



History of Attacks against Persons with Albinism (PWA)

July 15, 2013

Introduction

This paper takes on an enormous task. It attempts to explain the history and origins of the **attacks** against persons with albinism (PWA).ⁱ In light of the monstrosity of this subject matter, this paper can only scratch the surface of the issue. That said, it is our hope that the information which we have gathered, not only from media sources but from academics and our personal experiences with Africans with albinism both within and outside of the continent, will shed some light on this important topic.

The historical study is particularly important in light of what appears to be a scourge of attacks against PWA, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa; the region that will be the focus of this paper.

The focus on Sub-Saharan Africa is not an attempt to finger-point or to diminish the equally important task of reviewing the history of similar attacks against PWA worldwide, because this too is necessary for understanding the global stigmatization of and discrimination against PWA.ⁱⁱ However, our present focus is a result of our limited resources and expertise which largely focuses on albinism in Africa.

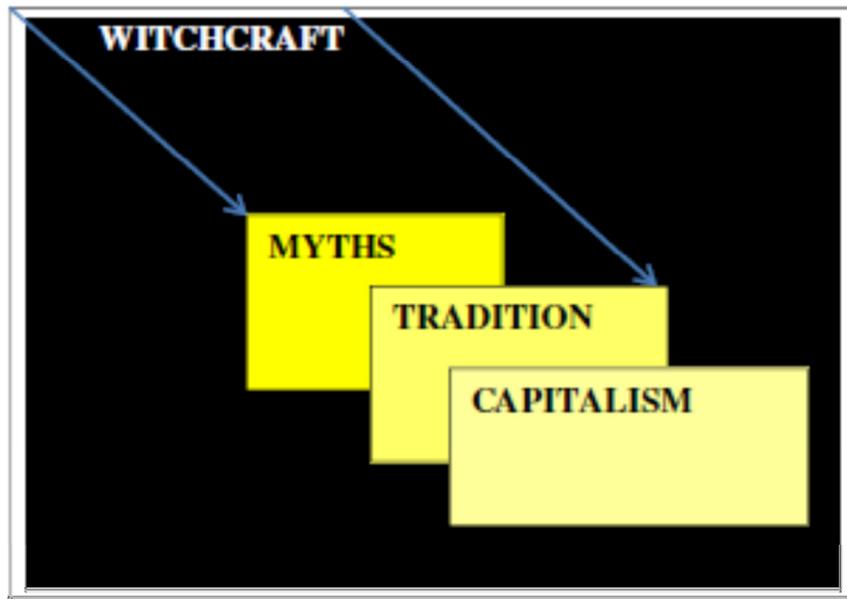
Particular focus on the region of Sub-Saharan Africa is also warranted because that is where the attacks against PWA are uniquely qualified by witchcraft involving the use of human body parts also known as *muti* or *juju*.ⁱⁱⁱ Muti or juju is rife across the region and is the common thread in all countries including Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the list goes on.^{iv}

In this document, “**Attacks**” include gross violations of human rights including but not limited to widespread systemic and non systemic discrimination and stigma; sexual violence and murder including infanticide and homicide; all of which are based on the fact that the victim has the genetic condition of albinism.

When and How did Attacks Against PWA Begin?

Researchers and anthropologists studying African cultural practice are generally unable to pin point the beginning of attacks against PWA. This is likely a result of a multitude of factors, not in the least, the multiplicity of cultural practices and ethnicities in the region and a chronic absence of adequate records. However inadequate historical information is also likely a result of the ambiguous and secretive treatment of witchcraft in the region.^v Yet, to understand the origin (if any) and history of attacks against PWA is to understand witchcraft itself. A basic understanding of the mechanics of witchcraft in the region and how it supports prevalent myths and traditions about the condition of albinism will provide a rudimentary tracing of attacks against persons with albinism in the recent history of the past two centuries. Such a tracing will in turn provide an understanding of what appears to be a surge in attacks against PWA in the region.

Figure 1: A Basic Introduction to Historical and Contemporary Factors in the History of Attacks against PWA



This simple diagram illustrates some key factors – discussed below - that have historically contributed and continue to contribute to the attacks against PWA, namely myths, tradition and capitalism. All three factors interact in the context of deeply entrenched witchcraft beliefs. While myths and tradition are more directly linked to witchcraft beliefs, capitalism has risen to take advantage of these myths and traditions that were already there, and make material profit out of them.

