Witchcraft And Development Among The Giriama:

Understanding How Witchcraft And Development Can Work Side By Side.

Master Student: Robin Öberg

Student in Social Anthropology

Lund University

Supervisor: Christer Lindberg

Professor of Social Anthropology

Lund University

Abstract

A bulk of research states that witchcraft is an antithesis to development. This thesis finds that that is an assumption, which cannot explain the case of the Giriama. The results of this thesis has the implications that witchcraft may indeed exist in a modern developed setting, that people in the West/North could have witchcraft beliefs as well, and that witchcraft does not have to be valued negatively. To arrive at this conclusion, witchcraft as a personal and social phenomenon was plucked apart, and then juxtaposed against different concepts of development. Combining Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's theory of Mystical Participation with Mary Douglas' theories on Grid and Group, witchcraft rationality is stated to be indicative of a category of worldview. This categorisation helps the reader to better recognise cultures with this particular rationality, and to understand the nature and consequences of the rationality. Throughout the text, the witchcraft rationality worldview is contrasted with the notions of social, personal, and economic development. It is in the end demonstrated that there is no negative connection between any of these forms of development and the social function of witchcraft belief. It is even shown that social development could be benefited by values of communitarianism, which are the values that are prioritised in the witchcraft worldview. The thesis then ends with recommendations on potential further applications of the analytical tool that was created during this thesis.

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   Mentioned after that are the people in the host family at whose house I was so graciously allowed to stay, whom would become my most valuable key informants, and later also my close personal friends: The family of Mama Fatouma, Papa Dickson, Jafar, Sofia, little Fatouma, and everyone else in the local village that helped out during my fieldwork for this thesis.

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Robin Öberg

Social Anthropologist

Sweden

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1 Introduction

1.1 Thesis Statement

This thesis aims to further the understanding of the relationship between the phenomena of witchcraft and development. More specifically, the purpose of the thesis is to question an assumption which implicates that witchcraft poses an antithesis to development. This assumption is questioned via a demonstration of the particular case of the Giriama, where development is aided by the belief in witchcraft.

1.2 Prologue

As an introduction to the field, this section is composed of two facets, first the justifications for how and why I came to this field, then for the sake of a mood, a picture of Giriama-land is presented.

I first came to meet the Giriama people in the autumn of 2011, going to Kenya to work as a volunteer. I bore no notions of where in Kenya the volunteering would take place, and I had no preconceptions about the ethnicities that inhabits the area. I held no mental image of Africa or Kenya at all. The decision was made to leave it all up to the local organization that handled the volunteering, because their information about the local cultures was trusted to be more reliable than mine. The people at the organisation were to be the ones to decide where to go, what to do, and what image of Kenya I would end up with.

After the volunteering organization was told, that I wanted to be involved in socialization processes, they decided on the field office in Kaloleni[1]. It is a relatively small place, just an hour or so from Mombasa. The area is mainly populated by the Giriama ethnicity, with a few exceptions. A majority of the stores are run by outsiders, which in this context entails either Kikuyu[2] or Asians. The large cement factory outside of Kaloleni has mostly Asian workers. In conjunction with this, the other eight tribes in the Midjikenda clan also live close to the Giriama. The Rabai, for instance, live closer to the cement factory than the Giriama. The ethnic map is rather isomorphic in its layout. Despite the existence of other ethnicities in the geographical region, the Giriama populate an area

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[1]   There are several places called Kaloleni in Kenya. The Kaloleni I speak of here is sometimes called Giriama-Kaloleni to separate it from the other places called Kaloleni.

[2]   At the time of my being here, Kikuyu was, despite being the largest ethnicity in Kenya, stigmatized with the post-election violence of 2008. It was a politically important incident in which half a million people became internally displaced for years to come.

that extends from Mombasa city to Malindi, effectively covering a majority of the coast-region, including the hinterlands.

The Coast-region is a beautiful place, with white sand, warm ocean water, and lush palm-trees everywhere. That is what I was told from TV and posters. Not surprisingly, tourism is one of main industries for the Coast-region. I saw exclusively white tourists at their hotels in Mombasa, but I was told by my host-family that black tourists are getting more common, which made it harder for me to spot them outside the hotels[3]. If I were to observe the behaviour of tourists solely based on colour of their skin, the tourists that I could observe, all stayed in their hotels.

Outside of this artificial image of the Coast-region, areas with palm-trees are in minority to the maize-farms. This are has few palm-trees, even though palm-trees are grown all throughout the entirety of Giriama-land. Maize is the staple crop in this region, as Ugali[4] is the staple food. Giriama on the country-side grow their own maize, for private consumption. This food sovereignty has its up-sides, like being less reliant on the current states of world-markets, and being able to survive even though they are officially part of the "extreme poverty" definition (United Nations 2010). Luckily, the up-sides appears to be outnumbered by the down-sides. Floods, droughts, and land-slides increases the food insecurity (UNDP – ESU 2004). One foreign aid organization, even went so far as to say that being a female farmer[5] in Kenya is the toughest job in the world (Kooperation Utan Gränser 2011).

I observed other jobs that I judged as equally strenuous. One of the workers at the office I was volunteering at, received 150 shilling per day, to support herself and her young daughter. This salary was more than what other people earned, because this woman held a comfortable job in front of a computer. So when one thinks about the fact that a beer costs 140 shilling, and a pack of cigarettes costs 140shilling, one might get an idea of how expensive everything is for people in Giriama-land.

Kaloleni is the centre of the contemporary Giriama-land. It did not used to be though. From at least AD 1700 to AD 1899, the centre was a forest to the Northwest of Kaloleni. In that forest they had a fortification called Kaya, a secret location where the elders resided. Giriama is one of nine

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[3]   White people, "mzungu", are so uncommon in this area that I, the author, was at times the sole white person in the Kaloleni area.

[4]   Ugali is maize flour stirred in hot water. It looks like a cake or pudding. It does not taste much, but it tends to be loved by the population here. My host-family told me they could not go two days without eating ugali. My host-mother says she even orders it at restaurants and hotels.

[5]   The majority of farmers here are female, so it is redundant to explicitly say "female farmer in Kenya", but for the sake of clarity for the reader, this is here made explicit.

clans, of an ethnicity called the Midjikenda. Each of these nine clans used to have their own Kaya, though this is not the case any more. Traditionally, there were elders in a Kaya, that were part of a council called the Kambi, and this council was made up of four different "oaths"[6] that oversaw the use and misuse of witchcraft and witchcraft accusations. Because of overpopulation, colonial administration, and a change in trade, the Giriama moved from the Kaya and dispersed throughout their lands. This diaspora instead made Kaloleni the centre of the Giriamas' contact with the outside world, and the Kambi council of elders lost their power to control the witchcraft and the witchcraft accusations. (Brantley 1979:114-115)

Nowadays, if one lives in the hinterlands, one will have to go to Kaloleni a few times per year, to trade. The trucks, or lorries as they call them, they figuratively fly through Kaloleni every day of the week. Being this hub of transport, makes Kaloleni a town filled with a wide variety of people, especially at night. If one was to indulge in a discourse about Africa as a country of poor people succumbing to primitive savage behaviour, then an image of Kaloleni could be portrayed as follows:

There are about five different bars in Kaloleni[7], with the biggest one having a Congolese name that no one knows the meaning of, Le Bakulutu. During weekdays, one might observe the five to ten regulars sipping their beers, in front of the big screen showing either European football or the Kenyan national news. During the weekends, the bar gets filled with people drinking these beers, and remember that each one costs the equivalent of a whole day's salary. There are also one or two persons chewing miraa[8]. If one is lucky, one is able to dance to the music of a live-band playing a style called Bango. They play Bango mostly at the end of the month, on the salary day. The Bango is played using the same rhythm for all the songs, with no break between songs. The lyrics may be something like "you are here drinking, while your family is at home starving". To this music people do sexually suggestive dances, and if a couple find the need for it, they may go to the "second floor" for romantic liaisons. There is no second floor, it is just a metaphor for any available room.

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[6] "Oath" in this context, does not entail a verbal contract between two parties, but rather a club of sorts, amongst the initiated exclusively. Later on in history, the oaths became more universal, as witchcraft eradicators started burying medicine at waterholes in order to cleanse an area of witchcraft and witchcraft accusations, making everyone affected by the waterhole part of an oath. Oaths may also be used outside the witchcraft circles, as were the cases when Giriama went under the same oath in order to unite first against the Arab and later the British colonisers.
[7] There were "bars" that were open intermittently, because they have no permits.
[8] Miraa is a drug that is common amongst the Kikuyu tribe. Kikuyus are not part of the Midjikenda clan. Miraa is a bunch of green sprouts that one chews all night long, in order to get focused and stay awake. Perfect for those days when one gets hungry from not eating sufficiently. In the Western world, it is more commonly referred to as Khat. It is legal, although there are bars that ban it.

The liaisons are less than romantic, because payment is involved[9]. As I am so graphically told by the sheer amount of used condoms on the dance and toilet floors, there is a substantial amount of people who do not feel the need to go all the way to the second floor. Considering the amount of HIV in the general area, this sight of used condoms is probably not something negative.

Outside the bars there are many shop keepers selling whatever they are able to get their hands on, using home-made kerosene lamps for light at night. The shop keepers dismayed faces is a sad sign of their unlucky day. Used pots and pans are not that high in demand. One time, as I was passing by, there was a kid standing in one of the booths, shouting at me to buy something. It was a young boy, making a living by selling used pots and pans in the middle of the night, nothing but a kerosene lamp to keep him company.

Walking through town at night there is a mood created by matatu[10]-drivers honking their horns, kids smoking pot, and men drinking mnazi[11]. There is a significant amount of drunkards in the area. For understandable

Photo 1: Home brewed alcohol made from maize, photographed by author in Tanzania. A common beverage in all of East Africa's coast-region.

reasons. Even if one does manage to get a job, one is obliged to give all one's money to one's siblings' families. A poor old man with HIV told me that that was the biggest problem in his life, that he had to support his sister's large family. After this statement he then went off to a bar and made himself intoxicated with help of the money I had just given to him.

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9   To me, a white foreigner, they said that they wanted a mere 200 shilling, to get "jiggy jiggy" with me. This statement was likely a lure, to get me inside the room, in which case the price would have gone up. Or so I was told by people who had experience in this field.

10   Mini-van bus that sports nine seats, but with rising inflation and increased petrol prices they are able to easily fit 18 people.

