

Blaming the father: Witchcraft, de-industrialisation and generation in South Africa

Isak Niehaus

Department of Social and Political Sciences, Brunel University London

Email: isak.niehaus@brunel.ac.uk

Social researchers associate paradoxical developments in post-apartheid South Africa – such increased hardships at a time of heightened expectations - with a proliferation in witchcraft accusations. This article examines this postulate in greater depth, drawing upon multi-temporal ethnographic fieldwork conducted in a village of Bushbuckridge since 1990. The evidence I gathered does not confirm any dramatic increase in accusations of witchcraft, but does show significant changes in the patterns of who is being accused. More specifically, villagers now increasingly suspect male cognates of practicing witchcraft, and sons regularly accuse their fathers. I relate these changes to processes of de-industrialization and to the AIDS epidemic that have dashed young men's expectations of progress in the period after political liberation. The ambiguous position of elderly men as marginal yet historically powerful persons, resonates with the status of witches. Villagers imagine that by having used witchcraft to attain status, health, and prosperity in the past; fathers unwittingly sacrificed the futures of their sons.

Keywords: Witchcraft, multi-temporal research, masculinity, generation, de-industrialisation, South Africa.

Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (1999) and Adam Ashforth (1999, 2005) discern a proliferation of witchcraft accusations in contemporary South Africa. They relate this upsurge to paradoxical developments since 1994. The post-apartheid era, they argue, has brought a liberal democratic constitution, an end to racial discrimination and tangible signs of development, including black economic empowerment, state housing, and increased social welfare. Yet, precisely at the time of so much promise, the country began to experience the negative impacts of de-industrialisation, and of an AIDS epidemic that has claimed more than two million lives (Fassin 2006).

The Comaroffs (1999) use the concept ‘occult economies’ to denote a situation in which individuals deploy or are imagined deploying, mystical means for material ends. They see these ‘economies’ in reports of elders who use witchcraft to abort the process of natural reproduction, businessmen who harvest human body parts to ensure profits, and of witches who conjure zombies an army of ghost workers. These techniques have the allure of making profits without production cost but involve brutal extraction [1]. Young men, who fail to achieve upward mobility, see themselves as held back by the malevolent powers of envious elders. Ashforth (2005) deploys the concept of ‘spiritual insecurity to capture the anxieties aroused by the indeterminacy of invisible forces. In Soweto, South Africa’s largest black township, he suggests, misfortune can no longer be credibly explained with reference to the ‘structural evil’ of apartheid. Escalating inequality, competition for jobs, and an increase in crime and mortality contribute to distrust, are registered in the language of witchcraft.

This article examines some aspects of the conjunction between witchcraft, post-apartheid and de-industrialization in greater depth, focusing on Impalahoek, a village of the

South African lowveld. Previously situated in the Lebowa Bantustan, Impalahoek is now in the Bushbuckridge municipality of Mpumalanga Province and has a population of about twenty-thousand Northern Sotho and Tsonga speakers [2]. Working loosely within the framework of historical anthropology, my ethnographic research aimed to elicit diachronic processes. During fieldwork, I paid particular attention to recording life histories and biographies, and did multi-temporal fieldwork, visiting Impalahoek for periods of at least six weeks each year since 1990.

The evidence that I collected does not lend unequivocal support to the suggestion that witchcraft accusations have increased significantly after apartheid. Throughout the history of Impalahoek, there have been different periods when fears of witchcraft have intensified (Niehaus 2012). During the 1960s, population removals arising from the implementation of Bantustan policies, brought about increased tensions and suspicions between neighbors, frequently culminating in witchcraft accusations. Another period of intensification was during the height of the anti-apartheid struggle during the late 1980s. The Comrades, young men associated with movements for national liberation, conducted large public witch-hunts to cleanse the country of evil. In May 1986, they burnt 150 homes in Bushbuckridge, and executed at least 36 elders, whom they accused of witchcraft (Niehaus 2001:130).

However, it might well be true that the paradoxical co-existence of new opportunities and new forms of misfortune after apartheid (post 1994) generated an increase in witchcraft accusations in South African township settings (Ashforth 2005). But my research points to other significant changes in Impalahoek. South Africa's new ruling party, the ANC (African National Congress), have brought an end to public witch-hunts of

the late apartheid period. Consequently, witchcraft accusations have retreated from public political domains. Suspicions about the identity of witches now exists as ‘deep knowledge’, concealed in intimate, hidden spaces (Apter 2007), and victims’ kin deploy vengeance magic (*lets’wa*) to combat mystical crimes by mystical means (Niehaus 2010a).

In addition, over the past thirteen years, villagers have increasingly perceived of male cognates as witches. During different fieldwork stints I recorded details of 279 witchcraft accusations that were made in Impalahoek between 1960 and 1995: in 47% (130) of these the accused persons and their victims were non-kin such as neighbors, and in 24% (66) they were cognates (see appendix 1). During ongoing fieldwork, I learnt about an additional 198 accusations between 1996 and 2008. Due to the shorter period covered, these figures do not show any significant decrease. Far more significant is a change in the categories of who is being accused: now only 22% (44) of the accused and their alleged victims were non-kin, and, 47% (93) were members of the same cognatic kinship networks. The percentage of accused in other categories – such as affinal kin, kin from polygynous marriages, and spouses had remained consistent (see appendix 1).

Apart the proliferation of accusations among cognates, there has also been a change in the gender of the accused. Over the same period the percentage of men accused of witchcraft has increased significantly, from 44% (125) to 62% (108). Changing suspicions of witchcraft converge in the status of the father. Unlike in the earlier period, children are more inclined to suspect and accuse their own father of practicing witchcraft [3]. Since 1996, 17% (34) of all the accused were fathers of their victims. Children also blamed their fathers of bewitching others. The trend is especially significant, given that more households are now headed by women [4]. This article explores reasons for these changes.

Bushbuckridge: Fathers through Time

The greater proclivity of sons - and to a lesser extent of daughters - to suspect their fathers of being witches can be best understood in the context of the history of fatherhood, particularly of the erosion of paternal preeminence and authority through time.

With the formation of Bushbuckridge as Native Reserve during the 1920s, the *motse* ('family', but also 'village') constituted the ideological template for domestic organization. The *motse* comprised the homesteads, fields, and ancestral graves of a co-resident agnatic cluster. Its inhabitants were typically a father, his wives, sons, daughters-in-law, unmarried daughters, and grandchildren. Although Bushbuckridge served as a labour reservoir for South African industries and goldmines, the *motse* also engaged in gardening, kept cattle, and cultivated maize and sorghum fields. The division of labor was by age and gender. Whereas adult men worked as labor migrants, cleared fields, and ploughed, younger men tended to cattle and goats. Women, by contrast, planted, hoed, cut thatched grass, fetched water, and raised pigs and chickens. Daughters left the *motse* upon marriage, and older sons established their own compounds when their younger brothers married. The last-born son inherited the father's home and fields, and in return, he and his wife cared for his aging parents (James 1988).

