When Lourens Smit photographed George Ezra, the stage was high and the microphone stand became an obstacle for both the focus and composition of the photograph. In figure 5.23, these obstacles are reflected in the upward angle of the photograph which not only obstructed the vocalist's face with the microphone, but also caused the camera to focus on the stand and not the musician. The position the photographer was standing in was therefore not ideal for this stage's infrastructure, so he moved to the side of the vocalist for a better angle. In figure 5.25, the photographer stood on the side of the vocalist and, as a result, took a photograph that is in focus and framed well. When compared to the previous photograph, the photograph taken from the side gave the photographer more space.

Fig. 5.23: Focus drawn to the microphone stand (c) Lourens Smit | Fig.5.24: Better angle that made the entire frame in focus (c) Lourens Smit

Artistic techniques-and-styles

Once photographers have mastered the technical fundamentals of photography, they can start developing an artistic style to both improve the quality of their shots and distinguish themselves from other photographers. I held formal interviews with several music photographers to learn about the different ways music photographers choose to photograph and represent moments of a performance. During these interviews, the photographers used and compared their photographs to illustrate the effects of their artistic styles-and-techniques. For Lourens Smit, the central component of stage photography is knowing how the band performs on stage, and putting this knowledge to use to anticipate and capture these moments:

> "It helps doing research on the band. By that I mean knowing what the band has planned for their show or having the setlist before the show. It is also important to observe how the bands move when they are performing. If you know how they [the band] might perform on stage or interact with the crowd, you can prepare for the shot and be in the right place at the right time. When the subject is performing and moving all over the stage, anticipating moves becomes crucial. It [anticipating stage behaviour] improves your technique from 'spray-and-pray' to actually waiting for the right shot" (Smit, Formal Interview, 03/02/2018).

This transition from the amateurish technique of 'spray-and-pray'[33] to a more calculated technique of 'waiting for the shot' is necessitated by the countless obstacles photographers face during stage photography. When photographers set their cameras to the continuous shot function, 'spray' (hold down the button) and 'pray' (hope there are a few good shots), they are left with a memory card full of photographs that are unusable within the first few songs. Being able to anticipate stage behaviour and theatrical parts of a show gives the photographer more control over photographing subjects that are moving and grants photographers foresight to navigate around obstacles to position themselves in an ideal location. Thus, when knowledge of the band's performance is put into practice, it gives photographers a 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu 1993) and becomes instrumental to taking more calculated shots of a performance.

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[33] It is called 'spray and pray' because the technique yields a lot of photographs, but at the expense of quality. As a result, photographers need to sift through a series of monotonous photographs (where the stage lights were not taken into consideration) with the hope of finding a decent photograph.

Anticipating stage behaviour and representing moments

When photographers have spent enough time observing and photographing local musicians, they learn to anticipate how performers will move on stage, which poses musicians might strike, and approximately when they will do it:

> "I know Wynand [the bassist of Fokofpolisiekar] will do a scissor kick at the start of Vernietig Jouself [see figure 5.25]. I also know Francois [singer/frontman of Fokofpolisiekar] will stretch out his arms to the side and head bang during the instrumental break of [Ek] Skein (Heilig). All I have to do, is wait for the shot" (Duvenage, Formal interview, 28/09/2017).

Fig.5.25: Fokofpolisiekar, Park Acoustics, 2014 © Christelle Duvenage Photography

I followed the advice Christelle gave me when we photographed a show of Francois van Coke together at Park Acoustics in 2018. I remembered her words about the pose the frontman strikes in the middle of the song Ek Skein (Heilig) and simply waited for the shot. When the instrumental break started, the frontman flung his arms to the side and banged his head to the rhythm. I just held down the shutter of my camera and hoped for the best. The results (see figures 5.26 - 5.27) were not aesthetically perfect, but at least I got the shots.

Fig.5.26-27: Francois van Coke headbanging during the instrumental break of Ek Skein (Heilig), Park Acoustics, 2018 (c) Lionel Potgieter

When a photographer knows what musicians tend to do on certain songs, the photographer can position themselves to take the shot when the song starts. This knowledge is acquired by photographing and observing numerous performances/shows of the same local bands. "To take a good photograph, runs the common claim, one must already see it. That is, the image must exist in the photographer's mind at or before the moment when the negative is exposed" (Sontag 1973: 91).

