Belief on Witchcraft and Killing of People with Albinism in Lack Victoria Zone, Tanzania

Edmund J. Kayombo

Department of Medical Botany Plant Breeding and Agronomy, Institute of Traditional Medicine, Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences, P.O.Box 65001, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

Author’s contribution

The sole author designed, analysed, interpreted and prepared the manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

Killing of people with albinism and old people has been featuring in Tanzania mass media and worldwide. The main cause of killing old people and people with albinism is witchcraft beliefs. Old women are reported to be killing grand children; whereas people with albinism were believed their part of the body when added with other potent traditional remedies brings fortune and prosperous. Witchcraft cannot be denied in indigenous African communities; however there might be other factors unexplored that lead to killing old people and people with albinism. The aim of this paper is to explore other factors that contribute to killing old people and people with albinism.

Methodology: The study was carried in Lake Victoria zone, Tanzania using qualitative research methods. The main focus were to explore factors that lead to killing old people and people with albinism in addition to current belief of witchcraft. The collected information were analyzed using qualitatively techniques.

Results: The findings have shown any health problems including death need explanations that were sought through ramli. The ramli showed old people especially old women were noted to be killing grand children by witchcraft means. Other factors like wealth acquisition, jealous,
misunderstanding in the day to day activities were also reported. Whereas killing of people with albinism were due to the belief of that part of their body when added with potent traditional remedies brought fortune and prosperous to one requested. In addition it was noted that people with albinism were seen as bad omen or curse and were not wanted to leave. Lack of education on causes of health problems and people with albinism seemed to contribute to this problem. Public health education on causes of health problem and lack melanin to people with albinism which is important for skin pigmentation is needed.

**Keywords:** Witchcraft; killing; albinism; education.

**1. INTRODUCTION**

Killing of people with albinism and old people has been featuring in Tanzania mass media and worldwide [1-3]. This killing of people with albinism and old people has been claimed to be associated with the belief in witchcraft, as a result of diagnostic done by traditional health practitioners (THPs) [1-4]. In Tanzania for example, about 500 older women were reported to be murdered following accusations. Further, in one decade (1991 to 2001), 20,000 persons accused of being witchcraft and were murdered by citizenry [3].

Ramli (divination) in Tanzania is a tool used by THPs to identify health problem of clients [2,3]. It has been used for many years and still is being used today both in rural and urban areas in sub Saharan African countries [5,7], but in recent years, it is claimed to be connected with killing old people and albinism [2,3]. Nonetheless ramli in Tanzania and sub Saharan African countries is a special skill where THPs find explanation on causes of illness whether natural or caused by ancestors, gods for breaching established norms of the family or community [6,7,8]. It is being acknowledged that some of health conditions affecting clients cannot be diagnosed with available conventional diagnostic tools [9,10]. Not only in healthcare but also ramli played an important role in decision making in the past before colonial period [7,10,11]. Ramli like other tools used in human activities may also be misused by opportunist THPs and lead to serious calamities of killing old people and people with albinism [12].

The killing of old people in Tanzania, mainly women were causing suffering/deaths of the loved children through witchcraft [2,3]. Based from claim of THPs' diagnosis; some of clients looked for paid killers of human to ruthless kill suspected people who have caused suffering/deaths to their respective loved children [5,13]. But ramli like other diagnostic tools if not well set or fail to interpret signs, THPs might to read wrong results, and hence misuse the ramli [13,14]. There is a need for THPs to check with other traditional diagnostic tools if they can give same results before telling clients who caused suffering/deaths. It is being acknowledged that THPs are supposed to be peace makers through advice in families and communities as well as to rulers [15-17]. This is one of their oaths when graduate to practice traditional medicine [8].

The literature reviewed is silent on showing who owns wealth in a polygamy and non polygamy family like land, cows etc and how is it distributed among the children. If the old mother or father own wealth and does not distribute the wealth to children this may be one of reasons for killing old people. Other possible reasons in some ethnic group include transgressing socio-cultural norms, revenge, grievances pompous and the like may lead someone to be killed. Thus it should not looked only on witchcraft that has caused suffering/death of an individual but also other potential mentioned factors need to evaluated in causing brutal killing.

