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**Albinism, the Victims of Superstitions, Witchcraft
and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Case study: Tanzania

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my parents, my brother DJILALI, my sister IKRAM and all family members who never ceased to give their encouragements, love and support in every way. I am grateful to you all and promise not to fail you.

No less gratitude goes to my loving friends CHAIMAE and CHAHINEZ, and my dear best-friend IKRAM LATROCH whom without her interest and co-operation I could not have produced this study.

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Abstract

In some communities in sub-Saharan Africa like in Tanzania, erroneous myths and superstitions next to the belief in witchcraft and occult forces put the lives of persons with albinism in danger. Persons who have albinism in Tanzania are considered simply to vanish. They are referred to as ghosts, evil spirits or source of money. The most dangerous beliefs about persons with albinism are being promoted by witchcraft and witchdoctors, which is the belief that bones and body parts taken from persons with albinism bring wealth, luck and success. And in the rise of mining industry in Tanzania, these dangerous myths promoted by witchdoctors tend to have a great influence on lives of persons with albinism. the aim of this dissertation is to spot the light on persons with albinism in Tanzania and their suffering that is caused by myths, superstitions and witchcraft. The major fundamental factors leading to the ritual killing and discrimination against persons with albinism will be highlighted as well.

Keywords: sub-Saharan Africa. Tanzania. Myths. Superstitions. Witchcraft. Persons with Albinism. Mining. Ritual killing. Discrimination.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus.
OC	Ocular Albinism.
OCA	Oculocutaneous Albinism.
PWA	Person with Albinism.
UN	United Nations.
UNO	United Nations Organization.
UTSS	Under the Same Sun.
WHO	World Health Organization.
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation.
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations.
NOAH	National Organization for Albinism and Hypopigmentation

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General Introduction

Albinism is an inherited condition under which an individual lacks the melanin-producing gene. Which means that persons with albinism (PWA) lack pigmentation in their skin, hair and eyes. So, people with that condition mainly possess very pale skin. Further, being an albino in a society where most of population is pale-skinned was never a problem, in contrast with sub-Saharan African region where almost everyone is black. People with albinism in black Africa and sub-Saharan African region are being treated as if they were sub-human. Many albinos are being harassed, alienated and discriminated in that region just because of their pale skin for generations.

Furthermore, the practical risks associated with living with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa are numerous, but living in Tanzania with that condition is even worse than in any other place. Tanzania was chosen to be my field research because it is estimated to have the highest number of persons born with albinism, next to the highest number of rituals killing and attacks against them. Many PWA are being attacked, persecuted and their body parts mutilated as a result of superstitions, witchcraft and poverty in Tanzania.

In this research, the living conditions of persons with albinism (PWA) in sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania specifically will be tackled, while the major factors leading to such alienation and discrimination PWA are getting for centuries will be highlighted as well.

In this light, this dissertation is dedicated to answer the following questions:

- How does the belief in superstitions and the use of witchcraft put persons with albinism's lives in danger?
- How are persons with albinism affected by the economic and social changes in the last few decades in Tanzania?

As possible answers to the aforementioned questions, the following hypotheses are suggested:

- there are many myths and beliefs related to persons with albinism in which they cause serious risk to their living conditions. Next to the belief in witchcraft that is a

fundamental element in the black African heritage, that contributed in promoting for the albino killing and discrimination.

- Poverty in Tanzania has a hand in the rise of the killing of persons with albinism that caused the creation of the albino body parts trade.

To this end, this work has been conducted and divided into three chapters. The first one, titled The Myths and Superstitions associated with Albinism in Sub-Saharan Africa, is devoted to highlight albinism in general as a genetic condition, in the world and in sub-Saharan Africa. It is also devoted to explain the erroneous myths and beliefs surrounding people with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa and its contribution to the killings. The second chapter, titled Witchcraft Role and its contribution to the killing of PWA in Tanzania, sheds the light on the use of witchcraft in Tanzania and how living conditions of persons with albinism go from bad to worse as a consequence of witchcraft beliefs. While the third chapter highlights the issue of Poverty, Social and Economic Change in Tanzania. It explains how the economic changes in Tanzania contributed in the rise of poverty and the creation of new modern trade which is albino body part trade.

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I. Introduction

According to Charlotte Baker, *the term 'albinism' refers to a group of related inherited conditions which are the result of mutated genes that cause a deficiency in melanin* (Baker 169). This means that people with albinism suffer from the absence of pigment in skin, hair and eyes. And this makes them more susceptible to sunburn and skin cancers. Without mentioning the visual deficiency they suffer from. Moreover, being an albino in sub-Saharan Africa is different from other parts of the world. In western societies with pale-skinned populations, people with albinism are mostly unnoticed. But in black societies like in Africa, you can get recognized and alienated easily. And what makes it worse than being alienated is the fact that persons with albinism (PWA) in sub-Saharan Africa are being attacked, persecuted and harassed for generations. The violence that is practised toward this particular group of people is unimaginable. Thus, this chapter is devoted to shed the light on the myths and superstitions associated with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa. In the first part, explanation will be provided with regard to meaning of albinism. While the second part will deal with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa. The third will be concerned with the background to the attacks. and the last and most important part will highlight the erroneous myths and beliefs surrounding people with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa. Myths that existed for decades. So, such elements are important in order understand the issue of albino's harassment and discrimination over time.

1. Albinism as a Genetic Condition

According to World Health Organization (WHO), Albinism is a group of inherited disorders that results in little or no production of the pigment melanin¹, which determines the colour of the skin, hair and eyes. The lack of the pigment melanin in the body means that the body is directly exposed to the ultraviolet Rays. So, this means there is no type of any protection from sun exposure. Also, melanin plays an important role in the development of certain optical nerves. So, its absence causes visual problems next to sensitivity to sun exposure.

¹ A dark brown to black pigment occurring in the hair, skin, and iris of the eye in people and animals. It is responsible for tanning of skin exposed to sunlight. <http://www.lexico.com/definition/melanin>

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And with no protection from the ultraviolet rays the person might have skin cancer. Thus, people with albinism in Africa are 1000 times more likely to get skin cancer than other people with albinism in Europe and North America. (Baker 169)

Albinism in general is mostly inherited, but the gene that carries albinism is not a dominant gene². It is a recessive gene³. It means that albinism cannot be passed to the baby only if both parents carry the recessive gene responsible. It is impossible to have a baby born with albinism if only one parent carries the gene. Moreover, albinism increases rapidly in sub-Saharan Africa than in other parts of the world. And that can be a result of consanguineous marriages. As people in sub-Saharan Africa encourage marriages between cousins, which this led to the vast growth of babies born with such condition.

According to the Under the Same Sun Organization (UTSS⁴) and (WHO), there are two main types of albinism. The first type is called Ocular Albinism (OC). And this type is less common and it affects the eyes only as it shows in figure 1. The second type is called Oculocutaneous albinism (OCA) and it affects the skin, hair and eyes as it shows in figure 1. It is the most visible form of albinism. Thus (OCA) has more than one form and some of the forms are even divided into subtypes according to its medical classification. And because Oculocutaneous Albinism is the most visible one, people with that condition are the most affected in black societies. For their skin is too pale that it can get easily recognized.