When Henry Engelbrecht was photographing a show of Van Coke Kartel (see figure 5.28), he focussed on the bassist, Wynand Myburgh, who sat on the drum riser drinking water. He has photographed enough of their shows to know that something was going to happen soon, and just waited for the shot:

> "Wynand took a sip of water and climbed up the drum riser. I thus knew that he was going to jump off the riser and spit the water in the air. I also knew that I was standing too far from him to get a proper shot, so I focussed on Francois' guitar instead and kept Wynand in the background (Engelbrecht, Formal Interview, 02/10/2018).

Fig. 5.28: Van Coke Kartel, Francois en Vriende, 2018 © Henry Engelbrecht

Wayde Flowerday is aware that most will try to take the iconic shots such as the scissor kick of Wynand Myburgh, so he tries to capture moments other photographers might not anticipate. This is shown in figure 5.29 where he decided not to wait for Wynand to do his kick, and instead photographed a spontaneous jump of the frontman. He uses this technique to distinguish himself from the rest of the photographers:

> "I shoot Fokof[polisiekar] so often that I already have the 'iconic shots'. People [music photographers] pick up on the patterns of performances relatively quick, so if everyone knows Wynand will do his [scissor] kick, I need to make sure that I get other shots. It is both to distinguish myself from the rest [of the music photographers] and because I know the band gets saturated with those types of photos. So, I would rather wait for Francois [van Coke] to jump and get Wynand [Myburgh] in the background" (Flowerday, Formal Interview, 10/07/2018).

Fig. 5.29: Fokofpolisiekar, 2017 (c) Wayde Flowerday Photography

This knowledge of the band's performance prior to the show is therefore an important factor for music photographers to advance their technique of stage photography, improve the quality of their photographs, and through quality of photographs start establishing themselves as 'pro' music "togs". The technique of anticipating the moves of performers and calculating shots improves the chances of photographers to capture moments photographers feel encapsulates the performance.

According to Lourens, photographers need to adapt to the colours and patterns of stage lights. In his case, various techniques are used to not simply compensate for the lighting setup, but actively use the lights to his advantage:

> "One of the tricks in a photographer's arsenal is preparation and, to a degree, pattern recognition. The photographer might know the band's way of interacting on stage and know to expect someone to do a jump kick or interact with other band members, but the other thing they can be aware of is the lighting setup and using the repeated patterns to their advantage. Instead of holding down the shutter ("spray and pray"), I try to predict the pattern of the lights.
>
> The rotating RGB lights are often set on a certain track, and when they hit the artist just right you have an opportunity to get a shot that most other people might miss. It becomes an internal metronome that is off beat to the music, but important to the photographer who is paying attention to both. It's very easy to miss the shot if your timing is not right" (Smit, Formal Interview, 30/11/2018).

He used two photographs to demonstrate the effect of predicting the patterns of stage lights. In figure 5.30, he used the 'spray and pray' technique by setting the camera to continuously take photographs as long as he kept his finger on the button. During the show, he took the time to observe the pattern of the stage lights and waited for the pattern to repeat itself before taking his next shot (figure 5.31). In doing this, he was able to capture a moment where the stage lights behind the musician created a better silhouette of him.

Fig. 5.30: A product of the spray-and-pray technique (c) Lourens Smit | Fig. 5.31: A calculated shot through pattern recognition (c) ibid

Guiding the viewer's eye and tricks for lighting

There are different techniques photographers can utilise to work around the obstacle of focus. The most interesting technique I found during the fieldwork period was used by Lourens Smit. Lourens uses a technique called free-lensing to narrow the focus of his lens. Instead of mounting the lens on the camera, Lourens holds the lens in front of the opening of the shutter. The dismantled lens can be slightly moved around or pointed at other angles, which alters the point of focus. The technique is advanced and difficult to fully explain, but the effect of the technique can be seen in the photographs he used to illustrate his point. In figure 5.32, Lourens struggled to get the entire frame in focus, but he knew the colourful stage lights would draw the viewers eye first. He took his lens off and narrowed the focus to the face of the musician, but made sure that the face was close to the light, and thus the viewers eye. Lourens tries to focus on the faces of musicians because he argues that:

> "As humans, we look (compositionally) left-to-right, up to down. Our brains are trained to look at people's faces. The first thing people tend to look at is the face, then the wider image. So, if you force people to focus on certain areas, like the face and the light reflecting on it, it might make an interesting image" (Smit, Formal Interview, 03/06/2018).