The killing of albinism on the other hand, again THPs are approached with people who seek prosperity like wealth, promotion at work place, win election to be a member of parliament, winning court cases [18,19]. Charlatan THPs ask client to bring a born or hair of people with albinism which he/she will mix with other remedies for the purpose requested [20]. But people with albinism are like other people with exception of having absence of pigmentation in their skin, hair and eyes and it is hereditary genetic condition [20]. Smith [20] has further argued every 20,000 births in the world one have albinism. In Western world people with albinism is rare but quite common in sub-Saharan Africa, likely as a result of consanguinity [12]. In Tanzania for example people with albinism represent one in every 1429 births, a much higher rate than in any other nation [12].
Literature reviewed claim that through the ramli THP may request to find a piece of born of the albino or hair or any part of the albino for making a remedy of success [21]. It is not known whether THPs meant to hunt the people with albinism or is a denial to clients’ request, and thus giving them difficult conditions that cannot be met. Since these clients have trust to THP approached and want to succeed on what they have planned; they hired people to hunt albino at any cost thus leading to killing people with albinism.

The killing of people with albinism was so alarming in Lake Victoria Zone that made former President Kikwete publicly condemned witch doctors, their helpers and middlemen, clients including members of the police force, for these murders [22]. This in turn made the Ministry of Home Affairs vow to take hash action to THPs who were involved in ramli as a way of thumping down this practice as well as to suspect to be murderers [22]. The impact of vowed by the Minister led to a total of 73 suspected to murderers of old and albino people were caught and jailed for more police interrogation, 15 of these after police interrogation were identified as ruthless murderers, and (13) were sentenced to caporal punishment [22].

In process hunting THPs who were involved in making ramli many of them were caught with piece of wild animal skin, tail, nails of lion, and horn as tools for practice of traditional medicine [23]; as part of rituals and ingredients in the practice of African traditional medicine [24,25]. These tools have meanings either through association in explaining an issues or linking with ancestors/gods in the process of ramli [26-28] or used as in combination with other materia medica in traditional medicine [26-28]; and were most probably inherited from parents and grant parents. Others who were inspired by ancestral spirits to practice traditional medicine such tools were requested by their ancestors through suffering and in process of treatment it was found to be a call by the ancestors to practice traditional medicine [8]. These tools are supposed to be registered to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism [29]. Fearing to be caught by police as was shown by Witchcraft Ordinance of 1948 [30] many THPs have not sent their tools to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism for Registration.

All in all assessing in the communities where brutal killing take place, many questions remain unanswered such as:

i. Is it true the belief of witchcraft is the only main cause of killing the old people or witchcraft is used as justification of killing the old people?

ii. How the wealth like land is, cows etc in the family being distributed among the children?

iii. How people with albinism traditional perceived by the people in different communities?

iv. Have these perception changed in traditional communities with the socioeconomic development?

The aim of this paper is to attempt to answer the raised questions using findings UNESCO and the Traditional and Alternative Health Practitioners Council that focused on the killing of people with albinism and old people in regions of Lake Victoria zone

2. METHODOLOGY

The findings of this paper is part of UNESCO qualitative study carried in Msingwi, Sengerema, Msalala and Bariadi district that focused on promoting wellbeing and rights of people with Albinism (as part with the framework of UN Development plan UNDAP 2011-2016) [31]; and the Secretariat of Traditional and Alternative Health Practitioners Council of Tanzania of Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children during the outreach services in Lake Victoria zone (that included Geita, Kagera, Mwanza, Shinyanga and Simiyu regions) one of the agenda focused on factors leading to killing of old people and people with albinism Tanzania and who were possible suspects and measures taken.

Lake Zone has a total population of 10,089,027 (23% of Tanzanian population) of which 50.5% were females [32]. The main occupations of people living in this Zone were farming (with focus on cash crop (cotton) and food crops) and pastoralism. Traditional beliefs and cultural practices in this zone were still intact possible partly because Christian missionary as well as Muslims religious activities had not penetrated in the interior. The Zone is rich in various minerals with several mining centers. For the two studies Lake zone was purposeful chosen because of
reported killing of people with albinism and old people higher than other regions of Tanzania.