Witchcraft – the Foundation of Attacks against PWA

What is Witchcraft?

The word, witchcraft, is an ethnocentric word that has become generally accepted for reference to various phenomena in the Sub-Saharan Africa region that are grounded in the “occult or mystical forces.”^{vi} Dr. Simeon Mesaki, a Tanzanian professor with an expertise in African witchcraft describes it as

..the “idiom through which life is experienced and acted upon, as manifested in everyday conversation, gossip or a way of speaking and means of handling day-to-day ambiguities or means of allocating responsibility, branding scapegoats for misfortunes, eliminating rivals and competitors etc. It also explains, rationalises and makes plausible accusations out of envy, jealousy, greed, hatred, rivalry, vengeance or misunderstanding or misinformation, strained relations, political and economic frustrations etc.”^{vii}

A simpler way of presenting the above definition is that it is an “amalgam of beliefs and practices aimed at manipulating nature for the benefit of the lead practitioner, i.e. the witchdoctor or his or her client.”^{viii} The witchdoctor creates physical aspects of witchcraft such as potions and amulets. He (or she) is a very powerful agent of witchcraft. His words are often “revered by society as ultimate truth.”^{ix} He is important for understanding how witchcraft appears to adjust to the human needs of every generation and thereby remains relevant.

Historians speculate that the practice of and reverence for witchcraft and its muti or juju variants has been in the region since antiquity and formed part of the social fabric of many pre-colonial African societies.^x For example, historical records from the colonial times support a strong inference of a traditional and likely antiquated use of muti in east Africa; with one recorder, Cory (1949, February 21) describing the use of finger nails and human flesh in a concoction known as ‘war medicine’ used by warriors of the Sukuma tribe in Tanzania prior to battle.^{xi} Although witchcraft was often perceived as a force of both good and bad (evil) – and many today still take this position – it is now mainly seen as a force for bad or evil due to the advent of Islam and Christianity in the region, which ban the practice of witchcraft.^{xii}

I Myths – Witchcraft-Propagated Beliefs about PWA^{xiii}

Because witchcraft taps into the supernatural to explain human phenomena, it is logical that witchcraft beliefs were harnessed in the region in an attempt to explain the condition of albinism: this white child born to visibly black parents. Therefore, witchcraft-based explanations have contributed to a belief system about the condition of albinism. These beliefs about albinism are mostly patently false and should be better referred to as myths. Yet, because these myths are so deeply de-humanizing, they form the foundational stages of the attack against PWA. Some of these myths are highlighted below. While some of these myths are not directly related to

witchcraft beliefs, a majority of them can be characterized as such.^{xiv} In any case, those myths that are not clearly linked to witchcraft arguably cashed-in on witchcraft beliefs. For example, the myth that having sex with a PWA will cure HIV/AIDS was likely supported by a prior myth that PWA never die.

PREVAILING MYTHS	
MYTH: Albinism is a curse from the gods or from dead ancestors. As a result, contact with a PWA will bring bad luck, sickness or even death	
	TRUTH: Albinism is no more or less than a genetic condition of the human body. As such, there is nothing magical or supernatural about it. You cannot “catch” albinism – it is not a disease and it is not contagious
MYTH: People with albinism never die. They are not human - they are ghosts	
	TRUTH: The on-going killings in Tanzania demonstrate that PWA do die. They are NOT ghosts. Their pale skin and hair results from having very little of the substance responsible for colour known as melanin
MYTH: It is the mother’s fault if a child has albinism	
	TRUTH: Both the mother and father must carry the gene in order for their child to have albinism
MYTH: Having sex with a woman with albinism will cure AIDS	
	TRUTH: No one can or has ever been cured of AIDS by having sex with a woman with albinism. Belief in this myth will only further spread the virus to others including PWA
MYTH: A charm or potion made from the body parts of PWA has magical powers – bringing its owners wealth, success and good luck	
	TRUTH: No one can or has ever become rich, successful or lucky from having or using body parts of PWA

One of the most dangerous myths and the crux of recent attacks against PWA is that their body parts can be made into potions that give good luck and wealth to its users. This particular myth can be directly linked to the majority of recent attacks against PWA in the region and illustrates why the power of these myths should not be underestimated. Not only do they constitute a form of convention or beliefs-law, they form the basic structure of traditional practices which contribute to the historical and contemporary attacks against PWA.^{xv}

II Traditions – Myths in Action: Historical to Contemporary attacks against PWA

The above myths have and continue to lead to traditional practices aimed at attacking and eliminating PWA. The most ancient traditional form of recorded attacks against PWA is infanticide.