11   Home brew made of small fresh palm leafs. Traditionally drunk solely the day after the process started. It is nowadays also drunk with a bit more fermentation, because of a rising demand for alcohol percentage.

This stereotypic image of the poor and devastated Africa is not the entire truth. There is more to Kaloleni than this. A neighbouring family dancing all night to disco-style Bango, to celebrate the recovery of an elderly relative. The smile on a woman who works on the field to support her ten children. Kids playing with toy cars they have constructed from pieces of plastic containers. A father who stopped drinking and smoking after 30 years into the habit. A young man who works to help the orphans in his community. A grandmother who laughs with her grandchildren as she stitches their clothes back together. A neighbour who visits in order to borrow milk.

So even though there is a significant amount of facets of life to be depressed about, there is always something worth fighting for. For instance, while I am told there is too much corruption in the country, and that the leaders are destroying the country, I am also told that there is hope. Hope in the new constitution, which allows for the people to remove a politician if he is not doing his job. Hope in regional movements like the MRC, which work to keep the power and money in the region in which it was produced. As well as hope in God, who is spoken about as if it is a distant relative that is always watching one's back.

This place opened my eyes to reality. It was not so much a culture shock as it was a mental model breakdown, a breakdown which resolved itself by the sheer impressiveness of people's strength to cope. Not just cope, but also people's strength to find reasons to smile, and reasons to continue struggling, as if there still are dreams and goals worth fighting for.

1.3 Background

This section will contextualise the relevance of the research problem, via a short presentation of how and why I came to study this topic.

During my ethnographic fieldwork in Giriama-land, I came to meet individuals who professed to me their belief in the efficacy of witchcraft. When I had built up sufficient rapport with the mother in my host family, it seemed to me as if she communicated a detached narrative of witchcraft. She told me a story of how a close relative up on a farm on the mountain top, was brutally killed some months back. The relative had been attacked by someone with a machete, and there was a place outside the house that was covered in blood. The rotting body had been found in a big black plastic bag, far down the mountain in a ditch, with all the body parts cut up into smaller pieces, dismembered. She told me that it happens every month, that bodies are found in a similar manner. The

bodies are often found in this ditch and in ditches similar to it. All these people are killed because of witchcraft, she said, and it was a shame that so many people are dying, and she wished that it would stop.

After that my host mother had told me this story, I pondered for two-three weeks, in my mind alone, about the query: "when someone kills another for having employed witchcraft, they increase the fear in the community, the fear of success, the fear of being killed. In the end, the entire community appears to be suffering. So why are they doing it?". That is how I came to look at this topic. That is where my interest in this topic started.

Approaching the topic with scientific curiosity and scepticism, I enquired upon the possibility that my host mother thought that if people stopped believing in witchcraft, then people would not be killed over it. I was mistaken. Instead she responded to my enquiry in this manner, that if people were not greedy and envious, then people would not use witchcraft to serve their own selfish and individual desires.

Greed, envy, selfishness, individualism. All these terms alluded to neoliberal connotations, and different sets of ideals. It made me think that the killing of witches was about a schism between ideologies. A schism between those that believe in the preservation of the commons, and those that dream of becoming successful. A friction, between the local traditional community of old communitarian ideology, and the global modern world of new libertarian ideology.

It gave me so many ideas, so many hypotheses that could be tested. Witches could be a social representation of the economic world system. The witch hunters could be anti-globalists. The phenomenon of the killing of witches could be understood by a framework of binary oppositions, with the libertarian witches on the one side and communitarian witch hunters on the other side.

Maybe all this speculation was true, but at the point that I was thinking about these issues, I had no empirical material that could provide a sufficiently strong case for any of them. Instead, as it would turn out, the empirical material would take this thesis in a slightly different direction.

With this information about what drew me to this topic, the relevance of the research problem have been given a contextual background. The next chapter will concern the purpose of this thesis.

2 Purpose Of Thesis

2.1 Research Rationale

The academic rationale that stands before this thesis, is that a bulk of the research on the topic of witchcraft and development, has assumed that witchcraft is necessarily an antithesis to development (see Chapter 5.1). This thesis aims to show that the assumption behind this body of knowledge does not apply to the case of the Giriama. This thesis aims to show that it is incorrect that witchcraft and development always are binary opposites.

The applied rationale that stands before this thesis, is an issue of ethics. The claiming of a truth about all peoples who believe in witchcraft, without having asked any of these people whether that specific truth is correct, is a muting of these peoples' voices. This thesis aims to indirectly remedy that implied unbalanced power relationship, by showing that there is nothing inherent within the phenomenon of witchcraft, that necessarily have to stand in opposition to development. It is a power relationship that may here be elucidated by the posing of the following corollary: If a religious belief system like Christianity, or a rational belief system like scientism, is not always assumed to stand in opposition to development, then the belief in witchcraft does not always have to be assumed as standing in an opposition to development either.

2.2 Description Of The Research Problem

As it is claimed by this thesis, a bulk of the research on witchcraft and development, assumes that witchcraft is an antithesis to development. This assumption arises because said research implies that development is equated with economic development, and/or witchcraft is equated with witchcraft accusations.

When development is reduced to economic development, with the possible neoliberal connotations that are associated with such a view of development, and witchcraft is reduced to witchcraft accusations, and with the connotations of negative sanctions that are associated with such a view of witchcraft, then it would appear that witchcraft is inherently destructive for development. These conflations assumes that it would be an objective and universal truth that witchcraft is intrinsically valued negatively, as it pertains to the preservation and/or support of an unarticulated teleology of development.

Via an explication of a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of witchcraft belief in Giriama-land, this thesis aims at directly presenting a possible exception to the posed cultural universal of witchcraft being an antithesis to development, effectively disproving a tacit assumption held by a bulk of the research on the topic of witchcraft and development.

2.3 Scientific Significance

In order to demonstrate a case where witchcraft does not negate development, the thesis problem-atises the juxtaposing of witchcraft and development, which is a problematisation that the thesis claims have not been carried out (see Chapter 6.1), effectively filling a knowledge gap in the sci-entific debate.

2.4 Research Questions

For the thesis to problematise the juxtaposing of witchcraft and development, there is a need to indi-vidually operationalise the terms witchcraft and development. These operationalisations are lead by the following research questions:

- What is it that is said to be in opposition to development,

  in other words, what is witchcraft?
- What is it that is here juxtaposed against witchcraft,

  in other words, what is development?

After these operationalisations have been performed, the problematisation is able to be properly ef-fectuated. The problematisation is lead by the following research questions:

- What is the correlation between witchcraft and development?
- From the perspective of the witchcraft believers,

  is there any negatively valued correlation between witchcraft and development?

  ◦ If there is a negatively valued correlation,

    whom is it that values witchcraft as negative for development?

- From the perspective of the witchcraft believers,

  is there any positively valued correlation between witchcraft and development?

  ◦ If there is a positively valued correlation,

    for whom is the correlation between witchcraft and development valued as positive?

Methodologically, the empirical material lead to the following research question, which will aid in understanding cultures that possesses the specific worldview that results from the belief in witchcraft:

- How do the Giriama perceive the causation behind events?

After having answered these questions, the purpose of the thesis will have been fulfilled. The following chapter will hereby begin the problematisation of the juxtaposing of witchcraft and development, by individually operationalising the key terms witchcraft and development.

3 Operationalisations

3.1 Witchcraft

3.1.1 Constructive And Destructive Witchcraft

The reason that this operationalisation has to be performed, is for the underlying assumptions regarding the definition of witchcraft to be problematised. A subsequent consequence of this problematisation is that it will also increase the validity of the chosen methodology and analysis.

Looking at the definitions in a western scholarly dictionary, this is what is said about witchcraft:

> **Witch**, noun. First used before the 12th century after Christ. **1:** One that is credited with usually malignant supernatural powers; especially a woman practising usually black witchcraft often with the aid of a devil or familiar. **2:** an ugly old woman. **3:** a charming or alluring woman. **4:** a practitioner of Wicca.
>
> **Witch-craft**, noun. First used before the 12th century after Christ. **1a:** the use of sorcery or magic **b:** communication with the devil or with a familiar. **2:** an irresistible influence or fascination. **3:** Wicca.
>
> **Witch doctor**, noun. First recorded use in the year 1718: A professional worker of magic, usually in a primitive society, who often works to cure sickness. (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 2009)

As will be demonstrated, this definition is a definition of witchcraft that carries connotations that are not applicable to what is happening in Giriama-land. For instance, men are able to be witches, there is nothing charming about witches, and witches have nothing to do with Wicca. Witchdoctors may heal via herbs and roots, and not necessarily via magic. If the textbook definition of witchcraft is followed, the phenomenon of witchcraft in Giriama-land will not be understood, and that is the reason for the need to define the terms of witchcraft and development, and this defining is performed by introducing what the Giriama think when the term witchcraft is utilised in the local discourse.

Just as the description of Giriama-land is based on my first-hand account, the following description of witchcraft in Giriama-land, is also based on my subjective experience, as all ethnographical fieldwork is (O'dell and Willim 2011:34-35).

In this thesis there is no separation between sorcery and witchcraft, in the way that Evans-Pritchard did it (Evans-Pritchard 1937:9-10). Instead, like Victor Turner, sorcery and witchcraft are here in this thesis equated analytically (Turner 1964:318).

Like Evans-Pritchard, however, I do differentiate between constructive and destructive witchcraft (Evans-Pritchard 1937:423). I differentiate between these terms because the differentiation exists in the vernacular terms, which it has done since at least AD 1911 (Lévy-Bruhl 1923:149). The difference is as follows: A destructive witch is referred to as an "mchawi" in the national Kiswahili language, or "mutsai" in the local Kigiriama language (Ciekawy 1998:120; Lévy-Bruhl 1923:149). A constructive witchdoctor is referred to as an "mganga" in both languages. In plural, these would be wachawi, watsai, and waganga respectively. The verb, the art of witchcraft itself, is known as uchawi, utsai, and uganga respectively. My informants were all waganga, while the wachawi were exclusively gossiped about.

In this area there is a significant amount of people that believe that witchcraft is real. It is not something that belongs to a distant past. I remember reading in *The Standard*[12], that even the fancy dressed member of parliament use, misuse, and fall victim to witchcraft. Speaking English, wearing a suit, and driving an expensive car, are not material possessions that stand in conflict to a worldview where there is witchcraft all around us.