In both studies target populations were THPs, coordinators of traditional medicine at District and regional level, religious people, police officers at regional and district level, regional administrative officers. Regional and district administrative officials of Lake Victoria Zone were approached to get permission to carry the studies and access government officials who were involved in solving problem of killing old people and people with albinism. Mix qualitative data collection methods were used. It included informal and in-depth interview, community meetings, focus groups discussion and case studies as well as life history to affected people. In addition Secretariat had an opportunity of visiting regional and district offices where they met officers who were involved in arresting people suspected to be involved in the brutal killing of old people and people with albinism as well as THPs who were involved in making ramli. Both studies were interested to learn and get insight knowledge of the problem from communities factors that motivated killing of old people and which gender was affected most whether it was due to the claimed to witchcraft as main cause or they were other factors not reported. Any measures used in protecting old people at family or community level. Whereas to people with albinism studies were interested to know what were people’s perception on people with albinism and how they were handled and if there were any changes in perception with education given to people about albinism. In addition as families how people with albinism were treated and if there were any changes in perception with education given to people about albinism. The findings revealed killing of old people as especially grandmothers were traditional community leaders and influential people and some were traditional health practitioners. The religious leaders were invited to participate in the two studies. There were multi levels of education from illiteracy to university levels. All in all more than 75% were literate and were within the five kilometers social services like school, health facility. All participants were aware about the problem the people with albinism and killing old people were facing in their respective communities.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Characteristics of Respondents

A total of 150 of which 40 percent were women participated in the UNESCO study; and 100 in Traditional and Alternative Health Council during the outreach program of which 30 percent were women. In the two studies the 175 participants were of middle age 30-50 years old and 75 were above 50 years old. Among the 30% who were above 50 years old were traditional community leaders and influential people and some were traditional health practitioners. The religious leaders were invited to participate in the two studies. There were multi levels of education from illiteracy to university levels. All in all more than 75% were literate and were within the five kilometers social services like school, health facility. All participants were aware about the problem the people with albinism and killing old people were facing in their respective communities.

3.2 Factors That Led Killing Old People

The findings from the two studies showed two main causes were coined with killing of the old people. The findings revealed killing of old people was a result of the belief on witchcraft. Old people as especially grandmothers were claimed to kill their grandchildren through witchcraft. Since the sons and daughters were ignorant on use of witchcraft as revenge, the hired people to kill their respective grandmothers. Researchers searched more the scene behind the belief on witchcraft that leads to killing of old people. One of medical officer in charge in a district hospital reported that it was true because of witchcraft; however he argued other possible cause was distribution of wealth and that were land and livestock. Land and livestock belonged to parents and were not distributed to their children. Some of these old people who restricted distribution of wealth to the children were killed by claiming them to be witches. The signs which victimized to be witches were their ugly faces and red eyes to old women. Similar response was also reported during the meeting with THPs in Simiyu region and police in charge in Geita region.
Researcher questioned to the participants about the killed children through witchcraft if were eaten as meat. The answer was yes, further it was used to pay debt for the borrowed human meat from their fellow witches. In some clients they said that the killed children were taken as “Msukule”. When asked to explain what was “msukule” one of the participants narrated,

“Msukule is a human being taken by witches by means of witchcraft technique and use him to work on his farm or shops. From normal eyes the person is seen dead and is buried, but in real sense person is not dead body but taken as msukule.

Researcher probed further why the victims were old women. One of the participant responded by saying

“Majority of the work is done by women and hence they need to have assistants to help them”

Researcher wanted to know besides what has been narrated, if the killing of the old people were not related to revenge, rape to children and wives, grievances, envy, and human sacrifice in order to get power, respect, and especially riches, misunderstanding on daily activities, failing to debt and transgressing the cultural norms. In the two discussion group showed these were also some of the factors for killing old people but were lamped together as results of witchcraft activities.

In addition researcher probed traditional what measures were taken to people identified as witches. From the in-depth interviews, meeting and from FGDS show that they were traditional deported, others had ritual cleansing in some cases were being killed. In one of in-depth interview it was noted in the Wasukuma community people lacked basic education because some of the diseases that are believed to be caused by witchcraft might be caused by natural causes like malaria, pneumonia, flu, cholera etc.

3.4 Traditional Perception on People with Albinism in the Lake Zone

Researcher searched the traditional perception for the people with albinism in the lake zone. It was learn that in past giving a birth to an albino child was abnormal and was considered as curse or a punishment to family or something bringing a bad luck to the community. These children were thrown away after performing special rituals not to give another baby with albino.