Infanticide and Tradition-Sanctioned Homicide^{xvi}

PWA are generally considered abnormal and sub-human in the region and there is indication that this has been a long standing myth. Like other “abnormal births,” the child with albinism was often killed once born, with the killing often done in secret and the birth unreported.^{xvii} In some

cases, the complicit mid-wife would assist in killing the child, announcing that the child was stillborn and burying the child immediately without the parents viewing it.^{xviii}

This practice existed and may still be practiced among **the Sukuma tribe of north western Tanzania** where a father was obligated to kill their abnormal child as a form of mercy killing to save that child from the hardship that awaits him or her in their agrarian culture.^{xix} However, with time and upon the advice of local witchdoctors, the Sukuma changed their position. The result of that change was, the child with albinism was spared from infanticide and allowed to grow to adulthood so that he or she may be buried alive with the Sukuma Chief when he died.^{xx} The intent of preserving PWA in this manner was to use them as supernatural escorts of the Chief into the afterlife. As Chiefs die only occasionally, the need to bury PWA was also occasional. As a result, the number of PWA among the Sukuma increased and to date, the Sukuma still have a relatively higher number of PWA compared to other tribes in the region.^{xxi}

Further, the **Digo tribe of north eastern Tanzania** traditionally killed their babies born with albinism. They performed this infanticide using a trial by ordeal. The ordeal consisted of dropping a newly born child with albinism into a lake that ran through the famous Amboni caves. Once dropped into the lake, the parents of the child and their supporters waited to see if the child would emerge on the right side of the lake in which case it is believed that the baby would emerge alive. If the child emerged on the left side of the lake, it was believed that it would emerge dead. UTSS has no evidence that any baby with albinism survived this ordeal.^{xxii}

Pastoral communities of east Africa such as **the Masaai, located in Kenya and Tanzania**, also committed traditional infanticide of a child with albinism. The child was laid at the doorway of a cattle Kraal to see if he or she would survive the trampling of cattle exiting for grazing.^{xxiii} Survival of this ordeal meant the child with albinism was supposed to live. However, there are no tales or evidence of survivors of this ordeal. For example, in 2011, one Maasai PWA in Kenya, roughly 40 years of age, explained that he has not met any Masaai with albinism who is older than he is.^{xxiv}

Further, in **Ghana**, in a 2009 interview with a Chief, Nana Agyare Osei Tutu III, of Bukruwa in the Eastern region, the Chief discussed the centuries-old tradition of his town that involved the sacrificing of PWA to the gods of the town for ritual purposes and to bring good omen to its indigents. Nana Agyare further commented that his town could not guarantee the safety of PWA given the deep entrenchment of the tradition of killing them. He described the practice as centuries old. The chief also said that although he wished that the custom be abolished, he is in a quandary as to how do so.^{xxv}

Lastly, in **South Africa**, in a 2010 interview by Bob Rickard with a well-known Zulu witchdoctor or *Sangoma*, Credo Mutwa, when asked about muti, Mutwa replied:

“Not all Africans have got black hair. There are Africans who are regarded as very holy, as very sacred. These are Africans who are born with natural red hair. These Africans are

believed to be very spiritually powerful. Now, in Africa, such people, *albeamers* or red-headed Africans, were the most victims of sacrifice, especially when they were just entering maturity – whether they were males or females.”