Witchcraft is a form of magic that may be used to attain different goals. Having listened to the stories about the witchcraft in Giriama-land, I have heard that there are people that perform it themselves, but that it also possible to order someone else to perform it instead of oneself, something that Evans-Pritchard also experienced with the Azande (Evans-Pritchard 1937:429). Witchcraft is performed if someone is ailed by a problem, because the Giriama believe that a witch has the power to aid with solutions to problems. The problem may be physical, like for pains and small wounds. Or it may be mental, like when someone is considered crazy. Or it may be social, like in the case of marriage problems or community animosities.

I infer, from the stories told to me by the Giriama, that there are two kinds of witchcraft, the witchcraft that aims to help and the witchcraft that aims to harm. Evans-Pritchard, from his work

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[12]   One of the biggest, if not the biggest, national newspapers in Kenya.

with the Azande, had a division of productive and punitive medicines. I choose to call it constructive and destructive witchcraft instead, because Evans-Pritchard's terminology has value-ladened connotations that I wish to avoid. He also had a third category, protective medicines, but this thesis finds no significant motive to separate protective from productive, especially not when they are both constructive. (Evans-Pritchard 1937:438)

The constructive witchcraft is said to be older and more authentic than the destructive witchcraft. A long time ago, witchcraft was a calling to help others, much like the medical doctors are supposed to be. The origins of witchcraft are said to be from time immemorial. A proof of this is taken from the Bible, where Moses uses his staff to perform greater magic than the Egyptian witches. Moses creates a bigger snake with his staff, a snake that eats the smaller snakes conjured by the other witches, thus showing the superiority of the Abrahamitic God. This story was the story told to me by a witchdoctor, Mathias, in the hinterlands North of Kaloleni, a story that was later corroborated by Chief papa Dickson, as well as by other witchdoctors in Kaloleni.

Constructive witchcraft heals wounds, while destructive witchcraft inflicts them. Both kinds of witchcraft aid people with solutions to their problems. The destructive witchcraft aids with solutions to problems that involve revenge, envy or animosity. If one wants the spouse or land of someone else, destructive witchcraft may aid with a solution to that problem. If one wants to be protected against someone using witchcraft to take one's spouse or land, constructive witchcraft may aid with a solution to that problem. The main difference between the constructive and the destructive witchcraft lies in the intention of the witchcraft. Mutsai and Muchawi both taps into the same source of power, that which lies beyond the patterns of everyday life. There is power in the unordered potential (Douglas 1966:95).

Now that you know a little bit more about constructive and destructive witchcraft, which is a basic distinction made in the Giriama language itself, mganga and mchawi, I will move on to describe the differences between traditional magic and magic involving Jins. This difference is not a linguistic difference like the constructive and destructive witchcraft, but a historical difference that separates witches into different kinds of social categories. A historical difference that was born out of colonialist involvement with the Giriama.

3.1.2 Traditional Magic And Jins

A Jin[13], is originally a concept of the old Persian Muslim worldview. The belief in Jins have come into Giriama culture via the incorporation of Muslim elements. The Giriama are not alien to the idea of taking various elements from other cultures. Having a Christian exorcist protect a Muslim house from witchcraft, might be strange, but it has happened, and it did work. The mama[14] in my house told me about when exactly this happened to them. Later during my stay, the host family hired a Muslim exorcist to get rid of any curses that may have been placed on the house. The Koran was read in tongues, and holy water was sprayed on the walls. It was a physically engaging ordeal, employing all the senses of the body. It was so loud that I could not sleep, it was so intense that I could not relax. The spraying of holy water was done every few hours, every day, for a whole week, making everything moist and shiny, like a constant material reminder of the spoken words of the exorcists.

There are witches that become possessed by Jins and perform witchcraft using the Koran, even though they normally cannot read it. Jins may travel huge astronomical distances instantly, to gather information, obstruct people in their paths, and even fetch physical items such as money. I am told several times, by the witchdoctor Mathias mostly, that if a witch wants to kill me, or make me come back to Kenya, or make me send money to Kenya, I am not safe just because I go back to Sweden. For a Jin, the distance between Kenya and Sweden is nothing.

Jins are strong, and they may do almost anything for a person. There are drawbacks to this power. One drawback of making a contract with a Jin, is that one has to cater for it. One has to keep feeding it blood. Keep making sacrifices. Keep it satisfied. It is not uncommon that a Jin demands the blood of a family member. Physical or spiritual sacrifice is irrelevant, as death is certain in either case, I will come back to that later. If one does not give blood to the Jin, it will consume oneself right there on the spot. A similar case was found by Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman during her stay

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[13] Spelled Jini in some of the research literature, like that of David Parkin's (see Chapter 5.1), but the -i is silent in the Giriama pronunciation, so it here is spelled Jin, to keep it closer to the local pronunciation of the term. I have been given the question whether it is the same thing as Jinn or Genie, and it appears to be so, yes, but in order to avoid modern Eurocentric connotations that might be associated with those spellings, this thesis will use Jin instead.

[14] Whenever I say "mama" in this thesis, I refer to the mama in my host family. It is a social title, denoting a woman in charge of a household. The woman in charge of the household I lived in, was Mama Fatouma. I learned quite quickly that if someone said mama, they spoke of the mama of their household, be it their sister, mother or grandmother. Because Mama Fatouma was 'my' mama, I will use mama for short whenever I speak of Mama Fatouma.

in the Congos. Witchcraft there as well, was not unbeknownst to sacrifice, both physical and spiritual (Ekholm-Friedman 1991:192-194)

During the writing of this thesis, a friend asked me, because it is easy for a Jin to get money, "why does not everyone in Giriama-land walk around with millions of shilling?" The answer to which has already been hinted at. Employing the use of witchcraft for one's own selfish desires, will get one killed, in the middle of the night, by several machete-attacks, at the hand of someone one thought one could trust. Being killed in the middle of the night by machete attacks, is exactly what happened to the farm boy of my host family during my stay there. He was thought to be a witch, because he inherited more land than his brother, and that is said to be the reason for why someone stabbed him in the back, many times, slicing him open. There was blood several metres around the corpse, when they found him. I did not observe this in person, but I was told this story by the mama of my host family, and I have no reason to doubt her on the truthfulness of it. It is, however, not the truthfulness of witchcraft or the rumours surrounding witchcraft that is of importance for this thesis. It is the narrative itself that is of greater concern for this thesis, I was told this story as casually as one might tell someone that one has gotten a cold. Death, it appears, is an integral component of everyday life for a majority of the Giriama.

Traditional magic is associated with a more conventional witchcraft. It is slightly more complex, and it takes a longer time to perform. As Matthias the witchdoctor described, a ritual involving traditional magic may be performed as follows: The witch collects certain leafs, roots, twigs and sticks. Burning these to make a special ash. Making a potion from this ash. During this procedure they reiterate terms in Swahili and/or the local vernacular. One person utters a sentence, and another echoes the sentence again. They keep uttering these terms throughout the ritual. The terms are important, as they are that which imbues the witchcraft with the specific pragmatic function that it is expected to possess. If the potion is to make me die, the specific terms could be "make Robin become ill, and then make him die when he sees the sign of the hospital". After that, the person who ordered the potion will slip it to the me in the my juice when the I am not looking. The death will look natural, and no one will suspect that it was not natural, except for the person who met with witch who performed the ritual. It is in a way similar to having a butler that moonlights as a hitman.

If I were to die on the way to the hospital, a witch will take this as affirmation of the potency of the curse, as will everyone else that the witch tells the story to. The outcome affirms the intentions of potential witches involved.

Another example that I was told, by papa Dickson, went like this: A man was in danger of losing his job, because his boss had become angry at him for no reason. The man goes to a witch, and is given a rock, with plastic wrapping around it. The witch tells the man what to do with the rock. First, do not go to work on Friday. After that, on the way to work on Monday, get off the matatu before the regular stop. Go to the exact middle of the bridge, say to the rock that the boss is to be transferred to a different location and to never come back again. Finish it all by throwing the rock up in the air, watching it closely as it flies up in the air and lands in the water. The man did all this, just as the witch had told him. The spell worked. The boss was transferred, and the man was able to keep his job.

The mama of my house said, that a majority of the time the spells do not lead to their expected outcome, but one may not get one's money back, because the witch might claim that one failed to carry out the instructions properly. It is in a way similar to how the guarantee of a computer is void if the consumer did not use the computer according to the instruction manual.

The traditional magic is slower and more likely to fail, as it is more complex, compared to the magic power of the Jins. As the Jins require blood, however, they are more often associated with the destructive witches. A constructive witch is therefore more likely to keep to traditional magic. Because the phenomenon of Jins originate from Arab colonialists, one will not observe any Jins at the Kaya forest. It is a social and geographical distinction, that distinguishes the specific witchcraft that is employed. Even though Jins are considered to be powerful, no one is more powerful than the elders at the Kaya.

You now know two distinctions between different kinds of witchcraft. One basic distinction, and one not so basic. The distinction between constructive and destructive, and the distinction between traditional and Jin. To finish off this rather lengthy definition of Giriama witchcraft, you will need one more distinction. The more advanced distinction. The one that separates people socially. It will be made brief, because it is a distinction that others have written much better about before.

3.1.3 Artificial Witches And Natural Witches

There are witches that are born with the ability to perform witchcraft. Others have to be initiated into a witchcraft cult, to learn the secrets of witchcraft. (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993:xxvii)

I was told by the witchdoctor Mathias, that in order to be able to converse with Jins, for example, one has to be initiated and become a witch oneself. One acquires a Jin, via the knowledge of other witches. After that one is stuck with it forever. Forced to cater for it. Forced to feed it blood.

Traditional magic on the other hand, is a power that one is born with. It is a natural inclination for the witch. To know what roots to use and how to use them, that type of knowledge originates from within the person itself, usually presented when the person is in a dream state. This innate skill is connected with the power to know what people are thinking, to know which places that people are born and raised, and to know what people are supposed do in order to achieve their goals. A traditional magic witch is someone to which it is a natural inclination to perceive the web of interconnectedness of all objects and subjects.

In Giriama-land, women are more often natural witches, while men are more often artificial witches. This gender difference in witchcraft is important to grasp the whole picture, but it has been covered sufficiently already. (See Diane Ciekawy's paper in the reference list).