² Genetics, relating to or denoting heritable characteristics which are controlled by genes that are expressed in offspring even when inherited from only one parent. <https://www.lexico.com/definition/dominant>

³ Genetics, relating to or denoting heritable characteristics controlled by genes which are expressed in offspring only one inherited from both parents. <http://www.lexico.com/definition/recessive>

⁴ UTSS is a Christian charitable organization that promotes the wellbeing of persons with albinism (PWA) via education and advocacy. https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Under_the_Same_Sun

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Figure 1: Ocular Albinism (OC) and Oculocutaneous Albinism (OCA)



(Pinterest.com) accessed on 2020

2. Albinism in the World

Albinism is a normal inherited condition that can be found in any part of the world. It occurs globally, in all gender, racial and ethnic groups. This means that albinism has nothing to do with race or regions. However, only few persons around the world are born with that condition, especially in western civilizations. According to the United Nations Organization (UNO), *it is estimated that in North America and Europe one in every 17,000 to 20,000 people have some form of albinism* (UN.org). Further, the acceptance and reactions toward this particular group of people differ from a place to another. In European countries, Persons with albinism are being accepted within society. they are mostly unnoticed, more likely in countries where most of the population has a pale skin. For instance, in European countries and pale skinned populations, the alienation is quite limited. kids might get bullied and face mockeries, but it all goes off while growing up. According to Baker regarding albinism;

‘Very early Western anthropology assumed that people with albinism were found only in non-European populations, but now it is recognized that albinism is present in all ethnic and racial groups, although prevalence rates vary

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considerably throughout the world. The frequency of oculocutaneous albinism is high throughout sub-Saharan Africa, up to 10 times the world figure' (Baker 169)

This means that the percentage of persons born with such condition in all around the world is considered very little when comparing it with how many persons are born with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa.

3. Albinism in sub-Saharan Africa

Albinism seems to be more prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa than in other parts of the world. According to World Health Organization (WHO), albinism affects one out of every 1,400 in Tanzania. And it can get as high as one in every 1,000 in some regions like in Zimbabwe and in other parts in southern Africa. However, the problem is not about how many people are born with that condition, but it is about the harassment and alienation that are facing in places where most of the population is black. Being an albino with a pale skin in a black society is hard. Although the genetic explanation exists, people with albinism are being alienated harassed and attacked for centuries. the alienation in sub-Saharan Africa so serious. They mainly get harassed from birth to death. They even get chased and killed in very cruel ways. People with that condition are never being accepted within society in Africa. And that is because of the cultural and traditional beliefs surrounding persons with albinism in that region.

4. Reactions Toward Persons with Albinism

Researchers and anthropologists studying African cultural practice are generally unable to pin point the beginning of attacks against persons with albinism (PWA). thus, the attacks against them in sub-Saharan Africa have no exact period to its beginning. It is impossible to know when it all started, but there are some historic figures who tackled the phenomenon of the killings of PWA in sub-Saharan Africa back in history. One of them is David Livingstone.

Livingstone was a Scottish missionary and a physician who travelled around Africa in the nineteenth century. He spent years in the sub-Saharan African region. His voyages provided him with direct interaction with the black society and its cultural practices. In some of his journals he

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wrote about the suffering of persons with albinism living in sub-Saharan Africa. During his exploration of the territory, he witnessed how PWAs were not accepted and cruelly killed by their own people. He was one of the figures who spotted the light about albinism in sub-Saharan Africa and the attacks. It was due to his journals scholars that nowadays know the attacks against PWAs existed since the nineteenth century.

Moreover, the Sub-Saharan Africa region as a whole has some kind of strange beliefs and activities that cannot be explained. Its cultural practices, traditions and beliefs tend to be directly linked to the attacks. And to understand why PWA were being attacked over history, it is important to shed the light on the multitude factors that led to such phenomenon. Some researchers and scholars such as lund, repacholi and baker came to an agreement that the attacks appeared as a consequence of some myths and beliefs that continued to be attached to albinism. These myths existed for decades. The beliefs differ from place to another. In some places for example in south Africa and other rural areas in Zimbabwe, they consider PWA non-human beings, inferior and strange. And in other places such as Malawi and Tanzania, they are treated as if they carry special healing powers. But in both cases PWA end up being attacked, harassed or murdered.

5. Myths Surrounding Persons with Albinism in Sub-Saharan Africa

Erroneous beliefs about albinism in sub-Saharan Africa tend to be directly related to the harassment and attacks against persons with albinism (PWA). These beliefs are mostly not correct and should be better referred to as myths. They are deeply de-humanizing and they form a serious risk to PWA in black Africa.

defining myth according to Jones M. Jaja, *a myth is a story which is believed to be true and has its origin in the far distant past history of a people* (Jones 9). Myths also are mainly man-made stories passed from one generation to another. They play an important role in the understanding of reality, explaining concepts and beliefs and giving mostly irrational interpretations about certain phenomena in community. Thus, myths are associated with mystery and the illogic. And people do not seek to explain them on a rational basis, they rather rely on

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their own philosophy and understanding to find answers to a specific phenomenon. As it is the case in sub-Saharan Africa regarding albinism. (Jones M. Jaja)

Myths surrounding PWA are one of the multiple factors leading to the attacks over history. Some of the myths do not cause a serious problem but most of them lead to discrimination and murder. Some myths existed for centuries while others are newly created. The myths that are tackled below can be found in different regions in sub-Saharan Africa. So, it is preferable for the myths to be generalized so they serve one main important point. Which is the explanation of each myth with its effect on the lives of persons with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa, whether it causes physical or psychological issues.

5.1. Albinism the Curse

The very common myth in sub-Saharan Africa claims that albinism is a curse from god or from dead ancestors. In some rural areas, when a baby is born with albinism the family end his life directly after birth. As a form of mercy to save the child from the hardship he would get. In other places they kill the child to avoid bad omen, sickness and death that can be brought by his birth within the family. Further; it is believed that having a baby with albinism is a punishment from God for the sins the parents committed in the past. So mostly the baby is either killed afterbirth or left alone without care or any food. Some mothers even refuse to feed their children and they completely abandon them and let them die from starvation. A regular teacher in one of the rural areas in Zimbabwe comments regarding albinism;

‘I really follow the scientific explanation that there is a gene responsible for albinism. However, though not disregarding science in explaining the cause, there is a general myth that albinism can still occur as a form of a curse, say for instance if there has been a marital misdemeanour within the family. I do welcome the scientific explanation but still wonder whether the genetic make-up of parents is solely the cause’ (Lund 7–8)

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This entails that people in sub-Saharan Africa still do not accept totally the explanation of albinism as a genetic condition. Although scientific explanations exist, people still believe that albinism can occur as a form of curse.

5.2. Adultery

Adultery as a cause of giving birth to a baby with albinism is a very common belief in many regions in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Lund regarding myths related to albinism, *the fault for the birth of a baby with albinism is often deemed to lie with the mother and an assumption of infidelity is a common belief related to albinism* (Lund 3). Hence, the mother is the first one to blame for the birth of a baby with albinism. That common myth saying that albinism is caused when a woman slept with a *tokolosh*⁵. the latter is a malevolent spirit which can be called to cause troubles and harm to others. Indeed, other people often give an assumption like the mother might have slept with a white man. These assumptions affect the woman and put her life and her child's life in danger. That is why most of children with albinism are raised by single mothers. The father often abandons his family as soon as the baby is born, leaving the mother in bad conditions suffering all alone in poverty and exclusion. Moreover, some women are forced to dump their children so they can get back living in peace within society. this was highlighted by David Livingstone in the nineteenth century.

‘During the time I resided at Mabotsa, a woman came to the station with a fine boy, an Albino. The father had ordered her to throw him away, but she clung to her offspring for many years. He was remarkably intelligent for his age. The pupil of the eye was of a pink colour, and the eye itself was unsteady in vision. The hair, or rather wool, was yellow, and the features were those most common among the Bechuanas. After I left the place, the mother is said to have become tired of living apart from the father, who refused to have her while she retained the son.