Whereas one of the coordinator of traditional and alternative medicine reported no body in previous could show the grave of people with albinism. In the past albino were buried by the relative at night. Nobody besides the relative participated at burying dead body for fear of witch to come and harvest some parts of albino buried body. Thus it was very likely that many albino infants were killed probably at births. In the FGDs one participants narrated a case where a man whose wife gave birth to an albino child, he abandoned the mother with the child and moved to Dodoma.
where again he was married and his wife gave birth to an albino and he also abandoned and moved to another place.

The nurses who participated in FGDS also showed a concern that mothers who gave albino children were abandoned at health facilities and ran away. These children were taken to Buhangija and Mitindo primary school for care by government. With the rise of hunting of the people with albino some of the relatives were involved in selling their albino relatives to get money because that person was not wanted. Selling of people with albino was also underscored by the coordinator of traditional medicine and as well as from two senior police officers reported the killing of people with albinism involved the family or relative. It is very likely that there was still negative attitude toward people with albinism despite the present level of development.

3.5 Thps’ Involvement in Killing Old People and People with Albinism

THPs were being blamed to be the cause of killing old people and people albinism through the ramli (divination). The two studies learnt that it any health problem or suffering, death or anything abnormal a need to find explanation was very important before taking any measure. It was stressed by one participant

“Any health problem whether of human being or livestock or anything unusually in a household there should be cause and needs explanation through ramli. Sometimes ill health conditions was seen to be a signal of warning that something was not going well”

In the focus group discussions researcher asked the participants why THPs were connected with killing of old people as well as people with the Albinism. In response it was learnt THPs were connected with killing of old people because of the ramli process when seeking to know the cause of illness or death of the child. In ramli process the result would show it was either the grand father or mother who has caused the suffering or death. It was these claims that have led THPs to be connected with the killing of the old people. Nevertheless some of the participants hastened the results of the ramli if it were true, and done properly with skilled personnel on making ramli or by a charlatan THPs. Clients asserted that a practitioner of ramli can be misled by tricky witches who had caused suffering or death of the child, cleverly through witch hide his/her shadow in the shadow grandmother or grandfather who would appear to be seen as witches in the ramli. Skillful practitioners of ramli evaluate the results of the shadow to note is someone has tempered the result. If tempered he/she could separate the shadow and see who actual caused suffering or death of the child.

Whereas others participants argued these old people were witches and some have msukule in their houses. Participants cited evidences of msukule and narrated as follows

“My neighbor’s child had a strong fever attack and eventually died when parents were preparing to sent to dispensary for treatment. Later it was learnt that the child was taken by witch. The child was hidden in a corner and what was buried was not the dead body of the child but a piece of log. The child was seen by some people in neighbor’s house and was used with other misukule to work on the rice farm at night”

Whereas killing of people with albinism the study noted that it was a result from ramli for opportunist people who went to seek to formula to be wealth, famous, win election, get good catch of fish for the fishermen to an expert of performing ramli. In meetings done at Simiyu, Geita and also Karagwe district in Bukoba by the Secretariat of the Council it was noted that THPs told their clients requirement to be successful on their request as seen in the ramli process like leg, arm, hair, blood, genital parts and bone of a person with albinism or hair. This led to the rise of a group of people who were expert in killing people to hunt people with albinism so they could get what was requested by traditional health practitioners who were performing ramli.

In that meeting it was revealed traditionally healers took oath before being involved in the practice of traditional medicine. Killing a human being was a great sin and the doer was punished by ancestors by severe beating and being ill over his/her rest period. THPs lamentation was also echoed by one police who took part in search the healers who were involved in malpractices. He said

“I know there are good traditional health practitioners and providing healthcare to some the health problem which currently not treated in conventional medicine. Also there were some areas in rural areas where health facilities are too
far to be reached. We have to protect these kinds of healers”

Discussing with healers in three meeting held in Simiyu, Geita and also Karagwe district in Bukoba region traditional healers who participated in that meeting vehemently argued that business of traditional medicine were jeopardized by charlatan.