3.2 Development

The previous chapter dealt with witchcraft, in Giriama-land. This chapter will now present and deal with the issue of "development"[15]. Development is important in this thesis because it is by juxtaposing witchcraft and development that the questions surrounding witchcraft are able to become answered.

Development is difficult to define. I have in the past met with individuals who imply that development is equated with the possibility to reach personal success using an individual freedom given in a national democracy. For the purposes of this thesis, such a definition would have both low validity as well as low reliability. Instead of that definition, this thesis will define and use the terms

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[15]   When I say social development in this thesis, I specifically speak of social development in contrast to the other two kinds of development. When I just say development, I speak of social development in no special comparison to any other type of development. When I say success, however, I speak of it in relation to any of the three kinds of development. That is because people may confuse a symbol with that which it represents, like when people think they want money when they in reality want to be able to enjoy what one is able to purchase with money. Simply put, a successful person is one which has enjoyed the benefits of any type of development, while an unsuccessful person is one which might more likely desire further development of any sort.

economic development, personal development, and social development. This thesis will utilise these more specific terms, because, for instance, a country, or a culture, may be more developed in one way, and less developed in another way (Handelman 1996:3).

3.2.1 Economic Development

Economic development is about getting a better car, a better house, better food. Here the thesis has to get ahead of itself a little bit: It is without meaning to talk about materiality in a context of social control. Witchcraft as a means to control social behaviour, is not about controlling what people have or do not have. Later on in this thesis, this will be elaborated upon.

The key indicators of economic development in this thesis are; gross domestic product, communication and transport infrastructure, modern technology such as advanced electronics, and consumption of the globally popular energy sources such as fossil fuels and nuclear energy. For people, low economic development may entail poverty, substandard houses, and malnutrition. (Handelman 1996:3)

The relation between witchcraft and economic development, lies in the envy of others and the greed for oneself (Evans-Pritchard 1937:100). The mama in my host family told me that people who go to destructive witches for aid, are people who want what others have, or people who are not satisfied what they have already have. So one might think that people risk getting accused of using witchcraft, if they have has experienced a higher economic development. Looking again at what the mama said, poor people may be envious, and rich people may be greedy. The thesis may here begin to infer from this that there is no causal correlation between economic development and the using of witchcraft, but the thesis will get more into that later.

3.2.2 Personal Development

Personal development is somewhere in between the economic and the social realms. To become better at activities that require personal skill, for instance better at football, or better at school. To become a better person, better at forgiving, better at being able to tell when someone is lying.

The relation between witchcraft and personal development lies mostly in jealousy (Evans-Pritchard 1937:100). Mama had a huge scar across her head, and she told me that people had attacked her on several occasions, because she "is a strong woman". She had the courage to stand up and speak during meetings, she always spoke her mind, and she was the leader of women farmers in

the area. It made people upset with her. They did not want her to be strong, they did not want her to be skilful. So people threw cursed eggs at her, and people whispered curses as she walked by.

People with low personal development may blame their lack of success on being bewitched by someone else, and then resort to using protective spells. Others, though, might just dismiss their own lack of success as themselves as having poor skills (Ibid., 1937:78). So it is not a necessary condition for the usage of witchcraft, it is a sufficient condition. This thesis will not look too deeply into this development. It is not necessary for the purpose of this thesis.

3.2.3 Social Development

Social development is pertains how a community works together to build feelings of being at home, of feeling safe and secure, and of being able to trust one another. Those are aspects of people's lives that are directly connected to witchcraft. When one suspects that the neighbour might be a witch, or when one's uncle suspects one of having employed the use of witchcraft, there is no trust between one the others, no feeling of safety and security in one's relationships, and there is no longer a sense of belonging to a community that one is able to feel at home in.

Photo 2: Kids playing football, a pastime considered a replacement for smoking marijuana and stealing. An example of social development foremost, but also personal development. I gave them the football for free, so no economic development for any party involved. Photograph taken by author, in Kaloleni.

The key indicators of social development in this thesis are; life expectancy, adult literacy, the human development index, and infant mortality per 1000 people (Handelman 1996:6). These indicators are not causal factors of social development, they are ways of measuring the presence of social development. That is to say, high life expectancy is an indicator of social development, but increasing the life expectancy will not necessary do anything for the social development.

There is no causal correlation between economic development and social development either:

> [. . .] governments such as China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, and Vietnam, with strong commitments to social welfare programs, have generated much higher life expectancy rates and educational levels than their economic resources alone would lead us to predict. (Ibid., 1996:9)

I have now given you three definitions of development, that will help show you that there is no correlation between economic development and witchcraft. This argument will be developed in the following section, where I will show you that while witchcraft is indeed tied to social development, social development is not tied to economic development.

3.3 Witchcraft And Development

Now that development in this context has been sufficiently defined, this thesis will proceed to look closer at the juxtaposing of witchcraft and development.

The feelings of revenge, envy or animosity that stand as motivation behind destructive witchcraft (Evans-Pritchard 1937:100), usually arise when someone else has more success in life. The level of such success is here measured by personal, social and economic standards. Examples of attributes of success, is here to be found within Papa Dickson's household, which is a household that have experienced success by all standards: a big fancy house, a strong wife/lover, and plenty of well fed live-stock.

It is especially a thorn in the neighbours' eyes, if this success would seem to have come unexpectedly. The question of "where" everything came from, may be answered simply by the term "witchcraft", just as Papa Dickson's neighbours said about Dickson's success.

In return as well, the Dickson household's success made them suspect that others were using destructive witchcraft against them, like curses and bewitchments. In turn, this made them use constructive witchcraft, to protect themselves against any curses from others.

The success that the thesis is talking about in this section, is a subject of personal success, rather than collective success. If the success is with an entire family or community, the question to "where" is less likely to be answered by the term "witchcraft". That it is in this way, has been shown in how destructive witchcraft emanates from within ones own social circle[16]. Wanting to hurt someone one does not know, would be nonsensical in this context. It is less difficult in practice, to come to a point where one feels unjustly treated by a close relative, than it is to come to a point where one feels unjustly treated by a random stranger. A sibling that inherits that much more than oneself, a friend that was hired for that job instead of oneself, or a colleague that earns that much more than oneself, those are the people more likely to be accused of having employed witchcraft. There are exceptions to this closeness rule of thumb though. For instance, a person that one fought with at a bar, or someone who is dating the love of one's life, those persons are also in the risk zone of being perceived to be people who have employed the use of witchcraft. Regardless what the case might be, though, it is always someone that one perceives oneself to have a personal relationship with, hence the correlation to personal success. (Ibid., 1937:106)

So, constructive witchcraft may be hindering of the social development, if it entails that someone is gaining more than others, by the employment of witchcraft. It has to be said, however, that the border between constructive and destructive witchcraft is a relative one in this context, because witchcraft may be used to take something from one person to give to another. A mother using witchcraft to take something from a richer co-wife, in order to give it to her children, could be perceived as something benefiting social development, while if she just took it for herself, it could be regarded as something hindering social development. As I spoke to co-wives in Giriama-land, there tended to be a significant amount of understanding for the difficulties of caring for one's own children, compared to the caring of the children of one's co-wives. Even though using witchcraft to destroy for a co-wife was spoken of as something negative, it was not something that surprised anyone. "It is what I would do", an anonymous co-wife told me.

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[16]   Employing witchcraft may get one accused of being a witch, regardless if one is a witch or if one went to a witch get something done that way.

As another link in the chain, a successful person may also be the victim of witchcraft. For instance, if a person has more land than someone else, a spell could be put on the land to keep it from growing maize. That is also a way that witchcraft may be hindering the social development, when curses put on successful people attempts to bring them down to the level of everyone else.

Additionally, this would be the point where witchcraft accusations come into effect. When someone is considered to have more then others, that person runs the risk of being accused of having gained these material possessions by having employed witchcraft. An accusation like that is dangerous for the person accused. Regardless if the accusation is true or not, the accusation is an excuse for others to kill the accused.

Being the victim of an extra-judicial killing[17], just for succeeding in life, is one demise that all of the Giriama tell me that they are afraid of. Two male co-workers at the NGO even told me that being afraid of succeeding has made them choose to not succeed[18]. These witchcraft accusations are thus another aspect of witchcraft that is hindering to social development.

The thesis is therefore able to establish at this point, that there are four ways that witchcraft may be hindering to social development: When a person uses witchcraft to get more than others. When a person uses witchcraft to gain something from someone else. When a person uses witchcraft to stop someone else from succeeding. When a person is afraid of being accused of having used witchcraft.

Psychologically though, there are not that many winners in this game of witchcraft: If one succeeds, one will be suspected of having employed witchcraft. If one does not succeed, one will be suspected of having employed witchcraft. There is no middle-ground, as this is a zero-sum game. If one succeeds, someone else will not. (Austen 1993:92)

This chapter might seem lengthy, but with this the terms have been sufficiently operationalised for the reader to understand what is thought when I present concepts such as constructive traditional magic witches and successful businessmen in Giriama-land. Chapter 4 of this thesis will lay out the academic theories behind the analyses and conclusions accepted in this thesis. Chapter 5 will then

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[17] As witchcraft does not exist, according to westernised laws in Kenya, the sole crime that a person may be put on trial for, is the accusing of someone else of being a witch. If a person killed someone else having employed witchcraft alone, that person would go free in a regular court of law. This reasoning, is why execution for employing witchcraft is nothing but extra-judicial.

[18] During my work as a field officer at the volunteering organization, I went home to the families of school children in order to assess their situations. Here I met families with children that refused to go to school because of fear of getting ahead, fear of being more successful than others. I also heard concerns when it came to purchase of material items, such as cars and motor cycles, that it might be considered "too much" in the eyes of others in the community. Bragging is dangerous in Giriama culture, as it pertains to material possessions.

present what other researchers have found about The Giriama, as well as what empirical data I found in the field, as well as how I found it. Chapter 6 will present the analysis of the empirical data from Chapter 5 using the academic theories from Chapter 4. Chapter 7 is about the results of these analyses, and Chapter 8 will summarise the thesis.

Photo 3: Witchdoctor who wants to remain anonymous, answering his mobile phone. An example of how economic development and witchcraft is able to co-exist. Photograph taken by author.