⁵ An evil imaginary creature that some people believe can harm you while you are sleeping
<http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/tokoloshe>

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She took him out one day, and killed him close to the village of Mabotsa, and nothing was done to her by the authorities' (Livingstone 576).

Hence, the killing of children with albinism was documented in the nineteenth century by David Livingstone. Livingstone described the young boy with albinism who got killed by his mother. The little boy was killed as a consequence of wrong beliefs lack of acceptance within society.

5.3. The Fear of Contagion

One of the most famous misconceptions about albinism is that it is contagious, and this what leads so many persons with albinism to be avoided and segregated from others almost everywhere. People in sub-Saharan Africa believe that albinism can be caught through physical contact. In addition, people cross roads to avoid persons with that condition. They even avoid shaking hands or sitting next to them thinking that it is a disease and it can be passed on from a person to another which is not correct. According to Lund, *A Zimbabwean with albinism sums up this attitude, 'Some people will not touch what I touch. In the bus no-one wants to sit near me. People don't want to shake hands with me, share utensils, touch me or come near me'* (Lund 7). The fear of contagion is so strong and it affects the person's life and his chances in getting education, Employment and even marriage. This myth is so common where you can even find a mother avoiding her son and a family keeping a distance from a member who has albinism. (Journal of African cultural studies)

The most affected ones with the contagion myth are children, especially when it comes to education. some countries in sub-Saharan Africa built special schools to keep children with albinism segregated from other kids. It is meant for them to keep children with albinism protected from being violated, but many kids cannot access these special schools and they find themselves being bullied, avoided and put away because of the fear of contagion. In addition, the consequences of such misunderstanding and belief lead to social isolation, self-doubt and anxiety developing in PWA's personality. This belief causes a psychological dilemma preventing them from living a decent life. (journal of African cultural studies)

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5.4. Albinism as HIV Cure

Having sexual intercourse with a female albino cures Human Immunodeficiency Virus infection (HIV). This new modern myth is one of the most dangerous myths surrounding persons with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, the origin of this myth is taken from another old myth called the virgin cleansing myth, which means having sexual intercourse with a virgin might cure HIV or any other sexually transmitted diseases. The original myth first reported in the sixteenth century in Europe, then it spread in the late nineteenth century in many ethnicities such as in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and America. (Terje Oestigaard 186)

The myth has been modified from raping a virgin female cures HIV to raping a virgin female who has albinism cures HIV. As a result, hundreds of young females who have albinism in sub-Saharan Africa nowadays are being raped. This modern myth is a serious risk to PWA and to the society as a whole. A man with albinism in Zimbabwe acknowledges this:

‘To be an albino is a terrible thing, but to be a girl albino is the worst of all. You know that the AIDS pandemic, they say the cure is to sleep with a virgin, but if you sleep with a virgin who is albino then even better. There are many rapes. Because they are so hidden already, they do not come forward. And now because of this we are also dying of AIDS. This rape it is terrible thing’. (Baker 176)

As a mean of explanation, living with albinism alone is hard. And this new modern myth is making living even harder. Many women now are dying of HIV next albinism.

5.5. Sub-humanity and Immortality

It is believed that persons with albinism (PWA) are ghosts and they do not die. This is just another myth responsible for the harassment against persons with albinism. PWA are generally considered abnormal and sub-human because of their different skin tone and their odd Physical appearance. The origin of this myth is unknown. Thus, these assumptions are mainly believed in sub-Saharan Africa over history by ancestors and they are still being transferred to the new generation. The lack of acceptance is what is leading to such false ideas about PWA.

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This myth is common in sub-Saharan Africa, more specifically in the southern African regions. Moreover, *“in southern Africa, the ‘death myth’ is closely associated with the notion of the intermediary nature of people with albinism, who are considered to belong to both the living and the dead”* (Baker and Djatou 66). As a consequence, many persons with albinism are being physically and psychologically harassed. Just because they are considered as non-human beings, they are treated as if nothing will harm them. So, they are murdered and taken advantage of in very cruel ways. Their human rights are completely violated by their own people. According to Baker while discussing albino funerals, a woman in Zimbabwe said:

‘They think we do not die, ha. I went to Harare for 8 months once, and when I came back people were screaming spook, ghost, they thought I had died and come back. They think albinos do not die; they wander off into the bush. I even thought that myself before, I had never seen a dead albino. But now with the skin cancers I have seen many dead albinos. But an albino funeral, that is a thing that is always very well attended. Not just because he has many friends. People come to see for sure that the albino is dead; they even touch him in the coffin to make sure he is really dead’. (Journal of African Cultural Studies 177)

This describes how people in southern Africa and Zimbabwe believe that albinos do not die. They gather in funerals of persons with albinism to ensure if they really are dead. And this comes from the death myth, and the nature of PWA who are considered to belong to both the living and the dead. (baker 66)

5.6. Albinism and Witchcraft

One of the most terrible myths believed about PWA is that their body parts can be made into charms or potions that help bring good luck, wealth and success to its users. This myth is directly linked to the most and major recent attacks against people with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa. This points up why the power of these myths must not be underestimated, and how they are capable of forming the main construction of traditional practices which contribute to the attacks. (UTSS.org)

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Killing PWA for their body parts is encouraged mostly by a specific group of people in the African region called witchdoctors. While the practice of black magic is considered part of everyday life in Africa and especially in sub-Saharan Africa, witchdoctors are using their solid position in the society to promote witchcraft that uses body parts taken from people who have albinism. Further, witchdoctors have historically contributed and continue to contribute to the attacks against PWA by promoting such thing. As a result, people who have albinism are being murdered and their body parts are being disfigured and used for magical purposes. Body parts such as arms, legs, hair, skin and genitals. As Cruz-Inigo explains. *“the attacks range from forcibly shaving off hair, to the mutilation of fingers or limbs, and to murder, with all body parts taken for sale. Reports often include descriptions of perpetrators seeking to obtain body parts for use as ‘good luck’ charms”* (child abuse review 15). As witchcraft and witchdoctors are being two main factors leading to PWA discrimination, the killing has increased recently and it is becoming almost uncontrollable in sub-Saharan Africa.

II. Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter highlighted the explanation of what albinism is genetically, and how the harassment and discrimination of persons with albinism started in sub-Saharan Africa. Also, the most important point leading to the discrimination over history was put to light, drawing attention to the erroneous myths and superstitions associated with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, the myths were indicated and clarified one at a time. Explaining each myth with its effect on the PWA life. By mentioning the suffering and hardship they live in within their own people in sub-Saharan Africa. In the second chapter, lights will be shed on witchcraft role and its contribution to the murder of persons with albinism in Tanzania.

Chapter Two: Witchcraft Pole and its Contribution to the killing of PWA in Tanzania

Chapter Two: Witchcraft Role and its Contribution to the killing of PWA in Tanzania

I. Introduction

The belief that people are able to practice occult forces is a socio-cultural phenomenon which exists in many ethnicities all over the world, but it tends to have a great importance in sub-Saharan Africa, where most of their cultures have supernatural and magical backgrounds. Thus, magic and witchcraft in Africa have been rooted deeply for centuries, regardless of religion, education and social class of the people there. Further, Magic may be applied by people for good or bad. But it is mostly used to harm others for selfish purposes and used to serve their personal needs. Therefore, the killing of persons with albinism in sub-Saharan Africa is increasing uncontrollably as a consequence of some beliefs related to witchcraft. So, this chapter will be devoted to explain witchcraft as one of the main factors leading to albino killing and discrimination. The chapter is divided into three sections, the first one is concerned with explaining magic and the belief in occult forces as a whole. The second section deals with black Africa and its cultural and religious aspects leading to such beliefs, while the third and last one sheds light on witchcraft as a major tool in promoting albino harassment and killing in sub-Saharan Africa more specifically in Tanzania.