The male space within the *motse* comprised a shaded area near the entrance, called *kgôrô*. This word means both 'gate' and 'court' and evokes images of the father as the one who enclosed, guarded, and represented the *motse*. The father named his children; saw to their physical welfare, and in times of misfortune his sister (*rakgadi*) officiated in rituals to ensure their protection by paternal ancestors. Rules of respect (*hlompa*) reinforced the

father's seniority. Juniors and women were obliged to stand when a man entered a room, to offer him a seat, and clasp the wrist of the right hand when greeting him. They also had to refrain from looking straight into his eyes, calling him by name, waving for him to come, stepping over any part of his body, or asking where he had been. Senior men should always be the first to take meat from a bowl. Women and youngsters had to excuse themselves from men's discussions, and sons were not allowed to speak about sex, or to drink or smoke in his presence. At rituals, only senior men ate the cow's head.

As in Meillassoux's (1981) model of agriculturally self-sustaining societies, the power of male elders was vested in their ability to control bride-wealth transactions, and hereby access to young women as the means of reproduction. Boys first herded goats at home and then, from the age of ten onwards, accompanied their elder brothers to herd cattle, further afield. Only once they had reached puberty would they be taken to a circumcision lodge. Wage labor and marriage were the next steps towards adult manhood. Labor migrants usually sent remittances to their parents, who assisted them in choosing marriage partners, and arranged transfers of cattle for wives. Only once men had demonstrated their capacity as wage-earners could they legitimately indulge in sexual intercourse. Rixon Mashile who was born in 1931, described pre-marital sex as scandalous. He told me that when he was twenty-one years old, he impregnated a fellow pupil at the Lutheran school. His mother was so ashamed that she tried to hang herself. Rixon's family immediately sent ten bride-wealth cows to claim the young woman as daughter-in-law.

Social and economic changes that occurred since the advent of apartheid in 1948, accentuated men's dominance of women, but undermined the authority of fathers over their sons. These changes included the relocation of households from elsewhere into

Bushbuckridge and also the implementation of villagization and 'agricultural betterment' schemes [5]. Given the gradual, but nonetheless substantial loss of rural resources such as arable fields, oscillating labor migration became indispensable to survival. Earlier gender parallelism now gave way to stratification. Individual men earned all income, outside the group, and women who had previously played such an important role in agriculture, became financially dependent on them. The prolonged separation of spouses also led to conjugal bonds becoming more disharmonious and fragile. Records of the Church of the Nazarene, at the time, express concern that labor migration led to extra-marital liaisons, unwanted pregnancies, and to unprofessional pregnancy termination (Nkuna 1986:13).

In 1950 agricultural officers imposed a limit of ten cattle per household to combat soil erosion. Given a situation of greatly diminished herds, fathers could no longer supply their sons with cattle, and arranged marriages came to an end. Sons now achieved greater independence: choosing their own wives, paying their own bride-wealth in cash, and sending remittances to their wives rather than parents. Yet few men paid bride-wealth instantly. Instead, its payment became a long, drawn-out, process, during which men incurred significant debts to their parents-in-law (Stadler 1994).

Under the system of compulsory labor migration, children grew up in the virtual absence of their fathers (Reynolds 1984). Men who were teenagers after the 1950s described their fathers as elusive persons, who seldom visited home more than six times per year. They mainly relied upon mothers and other adult kin for everyday care. Moreover, with the introduction of mass, state-sponsored, Bantu education in 1953, schools replaced parents as central agents of children's socialization. Fathers nonetheless stamped down their authority during their fleeting visits. They punished sons for losing cattle, allowing

them to stray into neighbor's yards, or for any disobedience. Like most other men who came of age during the 1960s, Ferris Shai described his father as authoritarian and as strict:

'My father used to scream, 'Ferris! Fetch me water and a razor blade!' Then you had to run. Anyone who heard him had to find out whom he called. If you heard him and you did not respond, he'll beat you. He was very strict. We were never allowed to sleep at other people's homes.'

Yet, despite such authoritarianism, fathers could not control the sexual lives of their sons. Schooling accorded male youth an opportunity to meet girls outside the home. Although teachers forbade boys and girls from mingling on the schoolyards, these measures failed to repress sexual liaisons (Niehaus 2000b).

Bushbuckridge became the scene of widespread political protest during the anti-apartheid struggles of the 1980s. The Brooklyn Youth Organization, which was loosely affiliated to the United Democratic Front, was launched in Impalahoek during 1986. The Organisation soon attracted a large following amongst young men, who were called Comrades. They challenged the running of local schools and successfully campaigned for the reduction of school fees and abolition of corporal punishment. The schools became a launch-pad for involvement in wider community issues. Comrades enforced work stoppages and tax and consumer boycotts, effectively bringing all activities of the Bantustan government to a halt. Comrades also usurped the authority of male elders by setting up their own courts, and by intervening in the ambiguous field of eradicating witchcraft. During 'operation production' marshals would fetch young women from the homes of their parents to attend night meetings, and thereafter had unprotected sex with them in the forest. This was ostensibly done to replace Comrades killed in the struggle (Niehaus 2000:392, Van Kessel 1993:606).

In 1987 adults formed the Sofasonke ('We Die Together') Civic Union to reinscribe their authority. Sofasonke burnt the homes of prominent Comrades and formed armed groups to patrol village streets at night, ensuring that there were no youths on the streets. Sofasonke agents assassinated three leaders of the Youth Organization, and Comrades retaliated by 'necklacing' Sofasonke's chairman, who was a school principal. [6]

The sense of 'generational conscience' that inspired the Comrades (Campbell 1992, Bundy 1987) spilt over into the domestic domain. Some young men left their natal households due to stark political differences with their fathers. Others described the rule of their fathers as 'oppressive'; complaining that they provided insufficient financial support and exercised unnecessary harsh discipline. There were also reports of sons stealing money from their fathers. Young men invariably sided with their mothers in domestic disputes. Godfrey Mashile who was a prominent youth activist, told me: 'Your father was not your friend. He was more like the enemy.'