(From the context of Mutwa’s words, it seems most likely that the italicized word (*albeamers*) is a transcription error and was an intention to refer to “albinos.”^{xxvi})

While the above traditions are often described as events from the past and recent past, there is a strong possibility that they still occur especially in rural villages where local customs and age-old practices are still alive; records are not kept, and infrastructure is weak. It is possible that any tribe in the region that has a low or non-existent PWA population, such as the Maasai, may still be practicing traditional infanticide or other tradition-sanctioned homicide.^{xxvii}

III Capitalism: Murder of PWA for Political Success and Wealth

While some attacks against PWA like the ones above are historically entrenched and have become part of tradition, others appear to be more recent. These recent types are not necessarily traditional but are conventional, sanctioned by acquiescence, myths and traditions about albinism. Here are two key conventional practices related to albinism:

Murder of PWA for Political Success

In **Ghana**, a one-time Imam in the Ghana Armed Forces, Sheikh Salawati Imam Rashid, in a statement made in Tamale, disclosed how some politicians in the country buried a number of PWA and children alive in their quest for political power. He stated:

“During the elections, not only were animals slaughtered and sacrificed; but some human beings were buried alive, including albinos, deep in the forests.... The accidents which swept across the country immediately after the 2008 elections were a sign and warning to Ghanaians...those accidents were not mere accidents but had spiritual connotations and meanings to them.”^{xxviii}

In **Senegal**, President Abdoulaye Wade alleged that the opposition were involved in the disappearance of 2 albino females in 1989. This information was produced in a WikiLeaks document and subsequently published online.^{xxix} Several articles online have since provided further details of this allegation.^{xxx}

In **Cote d’Ivoire**, PWA were and likely continue to be at risk during elections. One person with albinism, now a staff member of Under The Same Sun states:

“I can witness that in 1985, while living with my parents in a small village in the south eastern Cote d’Ivoire, I was forced to stay hidden for 7 days in a row because my father feared that I would be abducted and murdered as part of the ritual preparations for the burial of the Chief of the Canton of TIAPOUM. This is because according to the Akan

custom, the heads of “white-skinned people,” namely persons with albinism were always used for the burial of traditional chiefs.”^{xxxii}

More recently, during the 2013 elections in **Kenya**, a witchdoctor from **Tanzania** boasted on camera about servicing politicians in Kenya.^{xxxiii} A few months later, while **Swaziland** was preparing for elections, a community leader of PWA issued a warning that all PWA in the country should remain in hiding.^{xxxiii}

Murder of PWA for Wealth

In contemporary Africa, there are two groups taking advantage of the historical treatment of PWA for wealth. The first group are those who believe that capitalism and its inevitable competitiveness and resulting inequities can be aided by witchcraft. This group wishes to use witchcraft to tap into and maintain fortunes in the free market.

The second group are witchcraft practitioners, particularly witchdoctors. This group wishes to capitalize on the people’s general belief in the potency of witchcraft.

The First Group – Users of PWA Body Parts for Wealth and Power

Based on the recent prices attached to PWA body parts, many in this group already have wealth and power far beyond the average citizen but want more – fast, quick and easy. They are faced with the increasing pressures of globalization and the difficulty of competition in the economy. This is one of the reasons why in the sub Saharan Africa region, it is not uncommon to hear stories of a wealthy politician, businessman or artisan who only succeeded allegedly because he or she allegedly used witchcraft.^{xxxiv} The type of witchcraft often referred to in this regard is muti or juju – i.e. the one involving human body parts including, and especially, those of PWA.

Nowhere is this clearer than in Tanzania, a state that recently transitioned from a socialist based economy to free market capitalism.^{xxxv} Bryceson et al, in, “Miner’s magic: artisanal mining, the albino fetish and murder in Tanzania,” show how the infusion of capitalism in Tanzania has driven most into deeper beliefs in witchcraft.^{xxxvi} Bryceson et al use artisanal miners in north western Tanzania as a case study in this regard. They explain how the miners in Tanzania face serious pressure and challenges in competing with larger multinational corporations in the trade. They also compete with one another with the inevitable result of inequality driving many to buy into the witchcraft belief that the use of body parts of PWA might change their fortune. It is therefore not uncommon but also not readily admitted, that miners use the body parts of PWA, particularly bones of PWA in their trade. These could be worn as amulets or buried at the preferred site of hitting gold.^{xxxvii} A similar phenomenon has been recorded among fishermen on Lake Victoria in Tanzania who weave the hair of PWA into their nets to improve their catches.