Having now presented the definition of witchcraft and its relation to development, the following chart, made by me, the author, is thought to function as a visualised deliverable of Chapter 3. Tying it together with a visualisation:

4 Theory

This thesis takes its departure from a phenomenological-existential viewpoint. What this entails for the reader, is simply that witchcraft is understood as-it-is, and development is understood as-it-is. There are two reasons for doing this. The first reason is because good science has a high degree of intersubjectivity. That is, a high degree of understanding between the author, me, and the reader, you. The importance of this cannot be understated, as lack of intersubjectivity in a text removes the entire purpose of the text. (Jackson 1996:2)

To be gained by this style of writing, besides intersubjectivity, is that writing about something as-it-is provides a more emic account of the phenomenon, an account from the insider's perspective. In talking about witchcraft, if I can, I will be describing a world where witchcraft is real and have real consequences. It is something just as real as anything else. I choose to describe it in this way, in order to further increase an understanding for the way of life in cultures in which witchcraft exists. If one desires to enquire as to the reason behind witchcraft believers' actions, just looking at those actions will not give one an answer with high validity. One has to use empathy to put oneself in the position of the witchcraft believer, in order to perceive the world as the witchcraft believer does. After that has been performed, it will be possible to bridge the clashes of culture that might occur between different cultures. (Fagan 1997; Kottak 2006; Martin 1999:187)

Development has a meaning to the people in Giriama-land. A meaning that outsiders should not assume anything about, because the outsiders' associations about development are not necessarily the same associations that they have. This possible difference in meaning behind terms is the reason for this thesis looking at witchcraft as-it-is, and also the reason for looking at development as-it-is. When a house on the country-side stands empty, it is not necessarily because the owners of the house have perished from sickness, instead it may be because the owners spend a majority of their time working in the city. In both scenarios, it is the same empty house, but with different associations.

Even though there is an effort made to try to write this thesis as plainly as possible, this is not a journalistic travel account, it is a scientific thesis. As such, it does have a thesis statement, as well as theories for use in analysing, and it is own theory to be presented at the end. This thesis is therefore not just a description, but it is instead a presentation, an analysis, and a scientific conclusion. It is

because of this reason that the following section will present the reader with the theories that will be used in the analysis.

4.1 Theories Of Control

In relation to witchcraft, it is of importance to raise the issue of control. Both the sense of control over one's own life, as well as the societal control over others.

According to existentialist thought, humans search for order all the time (Bauman 2013:1-6; Camus 1955). This thesis agrees that this is partially so, because, it is impossible to think about something without having something to think about (McIntyre and Smith 1989). This premise of the human condition, is one reason for the fact that humans separate their perceptions, categorise those perceptions, and order those categories in relation to each other (Calhoun, et al. 2002:106). Friends and enemies, Uchawi and Aganga, uncles and nephews. The categories might differ between cultures, and people from those cultures might as a result perceive their worlds differently, but irrespective of what categories that are employed, their ordering of reality provides individuals with a sense of control over one's world and over one's life.

Having this in mind, the big difference between cultures lies in how the world is categorised, or to be specific, how the world is ordered (Douglas 1966:2-3). There are cultures where it is more important to know whether an uncle is a mother's brother or a father's brother, while there are other cultures where those same persons are all referred to as a father, such as the culture of the Dja Dja Wurrung people. The more specific the terms are, the more control over one's life does the culture seem to provide. If one does not know at all, whether another is a friend or an enemy, then one will experience a lack of control over one's life, an existential angst. If one does know that another is an enemy, however, then one at least will know how to react to that other (Bauman 2013:66).

The categories helps us navigate the chaos that is all around us. They give us a sense of control. A sense. What this entails, is that, following the pragmaticist maxim (Peirce 1905), it is of no import if there is real control or not, what is important for this thesis is whether people act upon the sense of control that they experience. As has been described, the Giriama do act upon a sense of control that they experience, via the witchcraft belief.

Anthropologist Dame Mary Douglas wrote about social control, in her analysis of dirt as matter out of place. She found that in cultures where there was more top-down structures in society, people

also appeared to surrender their control over to others. If the police is able to take care of the thief, then one does not have to worry about the theft. Whereas in cultures where there were less hierarchic structures, people would appear to try to control others more. If there is no police, then one has to make sure that the neighbour does not steal. Douglas referred to the former example as a high-grid/low-group type of society, while the latter example would be a low-grid/high-group type of society. It is a fourfold model, and it will be utilised in this thesis in order to show that witchcraft is just a way of looking at the world in a society where there is no vertical control. People rely on each other more than they rely on the state. (Douglas 2007)

Another way in which control manifests itself by the employment of witchcraft, is in how the efficacy of witchcraft is perceived. In order to make sure that a spell is strong, one has to go to the powerful witch (Jackson 1998). This person is often far away, on a mountain or in a forest. It requires effort to find and meet this person. The witch presents the ingredients or requirements for the spell, and it is something which takes time and effort to produce. Throwing a special rock off a special bridge while reciting a special text. I was shown, that the more effort one puts in an endeavour, the more control one experiences having over one's own life. If one makes an effort to get that promotion, by getting expensive hens to be sacrificed by the witch/witchdoctor, then one is also making sure that the spell will work. If one does not make the effort, the spell will likely not give one what one desires. That is why, far away, behind the corner, up the mountain, in the forest, that is where the real power lies. (Ibid., 1998)

> "Vitality always exists beyond. At the edge. In that place most remote from where I am. Though the wildness is fraught with danger, it is also the source of regenerative life." (Ibid., 1998:48)

It is argued in this thesis that these different aspects of control, they relate to each other on a conditional level. To have a sense of personal control over one's life, a form of social control is a necessary condition. Ergo, anything that upholds the social control, fulfils a function for the individual person's sense of control.

That was the explication of the factor of control, which will be the basis for this thesis' analysis when the two main theories are applied to the empirical material. In the following chapter, those two main theories for this thesis will be presented.

4.2 Mary Douglas' Concept Of Grid & Group

First it is necessary to substantiate what Mary Douglas did and did not write about witchcraft. Throughout her work on creating her theory of Grid and Group analysis, a theory which was later revised to the extent that she preferred to call it Cultural Theory (Douglas 2003:6), Mary Douglas intermittently brought up communities that believe in witchcraft. It is important to note, that when Douglas does speak of witchcraft, it is exclusively in relation to witchcraft accusations, as a form of vertical social control. She does not speak of witchcraft as a rationality in itself. (Douglas 1970:94-125; 2003:85-89). As an example of this, in her collection of essays on Cultural Theory, from 2003, she writes:

> There are communities, barely earning the name, which are not organized at all: here blame goes in all directions, unpredictably. Anything might just as plausibly have been the cause of any misfortune: flying saucers, Martian invaders, witchcraft, moral failure, technical failure; if there is no standard diagnosis, it follows there will be no standard action required. In short, the stronger the solidarity of a community, the more readily will natural disasters be coded as signs of reprehensible behaviour. Every death and most illnesses will give scope for defining blame worthiness. Danger is defined to protect the public good and the incidence of blame is a by-product of arrangements for persuading fellow members to contribute to it. Pollution seen from this point of view is a powerful forensic resource. There is nothing like it for bringing their duties home to members of the community. A common danger gives them a handle to manipulate, the threat of community-wide pollution is a weapon for mutual coercion. Who can resist using it who cares for the survival of the community? (Douglas 2003:6)

Despite this, the first theory that I used to understand what I encountered in the field, was that of Mary Douglas' Grid and Group. The Grid-Group model was a necessary sequel to Douglas' theory

on dirt as matter out of place (Douglas 2007:1-2). It is a fourfold model where grid is located on one axis and group is located on the other axis. The use of this is fourfold model is that groups of people, like cultures, communities, or societies, are able to be categorised as having more or less grid and more or less group. From the perspective of the grouped people, this gives four different ways of looking at the world, four different cultural worldviews.

The Grid-axis represents rules that are more top-down in nature, and it represents the control of the behaviour of people outside the closest group, in short it is about vertical social control. Examples of these kinds of rules could be legal ramifications, economic sanctions, religious decrees, and similar. Douglas herself thought that the simplest way to describe Grid, is with just the one term, regulation (Ibid., 2007:2).

The Group-axis, on the other hand, is about rules that have more to do with egalitarian structures, and the control of the behaviour within one's own group, in short it is about horizontal social control. Gossip, scapegoating, witch hunts, and similar. Douglas simplest way to describe Group, is that it entails a general boundary around a community (Ibid., 2007:2).

These two kinds of control mechanisms, that the Grid and Group-axes represent, helps people to make sense of categories. They help to determine who or what belongs to which category. They are used to tell whether that object a human, or whether all are animals. They are used to determine whether that subject is one of us, or if there is no 'us' and 'them'. They are used to make out whether it is a witch, or whether there are no witches at all. Categorisations are more easily made when one or both of these control mechanisms are incorporated into a society. (Douglas 1966:4,99-100,106,180)

As it pertains to sanctions for transgressions of categories, regardless if it concerns grid or group, no one and nothing is exempt from the possible sanctions that follow pollution of categories, not even oneself:

> [. . .] the ideal order of society is guarded by dangers which threaten transgressors [_ _ _] dangers which he himself fears to incur by his own lapses of righteousness. (Douglas 1966:3)

According to this grid-group model, a culture with high-grid and high-group is a culture where people have a significant amount of laws that they trust and follow [high-grid], as well as many in-

formal rules like gossip and scapegoating [high-group]. This type of culture has people that trusts that the government will provide them with jobs, that the state will take care of environmental pollution, and that the municipality will maintain the infrastructure. Everything is ordered and controlled. Playing the lottery is pointless, because everything happens for a reason. There is no leaning on luck either. In this type of hierarchical cultural worldview, dirt is disorder, and because disorder is contagious, purification of dirt is possible to be and is intended to be made via rituals. There is a time and place for everything. (Ibid., 1966:2; 2003:99)

Conversely, a culture with low-grid and low-group does not have, or does not have many people who care much about laws, police, or other forms of authority. Neither is there any weight put on what neighbours or elders say. In such a culture there is no pressure from above to do what one needs to do, nor any pressure from peers and family. There is no police to oversee the citizens, and there is no informal (but still explicit) rules to punish people. Because there is no structure to govern social mobility, playing the lottery could be the sole way out of poverty. According to this worldview, a significant quantity of events occur due to good or bad luck. There is no dirt, or people do not care about it, because there are no sanctions for it, and subsequently no rituals to purify anything. If fish walks on land, that is fine. If the neighbour gets a huge harvest while my harvest burns to the ground, c'est la vie. It is a rather fatalist cultural worldview.