Adult men regained political prominence after the un-banning of the ANC in 1990. Political activists returning from exile or detention, teachers, and businessmen took control of newly established ANC branches. Throughout the period of political contestation fathers remained economically dominant. A social survey that Eliazaar Mohlala and I conducted of eighty-seven households during 1991, shows that 84% (138 of 164) of economically active men were employed and that 69% (113) were married. Most fathers also secured paternity of their offspring: 72% (316 of 439) children in our sample lived in, or belonged to, the same household as their fathers.

Few members of the Comrades movement of the 1980s have secured positions in the new provincial and municipal governments. The vast majority, who attained adulthood

during the 1990s and 2000s, experienced disillusionment, being frustrated by the lack of effective political transformation. Economic globalisation, de-industrialisation, and the prominence of discourses of rights directly undermined the material and ideological bases of masculine domination. There has been rapidly escalating unemployment amongst men. This was evident when Eliazaar Mohlala and I revisited all previously surveyed households during 2004. Only 52% (116 of 223) of economically active men were now employed. The greatest job losses time amongst our informants occurred in mining, Pretoria's steel foundries, the military, and in teaching. [7] New employment opportunities in the service sector – for mini-bus taxi drivers, security guards, shop assistants and game lodge employees did not compensate for these losses. The effects of male unemployment rippled through domestic structures. During 2004 only 51% (114) of economically active men were married and only 50% (251 of 496) children lived in or belonged to the same households as their fathers (see appendices 2 and 3). The state increasingly assumed the role of provider by issuing disability pensions and child maintenance grants, and by implementing school feeding schemes. Women, who were the most likely recipients of social welfare, increasingly headed households.


Employed fathers complained to me at the time that it was now prohibitively expensive to support a family; that their wives incited children against them, and that their sons openly defied their authority. A senior male teacher said that his children informed his wife about his extra-marital affairs and refused to comply by his rules. His daughter, Elly, went around with boys. His first-born son, Kathlego, failed his final year at school, drank alcohol, dropped out of technical college, and was dismissed from his position at the post office, because he stole R5,000 (\$684). Unemployed fathers experienced a different

burden. Ace Ubisi lost his position as a security guard during 1995. After the death of Ace's wife, their son, Tembisa, chose to live with his maternal grandmother rather than with him.


Generational tensions, particularly those between fathers, and sons have persisted. But these have assumed slightly different forms at different points in time. During 1986, sons were likely to protest about the excessive authority of their fathers in the domestic domain. By the 2000s, kinship systems were still patrilineal, but the father's authority in the domestic domain was less secure, and households were a great deal less patriarchal. No substitute social hierarchy emerged: giving rise to a variety of domestic structures, and in some cases to a situation of domestic anomie. In this context, discontent was more likely to be generated by the absence of fathers, or at least by their failure to assume the responsibility as providers (see Niehaus 2010b).

Fathers, Sons and Witchcraft

Throughout the period of apartheid, the status of the father was inimical to that of the witch. Whereas the father was the preeminent kinsman, the witch was a deprived, excluded, and envious relative or neighbor, who struck out in revenge, against more fortunate persons (Niehaus 2001:83-112). But through time, however, the perceptions that fathers might practice witchcraft had become more plausible. This is not because conceptions of witchcraft had changed, but rather because the position of fathers had become more ambiguous. Conceptual models of paternal authority increasingly diverged from everyday experiences of fatherhood. The financial insecurity of many men rendered them unable of

claiming unrivalled authority over their wives and children, and some feared becoming marginal within their own households. 

Where sons did accuse their fathers of witchcraft prior to 1995, this was a product of ‘conjunctive’ rather than ‘systemic’ agency (Sahlins 2003) – in other words, the accusations were made in response to a peculiar conjuncture of events and did not reveal regularly recurring tensions within domestic units. Such were the accusations were made against a middle-aged man called Aaron Mashile. During 1973, he returned from Johannesburg where he had been working, to assume his father’s position as headman. But within two years after Aaron’s arrival, several relatives, including four of his second wife’s sons had died. The remaining members of the second house blamed Aaron for these deaths.

After apartheid, the accusations of fathers by their sons became more frequent and systemic and have expressing fraught relations between different ‘cohorts’ of men. The concept of a cohort refers to the manner individual biographies intersected with history: it does not denote a community in any social sense, but rather comprises individuals who encounter roughly the same formative  events, during roughly the same period of their lives (Rosaldo 1980:40).

The cohort of accused fathers, were generally born between 1931 and 1945 and came of age at a time that saw the demise of agriculture. They spent most of their adult lives during the period of apartheid and high industrialism - working as labourers on farms, mines, steel foundries and factories located at the very centers of the South African economy. Through constantly sending remittances home, they were able to establish themselves, in absentia, as the authoritative heads of large households in Bushbuckridge. These men retired during the late 1990s and early 2000s, took up residence in the

households they had invested for so long, often devoting the last years of their lives to religion and to local churches.

The cohort of sons who accused their fathers of practicing witchcraft were born during the 1960s. Though few were politically engaged as Comrades, they came of age during the uprisings of the late 1980s, when youth challenged the authority of adults. Despite heightened expectations about the future, these young men entered a depressed labor market, bore the brunt of the AIDS epidemic, and frequently failed to establish themselves successfully as wage-earners, husbands and as fathers.

The accusations were of the same order. Sons commonly alleged that their fathers obtained a peculiar snake-like witch-familiar, called *mamlambo* from urban marketplaces to fortify their positions at work. [8] The *mamlambo* predisposed its owner to luck in financial matters, but, in turn, demands regular sacrifices of meat and blood. Once the fathers had retired, the *mamlambo* caused havoc at home, feeding upon the blood of close kin. Sons also imagined some fathers to use an ape-like witch-familiar, called *tokolotši* to abuse kin and neighbors sexually. [9] The *tokolotši* made men impotent and caused women to give birth to horribly deformed creatures. My informants emphasized that witches only appeared to kill their victims, but removed them from the realm of the living and changed them into zombies (*ditlotlwane*) in them in the nocturnal world of witchcraft. They cut their tongues, reduced them to the size of only one meter, and forced them to do gardening, fetch water, and do other mindless chores at night (Niehaus 2005).

These accusations can be illustrated through the narratives and experiences of Moses Morema, Boyboy Nokeri, and Amos Pheko, three men whom I interviewed in Impalahoek during the winters of 2004 and 2005.