Tanzania is not the only site of this phenomenon. In fact, as succinctly described by witchcraft expert, Dr. Mesaki, “the tenacity of beliefs [in witchcraft] becomes greater as economic and

social crises offer fertile ground for such beliefs and practices.^{xxxviii} Given the general economic crises in the region, particularly the inequalities and inequities arising from it, witchcraft practices have increased and many anthropological studies have recorded an ensuing trade in body parts of PWA in Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia amongst others.^{xxxix}

The Second Group - Witchdoctors and their agents

This is the group that Dr. Mesaki describes as “those who deliberately take advantage of witchcraft fears for economic and political advantage.”^{xl} They are capitalists themselves – capitalizing on the fear of and belief in witchcraft of the general population. This group consists of mostly witchdoctors and their agents.

Witchdoctors propagate the beliefs that the body parts of PWA can bring wealth and good fortune. This teaching is arguably an attempt to cash-in on the historical beliefs and traditions that de-humanize PWA.^{xli} Given the prices that their clients are willing to pay for the body parts of PWA, the witchdoctor and his agents do literally cash-in. For example, in Tanzania, a “complete set” of body parts of PWA including all four limbs, genitals, ears, tongue and nose – was fetching the equivalent of 75,000 US dollars.^{xlii} At this price, demand for PWA body parts is spurred and sustained in a region where most subsist on or below poverty levels.^{xliii} Lastly the witchdoctor and his agents are only able to centre their trade on PWA, because PWA are conventionally and traditionally dehumanized; and have been unprotected for centuries. As one miner states:

“...these waganga believe that the zeruzeru aren’t missed in the community. They believe that they are not useful people and if they die they are not lost.” (Simon S., 48 years, Maganzo, June 6, 2009).^{xliv}

Outstanding Challenges to the Remediating of Attacks against PWA

Ongoing de-humanization of PWA in the popular understanding of albinism

As briefly presented above, the myths and challenges that de-humanize PWA continues to thrive and will take time to eradicate in many African societies.

The Law is a blunt instrument

As explained by Dr. Mesaki, the law as inherited from colonial governments in the region are “blunt instruments” in the face of witchcraft.^{xlv} This is because relevant legislation is often rapt with “conceptual and definitional inadequacies” that cannot thoroughly capture a phenomenon whose breadth is spiritual and not material.^{xlvi}

Secrecy as a challenge to law enforcement

Given the secrecy around the practice of witchcraft, law enforcement also faces difficult challenges in gathering evidence. The absence of adequate evidence does great harm to effective prosecution and in turn, the creation of deterrence.^{xlvi}

Development and Modernity which allegedly removes witchcraft tends to propagate it

Development measures such as the free market economy, education and urbanization has increased materialism such that success is closely associated with how much material wealth one can amass. The pressure to amass wealth tends to propagate conflict between persons and the system in which they operate; conflicts to which witchcraft offers tangible explanations and remedies. While local systems of traditional healing and remediation should be commended, the remedies of witchcraft (muti and juju) which are, and continue to be fatal to specific groups such as PWA should be stopped. There is however, an enormous challenge in stopping witchcraft remediation when new development factors continue to place an economic burden on individuals, resulting in their seeking witchcraft solutions to help deal with their new problems.

The involvement of state agents

Agents of the state such as politicians and police often partake in the common worldview of albinism in the region, and therefore are often not immune from the centuries-old myths and traditions that de-humanize and attack PWA. Further, these state agents amongst others have been known to participate in witchcraft as consumers, and have also been known to protect witchdoctors and other witchcraft practitioners from prosecution.^{xlvi}

Conclusion

The attacks against PWA in the Sub-Saharan Africa region have occurred for centuries. While no one can pinpoint when they started because of the absence of records and the numerous approaches and variances between cultures on the continent, one thing is certain: nearly all cultures in the region held and still hold the view that PWA are less desirable beings who are less than human.

Beliefs – mostly myths – around albinism continue to exist, and scientific knowledge of the condition remains chronically lacking. These myths in turn feed entrenched traditions including infanticide and homicide. In contemporary Sub Saharan Africa, these myths and traditions remain alive and have been successfully capitalized upon by witchdoctors and their agents to bring wealth to themselves and purportedly to their clients.

In essence, the history of attacks against PWA is at its crux sustained by myths and traditions that continue to live in the mind of the general population. Without this general belief, the witchdoctor and his agents would be unable to make any profit. Therefore, to understand the history of attacks against PWA is to understand the witchcraft based myths and traditions and the

value that they still hold in contemporary African society. Current studies indicate that these myths and traditions appear to increase when socio-economic challenges persist in the environment.