A culture with high-grid and low-group, does not care much for gossip, does not care if the neighbour is being weird. If someone in the village needs help, the police or the ambulance will be contacted. The individual is more in focus, compared to the community. Rules and regulations takes care of oneself. There is no pulling oneself up by one's bootstraps, unless upper management allows it. Playing the lottery is mostly for fun, because there is no social mobility per say. In a refugee camp, is one example of where one would find people of this type of cultural worldview.

The last type of cultural worldview concerns a culture that is high on the group-axis and low on the grid axis. It is a culture that values the group highly. Family is important, the village is important, the local church is important. Group leaders are listened to, group leaders such as preachers and village elders. Natural resources are important, the commons are important, because they provide, they are trusted, and have to be protected. A high-group culture has a different social order than the high-grid culture, because it is about horizontal social control instead of vertical social control. There is more trust in the neighbour than in the police, and if one does something that is frowned upon, the neighbours come in and punish oneself. Playing the lottery may be fun, but any-

thing that happens, happens for a reason. Ergo, if one wins the lottery, it was because of fate or similar. There is no luck, at all. Neither good nor bad. In this type of culture, a majority of the sanctions, even those imposed by nature, may be traced to a transgression of social rules: "This kind of disease is caused by adultery, that by incest; this meteorological disaster is the effect of political disloyalty, that the effect of impiety." (Ibid., 1966:3)

This last type of worldview is the one that this thesis is especially concerned with, because it pertains directly to the case of the Giriama. The low-grid and high-group cultural worldview.

Important to note for this thesis, as well, is that even though the contemporary African witchcraft is different from the antique European witchcraft, the defeat of superstition and the triumph of reason was not able to negate any possible existence of European witchcraft either. So while the accusation of having employed witchcraft may function as a practical means of social control, the actual practice of witchcraft does not stand in opposition to modern technology or updated cosmologies. (Douglas 2003:93)

No theory is without critique. For one, it is said that Mary Douglas herself never adequately applied her theory to any actual cultures. While I could disagree with that criticism, it is not necessary. This thesis itself is an application of the theory. There is also ample critique of how the theory gives collectives too much credit, as well as critique of how the theory gives individual decision making too much credit. Ironically, critique similar to this one is demonstrative of a particular worldview from either of the four cultures described in the Grid-Group theory. (Caulkins 1999:114-116)

Another critique of the Grid-Group theory, is that there seems to be no clear justification for why one would limit oneself to solely four different categories, and not use 12 different categories like in the zodiac horoscope, or even more categories. One answer to that is that four categories has proven to be sufficient, more than that is not necessary, at least not in this case. Four categories expands upon twofold models that are not sufficient, and still manages to encompass all possibilities. (FourCultures.com 2009)

A last critique, which I thought of myself, is that there is much disagreement amongst different authors on what each category represents, when it pertains to various amalgamated social structures and their components. This critique, has here been succinctly solved by the thorough defining of how the categories are utilised in this thesis. It is always important to operationalise the essential terms that are applied in a scientific context. (Sarkar and Pfeifer 2005:76)

This tool, the Grid-Group theory, came to be my first way to understand the nature of Giriama witchcraft. It was not sufficient on its own though, and therefore something more was needed. At this point in time, is where the second tool, that of Lévy-Bruhl's concept mystical participation, completes the analysis, to provide the holistic understanding of the relationship between witchcraft and development.

It is interesting to use the theories of Douglas and Lévy-Bruhl together, because Mary Douglas wrote her theories in order to vindicate the colonial peoples, who were called primitives back then. She especially wanted to attack what Lévy-Bruhl described as "primitive mentality" (Douglas 2007:1). In 1966, she wrote:

> What Lévy-Bruhl should have done, according to Evans-Pritchard, was to examine the variations in the social structures and then relate them to subsequent variations in the thought patterns. Instead he [Lévy-Bruhl] settled with the statement that all primitive people display similar thought patterns upon comparisons with ourselves, and thus exposed himself thereby for more criticism by seemingly making primitive cultures more mystical than what they really are, and civilised thinking more rational than what it really is. (Douglas 1966:110-111, Author's translation and note).

Mary Douglas and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl do still share a substantial amount of aspects, or at least their theories work well in conjunction with each other, which is something you will hopefully also see, when the thesis now goes on to describe Lévy-Bruhl's theories in the following chapter.

4.3 Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's Concept Of Mystical Participation

About 50 years before Mary Douglas wrote about witchcraft, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl was also looking at witchcraft, but he was looking at it from a different perspective. He did not look at the social function of the witchcraft accusations, he wanted to find a universal model by which one is able to understand the thinking behind the witchcraft itself. An "attitude of mind" similar to all witchcraft cultures. (Lévy-Bruhl 1923:40)

What follows is a summary of Lévy-Bruhl's book *Primitive Mentality*, because it in itself summarizes his own views on witchcraft in all his books, and it also succinctly describes the concepts that this thesis will apply for analysing Giriama witchcraft and development.

First of all, it is here necessary to say something about the fact that Lévy-Bruhl used the terms "primitives" and "civilised" (Ibid., 1923:40), for which he was criticised for many decades to follow. Though I notice a practical use for those terms, I will try to avoid them because they carry certain unwanted connotations. Instead, out of convenience for the reader, I will instead try to speak of 'them' and 'us', to respectively represent the Giriama witchcraft believers and the non-witchcraft believers from the West. This binary opposition is associated with its own set of connotations, as Mary Douglas also noted (Douglas 1966:107-109), and these connotations have been considered, and they are hereby declared acceptable as collateral damage in the priority of ends over means, as far as it pertains to the analytical value of the usage of the terms 'them' and 'us' in this thesis. Now that this has been established, this thesis continues with the presentation of Lévy-Bruhl's theory of mystical participation.

What Lévy-Bruhl found when he was looking at the thinking of the witchcraft believers, was that their way of thinking is different from our way of thinking. They experience the world differently from us. (Ibid., 1923:59)

It is a category of thinking where causal correlations are taken a step further, beyond what a majority of us might determine to be a definitive cause of an event, beyond that which it is possible to experience via the five senses. What may be determined to be a cause for us, is for them exclusively a means to an end for the mystical unseen forces. (Ibid., 1923:37)

At the time of him writing this, there was a significant amount of biological determinism in the societal discourse, that as soon as Lévy-Bruhl started writing about Others thinking differently, he had to point out that this difference in thinking does not imply a value of better or worse. I do not disagree with his judgement on that, their way of thinking is not worse than ours. Though it could be stated, that if degree of complexity is the measure, their rationality is significantly more complex than our. (Ibid., 1923:33)

The essence of this type of thinking may be summarised by the type of question that interests the person. For our minds, the question 'how' is central to answer the cause of death of another, but for their minds, the question 'why' is much more important. This is established, because once an outcome has been decided, it will happen, irrespective of how it happens. (Ibid., 1923:38)

The outcome of events is instead decided by mystical forces. Forces that a majority of us would deem as unseen, but that are nonetheless a significant part of their direct lived-experience. These unseen forces decide who will die and who will live. Therefore, it is imperative to know the direction of the agency of these forces, before one attempts to engage in a larger endeavour. If the mystical forces decide that they will not make it to the neighbouring village any time this week, there is no point in even trying to get there. The car engine will break down, or the tire will become punctured, or there will be a landslide, or something else, the 'how' is not important. If the mystical forces decide on something, then that will be so, regardless of how. (Ibid., 1923:159)

The consequence of this rationality, is that it is not possible for there to be an event that may be ascribed as an accidental death. They are able to imagine what an accidental death would be, by our standards, but they themselves would just perceive that the accident unfolded due to the agency of the unseen mystical forces. A car crash may have took place by accident, but the accident took place because of the agency of unseen forces. (Ibid., 1923:39-40)

In turn, this entails that it is impossible for there to be an event ascribed to luck, because every event unfolds as it does for a reason. The more it seems like a coincidence to us, the more significant it will seem to them. (Ibid., 1923:43-44)

Even good luck and good fortune is attributed to the agency of unseen mystical forces. Lévy-Bruhl postulates that unusual causes for joy will even frighten them, because such occurrences would be omens of terrible events. (Ibid., 1923:49)

They are able to play the lottery, but it would for them be similar to an oracle consulting the unseen forces. If one wins the lottery, the unseen forces wanted it to be so. If one does not win the lottery, the unseen forces wanted it to be so. There is always a sufficient explanation for any event. Regardless what the outcome of an event may be, the outcome will be proof of the power of the mystical forces. (Ibid., 1923:205)

Even if a disaster befalls the group, such as the family or the village, the disaster will be ascribed to the group's particular collective representation. The sacred parrot of the neighbouring Brazilian tribe, the Abrahamitic God of the American community, or the Jini of a Giriama witch. (Ibid., 1923:261)

On the issue of whether it is possible to perceive white strangers having employed witchcraft, Lévy-Bruhl merely states that the existence of white people, is in itself of such mysterious and su-

perhuman character that everything white strangers do is sufficiently explained on its own. (Ibid., 1923:307)

Another argument that substantiates the fact that white strangers are not labelled as witches, is because from a real "stranger" one cannot borrow or accept anything. Just as there it is impossible for there to be a substantial reciprocal relationship with outsiders, and just as there it is impossible for there be a substantial intersubjectivity between the people inside the group and the people outside the group, it is impossible for there to be any substantial "participation" between known persons and strangers. (Ibid., 1923:384)

Lévy-Bruhl points to this as the main reason for why there is an ideal of conformity that permeates all strata of society. Difference, and change, when it is associated with an individual, is perceived as suspicious in witchcraft societies. (Ibid., 1923:399)

4.4 Defending The Generalising From A Single Case

There is a need for this thesis to be able to say something about humanity at large. Whether one calls it generalisation, fittingness, comparability, translatability, or naturalistic generalisation, it is important to make sure that any case is able to state something more than merely about this one case. Otherwise it serves no other purpose than being an interesting titbit. (Schofield 2000:74-75)

The way that this is accomplished in this thesis, is by the extrication and explication of qualitative concepts. One consequence of this is that it is not discussed how many believes in witchcraft, or how many witches there are, or how quantifiable the effects are of a witchcraft belief. The thesis instead presents the reader with, what witchcraft is, what witches are, and the possible effects that such concepts have on human worldviews. The concept of witchcraft, in this context, is comparable and generalizable over different cultures.