Moses Morema

Moses, the oldest of five children, described his father, Ecksom Kutoane, as a violent and extremely authoritarian man. Ecksom worked at the steel foundry, ISCOR, in Van der Bijl Park, south of Johannesburg. At home, there were fraught relations between Ecksom and Moses' mother. He refused to eat any meat she cooked because he suspected that she might have poisoned it. Ecksom also forbade Moses and his siblings from visiting their maternal kin, and severely punished them for disobedience. He once whipped Moses's sister, claiming that she was not his biological daughter. In 1970, when Moses was merely seven years old, Ecksom severely assaulted him:

‘In those days we had a veranda with reeds. My father first beat me with his fists, and he then threw me from the veranda. He broke my arm and I had to be taken to hospital to have it put in a cast.’

At school Moses experienced learning difficulties. He constantly had excruciating headaches, never saw the chalkboard clearly and sometimes experienced mysterious ‘black outs.’ ‘It was as if someone had put peppers, or as if a snake had spat poison, in my eyes.’ His illness was later diagnosed as epilepsy. Yet, despite Moses's sickly disposition, Ecksom forcefully took him to a circumcision lodge. Moses first complained that an invisible snake coiled itself around his legs at the lodge during the night, leaving the most peculiar scar-marks, and he then passed into a coma. The initiation master eventually sent Moses home.

At home his condition worsened, to such an extent that he no longer knew whether he was still alive. ‘Sometimes I saw myself in a cave, underneath a mountain, surrounded

by people who were already dead. I think that they were zombies.’ Moses’ mother took him to the headquarters of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at Moria. Although ministers prayed for Moses, they insisted that they could only heal him if his father confessed his sins. The ministers phoned Ecksom, but he refused to come. Moses and his mother stayed at Moria for more than six months, waiting, in vain, for his arrival. Ecksom eventually sent a driver to fetch them by car.

During a single week in 1976, three deaths occurred among Moses’ kin. His grandfather died on a sleeping mat. A train knocked down his paternal uncle in Germiston, and on the very same day a snake bit his uncle’s wife whilst she fetched water from a fountain. These deaths generated intense fear. Moses hardly had a good night’s sleep. He recalled that ‘something’ blew out the candles at home and overturned the kitchen table. Moses had vivid dreams. Five baboons surrounded him, but he was unable to scream for help. His mother too would wake up, drenched in sweat, and find the hair of a wild beast in her bed.

Moses’s mother phoned his father in Van der Bijl Park and asked him to fortify their home against witchcraft. Ecksom arrived that very same evening carrying a crate of Coca Cola bottles filled with various concoctions, which he said, were to protect the family. He first locked all family members in a room and asked Moses, as his firstborn son, to come outside, being naked. [10] Ecksom then dug holes at various places in the garden, and placed a bottle inside each hole. Hereafter, he slaughtered a cock, and asked his wife to cook the meat for the men of his household.

Moses sometimes observed a bright light in his father’s room. Yet there was no globe or candle. (In certain accounts the *mamlambo* casts a mysterious light.) On one

occasion, his mother cleansed the room and found a catalogue from Durban that advertised witchcraft and contained a sheet with numbers, underneath the bed. When asked about these, Ecksom simply replied, 'These numbers are for us.' On another occasion, Moses opened the door of his father's room and saw bundles of notes and numerous coins on the headboard table. Moses took only R5 (\$0.6), and used it to purchase oranges and bread, but after eating these he immediately felt dizzy, as if he was drunk. These observations led him to suspect that his father might own a *mamlambo*.

In 1978, Ecksom accused Moses' mother of practicing witchcraft and expelled her from their home. Moses' younger brother chose to remain with their father, but because of ill health, Moses decided to live with his mother, instead. At the home of his maternal grandparents, Moses' health improved, and for the first time he received medication for his epilepsy. Hence, he adopted his mother's maiden surname, Morema.

Moses explained to me that his life was a constant struggle. In 1981 he gained employment as a construction worker in Johannesburg but fell from a scaffold after only six months. He subsequently worked at another construction company, and also at a stable for race-horses but was dismissed from both positions. In 1983 Moses married and fathered two sons. But his wife subsequently separated from him to live with a scrapyard owner, called Skhumbuza. She took along all their furniture, including a hi-fi system, thirty-two Christian cassettes, and even five large window frames. Moses felt particularly dismayed that his sons had adopted Skhumbuza's surname.

Nonetheless, Moses expressed relief that he had chosen to reside with his maternal relatives. He told me that his younger brother, Benjamin, who remained with his father, experienced great distress.

‘My brother became a policeman, stationed in Rustenburg. He always complained when he visited us. He said that at night, he felt as if he had slept with women and as if he had ejaculated. But when he awoke, he found himself alone in bed. He also complained that on five times he collided with cars. My brother wanted to drive at 80 kilometers per hour, but he would find himself driving at 140 or 160 kilometers [per hour]. I think it was a *tokolotši* [a witch familiar] stepping on the accelerator. He used to say: “I regret staying with my father. I’m going to die.”

(Benjamin died in a motor vehicle accident during 1997). Whenever, Moses visited his father, he found food on the kitchen table. He believed that his father left the food for zombies, whom he used as nocturnal workers. Moses eventually gained work as a night watchman at a drinking tavern. Here, he earned only R300 (\$41) per month, but he pinned his hopes on getting a disability pension. ‘To me it [the wage] is nothing. I’m dying of hunger, but I have no choice. I’m unfit to work in a factory.’ ‘Even now’, he said, ‘I only live by Jesus Christ.’

Boyboy Nokeri

Khazamula Nokeri and his wife, Gloria Mashile, married during the late 1950s, and raised nine children on a large fruit-farm outside Nelspruit. After Khazamula had retired from being a farm labourer, he devoted all his time to working as an apostolic minister in town.

In 1986, the year of the political uprisings, Khazamula and his household relocated to Impalahoek. Because his wife, Gloria, was a member of the local chiefly family, the headman appointed Khazamula as one of his guards. In Impalahoek, Khazamula’s first-born son died in mysterious circumstances, and his second-born son, who was a policeman, committed suicide. In addition, some of Khazamula’s daughters and granddaughters were

infertile. Neighbors claimed that Khazamula had bewitched his own children, and they blamed him for several other deaths in Impalahoek. These included those of his colleague, who started vomiting blood not long after he had quarreled with Khazamula. Parents warned children not to play within the vicinity of his home. Khazamula grew to resent his neighbours: he seldom attended funerals, and often spoke ill of others.

I first met Boyboy Nokeri, Khazamula's fifth-born child, during 2004, whilst he and other men built an extension to my research assistant's home. Boyboy concurred with neighbours that his father was a witch. He told me that he enjoyed a happy childhood. Boyboy was his grandfather's favourite grandchild, did well at school, and quickly learnt to read newspapers. He was also physically strong easily beat older boys when wrestling in the streets and was an excellent soccer player. Boyboy also had several adolescent lovers. But his ambitions for the future did not come to fruition.