Fig. 5.32: An example of free lensing. Biffy Clyro, Ramfest, 2014 (c) Lourens Smit

Post-production – The process of refinement

For Henry Marsh, the means to differentiate, and thus establish yourself as a 'pro' music "tog", lies in the post-production process, where photographers sift through, and edit, the dozens of images they captured: "Everyone is shooting the same performance, so editing has become a make or break for photographers. It is a way to distinguish yourself" (Marsh, Formal Interview 19/06/2018).

After photographing a show, music photographers enter the post-production phase. It is highly unlikely that the photographs they took during the show can be published without any alterations. The unrefined photographs, called 'raw' photographs, therefore need to undergo a process of refinement. After a show, raw photographs are uploaded to editing software. Photographers usually start by removing bad and duplicate photographs, then move on to editing the remaining images. Photographers focus on the technical fundamentals of photography – colour, focus and composition – and how these factors affect the way the moment is framed. The obstacles of stage photography cannot always be circumnavigated during a show, but photographers can alter their images during post-production.

The most common techniques photographers use in editing is to crop out objects that distract the viewers eye, and altering the brightness and colour of photographs. There are certain colours that lighting directors use that are difficult to photograph or make the subjects appear odd. Red tends to 'blow out' the highlights of the photograph (see figure 5.33), while blue takes away definition from the faces of subjects (see figure 5.34).

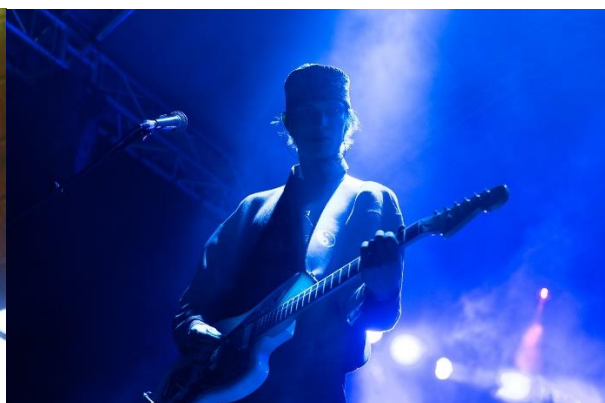Fig. 5.33: The effect of red stage lights © Lionel Potgieter | Fig.5.34: The effect of blue stage lights © Lourens Smit

When I showed Lourens Smit my red/blown out photograph of Francois van Coke, figure 5.33, he laughed and explained that he still struggles with single-coloured lights such as red and blue:

"Red light is the 'bane of my existence' at a gig. Myself and a lot of music photographers hate single-coloured lights. The reason is that single coloured lights wash out on image sensors. Our [image] sensors struggle to capture the full range of a single colour and often blow out the areas we try to capture. It takes away from the image and creates distraction from the source, so you'll often hear photographers complaining when there's a lot of single-coloured light or if the lighting setup isn't dynamic.

It usually means we need to edit a lot afterwards to bring more life into the image. Alternatively, what a lot of photographers tend to do is to convert the image into black and white, which eliminates some of the distraction" (Smit, Formal Interview, 30/11/2018).

When single-coloured lights are present during a show, music photographers struggle to capture the definition of subjects in their photographs. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the image sensors cannot capture the highlights and shadows of an image when they are over-exposed or under-exposed. Similarly, single-coloured stage lights do not provide the image sensors of a camera with the full colour spectrum, but merely different hues of the same colour. As a result, the hues start to blend in and take away the lines and definition of the photograph (see figure 5.35). To rectify this problem, music photographers often strip away all the colour during editing to rely on the contrast of black-and-white photographs. The result is a photograph with more definition, but devoid of colour (see figure 5.36). In some case (especially with Christelle Duvenage) black-and-white photographs are more striking and can be a welcome change to viewers that are saturated with colour photographs. In general, though, most music photographers try to avoid reverting to black-and-white.