This qualitative methodology is derived from the sociologist Emile Durkheim's theories. He stated that social facts are sui generis (Jones 1986:60-81), and subsequently have to be studied as social facts exclusively. In a similar fashion, this thesis looks at the witchcraft in Giriama culture as something that is to be understood as a social phenomenon in itself. It happens everyday, in Giriama everyday life. Events unfold, and people adapt to conditions where such events unfold.

This way of working with generalisation from a single case is not something new to social anthropology, nor to science writ large. Pragmaticism, as presented by American philosopher Charles

Sanders Peirce, is a perspective that contains a maxim that states that it is irrelevant whether what is perceived is an illusion, what is of relevance is instead how agents choose to react to what they think they perceive (Peirce 1905:438).

   Transferring this maxim of pragmaticism to the case at hand, concerning witchcraft in Giriama culture, the thesis is able to treat the empirical data so that it asserts that the existence of witchcraft lies in the actions stemming from the belief in witchcraft. In doing so, the thesis will be able to present an analysis of a worldview in which witchcraft is real. There are witches and witchdoctors all around the country-side in Kenya, because people behave as if there are. If people behave as if there are, then they are substantiating the intangible via praxis, giving the belief real consequences, and then the belief in witchcraft is justified in this culture, for these people, in this geographical region of the world.

   If one is accused of witchcraft, one could be scared for one's life. If one hear of someone seeking to attain something that may seem out of reach, one is relatively safe in assuming that this person will be turning to witchcraft. If one want to make sure that one's travel or wedding is a success, one way to make sure is to see to it that people know that one went to a witchdoctor to get one's venture blessed. That fancy promotion, that nice plot of land, and that healthy family. It might all be related to witchcraft, and the witch is alone in knowing for certain. Development, is not as far from witch-craft as one might suspect.

   Now that the reader has been presented with the theories that this thesis employs, and the reason for that these theories in particular have been chosen, the next chapters to be presented will expound upon the empirical material collected and the methods utilised for said collecting of material. This will include a literature review of the research that has been previously performed in this particular field before, and it will also include a description of my fieldwork in Giriama-land.

5 Methodology

5.1 Previous Research Performed On The Topic

All the previous research done on both witchcraft and development, that I have been able to find, all reach at least two conclusions. First, that witchcraft is valued as negative. Second, that development is valued as positive. That this is the case, will be demonstrated, by giving the reader a few examples of this view of witchcraft and development, as well as how this view manifests itself in various types of academic papers and books. This demonstration is justified because it shows the academic relevance of a thesis where witchcraft isn't assumed to be imbued with a negative value. This will in turn show how this thesis fills a knowledge gap in the research on witchcraft and development.

5.1.1 "Witchcraft And Development" By Brain

Starting off with the prototypical example of how witchcraft is perceived as negative, and development is perceived as positive, the work of anthropologist James L. Brain is presented. He wrote about Tanzanian witchcraft in his paper aptly called "Witchcraft and Development". He begins the paper by making the distinction that sorcery is something constructive, while witchcraft is something destructive. This distinction is a distinction Brain makes, despite the fact that he also writes that there is no differentiation in Swahili. "Both are described as uchawi" (Brain 1982:372).

Using this definition of witchcraft, Brain proceeds with saying that witches are usually perceived to be women, because of external reasons. People do not trust women, because of womb trauma, womb envy and poor weaning practices (Ibid., 1982:374-375). This thesis interprets these statements by Brain, as his way of insinuating that witchcraft is detrimental to development because of how it cements stereotypes of women with negative connotations, and this interpretation is performed in this particular way due to Brain's preconceptual definition of witchcraft as something inherently destructive.

Nevertheless, when Brain later goes on to describe the pragmatic consequence of the belief in witchcraft, it does not sound like it would be something intrinsically negative or destructive:

> One of the most powerful effects of a belief in witchcraft is to ensure great conformity in be-haviour: if I am afraid that other people might be witches I shall always take care not to offend them. Conversely, to make sure that people do not suspect me of being a witch, I shall always strive to behave as inoffensively as possible. (Ibid., 1982:378)

Brain does not, however, try to approach this consequence unbiased. He states that witchcraft may be said to hinder development, economically speaking. Anyone with better crop yields will be put at risk of a witch accusation:

> […] though one could suggest that it might assist in encouraging wholly collective farming. [_ _ _] Thus individual success […] will not only be deplored, but active magical attempts may be made to harm the person involved in order to reduce him or her to the same general level as everyone else. (Ibid., 1982:379).

Individual success is minimized, allowing collective success more room. So what Brain does here, in my interpretation, is a conflation of development in general with specifically neoliberal economic development, making sure that anything that does not promote the individual's accumulation of re-sources is perceived as something negative.

It could have been sufficient for Brain if he had exclusively wanted to present witchcraft as something negative or destructive for development, but he also wants to presents what he thinks would be a suitable solution to the problem that is witchcraft. In order to do this he finishes his paper with showing that witchcraft is connected to a society which does not allow social mobility. Because hunter and gatherer societies do not have much witchcraft, according to Brain, and the culture that Brain lives in does not have much witchcraft, this he then takes to entail that social mobility must be the common denominator. Because if someone feels envy or anger towards a person, they may merely cease contact with that person, but in societies where people have to have contact with each other, witchcraft will be inevitable. (Ibid., 1982:380-383)

In short, Brain's explicit solution, to the problem of witchcraft, is "greater secularization combined with total social mobility." (Ibid., 1982:384)

What I infer from this, is that Brain appears to be promoting a neoliberal agenda, because he defines development to narrowly entail neoliberal economic development, and any obstacle to this development is valued negatively.

5.1.2 Other Cases Of Research About Witchcraft And Development

The following examples are not explicit in valuing witchcraft as negative and/or valuing development as positive, but the implication of their work is painting a similar picture.

The first one that many academics think of when they hear anthropology and witchcraft, is the works of E.E. Evans-Pritchard. He performed seminal research on the Zande, for which he has been duly credited. For this thesis, his more objective theories that may be applied to witchcraft itself are used, but left behind are any moral statements or theories on witchcraft accusations, because those are not relevant for this thesis. For instance, Evans-Pritchard says that witchcraft is not an objective reality, and that witches cannot exist, not in the way the Azande describes them anyway (Evans-Pritchard 1937:63). My thought is that if witchcraft is perceived as objective from the Giriama's standpoint, then that is the perspective I have to assume as I describe it to you as well. Even if one would disregard such formulations as mere signs of the Zeitgeist, they still represent an assumption about an implied scale of social development. Evans-Pritchard's worldview is "objective", the believers in witchcraft's worldview is not "objective". As interesting as this might be, it is not the aim of this thesis to delve deeper into this, and therefore it is left as a suggestion for future research.

Another theoretician that might be pertinent to raise to attention, is anthropologist Andrew Apter. In Comaroff & Comaroff's *Modernity and its Malcontents*, he points to a case study in Nigeria, of the relationship between the cocoa industry and the belief in witchcraft. While Apter's study is focused on a cult of witchcraft findings, he does argue that the more the economic development fails, the more and more people will believe in the hidden agency of witchcraft. He even says that witchcraft in Nigeria has become an enemy of development, because the witchcraft is a reversal of the social order. That which normally represents above and outside, is in the witchcraft turned into below and inside, and vice versa. So the more the economic development fails, the more the belief in witchcraft will succeed. (Apter 1993:124-125)

In the anti-witchcraft cult that Apter studied, witches that were found were required to admit to being witches, pay a fine, give up their witchcraft paraphernalia, wash in holy water, and eat the medicinal kola. If, after all this, they would ever perform witchcraft again, the medicine would kill them. It may be likened with an insurance, for the Atinga people. (Ibid., 1993:114)

The argument that Apter presents, leads to two implications. First, the practice of witchcraft fulfils a function that the economic world system has left vacant. Second, had the economic development been done properly and correctly, with better or higher quality, then the belief in witchcraft would not have become so widespread. The solution to the assumed problem of witchcraft is implied to be economic development.

Anthropologist Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman offers a similar view of witchcraft as Andrew Apter, in her early work on development and witchcraft accusations in Congo (Ekholm-Friedman 1991). Her focus is also exclusively on historical witchcraft accusations, and so she does not look that substantially at the witchcraft itself. The belief in witchcraft, the mystic forces behind events, does not take up a significant portion of her analyses.

From Ekholm-Friedman's work on witchcraft in Congo, her view of witchcraft and economic development is straightforward. First of all, before colonialism, there was less envy and greed in the areas where there is now witchcraft accusations (Ibid., 1991:196,203). She shows this by describing how witchcraft accusations rose in frequency after European trade came to Africa, in conjunction with the rise in colonialism. Similar to James Brain, Ekholm-Friedman thinks that the reason for the rise in witchcraft accusations, is the loss of rootlessness, the loss of mobility, and the loss of laxity of morals. (Ibid., 1991:196,203)

The argument that Ekholm-Friedman presents, points to a quote by Mary Douglas: "In so far as rootlessness and mobility and laxity of morals characterize town life, the weapon of witchcraft accusation would be redundant" (Ibid., 1991:195-196). This quote entails that in a place of high mobility, if one ever was to get accused of being a witch, one could just go to another place, a place where people do not know one.

Ekholm-Friedman's argument, from looking at the case in Congo, with the economic development and the rise in witchcraft accusations there, is that a greater development, with implied urbanisation, would re-institute the lacking mobility, which in turn would get rid of the need for witchcraft accusations. It is an argument that assumes that urbanisation and subsequent economic development, would get rid of the need for witchcraft accusations.

James Brain, Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman, and Mary Douglas are not the sole ones to have this stance. Nevertheless, as I observed in the field, and also as anthropologist Ralph A. Austen writes:

> Virtually all existing work, at least in rural Africa, indicates that witchcraft efficacy is held to be a direct function of the intimacy between witch and victim. [_ _ _] the corollary being that, with greater social distance, such accusation would decline.

> Recent research however, shows African urban elites to be afraid that those left behind in their villages are bewitching either them or the state projects with which they identify. Also, while formal witchcraft accusations against the powerful and wealthy are rare, it has "become a commonplace observation in African studies" that such ascendant individuals are perceived to be witches. (Austen 1993:90)

When Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman later went on to study the Hawaiians' magical worldview, she changed her perception somewhat. Instead of development as a solution to witchcraft, in Hawaii she saw that rational thinking could replace development as that which to be put in opposition to the belief in witchcraft (Ekholm-Friedman 1994:90).