1. Defining Magic and Occult Forces

Magic is a concept used to describe a form of rationality or a way of thinking that looks to invisible forces to influence events, effect change in material conditions, or present the illusion of change (Britannica). The term magic emerged within western civilization, and the root of the word magic is Greek derived from the word (Greek: Mageia, Latin: Magia). Further the belief in magic and occult forces existed a long time ago and it goes back to about 30.000 years ago. Historically, Magic is found in almost all ethnicities and civilizations around the world. From ancient Egypt, Judeo-Christian to Greco-Roman civilization, and spread to northern Europe and continued spreading in other parts of the world through the western European explorations and colonialism. So magic was known in many ancient civilizations only the name differs from place to another. There are many types of spiritual and magical practices. Such practices are believed to be peaceful while others are considered as pure evil.

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Further, the purpose of using such practices is to obtain knowledge, power, luck, love and wealth. To heal or avoid illness or danger, to guarantee success or prosperity, to trick or entertain an audience, and to cause harm to an enemy. The efficiency of magic is often determined by the performance of the one who is practising it. Magicians often use special spells and materials in their rituals and it differs from one type of magic to another.

2. White Magic Vs Dark Magic

Magic is believed to be divided into two type, the good and the bad. which is the white and the dark. The white magic is believed to be used for selfless and beneficial purposes such as healing, demanding wealth and success. People who practise white magic are given the name of wise men and women healers, white witches and wizards. Thus, white magic is believed to be practiced through peaceful ways such as spiritual healing, praying, singing and blessing. Moreover, the term “white” used in calling such practices refers to purity, and because of its peaceful ways it is also referred to as natural magic⁶. (Wikipedia.org)

However, as the name shows, dark magic or “black magic” is completely the opposite of white magic. Dark magic is mainly believed to be used for selfish outrageous purposes such as causing harm to others, and it is mostly derived by envy, hatred and hostility. People who practice dark magic are being called witches. Taking the example of witchcraft and sorcery⁷, it is often used for evil purposes contrasting with other types of magic like astrology⁸ and divination⁹ that are used for peaceful purposes. Although these boundaries are often unclear, dark magic is believed to be the main problem in every society because of its evil outcomes. Further, calling dark magic as black magic is because black colour is associated with fear, death, aggression and all what is evil in the world. (R. Kieckhefer 2)

⁶ (In the middle ages) magic practiced for beneficial purposes, involving the making of images, healing and the use of herbs. http://www.lexico.com/en/definition/natural_magic

⁷ The use of magic, especially black magic <http://www.lexico.com/en/definition/sorcery>

⁸ The study of the movement and relative positions of celestial bodies interpreted as having influence on human affairs and natural world. <http://www.lexico.com/en/definition/astrology>

⁹ The practice of seeking knowledge of the future or the unknown by supernatural means. <http://www.lexico.com/en/definiton/divination>

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According to R. Kieckhefer, white magic is considered as the beneficial and positive magic that causes no harm to any living being, while the dark magic is the evil and harmful magic. However, others such as Anton Lavey the founder of “the Church of Satan” had written about black and white magic claiming that “magic is magic”. *White magic is supposedly utilized only for good or unselfish purposes, and black magic, we are told, is used only for selfish or ‘evil’ reasons. Satanism draws no such divining line. Magic is magic, be it used to help or hinder. (Anton Lavey106)*

This shows that it is not necessary to know the purpose behind the division of magic into white and black as it is important to know the intention of magicians behind using it. The intention either fits with “harm to no one” or it does not. After all, calling magic using colours such as black and white is only a way to describe the real power and intention behind using it. As long as the magic is used for good, it is called white. When it is used for causing harm, directly or indirectly it is referred to as black.

3. The Effect of Witchcraft in Black Africa

Witchcraft tends to have a great importance in the African society over history, and it still an integral feature in people’s life there. The use and belief of witchcraft and occult forces in Africa goes behind the belief in science and religions, and that effected the society as a whole.

3.1. Defining Witchcraft

There are many different definitions referring to the term witchcraft, and one of the common and accepted definitions was provided by Evans-Pritchard in 1937. He defined witchcraft as *the innate, inherited ability to cause misfortune or death.* (M. Mawere 315). Witchcraft is defined also according to Benson A. Mulemi as *the application of supernatural or extraordinary powers to cause bad (evil) reaction on another person or his/ her situation. It is a form of magic in which a person harms or injures another or others using personal powers or related objects of power* (Mulemi 25). This means that witchcraft is aimed basically to destroy the life of persons or animals and to cause harm to them and it can also be used for gaining protection, wealth and prosperity.

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Further, witchcraft has a broad term that varies culturally and socially but the believe in it is almost disappearing in western civilizations. However, the belief in witchcraft is still present within societies that have magical world view such as Africa.

3.2. Witchcraft in Africa

The belief in witchcraft in Africa is so common, and is due to the historical and cultural backgrounds. Academics such as John Mbiti and D.E. Idiniboye emphasise that *“The reality of the spirit world and magic practices are central to Africans life and culture”* (Leistner 1). moreover, witchcraft has a central place in the moral structure of all African traditions and cultures. Mystical power is known and experienced by mostly all Africans who have grown up in traditional environment. Most Africans have witnessed at least once in their lives magic, witchcraft, divination or other occult phenomena, as the scholar Kohnert explains in his book concerning witchcraft and African development that *witchcraft is an integral feature of the African identity and central to the common cultural heritage of all Africans* (Kohnert 34). That mystical heritage is widespread in all African regions. Even in the present day there is no African society which does not hold belief in mystical power. For example, in the Maghreb in the region of north Africa. They belief in the “evil eye” that is cast by envious. The evil eye is believed to cause bad luck, misfortune, injury and even death to the person. And as a defence, a pagan fertility symbol is used called “Hamsa, Khamsa” or “Fatima’s hand” which is a symbol of a hand that is believed to protect from evil powers. It is mainly used in forms of jewellery including small charms or painted in houses to ward off evil. However, the belief in witchcraft and occult forces in north Africa is present but it can never be compared to the belief in it in black Africa which is sub-Saharan Africa.

3.3. Witchcraft in sub-Saharan Africa

The most important role in sub-Saharan spiritual world is even played by the ancestors, gods and spirits. As the scholar Iliffe explains in his book regarding witchcraft that *“Before colonial rule, witchcraft formed an integral part of social structure in most traditional African societies”* (Iliffe 27). This entails that witchcraft in Africa is deeply rooted long time ago. And it

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is central to the African society and their traditions as a whole. Thus, the bridge between the secular physical world and the spiritual invisible one is mainly witchcraft to them.