As a young man, he lost his grandfather, and this left no money for him to continue his schooling, beyond grade 6. The old man was gunned down during a quarrel over bride-wealth. Boyboy also told me that he, himself, began to display signs of insanity. His mother's brother (*malome*) had given him money, but his father asked to have it. Soon hereafter, he sustained a nasty injury whilst playing soccer. When he awoke the next morning, his bedding was wet and stank.

'This is when I started going insane. Many bad things happened to me. I became seriously ill. I lost my memory, and I could not see. It was as if there was lightning flashing in front of me all the time. I could also hear something like a clock ticking in my head.'

A particularly disconcerting aspect of Boyboy's illness was impotence. In retrospect, he now believed that one of his girlfriends had taken his underpants to his

paternal aunt. ‘She and my father killed me. They buried my underpants in a muddy place, next to the river. The next time I tried to have sex I discovered that I was useless.’

For the next six years, Boyboy resided at a diviner’s homestead. She did her best to help him rediscover his identity, and his maternal kin provided him with food. Boyboy recovered from the worst aspects of his sickness. But since then, Boyboy has consistently been unemployed. His only permanent job was sorting tobacco leaves on a farm. ‘Since then, I have only done piece work here at home; building houses, putting up fences and digging pit latrines. This is pathetic.’

Boyboy told me that since he was first bewitched, he had not once been able to engage in sexual intercourse. He was also plagued by uncanny sexual dreams:

‘Many nights I dream of white women... I start screwing them and in my dreams my machine [penis] works. But it is not under my control. I have sex involuntary. I also speak with them in the languages of whites – mostly Afrikaans. But in real life I cannot speak these languages. When I wake up in the morning, I would discover that I had had wet dreams, and my waist would be painful.’

‘Other evenings they [witches] make me sleep with a *tokolotši*. This thing comes into my house... It is hairy and it smells badly. It then comes to me bed and climbs on top. I can’t see it, but I can feel it grabbing me and pushing me down. I can’t run. I can’t scream for help, and I can’t fight back. I feel like I’m hypnotized. It beats me on my side with fists. Then it changes its form into that of a woman.’

Diviners confirmed that Boyboy had been bewitched, and that malevolent agents rendered their medicines ineffective.

‘Twenty years have gone by since I lost my manhood. My father can help me, but he mocks me, saying that I will never be able to get a child... If it was not for people bewitching me, I would have been very far [ahead]. The way I am. I’m so angry. One day I’ll take an axe and chop my father to pieces.’

Amos Pheko

Mandla Pheko worked as a handyman at Tintswalo Hospital, before he became a full-time minister of the Nazarene Church. He ministered at Sabie between 1967 and 2000, and then established a new congregation in Impalahoek. Mandla married only one wife, but fathered eight children. Known as a stern patriarch, he laid down the law at home and stipulated that all members of his household should be exemplary Christians. He forbade his children from attending circumcision lodges, consulting diviners, using herbal potions and from invoking their ancestors. Mandla was also an organizer of the Sofasonke Civic Union, and was sternly opposed to the Comrades.

The first suspicions that Mandla Pheko might practice witchcraft emerged only in 1996, when his second youngest child, Enok, died in a motor-vehicle accident. Enok was travelling in a fifteen-seat taxi, and none of the other passengers sustained any serious injury. According to neighbours, Mandla resented Enok for being a member of the Comrades movement. After Enok's funeral many people including his own sister, claimed to have seen him alive, drinking beer at a local tavern. This made them believe that Enok did not really die, but that his father had transformed him into a zombie. Mandla's wife succumbed to a long illness in 2000. Yet he refused to consult diviners to ascertain the cause of her death, saying: 'I'm not the first man to lose a wife.'

Through time, Amos, Mandla's second-born son, became his father's most vocal accuser. Though he had been his father's favorite child, Amos gradually began to suspect that something was wrong. After completing high school, Amos studied at a teachers' college. His father did not help him pay fees, and he had to rely upon bursaries and upon the assistance of friends. Whilst at the college, Amos felt excruciating pain, and a large

growth appeared on the back of his head. Doctors described the growth as ‘inflammation of the skin’ and sought to excise it, but the growth reappeared. Diviners said that a slow poison, administered by witches, called *sejeso*, had caused the growth. Once ingested, the poison transforms into an animal such as a mole that consumes one’s body from inside.

At the same time Amos began to experience nightmares.

‘In my dreams I saw a large snake slithering over me and then disappearing through the window. I also dreamt that I fought with a baboon on my bed. The next day when I awoke there was a gash on my forehead. This shows that it was a real fight – not just a dream.’

Amos also came to believe that something blocked his progress in life. After college he taught at three different high schools, and was finally appointed as the principal of a small, but fairly well-resourced, primary school in a farming area. With only a teacher’s certificate, Amos was under-qualified for this position. He tried to upgrade his qualifications by enrolling at two distance-teaching universities, but was unable to write his exams. Amos also failed to build a family. He married and fathered a son fairly early in his adult life, but his wife separated from him, only six months after their wedding.

Amos observed that his father was not concerned about his health, but continuously complained that he did not support his father financially. At a family gathering Mandla apparently scolded Amos, saying: ‘You go to diviners, but you don’t give me money.’ For this reason, Amos said, Mandla used witchcraft to wreck his future.

‘Each time I go to a diviner my father knows about it, even though I do not tell him. It is as if something informs him. He is scared that the diviners will point him out [as a practitioner of witchcraft]. Witches do these things. They can even use a fly to spy for them. My father even knows what I am saying about him right now.’

Since their confrontation Amos moved into the teacher's quarters and studiously avoided any contact with his father. He considered his father's accusation of not supporting his family to be unfair, noting that in the past he regularly bought furniture and groceries for his parents, and paid the school fees of his siblings. Amos even refrained from attending his mother's funeral, and merely watched the procession from a distance. A diviner had warned him not to set eyes on his mother's casket or grave.

By 2005, Amos was extremely despondent and said he could no longer cope with his teaching duties. Doctors had placed Amos on sick leave and prescribed anti-depressants, but he aimed to resign once his leave had expired.

'My body no longer functions. I can't see properly and I have no strength. I lose my balance and my wound itches, non-stop. When I attend [staff] meetings I don't even hear what people say. My body is tired. One cannot have an illness for such a long time. If I continue working I will never heal. I want to go to Venda and stay there. The local diviners can't help me.'