Fig. 5.35: A blue photograph where the photographer started to strip away the colour © Lourens Smit | Fig. 5.36: The end result, a black-and-white version © ibid

Enchanting through an artistic signature

"All of these [artistic techniques] can be combined and used by a photographer. In making those choices, the photographers in the scene create their own styles. Christelle Duvenage with her black and white, 'contrasty' [high contrast and grain] shots. Sean Brand with his epic wide shots. Henry Engelbrecht with his consistently good coverage of everything" (Smit, Formal Interview, 30/11/2018).

In several interviews, music photographers stated that a live show can be interpreted and represented in as many ways as there are photographers. Christelle Duvenage attributes this difference in styles to the different ways photographers perceive or experience a performance, and how the photographer decides to represent their perception/interpretation thereof:

"We were taught that photography can be indexical or indictable. It is basically a representation of the truth, at that specific time, in that specific moment. But it also holds a certain value for someone, so we all might have our own interpretations of what is worth photographing and how you want to represent it. If you send out twenty photographers to shoot the same show, you will end up with about twenty different interpretations and representations of the show" (Duvenage, Informal interview, 03/10/2017).

To illustrate the effect of different styles of photography, I decided to compare two music photographers that work in the same regional music scene of Gauteng (predominantly Johannesburg and Pretoria). Both Christelle Duvenage and Henry Engelbrecht attend the same shows and photograph the same performances, but when their photographs are placed next to each other (see figures 5.37 and 5.38), they look completely different.

Fig. 5.37: Ruff Majik, Railways Café, 2018 © Henry Engelbrecht | Fig. 5.38: Ruff Majik, Railways Café, 2018 © Christelle Duvenage

Henry Engelbrecht and the photo-realist approach

> "The best photographer of a show is the photographer that stays in the pit and is
> willing to put the time and energy into the whole process [from stage photography,
> to post-production, to sharing the photographs on social media platforms]"
> (Engelbrecht, Formal interview, 24/10/2018).

Henry Engelbrecht is a workhorse photographer. He stays inside the pit for the entire show to ensure that he does not miss something during a performance, but it leaves him with copious amounts of photographs to sift through afterwards. According to Henry, it provides him with more photographs to choose from, which will improve the overall quality of his photographs. Although Henry spends a lot of time sifting through his photographs, he does not spend too much time editing his photographs. He is aware that music photographers who spend too much time in the phase of post-production lose the fleeting momentum or hype of fans after shows. He is also aware that if he is able to send his photographs first to bands, his photographs will be used. It is thus imperative for Henry Engelbrecht to hasten the process of post-production, without losing the quality of his photographs.

There are several reasons why he does not focus that much on editing afterwards: First, Henry Engelbrecht focusses primarily on how the eye is drawn to the subject. He uses his movement and positioning inside the pit to find angles that he feels might draw the attention to the subject. The second reason is because Henry has an extraordinary camera with mirrorless lenses, that allows him to see how the photograph will look while he is taking the shot. Because of this, he is able to focus on the technical fundamentals of photography, specifically how it is framed:

> "For me, it's about placing the gig into context. It's about showing the passion for
> the music, the way band members play together, how the show affects the audience,
> and how the band interacts with their fans.
>
> The most important thing for me is that the subject is clear and prominent, meaning
> the eye of the viewers should be instantly drawn to the performer and not jump
> around to find the focus of the photo.
>
> I am able to do this, because I trust my gear. My mirrorless camera allows me to see
> exactly what I am about to photograph. So, I focus on exposure and composition,
> and waiting for the right moment. It is a waiting game after all" (Engelbrecht,
> Formal interview, 25/10/2018).

The final reason he does not spend as much time editing, is because Henry Engelbrecht chooses to portray everything that was on stage and part of the performance, whether it is distracting or not:

> "I try to take my photos in a way where I do not have to edit much afterwards. During editing, people tend to remove the elements that are distracting by cropping their photos or changing the colour. **I try to capture the moments as I see them – whatever was on stage, was there and that's how it was**. If I crop my photos, I do it so that they are straight and not some funny angle (like other photographers often do). So, my style is kind of documentarian" (Engelbrecht, Formal interview, emphasis added, 25/10/2018).