The belief in witchcraft and occult forces is so rooted sub-Saharan Africa, which means that almost everyone is using it in their daily life. The role that magic and witchcraft play in sub-Saharan Africa is very important. People in sub-Saharan Africa believe that the power of witchcraft can cause serious risk to the human being as it can protect people and bring them wealth, prosperity and success. Moreover, people in sub-Saharan Africa believe in the offering. This means that you have to offer something in exchange for charms and portions. However, witchcraft beliefs are commonly viewed as belonging to the obsolete ancient worldview of primitive societies. And even with the rise of innovation and science in the present day, people in sub-Saharan region still rely on magic and witchcraft more than relying on anything else. (Axmannová. 62)

3.4. Science, Witchcraft and Black African Development

The belief in magic and occult forces was thought to be pre-religious and non-scientific phenomenon, while modern scientific visions began to evolve in western civilizations, the belief in magic and witchcraft started to fade. However, the opposite has happened in black Africa (sub-Saharan Africa). The belief in mysterious power is found throughout sub-Saharan Africa. In effect, it is a part of the African heritage and traditional religions. So, Even with the rise of the scientific reasoning in our modern world. that African heritage is believed to not going to be modernised by any means. (kohnert 217-245)

Moreover, People in sub-Saharan Africa believe that witchcraft and magic cannot be replaced by science. And scientific thinking stands incapable and useless when trying to explain how witchcraft and evil powers work, hence the belief that science cannot explain the fundamental existential questions to them, such as natural disasters, hunger or poverty, serious illness, accidents or death. Sub-Saharan Africans accept witchcraft as a mode of explanation, of perception and interpretation of their problems. They find themselves relying on magic and witchcraft more than logic and science itself, as the scholar Leistner explains concerning the belief in magic and the African heritage. *In traditional African culture, magic fulfils the role that*

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science plays in modern society (Leistner 1) So, People in sub-Saharan Africa with the lack of education and their primitive way of thinking, rely on magic, occult forces and witchcraft more than on science and the scientific reasoning.

3.5. The Spread of Religion and Witchcraft in Tanzania:

The belief in witchcraft in sub-Saharan Africa is high. Thus, Tanzania as a part of the region has the highest percentage in all sub-Saharan African countries. According to Kefa M. Otiso, *93 per cent of the Tanzanian population believe in witchcraft next to the believe in Christianity and Islam* (Kefa M. Otiso 44). And this what makes it the most affected country by witchcraft and magic. According to one statistical survey, *60 per cent of the population of Tanzania is Christian, 39 per cent Muslim and 4 per cent is subscribed to another or no religion. What is more striking about this survey is that 93 per cent of Tanzanians believe in witchcraft* (T Ostigaard 182). and that implies that the belief in the occult forces and witchcraft are way more common in Tanzania than in other countries in sub-Saharan African region.

For more than a century since 1880s, hundreds of missionaries have been spreading all over the region trying to Christianise the people in Tanzania. The society before was structured around the chief and rainmaking. everything was depending on rain and healing the land. However, both the chief and rainmaking beliefs disappeared, while at the same time Christianity started spreading next to the belief in witchcraft. Witchcraft posed a dilemma to almost all the churches that arose out of mission work that time. The Africans were loyal and accepted the new religion which is Christianity with its teachings but it was almost impossible to leave all their cultural and traditional beliefs such as the belief in the power of ancestors and witchcraft.

Most of Africans who turned Christians tried to fulfil their traditional beliefs and practices whenever they felt that Christianity was not addressing their social and cultural needs. People in Tanzania accepted then new religion but they could not let go of their old traditions. According to Erich Leistner *many African ministers of the churches are convinced that Christianity will not truly take root unless it integrates traditional African beliefs in some point* (Leistner 7).

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3.6. Christianity Vs Witchcraft

Both witchcraft and Christianity are on the increase in sub-Saharan Africa more specifically in Tanzania. A region where one can find even religious people such as Christians using witchcraft. And that is the case with almost everyone in that region. The scholar Hayes notes, *in Africa, beliefs in witchcraft and its practices are found among those who claim to have adopted Christianity and even those inclined to their indigenous religion. This is because despite Africans accepting Christianity, they still believe that there is mystical power governing the universe.* (Hayes. 345)

this entails that, witchcraft continued to be practised even by Christians. And that is because people in sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania take witchcraft beliefs as a part of their identity, and as something they cannot leave without.

People in Tanzania are believed to rely on witchcraft more than on religion and the Christian God, and that is because witchcraft is believed to be more efficient than Christianity. More importantly though, witchcraft is believed to work faster than religion does. As the scholar Mbiti claims concerning religion in Africa *that Christians in Africa believe in witchcraft because Christianity seems not to meet their immediate social, religious, and cultural dilemmas.* (Mbiti. 34). It is generally agreed that religion and the Christian God do work for bigger and more fundamental matters and do not bother about little problems that poor people are facing. As Dr Terje Ostigaard explains in his book concerning witchcraft and religion that *Christianity may promise an eternal life in heaven, but cannot (or at least does not) procure the life-giving rains upon which people are utterly dependent for life and well-being or solve any other acute problems here and now.* (Oestigaard 186)

One of the main issues in regions like sub-Saharan Africa is poverty, and regarding how religion works, when spreading Christianity, many missionaries were forcing people to pay fees to the church as a self-sacrifice to get blessings. That caused a problem in a region where most of the population was poor. an example brought by the scholar Terje Ostigaard regarding Christianity.

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‘There were the two American Pentecostal missionaries I met struggling to convert people. one of the missionaries had refused to bless a congregant because he had not paid his weekly dues to the church. According to the missionary, converts had to follow the same principles as themselves did and make sacrifice to god.’ (T. Ostigaard.195)

From the perspective of the missionaries, that example highlights that God and the Christian church matter and people need to make God their priority no matter what. But people needed money to be spent in other more important things so they can survive. People believed that God do not need money as they do. In other words, paying for the church for blessing does not provide food to the table when it is needed.

However, People using witchcraft in their daily life does not necessarily mean that they do not believe in the power of God. Christians truly believe that miracles take place, and prayers are fulfilled, and sometimes miracles happen even without humans asking for it. But it rarely happened. Moreover, they believe that humans are not in a position where they can demand for God to work for them and make all their personal wishes fulfilled. They may pray and ask for help, but the outcomes are highly uncertain. Besides, it is impossible for humans to manipulate God to gain health, wealth, and success through sacrifices. On the other hand, they can manipulate witchcraft powers in certain ways to get what they want. So, people believe that they are literally left to solve their problems themselves with the way they see it fast and sufficient. Which leads them to use magic and witchcraft.

From this perspective, religion, Christianity and missionaries have succeeded in presenting Christianity as a right religion but failed in replacing the role of ancestors and witchcraft to the Tanzanian society. Religion does not promise good health, wealth and success, but witchcraft does or believed to do so. Witchcraft is believed to solve any kind of problem. It also provides means to manipulate occult forces and this is why witchcraft is superior and that what made people seek refuge in the magical world view.

4. Albinism and Witchcraft Related Attacks

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Because witchcraft taps into the occult and explain human phenomena, it is logical that witchcraft beliefs are harnessed in Tanzania in a way to explain the condition of persons with albinism (PWA). Thus, witchdoctors and traditional healers contribute in the attacks and harassment toward PWA, that is practised in name of witchcraft in the Tanzania.