3.6 People Involved in Killing Old People and People with Albinism

Researcher was also interested to know if they were special people who were used to kill old people and people with albinism. It was learnt there was a group of people were trained how to chop the part required from a person with an albino with one smash of a panga (machete). One of these men was on hand of the police and was shown a person who was killed by panga (machete). The culprit said,

“The one who did this was not trained. It is just one smash the head and other part are separated”.

He further said,

“We are being paid by large sum of money ranging from two million to five million shillings. They have to sell cows in order to get such lump sum of money.”

Researcher was interested to know which parts were these killers to collect from the people with albinism, and how the killing was performed; and if there was any resistant from family. In meetings, focus group discussions, and informal and formal interviews revealed the following items blood for rituals, eyes, legs, genitals arms, skin and hair were to be collected. The response to the question was that process of killing included children snatching in the house while sleeping or when met on the road and if the environment was conducive for the murderer or abduction from the mother.

In all groups of discussion and from informal and form in-depth interview mothers showed resistance but were overwhelmed by the murderers. In some cases it was learnt father and some of the relatives were part of the process because those children were thought to be curse, bad omen and unwanted in the community. Researcher probed further if the killers were within respective communities and if they got any training how to kill a human being with one smash. From the focus group it was reported that they were not within their communities but were hired from afar like Mara region. There was no response if they got training using one smash in killing human beings.

4. DISCUSSION

The findings on abnormality brutality killing of old people and people with albinism in Lake Victoria Zone has been presented and analyzed. The findings have shown major cause of killing of old people and people with albinism is belief on witchcraft. Similar findings have been shown by Barnet [35] Work the World [36] and Uromi [37]. The belief in witchcraft is strong in some ethnic groups of Tanzania despite the modernization as well as distribution of religion institution in various ethnic groups [38,39]. Not only in Tanzania but also strong beliefs in witchcraft wide spread in Africa [40,41] and also in some developed and developing countries like India and China [42,43]. The findings have shown many old people and especially women in the Lake Victoria zone were brutal killed because of belief in witchcraft. In findings have been claimed these old women killed their grandchildren through witchcraft as payment to meat of human being given by their fellow witches or taken as msukule to work in the farm. Similar observation has been reported by Beira Boy [44] in Tanzania, Onyinah [45] in Ghana and Kindness [46] in Zambia. What comes unclear is in Tanzania and sub Saharan African countries as whole, grandmother love to have grandchildren to play with at old age [47,48]. It is there pride to see their children have given birth to new sibling and even take part in the child delivery and even taking care after delivery [49,50]. This raises question to how are they involved in killing the grand children.

Accusation of women to be witches is also been reported in Malawi and Mozambique [51,52] where women with grey hairs and red eyes are branded witches [53,54]; and in most cases were directed to old women [54]. In addition to the foremention in this study, through the ramili techniques (divination) witches and wizards were identified and subjected to killing. Similar findings have shown by Forsyth [55] and Sedding [56] in Gambia and South Africa respectively, prospective witches were identified by THPs by use of ramili techniques. Brutal killing of people on the belief of witchcraft has also been reported in other African countries like Angola, Malawi,
Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gambia and Burkina Faso after the witch hunt [40,57]. Witches hunt have been reported in other countries like North America and South America [58] Far East Countries [59,60] and Western European countries like Great Britain, German, Sweden and others in 15th and 18th [42,61].

Besides the above, the analyses of the findings seem to suggest that there are other factors that contribute to killing old women but partially mention in literature reviews. As shown in findings these factors include first, distribution of wealth to the children and that was land and livestock which were monopolized by old women. Accusations of witchcraft to these old women were a kind justification for killing them in order to acquire wealth which these old women possessed. Second love affair with somebody’s wife or rap of a young girl by an old man stories that have been featuring in mass media, jealousy, and conflicts between neighbors family mainly land boundaries. Similar observation related to killing old women has been reported by Muhija [62] and Help Age international [13] in Tanzania, Njoro [63] and Blonfield [64] in Kenya and Olsen [65] in Nigeria. Muhija [62] and Migiro [66] have stressed family over land or inheritance may significantly contribute to killing of old people in the name witchcraft as elaborated by Migiro [66] ‘the hidden agenda behind witchcraft is the land’. Notwithstanding some elderly people are innocently because of the age, red eyes, gray hair and ugly face the general appearance at the old age with their relative. This argument is supported by Mweninguwe [67] who has contended people all over Malawi accuse elderly person to be witchcraft with their relatives. Scientist find difficult to accept the presence of witches in the community where people live. But in this the case misukule shown in the findings to be seen in the house woman believed to be witch signal the presence of witches in the communities. Since women were the ones doing the entire farm this possible explains the presence of misukule to old women.