To eradicate attacks against PWA, it is necessary to focus on eliminating reliance on witchcraft beliefs by strengthening the provision of infrastructure such as schools and hospitals while enhancing the sense of fairness by improving on the system of justice. This justice would have to address not only the witchdoctor and their agents but also the powerful and wealthy members of their society who bring the large sums of money into this trade. Also, poverty eradication and programs to remove ignorance by introducing a scientific view of the world through public education will also be necessary.^{xlix} While these may not completely eliminate witchcraft beliefs they are likely to reduce it to minor isolated pockets which are gravely shunned by the majority, and who in their practice of witchcraft, would not dare to deprive a person of their human rights due to albinism.

ⁱ For more information on the genetic condition of albinism, see “What is Albinism?” Under The Same Sun (UTSS) Resources, accessed July 12, 2013, www.underthesamesun.com/resources.

ⁱⁱ The issue of global stigmatization and how this warrants the classification of persons with albinism as a specific people group was briefly introduced in “Why Should PWA be Considered a Specific Group,” UTSS Resources, accessed July 12, 2013, www.underthesamesun.com/resources.

ⁱⁱⁱ The meaning of *muti* or *juju* in context of the attacks against PWA was introduced in “Killed for Muti,” UTSS Resources: Albino Killings are Muti Killings, accessed July 12, 2013 www.underthesamesun.com/resources.

^{iv} Simeon Mesaki, “Witchcraft and witch-killings in Tanzania,” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota 1993), pp. 10-21.

^v Mesaki, note iv, p. 41. Also see Simon Fellows, “Trafficking Body Parts in Mozambique and South Africa, Human Rights League, Mozambique, 2008, accessed August 3, 2010, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/23729111/Trafficking-Body-Parts-in-Mozambique-and-South-Africa-Mozambique-Human-Rights-League>

^{vi} Aleksandra Cimpric, “Children Accused of Witchcraft. An anthropological study of contemporary practices in Africa,” UNICEF, WCARO, Dakar, April 2010, accessed July 10, 2013, http://www.unicef.org/wcaro/wcaro_children-accused-of-witchcraft-in-Africa.pdf, at p.7.

^{vii} Simeon Mesaki, “Witchcraft and the law in Tanzania,” *Department of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol 1(8): 132-138, December, 2009. Available online: <http://www.academicjournals.org/ijasa>, p. 132.

^{viii} Mesaki, note iv, p. 41

^{ix} Jill Schnoebelen, “Witchcraft allegations, refugee protection and human rights: a review of the evidence,” UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency Policy Development and Evaluation Service, January 2009, at p.10, quoting Paja Roy, accessed July 12, 2013, <http://www.unhcr.org/4981ca712.html>.

^x Mesaki, note vii, p. 133.

^{xi} Bryceson et al, note xviii, p. 368.

^{xii} Cimpric, note vi, p.10.

^{xiii} The following table was first published in a similar format by Under The Same Sun in “Children with Albinism in Africa: Murder Mutilation and Violence: A Report on Tanzania with Parallel References to other Parts of Africa,” A Report to Mme. Santos Pais, UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence Against Children, June 19, 2012, UTSS Resources: UTSS Report to UN, accessed July 12, 2013, <http://www.underthesamesun.com/resources>.

^{xiv} Cimpric, note vi, p.28.