4.1. Elements of Witchcraft

The use of magic and witchcraft is believed to involve specific elements such as spells and other materials or objects. Thus, any performance of magic includes specific use of words. A spell is believed to provide magical power from the spiritual occult world next to other materials used. It is believed that using specific words contribute in the performance of magic and play an important role in its efficacy. However, the objects and materials used in magic differ from a type to another. Thus, many anthropologists refer to the objects used in witchcraft as “medicines”. These medicines include herbs, sacred objects and some animal parts. But what is disturbing about witchcraft in Tanzania and in some other parts of the region that they even use human blood and human body parts as medicines in their rituals. (Britannica)

4.2. Persons with Albinism Hunted in the Name of Witchcraft

In some communities, such as in Tanzania, violence toward persons with albinism is on the increase as a result of some beliefs influenced by superstition and the belief in witchcraft and occult forces. These superstitions and witchcraft beliefs put the security and life of PWA in danger. According to Legal Human Right Centre annual report 2007:

‘Ninety eight percent of albinos die by the age of forty for reasons which could easily be prevented. African rituals and spiritual ideas around albinism have led to the brutal murder and attacks on innocent men, women and especially children under the influence of witchcraft and superstition and desperation for wealth.’
(Legal Human Right Centre)

This highlights that many persons with albinism face the risk of being attacked, mutilated and killed for their body parts in the name of witchcraft. These false dangerous ideas have been present for generations in the Tanzanian society. Nevertheless, in the past recent years,

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traditional witchdoctors and so-called traditional healers have been promoting for wrong ideas and very dangerous thoughts about people being provided with wealth, health and success when albino body parts are used in charms and potions. It is believed that charms and potions made with body parts of persons with albinism, like hair, limbs, breasts, fingers, genitals, and blood make strong magic medicines that can be sold for very high prices. According to “Under the Same Sun” organization report a *leg or an arm can fetch between US\$1,000 and US\$3,000 big money in a country where the annual average income is just \$800.* (UTSS.org). This reveals that albino body parts are so valuable and expensive and this is why they are sold for very high prices in Tanzania.

4.3. Role of Witchdoctors and Traditional Healers

Witchdoctors and so-called traditional healers have a great influence on people in the Tanzanian society. People living in rural areas and villages are mostly primitive and not educated. They rely on witchdoctors and healers in almost everything. A witchdoctor or a healer plays the role of hospitals, doctors, professors, social workers and even more to them. Moreover, for people in Tanzania it is believed that witchdoctors and traditional healers may solve any problem one may face in life. and that what made witchdoctors and traditional healers get a very high position of power in that region. As the scholar Erich Leistner explains:

‘The ordinary African feels helpless and stands in awe of the invisible, that is occult forces surrounding him. He looks to specialists capable of interpreting and manipulate forces on his behalf. Two categories of these specialists can be distinguished: witches and healers, both occupying highly significant positions in traditional society’ (Leistner 1)

However, the witchdoctors and traditional healers took advantages of that position by promoting for serious superstitions about persons with albinism, calling the use of organs of PWA in their rituals as the new or the “modern medicine”. Moreover, people in Tanzania with their cultural and traditional backgrounds already believe in the old superstitions created and the wrong myths presented about persons with albinism for centuries. And next to the belief in the power of witchcraft and occult forces, people in Tanzania were easy to manipulate.

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As a consequence of such beliefs, persons with albinism are being targeted for their organs and body parts used as medicines and potions. Witchdoctors created dangerous superstitions based on witchcraft which resulted in many people being killed, mutilated, their graves destroyed. And Due to these witchcraft beliefs Tanzania now carries the largest number cases of the killings and persecution of persons with albinism that are related to witchcraft.

II. Conclusion

To sum up, one can say that this chapter has permitted to identify magic and occult forces mainly and witchcraft use specifically, with explaining why witchcraft use increased in Tanzania based on religious and traditional beliefs. Moreover, the most important point, which is the belief in witchcraft in black Africa (Tanzania) and its contribution to the killing of persons with albinism was put to light as well. The following chapter shed lights on social and economic changes in Tanzania and its contribution to the rise of the killing of persons with albinism.

Chapter Three: Poverty, Social and Economic Change in Tanzania

I. Introduction

Tanzania is one of the most affected countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with the killing of persons with albinism. From the past recent years, the killing and discrimination are thought to be on the increase. Thus, the killings are driven by traditional witchdoctors and carried out by contract killers to meet a market for albino body parts, in a context of economic inequity and continued poverty in the great Victorian lake region. So, this chapter is concerned with the social and economic changes in Tanzania and its contribution to the increase in the killing of persons with albinism. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first one deals with Tanzania after independence and its social and economic changes. The second part highlights the ritual killings as a new mental contrast, while the third part deals with poverty and its contribution to the creation of albino trade. The last part sheds light on means of protection provided to persons with albinism and spread of awareness within Tanzanian society.

1. Tanzania Social and Economic Changes after Independence

Tanzania has always been a very rich country when it comes to natural resources such as land, rivers, lakes and forests. Hence, at independence in 1961, during the 1970s Nyerere was president, the country was built upon agriculture and the economy was overwhelmingly agrarian. But that does not mean that these were the only wealth the country had. Apart from wealth in agriculture, Tanzania possesses a considerable stock of non-fuel¹⁰ resources of energy such as diamond, gold, iron, coal, nickel, tanzanite, uranium and natural gas. However, little was known about minerals in that area. People in East Africa historically showed little interest in gold and other non-fuel resources, even in the first two decades of post colonialism. The mineral wealth was left untapped until after the oil crisis in the 1970s, wealth of minerals grew rapidly in Tanzania. And this is what made the government take the decision of transferring the economic base of the country from agricultural industry to mining. (Bryceson. Jonsson. 354)

According to Bryceson concerning the Tanzanian economic change.

Since the colonial intrusion in 1888 right up to the 1990s, Tanzania's economic potential was primarily perceived in terms of its surface land, soils, water

¹⁰ A type of energy not used for generating heat, power, or electricity. <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/nonfuel>

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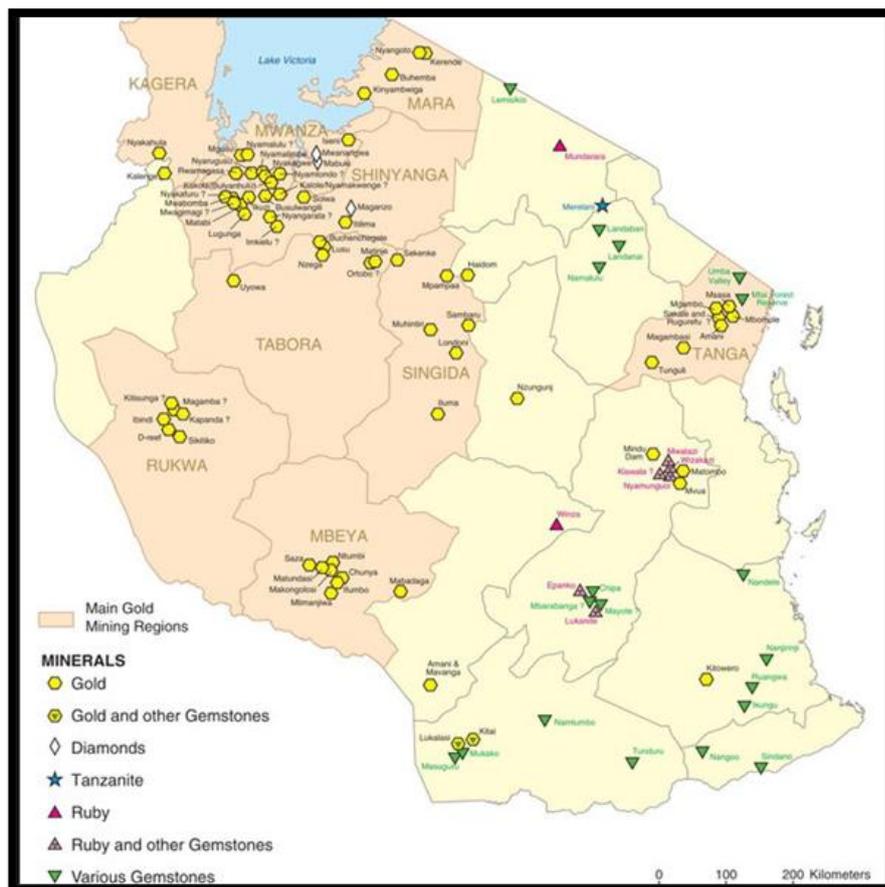
resources, and wildlife. Agriculture was the economic foundation of the country, with tourism only gaining significance during the 1980s and 1990s as peasant agriculture declined. The country's mineral resources gold, diamonds and a variety of precious stones and industrial minerals were not taken into account or planned for, despite the country's economic poverty. (Bryceson 19)

This means that the government was not interested in replacing the agricultural industry by mining even with the lack of economic resources. The change of the economic system was sudden and not well planned, which led to disturbance in economic and social order in Tanzania.