These three cases capture central themes in the transition from public to more private, family-based accusations of witchcraft; increased suspicions of fathers as practitioners of witchcraft, and in the kinds of generational tensions involved. The accused men all attained financial stability during their working lives, headed large households, and were renowned for being authoritarian. Although only Amos Pheko was a member of the conservative Sofasonke Civic Union, their occupations were seen as legitimating the old moral order. Eckson Kutuane knew traditional herbs and rituals; Khazamula Nokeri was a guard of the local headman, and both he and Amos Pheko were ministers of religion. By contrast, their sons struggled to make ends meet – or in the case of Amos Pheko to do work for which they were ill prepared; marry and establish paternity over their children. The theme failed

of failed reproduction in most apparent in the case of Moses Morema, whose progeny assumed another surname, and of Boyboy Nokeri, who suffered from severe impotence. The accusers also suffered ill health, mysterious black outs, hallucinations, and severe depression which showed that they were mentally off the track. Unpleasant confrontations with fathers, who anguished and mentally abused them, lent credence to the perception that fathers used witchcraft to pervert their life courses.

De-Industrialisation and the Father

Existing anthropological literature provides only limited insight into reasons for the shift in patterns of witchcraft accusations, evident in these cases. There are few documented situations in Africa where sons identify their fathers as witches. Notable exceptions are among the Gisu of Uganda and Gwembe Tonga of Zambia, where these accusations express different sorts of tensions over inheritance.

La Fontaine (1967) and Heald (1986) argue that in the case of the patrilineal Gisu fathers control inheritance in land and in cattle, used by youth for subsistence and marriage. By withholding the inheritance from their children, they argue, fathers create enormous tensions, and are seen to pervert their life course. Colson (2000) discerns a shift in the field of social relations amongst the matrilineal Tonga. After resettlements to allow for the building of the Kariba dam in 1950, men migrated to work in Zambian towns, and children grew up in households dominated by their mothers. But since the 1970s, economic deterioration curtailed opportunities for labor migration. Fathers now directed farming enterprises, monopolizing the profits from cash crops. They looked to sons to plough and

work in gardens rather than seek advancement by attending school. However, in a matrilineal kinship system sons could not inherit the wealth they helped produce and establish their own homesteads. In this context accusations arose that fathers would kill their children and use their spirits as economic resources. For sons, the humiliating drama of witch-cleansing provided an opportunity to retaliate.

But this explanation does not apply to Impalahoek today, where the rural resource base has collapsed, and there is hardly any land and cattle to inherit. An amicable arrangement of ultimogeniture prevails. The inheritance of cattle had been a cause of strife in the past, but tensions emerged after the death of the father, and siblings usually accused each other of witchcraft. Today inheritance is more likely to create tensions between a deceased man's wife and agnates, than between siblings.


Psychoanalytic models offer another potential explanation. These include the Oedipus complex that denotes a situation in which sons become attached to their mother as love-object, and develop feelings of homicidal rage towards the father. In fear of castration boys renounce the mother as love object, and come to identify with and admire the father. However, early hatreds remain unresolved (Freud 1905). Post-Freudian theories emphasize the acquisition of identity. Like girls, boys establish the primary sense of identity with their mother as nurturing parent. But for boys, individuation implies the acquisition of a different gender identity, which is the opposite of hers. In the circumcision ritual boys renounce the bond with the mother. But a subconscious desire of regression, nonetheless, persists (Gilmore 1990). We cannot discount these deep processes. In Impalahoek the absence of fathers as labor migrants has made dis-identification from mothers particularly problematic.

However, psychoanalytic theory associates the renunciation of maternal bonds with misogynistic violence against women, rather than men (Cameron & Frazer 1987).

Another, perhaps more fruitful, line of enquiry is to examine the status of fatherhood in the context of discourses about history. On the one hand, discourses of lineal progress – evident in ideologies of national liberation, modernization and of development – marginalize the parental generation (Cooper 1998, Ferguson 1999, 2006; Donham 1999). Propagated by the Comrades during the late 1980s, and more recently by South Africa's ANC government, and by Pentecostal churches, these discourses propagate a 'progressive temporality' in which sons are an improved version of their fathers, being better educated, more sophisticated and cosmopolitan, and entitled to enjoy greater prosperity. Perceptions of a loss of physical vigor during old age reinforce this vision.

However, the actual experiences of young men who came of age during the time of the political uprising and entered the labor market during the optimistic period after 1994, contradict the expectations for a better future, that these discourses provide. Although fathers such as Ecksom Kutoane, Khazamula Nokeri, and Mandla Pheko were hardly educated, and worked during a time of harsh political repression, they achieved far greater economic security than their sons. Elderly men exercised greater authority at home, fathered more children, and enjoyed better health than their sons. Their children - Moses, Boyboy and Amos -worked in service economies with an increasingly feminized workforce, in places removed from national centers of wealth and power, and hardly ever visited the cities about which their fathers spoke of with intimate knowledge. Moses' dependents deserted him, Boyboy was plagued by impotence, and Amos was married for only six months.

Paradoxically, younger men such as my research participants experienced history as regress rather than progress. This was evident in feelings of nostalgia, and in constant statements that men were stronger, more virile, knowledgeable, and successful in the past [12]. For example, I was told that unlike today, boys hardly ever died at circumcision lodges; and regularly fell from trees without sustaining fractures. Some accounted for the greater strength of preceding generations in terms of a more natural diet of sugar-free, unrefined, food. Others invoked witchcraft to account for the uncomfortable disjuncture between their expectations and actual experiences of the past and present. Male research participants in their early forties expressed the following opinions:

 ‘Men of the older generation believed in potions [*dihlari*]. They would use *bangalala* [for virility], have five wives, and keep them all satisfied. They also used *ibandi* [an armband, for strength] so that they could win fights. They would not use [clinical] medicine for contraception, but the traditional one... These days they [older men] want to do their budgets with potions. They will keep things [familiar] and feed them blood. They know that if they bewitch their own children nobody else will accuse them.’

‘My father’s generation was more successful. There was unemployment then, but not like now. The elders had snakes that gave them money and they used potions to get ahead. Our fathers had to be fortified with snakes when they worked on the mines. They fortified themselves because the work was so tedious. They wanted to be elevated and to do light work. When they had snakes, the whites would recognize them... Now when they are retired 80% of miners have had quarrels with their families. This is connected to witchcraft. Here at home their snakes and their potions eat their families. They cause misery and create feuds.’