The findings on the killings of people with albinism were caused by two main factors. First, people with albinism traditional were unwanted in Lake Victoria Zone communities because were considered as a curse, bad omen, punishment to the parents and hence were killed at birth and thrown away. Similar observation has been shown by Human Rights Watch [68] and Smith [20] in other parts of Tanzania and as well as other countries in sub African countries [18,69]. In Malawi for instance people with albinism were seen as contagious caused by infidelity or ghost [70]. Second was the rise of the opportunist traditional health practitioners with misconceived ideas about the promise of wealth, success and power when albino hair or limbs are used in a potion in the traditional remedy [68]. Strange even relative of person with an albinism were being middlemen in selling these victims [70,71]. This is reported in the present study and those reviewed [72,73]. In Malawi for instance some thought that people with albinism have magic in their bones that could make others rich, many paid huge sums for their body parts, allowing a gruesome trade in human bones to flourish [72,73]. Amnesty international [72] stressed that it was a trade driven by the growing demand for these body parts in southern and eastern Africa.

The analysis of findings show people’s perception to people with albinism in the study area suggest traditional perception on people with albinism have not changed with the level of development. Running aware from health facility after giving birth to an albino child, sending albino children to Bihangija or Mitindo is case in point such children were not wanted in their respective communities. These people are believed to be a curse, punishment from God or bad luck and that their “disease” could be contagious and thus were ostracised and even killed. The present findings suggest that these misconceptions are coupled with the lack of education on people with albinism. The present findings are underscored by literature review on people with albinism in Tanzania and other African countries [73,74]. This lack of knowledge around people with Albinism seems to have given way on myth and superstition of opportunistic traditional health practitioners in witchcraft activities.

In literature surveyed nothing has been mentioned on what kinds of people were used to do the brutal killing as those seen in Lake Victoria Zone. In this study the findings have shown there were specially people who have special art of killing the old people and people with albinism by one smash with panga (sword). The brutal murders were hired from afar. The styles used included were murder, attack, abduction and snatching the people with an albinism while asleep. Similar findings of hiring people have also been shown by Onjoro [63] in Kenya, Mweninguwe [67] and Amnesty...
International [71] in Malawi, Miguel [74] and Daughter of Africa [75] in Tanzania

5. CONCLUSION

To grasp understanding socio-cultural practices and its related beliefs in any community on the issue understudy are keys to comprehend the problem and possible prevention or intervention to be used. The present study underscores the beliefs on witchcraft is the is one the causes of killing of old people especially old women and killing of people with albinism in the Lake Victoria zone of Tanzania. However in some cases witchcraft has been used as pretext of killing old people. This study suggest that socio-economic issues which partial mentioned in literature like inheritance on land and livestock, personal conflicts and respect seems to have a cost to some old people and hence need to be evaluated on their contribution to the old people. To the people with albinism on the otherhand like to the old people this study acknowledged opportunistic THPs have given false promise that part of human body of a person with albinism has magic that can make someone to prosper in life. It is being recognized that traditional people with albinism were unwanted and were either thrown in the forest or killed at birth after performing traditional rituals [19,67]. The use of conventional health facilities for antenatal, child delivery and postnatal have saved lives of people with albinism from being thrown away or killed at birth. Despite the level of development and education progress traditional beliefs to people with albinism is still intact. This is shown by having minimum protection of people with albinism from hunters of people with albinism or sending the child with albinism to Bihangija to be taken care by the government. Education regarding people with albinism need to be given in village meeting and in religious institution in to redress the beliefs to people with albinism.

CONSENT

At village level, village executive officer and village chairman were approached to get permission to carry studies and assist to get target people for the two studies and only those willing to participate and consented to participate. On government officials only those who were working with THPs and were in fight against killing of people with albinism and old people were chosen and consented to participate in the two studies.

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COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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