Under the weight of the fundamental economic changes in Tanzania, and the replacement of agriculture by mining, many families and individuals migrated to north-west Tanzania where mining industry was flourishing. People started to live in cities and mining areas more than in villages. As Bryceson explains regarding migration, *from the 1980s, low agriculture commodity prices and structural adjustment programmes increasingly pushed Tanzania's peasants into the non-farm sector.* (Bryceson 358). In other words, when the government gave up on farming as the main source of economy, people started to look for a replacement to fit in and adapt with the new tendency. Further, North-west Tanzania where the great Victoria Lake is situated turns to be very rich with minerals such as gold and diamond. The lake has emerged as the starting point of the mining industry. which made people seek employment and wealth in that area.

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Map 1: Tanzania mining sites.



(Shand and Jonsson 2011. UPIMA)

The map shows that most of non-fuel minerals are situated all around the great Victoria Lake in northern Tanzania, especially gold and diamond. The Victoria lake is a very rich area and that what encouraged so many people to migrate there, looking for new type of income.

Recently, Mining has become one of the leading sectors in Tanzania, with the value of minerals increasing each year. It became the most dependable source of wealth to the government. However, mining industry brought a huge change to the Tanzanian society and affected the traditional social order and put the lives of persons with albinism in danger.

1.1. Change of Social Order

with the significant economic change, people started to change their perspective on employment, leaving their farms and villages and heading to the mining industry and urban life. Thus, the change from agricultural industry to mining has led to chaos in what is called the

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traditional social order. The cultural environment was affected by the new change. People are no longer living in settlements where pastoral livelihood and agriculture is applied. In contrast, each individual is seeking alternative income source. As Hayes indicated the significance growing of artisanal mining in Tanzania. *The Tanzanian government recently reassessed the number of people directly engaged in artisanal mining in Tanzania at 1.5 million out of a total population of 40 million* (Hayes 358). This shows how huge is the depending on mining in Tanzania after the economic change.

Moreover, that vast change led also to friction between the old farming population with their point of view on traditional values of society and the new miners with their ambition to find diamond and gold as much as possible. Here is when the old cosmology of the Tanzanian society started to be destroyed. Elder people lost their valuable position and young males headed to mining sites chasing their own new priorities (Bryceson. Jonsson. 358)

2. Ritual killings as New Mental Contrast

The wave of the killing of persons with albinism in Tanzania started to increase next to economic changes and the growth of mining industry. All indicated social changes are leading directly to albino harassment as being the weakest and the helpless element in the society. PWA killing are always considered to solve any problem people may face. As it is the case for miners in the mining industry.

The mining industry poses enormous pressure on the miners, with the risk of serious injuries and accidents. They work in dangerous mining sites with unpredictable outcome and uncertain income. As the scholars Drechsler and Hinton explain the outcomes of mining. *Artisanal mining is associated with several adversities, the most significant of which are the difficulties of clearing forests, lack of mine reclamation, injuries from accidents, exposure to sexually transmitted diseases, silicosis, and particularly with gold mining* (bryceson, jonsson 359).

These risks pushed those who work in mining to look for shortcuts by using other means to gain wealth and success. Thus, miners saw luck as an entity that could be transferred to them by witchdoctors and traditional healers. By using their spiritual power to provide them with luck and success in their career. However, from the perspective of people in Tanzania, nothing is

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owned for free. They have deeply rooted beliefs in the offering. For Tanzanians, if one wants to achieve something desirable or get something valuable, they must give something valuable as well. as Bryceson and Jonsson mentions in their works regarding miners and the use of occult forces.

“In Tanzania, it is with this understanding that people who find sudden wealth are suspected by onlookers of engaging in nefarious dealings with the occult. Rumours associated with this belief include individuals selling their children or other kin to sorcerers in exchange for wealth-creating medicines” (Bryceson. Jonsson. 360)

Further, the disturbing wave of albino killing is directly linked to miners. Many persons with albinism are victims of superstitions. The use of albino body parts as charms for luck, wealth and success is a common belief in Tanzania. *The attacks on PWA, particularly in Tanzania since they began have been linked to the beliefs that the body parts of PWA confer luck, health and prosperity.* (Baker et al 172). These beliefs contributed to the ritual killings in the past two decades. According to BBC media reports, there have been hundreds of recent albino killings in Tanzania since 2000, which is based on statistics that show that the killing is more than half in all other countries in Africa together. (BBC)

2.1. The Albino Business Chain

According to scholar Kamila Axmannova, the economic and social changes in Tanzania created what is called the business chain. A new modern trade has emerged in Tanzania, the trade of albino body parts. Thus, three components have contributed to the business chain creation, people who seek wealth and success, the witchdoctors and traditional healers who promote for charms made by albino body parts to be sold to wealth seekers, and the albino hunters who work in organised groups to provide albino body parts to witchdoctors for a huge amount of money. Customers, witchdoctors and albino hunters, all These three elements contribute to the massive wave of ritual killing in Tanzania.

2.1.1. The costumers

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Many people in Tanzania believe in superstitions, next to the belief that a potion made by an albino body parts brings wealth and success. Thus, many scholars argue about who is the main consumer of such potions. And they concluded that people from all social classes are found convicted in buying these potions from witchdoctors and traditional healers. As an albino activism called Josephat Torner explains in an interview about persons with albinism *the question is, who is behind these killings. people are saying politicians, people are saying fishermen, people are saying those who work in mining* (Vice News).

For more understanding, social class has nothing to do with the beliefs and superstitions related to witchcraft and the use of albino body parts. Miners and fisher men seek help to gain some wealth to survive from poverty, while others such as business men and politicians seek more wealth and power in the society. A Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) research suggests that the rate of attacks against persons with albinism in Tanzania increases just before elections, it is alleged that even some politicians believe albino potion will help them gain power and success. Further, Tanzania in the past few decades is witnessing a huge increase in the ritual killings. And that is because of the high demand for potions made by albino parts by costumers. (born too white, 20min- 21min)

2.1.2. Witchdoctors

Witchdoctors are the ones who took huge advantages from the economic and social changes in Tanzania. When people started looking for wealth and prosperity, the witchdoctors and traditional healers started to promote for their new modern potions made by albino body parts. In other way, witchdoctors are the most important element in the albinism business chain. They are the ones who have a significant influence and effect on the society, which made people from all social classes in Tanzania seek help from them.