Unsuccessful men blamed the witchcraft of their fathers for obstructing their path to progress. But accusations of witchcraft might also constitute a bid by sons to opt out of networks of obligation and distribution. Meyer (1998) points to a similar process in Ghana, where younger professionals often experience extended kinship networks as a burden that drains their resources. By converting to Pentecostalism, they are able to make a complete

break with the past and with tradition, which they now associate with the diabolical domain of witchcraft. This motive was apparent in the case of Amos Pheko who broke all contact with his father.

Conclusions

Anthropologists frequently comment on the generational dimensions of witchcraft in Africa. With a few notable exceptions (De Boeck and Plissart 2004), Africans see the ability to engage in witchcraft as an attribute of age. Heald (1986:75) observes that in Uganda the power of elders is not that of 'active adulthood, which slips away into infertility and infirmity', but rather rests on 'their control of certain types of knowledge'. Here, she and also Blunt (2019), refer to knowledge of the past, the ancestors, esoteric herbs and rituals. In contemporary South Africa, too, Jean and John Comaroff (1999:287) relate the association of elders with witchcraft to the perception of them as 'passive sellouts of colonial oppression' and owners of 'conspicuous unshared wealth'. The latter status based partly upon their access to pensions as a major source of disposable income. These factors are certainly apparent in Bushbuckridge, where elders were repositories of ritual knowledge, and leaders of Zionist and Apostolic churches, another source of suspect mystical influence. The ambiguous power of male elders also rests upon the nostalgic perception of the past as an era of greater financial stability, and their privileged access to wage earning opportunities during the bygone era of high industrialism, contradicting the teleology of political liberation.

But there is more to the accusation of fathers, in particular. As preeminent kinsman and 'gate' of his household, who bore responsibility for the welfare of his descendants, it is

logical that the father should be held accountable in cases of grave misfortune. Sickness, mental instability and multiple deaths. This is particularly pertinent during the AIDS epidemic, when the suggestion that one could be a victim of close and authoritative as the father seems uniquely plausible (Niehaus 2018).

Identification of the father as judge and punisher (Simpson 2005: 576-579, Perry 2009) is another significant theme in discourses of witchcraft. Bercovitch (1989) argues that, like the notion of conscience and guilt, witchcraft confronts individuals with the moral significance of their actions. Among the Nalumin of Papua New Guinea, he argues, the theory of witchcraft reveals the wrongs individuals have done:

‘The witch reminds people of how they have wronged others. But the witch reminds people that they have done wrong in a manner different from how conscience is said to work: as an external threat of vengeance rather than an internal sense of guilt’ (Bercovitch 1989:155).

Moses, Boyboy and Amos’ awareness of their failure to act as moral persons, accentuated fear of their fathers. These include their lack of success as wage-earners, and their failure to reciprocate money to their fathers for provision during childhood. Lambek (2003) observe that projection might also be involved in witchcraft at a deep, subconscious, level. This operation refers to the expulsion from the self of qualities, feelings and wishes that the subject refuses to recognize, or rejects in him or herself, and their location in another person or thing: in this case the witch (Lambek 2003:199). These operations are non-discursive and exceedingly hard to demonstrate. Yet it is striking that men accused their fathers of witchcraft at precisely the same time that they, themselves, failed to provide adequately care for their own dependents. Hence accusation of the fathers as witches might be intimately related to the so called South African ‘crisis of fatherhood’, evident in high rates child abandonment (Richter and Morrell 2006:6-7).

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the assistance of Eliazaar Mohlala and Eric Thobela during fieldwork. Tobias Wendl, Erik Bähre, Thomas Csordas, and Alcinda Honwana, and the anonymous readers of *Anthropology Southern Africa* gave valuable critical input.

Notes

1. Zombies refer to persons killed and revived by witchcraft. Jean and John Comaroff (1999:209) describe zombies as a ‘vibrant army of ghost workers, whose life blood fuelled a vibrant, immoral economy pulsating beneath the sluggish rhythm of country life’. Zombies, they argue, connote an image of unnatural production. As ‘living dead’ they are reduced from humanity to raw labour power, and their toil generates pure surplus value.
2. I use pseudonyms to denote my field site and all personal names. Unless otherwise specified, all local phrases are in Northern Sotho.
3. In the sample dating from 1960 to 1995, only 3 of the 153 persons accused of witchcraft were fathers of their accusers. However, outsiders more readily suspected men of bewitching their own children (Niehaus 2001:89-90).
4. According to a demographic survey conducted in the Agincourt area of Bushbuckridge, women headed households increased from 27.6% in 1992 to 35.9% in 2003 (Madhavan and Schatz 2007:85-93).
5. Agricultural betterment programmes involved the sub-division of all Bantustan land into residential villages, arable fields and grazing areas. These programmes were widely resented and implied a great loss of land for farming and gardening (De Wet 1995).
6. The ‘necklace’ refers to a tire that was doused in petrol and used to execute political opponents during the liberation struggle, by burning them alive.
7. Between 1993 and 1999 the number of South African laborers employed in gold mining decreased from 428,003 to 195,681; coal mining from 51,267 to 21,155; manufacturing from 1,409,977 to 1,286,694; and in construction from 355,114 to 219,797 (SAIRR 2001:336-8).

9. *Mamlambo* literally means ‘mother of the river’ in Xhosa. It comes in the form of a root or a twig, but metamorphoses into the form of a snake, and also assumes the shape of a white woman. The *mamlambo* satisfies the witch’s hedonistic desire money and sexual passion, but ultimately destroys its owner.
10. Research participants described this witch familiar as a repulsive ape – some even said gorilla – with pronounced sexual features. The female has extremely large breasts and the male a huge penis, which it sometimes carries across its shoulder.
11. Villagers imagined witches to be naked when they practice their nefarious craft. For this reason, diviners undress when they fortify people’s homes to counter-act witchcraft.
12. Dlamini (2009) and Worby and Ally (2013) provide insightful discussions on the topic of nostalgia in post-Apartheid South Africa. My research assistants spoke positively about the past in general.

Appendices

Appendix 1: The Relationship between Those Accused of Witchcraft and their Assumed Victims, Impalahoek, 1960-1995 and 1995-2008.