Fig. 5.39: Danie [the vocalist of Spoegwolf] being thrown with water, as part of the performance, Johannesburg, 2019 © Henry Engelbrecht

By doing this, Henry Engelbrecht portrays the performance as it happened, which he calls a 'documentarian style'. A good example of his artistic technique can be seen in a photograph of the vocalist of Spoegwolf where fans threw water toward the performer, as part of the performance (see figure 5.39). Normally, a photographer would crop out the hand holding a glass on the right side of the photograph. However, Henry decided not to crop it out, because it would take away not simply the source of the water, but more importantly the interaction between the performer and members of the audience. Without the hand holding the glass, the photograph could be interpreted as simply a performance in the rain.

The minimalism of Christelle Duvenage

"Christelle [Duvenage] is a good example of how a photographer can use their artistic style to bring life to their photographs. She is able to capture moments on stage others cannot, and then strips away all of the colour during editing to place even more emphasis on the moment. The 'human factor' she manages to capture is something I am still striving to for" (Engelbrecht, Formal Interview, 25/10/2018).

Fig. 5.40: Dhali Sins, Arcade Empire, 2009 (c) Christelle Duvenage Photography

Christelle Duvenage views her artistic signature as the product of her personal struggles with her photographic practice:

"I think your artistic style is waiting for you somewhere at the intersection between (1) experience over time (which leads to confidence in your technique), (2) a comfortability with your subject, without becoming a boring familiarity, and (3) a natural and creative curiosity" (Duvenage, Formal Interview, 24/10/2018).

She recounted the development of her artistic style as the result of growing bored of 'aesthetically perfect' photographs of soft pastel landscapes of the sea, devoid of human presence (see figures 5.41 - 5.42). In between constructing portfolios for her BTech diploma, she inverted her previous artistic style to capture intense photographs of live music performances, stripped of all natural colour, yet accentuated by increasing the levels of contrast and grain during post-production (see figure 5.43 – 5.44).

Fig.5.41-42: Seascapes in Richards Bay & Cape Vidal, 2008 (c) Christelle Duvenage. | Fig.5.43-44: The first show she photographed, Durban, 2009 (c) ibid.

Her transition into music photography alludes to something else as well. Even trained photographers such as Christelle initially struggled to capture photographs that complied with aesthetic standards such as focus, composition and colour.

Figure 5.43 contains a guitarist with the headstock cut out of the frame. This does not adhere to the aesthetic standards of composition she studied to perfect during her formal training. An unknown arm in the frame even less. Yet, somehow the arm with a clenched 'rock fist' does not appear as an obstruction. Instead, the black-and-white palette and increased grain, stark contrast of the photograph provides the arm with more definition to portray its dimensions. Clearly, the arm belongs to someone in the audience, but instead of being an obstruction in the composition of the image, it portrays audience interaction. Figure 5.44 follows the same narrative. The composition of the photograph does not fit the standards of composition, yet somehow the image remains powerful. Neither the vocalist nor the guitarist are the focal point (with parts of them cut out of the frame), yet the emotion of the vocalist is captured, even if it is only in the top-left corner of the frame.

Artistic signature as a form of product differentiation

> If you start developing an artistic signature through your posts, they [bands and media liaisons] will notice it and start associating your name with a specific type of photos." (Marsh, Semi-structured interview, 19/06/2018).

At the start of this chapter, I used a quote from an interview with Erin Crous to explain the aesthetic judgement that event management and media liaisons use when accrediting applicants with media access. This judgement is made on the online portfolios[34] music photographers submit to show the quality of their photographs and, more importantly, to give potential employers a sense of the 'personal style' used to capture moments of a performance. This 'personal style' is conceptualized as *artistic style* – artistic techniques put into practice to enchant musicians, festival organisers, and viral consumers alike. Wayde Flowerday views artistic style as a form of product differentiation:

> "Let's make an assumption first. Let's assume you have shot long enough and that you are up to what we'll call the 'adequacy benchmark' - meaning that you can go into a pit, confidently shoot the set, nail all the general criteria, and have people like your work with minor criticism. Now let's assume that everyone in the pit is at that same 'adequacy benchmark'. What would separate you then? What would be an artist's draw to you? Why would someone hire you over anyone else?