2.1.3. Albino Hunters

While miners, fishermen and politicians are seeking wealth and success by using charms and potions made by witchdoctors, the demand for albino body parts increased in the past few years, which resulted in specific group of people to appear. These people take albino hunting as a career and as a new source of money. They are called albino hunters and to witchdoctors they are known as traffickers. They mostly work with witchdoctors and traditional healers to provide

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them with albino body parts. Hence, albino body parts are very expensive. according to red cross association, a limb can range from 2,000 USD while a full body can reach 75,000 USD. So, the trade in albino body parts is considered as a huge source of money to the poor hunters. (Kamila Axannova 66)

3. Poverty and Albino Trade

Poverty in Tanzania is thought to have huge impact on the increase of discrimination against persons with albinism (PWA), as the scholars Gleta and Keita explain, *there are studies suggesting a link between the escalating ritualistic murders of PWAs and economic reasons* (Gleta & Keita 57). Poverty in Tanzania and the rush for wealth and prosperity helped in the increase of the brutal killings against persons with albinism. Thus, poverty and unemployment in non-developed countries can be more than a strong motive to such activities. Like for albino hunters in Tanzania, witchdoctors and traditional healers use mainly poor and desperate unemployed people to carry out their dirty work and provide them with albino body parts. These poor people accept to work as traffickers for witchdoctors instead of staying unemployed suffering from poverty. So mostly these brutal activities are driven by financial motives.

Furthermore, what is disturbing the most is that this brutal albino haunting and trading can even be practised by people who have an albino member in their family. As the albino activism Josephat Torner explained in an interview regarding albino trading that *family members started to sell their fellows. Like my family if I am not careful, they are able to bargain and sell me. I found many parents who have been convicted for this. They sold their own children to the killers* (Vice news). By way of explanation, how poor and desperate a parent could be to decide to sell his own child for a certain amount of money. This means that people in Tanzania are so poor and desperate which makes them try all the means whether it is good or bad just to gain a certain amount of money to survive.

Poverty in Tanzania is a consequence of the economic change in the country. That sudden change from agriculture to mining caused the lack of employment and affected people with albinism and the Tanzanian society as a whole.

4. Protection and Awareness

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With the increase of the murder of persons with albinism in Tanzania, actions had to be done. thus, the protection of PWA and spreading awareness in the society needed to be fulfilled. Many children with albinism are being kidnaped to be killed and their body parts mutilated in the present day as a consequence of myth and witchcraft use. Hence, as means of protection and change, government, media, national and international organizations are making efforts to end the suffering of persons with albinism.

4.1. The Tanzanian Government

With the increase of albino murders, actions had to be made by the government. Many albino shelters and schools were built to protect persons with albinism especially children with albinism. These shelters and schools are provided by total care to protect them from being attacked and discriminated, but that did not help in reducing the killings and did not stop albino hunters from practicing their dirty job. The main issue is in spreading awareness in the Tanzanian society especially in rural areas where most of the population is not educated. Further, the government did not succeed in providing all what persons with albinism need. Like healthcare services, as the albino activist Josephat torner argued in an interview. *we lack sunscreen lotions, education to explain what albinism is and what are the causes. We lack also dermatologists. So, people with albinism 80 percent die at home. they are not able to access health services because of poverty and because of negative attitudes and infrastructure problems.* (Vice News)

Josephat torner the activist argued that people with albinism in Tanzania and in other parts in sub-Saharan Africa are suffering from the lack of healthcare services next to the lack of awareness and educational programs in schools to explain what albinism it.

4.2. Media

Media as well contribute somehow in spreading awareness and helping protecting people with albinism in Tanzania. The Tanzanian press often portrayed and explained the violence and discrimination against persons with albinism in many ways. Discussing criminal activities, human rights violations and socio-economic issues. Many articles attacked myths and superstitions, emphasising that witchcraft cannot provide people with wealth and success.

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However, not all the media coverage is helpful. Some articles contribute in spreading those myths and rumours when the wrong words are used. (BBC)

4.3. International Organisations

In respond to continued discrimination of persons with albinism in Tanzania and other sub-Saharan African region, many international organisations interfered to stop these crimes against (PWA) and humanity. Organisations such as United Nations (UN), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and Under the Same Sun (UTSS). These organizations help in providing funds and materials like sunscreen lotions, sun glasses, hats and even psycho-social services to persons with albinism. they also help in spreading awareness among people in Tanzania and in other sub-Saharan African countries. (UN.org)

Non-governmental organizations are commonly referred to as NGOs. They are mainly organizations that are funded by citizens. They are active in humanitarian, educational, healthcare and human rights issues. Thus (NGOs) also helps in providing care and awareness in Tanzania for persons with albinism.

The United Nations (UN) is an intergovernmental organization that seeks to spread peace and security, develop relations among nations and achieve international actions for humanity. Thus, UN contributed in many ways to stop the discrimination and violence against persons with albinism in all over sub-Saharan Africa. *the united Nations Human Right council adopted a resolution in 2013 calling for the prevention of attacks and discrimination against persons with albinism* (un.org) this means that UN organization interfered by spreading awareness and education by calling for the prevention of the attacks

Furthermore, Under the Same Sun (UTSS) is a Canadian, Christian, charitable organization that contributes the most in promoting for the wellbeing of persons with albinism in Tanzania. Its goal to change the attitudes and behaviour towards persons with albinism so they can have the same opportunities for health, safety, employment and personal fulfilment as everybody else.

4.4. National Organization for Albinism and Hypopigmentation

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National Organization for Albinism and Hypopigmentation (NOAH) is the only national organization that contributes the most in the protection of persons with albinism in Tanzania. NOAH is a non-profit organization that assists people who have albinism. It is operated and funded by volunteers. It provides support services for parents of newly diagnosed children, and help them get ready to raise their children. *In 2008 NOAH released a book titled 'Raising a Child with Albinism: A Guide to Early Years'* (Wikipedia) that book helped many mothers in raising their children who are born with albinism. NOAH also promotes for public and professional education to those who have albinism. Moreover, that national organization held many national events such as 'the NOAH National Conference'. This conference includes medical and vision tests, educational and social concerns. It allows persons with albinism to meet and share their concerns. The aim of NOAH organization is to keep persons with albinism connected to one another and provide them with the opportunity to learn, share their thoughts with their community and the world as a whole.

II. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter highlighted the Tanzanian social and economic changes that posed a dilemma after independence. with explaining the ritual killings as new mental contrast. Further, poverty is tackled as one of the consequences of the economic change in Tanzania and one of the causes that helped in the rise of albino harassment and discrimination.

General Conclusion

In the past two decades, Tanzania witnessed an uncontrollable rise in the attacks against persons with albinism, which are driven by many factors. One of the major factors are the myths and superstitions that are transmitted from generation to another. People with albinism were never been treated as human beings, and rather seen as ghosts or evil spirits. Thus, persons with albinism always suffered from alienation and discrimination just because of their very pale skin. Living in total segregation with their own society and families.

The second factor leading to the killing and attacks against persons with albinism is the belief in witchcraft and occult forces. People in sub-Saharan Africa mainly and Tanzania specifically have magical and supernatural worldview, which means that the beliefs in witchcraft and magic are so rooted in the African traditional heritage. and this gives witchdoctors and traditional healers a very high position of power in the society. further, witchdoctors have great role in promoting for the killing of persons with albinism in Tanzania, especially with the rise of poverty after the economic changes that are brought after independence.

Hence, in the age of mining industry, witchdoctors started promoting for beliefs about charms and potions made by albino body parts that brings wealth and success to its user. These new beliefs made up by witchdoctors created what is called “the albino trade”. The albino body parts trade is a consequence of witchcraft beliefs, poverty and the economic changes in Tanzania. After the economic change, many people lost their jobs so they started looking for new incomes and shortcuts. So, they headed to mining industry and albino haunting. And this what made the living of persons with albinism in Tanzania goes from bad to worse.

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