- ^{xv} The term “beliefs-law” was used by Dr. Mesaki, at note v, to describe witchcraft but is and adequate descriptor here.
- ^{xvi} Some of these were published in Under The Same Sun’s Report at note xiii.
- ^{xvii} Cimpric, note vi, p.26.
- ^{xviii} Deborah Fahy Bryceson, Jesper Bossee Jonsson and Richard Sherrington, “Miner’s magic: artisanal mining, the albino fetish and murder in Tanzania,” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 48,3 (2010): 368.
- ^{xix} Bryceson et al, note xviii , p. 367.
- ^{xx} UTSS Interview in 2009 with Dr. Sandu, an anthropologist and Caretaker of the Bujora Museum in Mwanza who also serves as Priest at Bujora Cathedral.
- ^{xxi} Interview with Dr. Sandu at note xx.
- ^{xxii} See UTSS’ “Killed for Muti” at note iii.
- ^{xxiii} Bryceson et al, note xviii , p. 368 and also UTSS’ Report at note xiii.
- ^{xxiv} UTSS interview with Alex Munyere, Chairman, Albino Association of Kenya. Video recorded by UTSS in Kenya, 2011.
- ^{xxv} Myjoyonline, “Albino killing craze stares at Ghana,” *Modern Ghana*, March 19, 2009, accessed July 9, 2013, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/207231/1/albino-killing-craze-stares-at-ghana.html>
- ^{xxvi} Bob Rickard, “Albino Muti Murders: The albinos killed for their ‘magical’ body parts,” March 2010, ForteanTimes, accessed July 10, 2013, http://www.forteanimes.com/strangedays/misc/3043/albino_muti_murders.html, note: Credo Mutwa has his own Wikipedia page).
- ^{xxvii} See for example “Scapegoating the most vulnerable in the Central African Republic,” In UNICEF, “Witchcraft Accusations Hurt the Most Vulnerable Children in West, Central Africa,” Voice of America, last updated July 19, 2010, accessed July 12, 2013, <http://www.voanews.com/content/witchcraft-accusations-harmful-to-children-in-west-and-central-africa-98835474/161594.html>.
- ^{xxviii} “Albinos Killed for 2008 Elections,” *GhanaWeb*, Thursday, May 21, 2009, accessed (?), <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=162435>
- ^{xxix} Published as “Senegal Campaign for 2012 Underway,” *AllAfrica*, December 17, 2010, accessed between 2010 and 2011, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201012170858.html>. Note this information was part of a Cable message allegedly created by the US on Nov 5, 2009 and leaked by WikiLeaks)
- ^{xxx} See for example: “Encore une révélation Grave de Wade: » On m’a dit que Pape Diop a fait tuer un albinos,” *Rewmi*, May 30, 2012, <http://www.rewmi.com/> ; Also see Reunion du Comite Directeur du PDS Wade accuse Pape Diop d’avoir tué un albinos, *Walfe-Groupe*, May 30, 2012, <http://www.walf-groupe.com/>
- ^{xxxi} Testimony of Amadou Diallo, Advocacy Officer for Francophone Africa and person with albinism, Under The Same Sun, Surrey British Columbia, July 9, 2013.
- ^{xxxii} See video report of interview of Dr. Sabil Abdul by Andrew Ochieng, “Medicinemen Cash in on Political Competition,” NTV Kenya, February 2013, accessed July 10, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4IpMnK-g4M>.
- ^{xxxiii} See “Swazi Albinos Plead for Protection Ahead of Vote,” *Daily Nation*, May 24, 2013, accessed , July 10, 2013, <http://www.nation.co.ke/News/world/Swazi-albinos-plead-for-protection-ahead-of-vote/-/1068/1861356/-/item/1/-/blp9q0z/-/index.html>
- ^{xxxiv} See Cimpric, note vi, p 29; Bryceson et al, note xviii , p. 359-361; and Schnoebelen, note ix p. 4.
- ^{xxxv} Mesaki, note iv, p. 3.
- ^{xxxvi} Bryceson et al, note xviii.
- ^{xxxvii} Bryceson et al, note xviii , p. 369.
- ^{xxxviii} Mesaki, note iv, p. 3. Also see, Mesaki, note v , p. 133
- ^{xxxix} Cimpric, note vi, p.29.
- ^{xl} Mesaki, note iv, p. 3.
- ^{xli} Bryceson et al, note xviii, p.371.

^{xlii} IFRC, “Through Albino Eyes”, Advocacy Report, IFRC, September 2009, accessed June 24, 2013, <http://www.ifrc.org/Global/Publications/general/177800-Albinos-Report-EN.pdf>

^{xliii} Bryceson et al, note xviii, p.371.

^{xliv} In Bryceson et al, note xviii, p. 368.

^{xlvi} Mesaki, note vii, p. 137.

^{xlvi} Mesaki, note vii, p. 137.

^{xlvi} Mesaki, note iv, p. 2.

^{xlviii} Schnoebelen, note ix p. 18; and Mesaki, note iv, p. 3.

^{xlix} Mesaki, note vii , p. 137-138; quoting B. Reynolds (1963; 1965).