> That comes down to your artistic style then. That give people the ability to look at an image (without even looking at the watermark) and say, "Hey, that's a Wayde/Christelle/Laura" shot. It's essential for your differentiation. Much like product differentiation in Economics 101 - if the product is essentially the same service, what makes you different? What makes you demanded?

> Differentiation is uniqueness, and uniqueness is what gets your noticed" (Flowerday, Semi-structured interview, 25/10/2018).

Differentiation is further reinforced by linking the name of the photographer with their artistic style by inserting watermarks of their logo/name in the corners of published photographs (see Chapter 4). This practice results in an *artistic signature*. An artistic signature is thus a product of association with the identity of the photographer and their style of photography.

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[34] In chapter 3, it was established that online portfolios are primarily the music photography pages on social media platforms, specifically the pages on Facebook. Online portfolios can also be links to online articles where their photographs were used.

Conclusion: The 'pro' music "tog"

At the start of this research report, I set the study objective to uncover what it means to be a 'pro' music "tog" in the South African music industry. Based on the data presented and arguments made through the report, it becomes clear that there is no set definition for this title. Instead, 'professional' is defined within the group of active role players in the industry, i.e. bands, event management or media liaisons, and other music photographers and media personnel.

Moreover, there is no formula for taking 'good' photographs of live performances, nor is there a set criterion whereby one can define what constitutes as spectacular photographs. While event management and media liaisons use an aesthetic judgement to eliminate photographers that are sub-standard (in that they are not able to uphold the technical fundamentals of photography), 'good' or 'exceptional' photographs are determined by the vague criterion of being able to communicate stories. This allows for an open interpretation of aesthetic value, based on artistic techniques-and-styles. Being able to 'communicate stories' can thus be seen as a form of *enchantment* (Gell 1999) that allows music photographers to entice viewers, acquire access to photograph more live music shows, and most importantly, accumulate and transfer different *forms of capital* (Bourdieu 1986) into reputation and prestige, i.e. *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu 1990).

Reputation and prestige are dynamic, as it can diminish as quickly as it can be built up. When music photographers stop photographing or start to slack, they fade into irrelevance. Due to this, the position (based on reputability) of photographers is ever-changing and needs to be constantly maintained or improved. As Henry Engelbrecht stated: "You are only as good as the last show you shot" (Engelbrecht, Formal interview, 25/10/2018).

I would therefore argue that a 'pro' music "tog" is someone that is allowed (by bands and event management) to be an active contributor to the public image of the South African live music industry. This necessitates a few things:

First, 'pro' music "togs" need to be able to consistently acquire media accreditation to photograph live music shows-and-festivals. To achieve this, music photographers should be able to continuously take photographers that are not simply on par with the rest, but actually better and awe-inspiring. Being fans of- and friends with the bands grant photographers the

ability to both anticipate moments of a performance, as well as reinterpret what is worth photographing.

However, being able to only take quality photographs would not suffice. The second necessity is that the subjects of the photographs need to admire a music photographer's work and utilise the photographs for the function they serve in the industry – to promote local music scenes and bands. While merit will get a music photographer noticed by musicians, it is the way in which music photographers negotiate social-professional relationships with musicians that set them apart from amateur photographers. 'Pro' music "togs" are able to make informal agreements with bands to ensure that they are not exploited and do not misrepresent their subjects. Having social relationships with musicians facilitates this professional relationship, but can also be a means to acquire access to the shared workspaces of live music shows-and-festivals.

Lastly, the third necessity is professional conduct in shared work spaces. Acquiring media accreditation does not make a music photographer a 'pro'. Instead, professionalism is measured by professional conduct in these shared workspaces, i.e. mindful movement and refraining from drunk and disorderly behaviour. Failure to adhere to these rules will result in diminished reputation or even being blacklisted.

So, while there are a few necessities for being a 'pro' music "tog", the way music photographers go about procuring this prestige varies greatly.

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