Relationship	1960-1995	1995-2008
Non kin	130 (47%)	44 (22%)
Affines	43 (15%)	34 (17%)
Related by polygamous marriage	17 (6%)	03 (2%)
Spouses	23 (8%)	24 (12%)
Cognates	66 (24%)	93 (47%)
Total Accusations	279	198

Appendix 2: The Employment Status of Adults in Sampled Households by Gender, Impalahoek, 1991 and 2004

Employment Status	1991		2004	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Self employed	7 (4%)	12 (7%)	13 (6%)	12 (5%)
Locally employed	55 (34%)	36 (22%)	50 (22%)	52 (25%)
Migrant labourers	76 (46%)	11 (7%)	53 (24%)	20 (8%)
Not working	26 (16%)	108 (65%)	107 (47%)	161 (62%)
Total	164	167	223	259

Appendix 3: The Affiliation of Children (18 years and younger) in Sampled Households Domestic Units, Impalahoek 1991 and 2004

Domestic Units	1991	2004
With father & mother	302 (68.8%)	235 (47.4%)
With mother only	103 (23.5%)	200 (40.3%)
With father only	14 (3.2%)	16 (3.2%)
Only other relatives	20 (4.5%)	45 (9.1%)
Total	439	496

References

Apter, A. 2007. *Beyond Words: Discourse and Cultural Agency in Africa*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ashforth, A. 1999. *Madumo: A Man Bewitched*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ashforth, A. 2005. *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bercovitch, E. 1989. 'Moral Insights: Victim and Witch in the Nalumin Imagination', in G. Herdt and M. Stephen (eds.) *The Religious Imagination in New Guinea*, pp. 122-159. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Blunt, R. W. 2019. *For Money and Elders: ritual, sovereignty and the sacred in Kenya*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press

Bundy, C. 1987. 'Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of Youth and Student Resistance in Cape Town, 1985.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13 (3): 103-130.

Cameron, D. and E. Frazer. 1987. *The Lust to Kill: A Feminist Investigation of Sexual Murder*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Campbell, C. 1992. 'Learning to Kill? Masculinity, the Family and Violence in Natal.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18 (3): 614-648.
- Colson, E. 2000. 'The Father as Witch', *Africa* 70 (3): 333-358.
- Comaroff, J. and J. L. Comaroff. 1999. 'Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony', *American Ethnologist* 26 (4): 279 -303.
- Cooper, F. 1998. 'Modernising Bureaucrats, Backward Africans, and the Development Concept', in F. Cooper and R. Packard (eds.) *International Development and the Social Sciences*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 64-92.
- De Boeck, F. and M.F. Plissart. 2004. *Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City*. Gent: Ludion.
- De Wet, C. 1995. *Moving Together, Drifting Apart: Betterment Planning and Villagization in a South African Homeland*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Dhlamini, J. 2009. *Native Nostalgia*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.
- Donham, D. 1999. *Marxist Modern: An Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Ferguson, J. 1999. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 2006. 'Decomposing Modernity: History and Hierarchy After Development', in J. Ferguson (ed.) *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. pp. 176-193. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Fassin, D. 2007. *When Bodies Remember: Experiences and Politics of AIDS in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Freud, S. 1966 [1905] *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, trans. James Strachey. New York: Basic Books.
- Gilmore, D. 1990. *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Heald, S. 1986. 'Witches and Thieves: Deviant Motivations in Gisu Society', *Man* 21 (1): 65-78.
- James, D. 1988. 'Land shortage and inheritance in a Lebowa village', *Social Dynamics* 14 (2): 36-51.
- La Fontaine, J. 1967. 'Parricide in Bugisu: A study in Intergenerational Conflict' *Man* 2 (2): 249-259.
- Lambek, M. 2003. 'Fantasy in Practice: Projection and Introjection, or the Witch and the Spirit-Medium', in B. Kapferer (ed.) *Beyond Rationalism: Rethinking Magic, Witchcraft and Sorcery*. pp. 198-214. New York and Oxford: Berghahn.
- Madhavan, S and E. Schatz. 2007. 'Coping with change: Household structure and composition in rural South Africa, 1992-2003', *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health* 35 (69): 85-93.
- Meillassoux, C. 1981 *Maidens, Meal and Money: Capitalism and the Domestic Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, B. 1998. "Make a Complete Break with the Past": Memory and Postcolonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostal Discourse', *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXVII (3): 931-944.
- Morrell, R. and L. Richter. 2006. 'Introduction', in L. Richter and R. Morrell (eds.) *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*. pp. 1-12. HSRC Press: Cape Town.

- Niehaus, I. 2000. 'Towards a Dubious Liberation: Masculinity, Sexuality and Power in South African lowveld Schools, 1953-1999', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26 (3): 387-407.
- _____. 2005. 'Witches and Zombies in the South African Lowveld: Discourses, Accusations and Subjective Reality', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11 (2): 191-210.
- _____. 2010a. 'Witchcraft as Sub-Text: Deep Knowledge and the South African Public Sphere', *Social Dynamics* 35 (1): 1-17.
- _____. 2010b. 'Maternal Incest as Moral Panic: Envisioning Futures without Fathers in South Africa.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 36 (4), 833-849.
- _____. 2012. 'Witchcraft in the South African Bantustans: Evidence from Bushbuckridge.' *South African Historical Journal* 64 (1), 1-18.
- _____. 2018. *AIDS in the Shadow of Biomedicine: Inside South Africa's Pandemic*. London: Zed Books.
- Niehaus, I. with E. Mohlala and K. Shokane. 2001. *Witchcraft, Power and Politics: Exploring the Occult in the South African Lowveld*. London: Pluto.
- Nkuna, W. 1986. *The Contribution and Influence of the Holiness Mission Churches in the Acornhoek-Bushbuckridge Area, 1930-1970*. Unpublished MA Dissertation, Pretoria: Department of History, University of South Africa.
- Perry, D. 2009. 'Fathers, Sons and the State: Discipline and Punishment in a Wolof Hinterland', *Cultural Anthropology* 24 (1), 33-67
- Reynolds, P. 1984. *Men without Children*. Second Carnegie Enquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. Paper 5. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

- Rosaldo, R. 1980. *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History*.
Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.
- Sahlins, M. 2004. *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Simpson, A. 2005. 'Sons and Fathers/Boys to Men in the Time of AIDS: Learning Masculinity in Zambia', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31 (3): 569-586.
- South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). 2001. *South Africa Survey, 2000*. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: South African Institute for Race Relations.
- Stadler, J. 1994. *Generational Relationships in a Lowveld Village: Questions of Age, Household and Tradition*. Unpublished MA dissertation. Johannesburg: Department of Social Anthropology, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Van Kessel, I. 1993. "From Confusion to Lusaka": The Youth Revolt in Sekhukhuneland. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19 (4): 593-614.
- Worby, E and S. Ally, S. 2013. 'The Disappointment of Nostalgia: Conceptualizing Cultures of Memory in Contemporary South Africa.' *Social Dynamics*, 39 (3): pp. 457-480.