Another person that has written from a historical perspective, like Ekholm-Friedman, is anthropologist Cynthia Brantley. Brantley has written several articles on the Giriama in Kenya. In one of them, she shows how the Kenyan state, and specifically the state under British rule, have tried to control witchcraft over the decades they were in power. Similar to Ekholm-Friedman, Brantley specifically points out that colonialism was a driving factor for an increase in witchcraft accusations (Brantley 1979:116).

According to the interpretation of the author of this thesis, me, there is a tone throughout Brantley's work that is subtly hinting at that destructive witchcraft stands together with the world economic development, at the same time as it stands in contrast to the regional economic development. Even though this is not a strange inference to make, for a person in Brantley's seemingly postcolonial position, it is still an inference that does imply that development would somehow reduce the amount of people who believe in witchcraft, and that a reduction of witchcraft believers would be positively valued. (Ibid., 1979:113,116)

It could be argued that maybe this is not a complete account of previous research done on this topic, unless something about gender issues is mentioned. Luckily, as it is, anthropologist Diane Ciekawy has written an already good paper on gender and witchcraft, speaking about both Kenyan coastal witchcraft practices, as well as issues of development. So I feel no need to attempt to improve upon that, but merely point on to her work instead. (Ciekawy 1999)

To end this section, I have to mention why I do not speak of Mary Douglas as part of the previous research done in this field. It is because, first, she looks at witchcraft accusations and not witchcraft beliefs, and second, her conclusions on witchcraft accusations are not connected to anything related to any development. (Douglas 1970:110,111).

5.1.3 David Parkin's Work With The Giriama

Another researcher that also applies a historical perspective is David Parkin, but unlike several of the other previously mentioned researchers, Parkin has spent many years doing ethnographical fieldwork in Giriama-land. All the information that I have found in Giriama-land, rings true with what he has written as well.

Parkin has written scientifically solid research about the contemporary history of the Giriama, and how this history ties in with witchcraft. In his monograph, *Sacred Void: Spatial Images of Work and Ritual Among The Giriama of Kenya* (1991), he describes the dispersal out of the Kaya, what the Kaya is, and how the geography may be perceived as a metaphor for the Kaya's sacral nature. I had great use of this information as I navigated the social landscape of the Giriama, and I owe a significant amount of gratitude to his detailed descriptions. Out of Parkin's accounts, these two aspects are taken as more relevant for this thesis:

First, large-scale witch-hunts may be perceived as rituals where the sacred centre, the Kaya, is cleansed (Ibid., 1991:5). Cleansing out the destructive witchcraft that rose with the colonialism, I take this to be a psycho-structural defence against the effects of the outside world.

Second, the Giriama became locally famous for their rebellion in 1914 against the British rule (Ibid., 1991:xiv). During my stay in the area, this was something that was reiterated with pride by the Giriama themselves, and also known by other ethnicities in Kenya, as a component of the aggregated stereotype of the Giriama. They spoke about it at the local pub, where people from all over the country would gather, and regardless where they came from, they knew about how the Giriama are proud over having fought against the British.

After that, and this is mentioned to again point to how witchcraft is often perceived as an anti-thesis to development, Parkin does imply that "a society that sees envy and greed as major causes of witchcraft" would be a "direct contrast with progress and capital gain", which are the underlying "goals of a modern African nation". My interpretation of Parkin's texts as I read them was similar to the quotes presented, but this particular formulation was made by Cynthia Brantley, who even made this her conclusion in her paper "The Giriama and Witchcraft Control" (Brantley 1979:131)

The section on previous research done on witchcraft & development and/or the witchcraft in Giriama-land, has with this been concluded. You should now be able to see the knowledge gap that I aim to fill with this thesis, but to make it even clearer, the standpoints of the previous research will be returned to in chapter 6. Now, a short presentation of the informants and how they perceive witchcraft.

5.2 Ethics, Informants, And Empirical Data

5.2.1 Ethical Considerations

Before the informants are presented, it is of weight to consider the ethical implications behind that which is presented in this thesis. Every person mentioned this thesis was asked, whether they felt that it was acceptable that they and their statements were mentioned by name, and permission was received from all of them that their names and stories were to be mentioned in this thesis.

Even so, there is still the question whether it is ethically right for me to use the names and stories of the informants in this fashion. Sometimes they told me stories, that, even though I am allowed to use them in this thesis, might have an impact upon the reputation and stature of these people. Changing the names and anonymising them will not help, because their relative positions in society are easily recognisable anyway. The wife of the chief is the wife of the chief, irrespective what name she is known by.

Then there is also the issue of power. If I were to choose to write the thesis in such a way that the informants were unrecognisable, removing their relative social positions in society, then it would change the meaning of their stories, because it does matter who says what, it does have import of weight for the persons involved. Asides from that, if I were to write in such a way that they would be unrecognisable, I would be muting their agency from the field, making myself the one and sole

subject in this story, assuming a right to power over their knowledge and information. Also, removing the ability to perceive who said what, connects with the issue of transparency. If you, the reader, cannot perceive who said what, then that puts doubt in your mind about whether it is fact true that anyone told me these stories. Most importantly though, these lives are their lives, their stories, their beliefs, so writing the thesis in such a way that the informants were unrecognisable, would be an unethical course of action.

Therefore, I choose to reveal the names of my informants, as well as their relative social positions in society, and I also choose to tell you what they told me, in order for their voices to be heard. It is determined that these choices are the most respectable actions to take, for me as an author, towards my informants and their way of life. Now that this question of ethics has been established, the presentation of the informants will follow.

5.2.2 Informants And Interwoven Empirical Data

In order to assure you of the legitimacy of my fieldwork, this chapter will look closer at the informants as persons, as well as their standpoints on witchcraft, via the descriptions of my encounter with these informants. This thesis interweaves empirical data throughout, by choice, for the sake of increased readability and intersubjectivity, but this chapter does so in particular, which is something that needs to be made clear to the reader before proceeding.

My key informant during my fieldwork was Dickson. He is the head of the family I stayed with. A "strong" man they said about him. The Giriama refers to men who have a big belly from eating so much ugali, as "strong" men. Referring to Dickson as strong is also an allusion to him never getting sick, as well as him demanding a high social status. Papa Dickson used to be the chief of Kaloleni area, and is still referred to as such. Going from village to village, everyone greets him with a smiling face. "Chief!", "Papa Dickson!", followed by several minutes of greetings in both Swahili and Giriama. When he walks, he walks slowly, not because he has to, but because he can. When I travelled by matatu with Papa Dickson, he always sat in the front with the driver, because they know who he is, and they show him respect. In short, Dickson is a man with great regard in the community.

Dickson introduced me to the witchdoctors in the Kaya, and the witchdoctors I met elsewhere. It took him weeks to get the appointments. I was sometimes concerned whether I would get the opportunity to speak to any witchdoctors at all. It took time. Papa Dickson and I had to meet liaisons

several times, to bring cloths and hens and cocks as gifts/ingredients/sacrifice. Week by week, I built up the rapport needed for interviewing them and observing them perform their rituals.

Photo 4: Papa Dickson to the right, with his friend Matthias in the middle, and Matthias' oldest mother, the locally popular witchdoctor, to the left. All three wearing their normal day-to-day garbs. That they wore these clothes, signified a trust in their expertise. Photograph taken by author, in Giriama-land.

When I later met people who told me that witchcraft was all make-believe, I asked them about the witchdoctors in the Kaya, then these people would instantly change their tone of voice. The chief of police, who originally came from Nairobi, a big city, he told me once, when I was in Le Bakulutu, the pub: "Oh! But <u>those</u> witchdoctors are real witchdoctors. They have real magic.", referring to the witchdoctors in the Kaya. So there is no doubt in my mind that Dickson did me a great favour in putting me in contact with the elders of the Kaya, and that these elders are the symbols of great regard in their communities, in all of Kenya even.

Dickson's wife Fatouma was even more helpful than Dickson, in that she showed me the back-stage to the goings-on in the community. Mama Fatouma is the leader of the women's rights movement in the Kaloleni constituency, and many politicians wanted to get her on their side. She

rarely sides with anyone, as she is sufficiently strong on her own. Many years back, Fatouma tells me, Papa Dickson was unruly, drinking much, and an incorrigible ladies' man. He would spend much of their money on alcohol, and little on his family. He would even take women with him to their house. Because he could not pay any debts, because he was drinking all the time, he had to go to jail several times. Mama Fatouma worked hard, on the fields and at home. She worked hard to support the family. She also worked hard, to pay off his debts so he would be released from jail. She experienced this three times. Two of these times he continued socialising with ladies, and continued drinking the strong home-brewed alcohol. She did not tell him or anyone else about her helping him out of jail. It was on her honour. If she did not have a man at the house, she and her children would be in danger. People could rob or take advantage of them. So she had little choice but to work hard to get her husband back to her house. The family refers to this period of their life as the bad time. Later on, in conjunction with all this, Mama Fatouma would hire exorcists to help them. They were suffering, from an abusive father, bad nightmares, depressions, and illnesses. So they brought in exorcists from all the religions, Christians, Muslims, and witchdoctors. All the exorcists agreed there was a curse or even several curses put on the house. So they sprayed the house with holy water, read from the Koran, and placed sacred artefacts all around the house[19]. After this exorcism, all the bad nightmares vanished, the father stopped drinking completely, and everyone felt as if a big load had been taken off their shoulders. From that point on, they were also protected against any future attacks on the house. The house will forever stay a safe haven for the family members.

Mama Fatouma is a "strong" woman, both physically and mentally. She has experienced much hardship, and persevered, for the sake of her family. She has a huge scar across her head, from her right eye all the way back to the back of her head. She tells me it is from when she was attacked by a man with an iron pipe. The skull was almost crushed, but she beat up the man and scared him off. She has been attacked many times, she tells me, because she is a person that always says what is on her mind, and people generally do not like this. This particular instance, however, when she was attacked so brutally, there was something that was different. After this particular attack, she became inflicted with chronic migraines. So bad, that she has to seek specialist attention from witchdoctors every few years. She goes all the way to Tanzania for this help, because the witchdoctors there are generally considered better than the ones in Kenya, they have "strong" witchcraft there[20].

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[19]   I was in the house during a similar ceremony. Hours of talking in tongues. A week of spraying with holy water.

[20]   A year later I would go to Tanzania, and I was told that the witchcraft in Kenya is stronger than the one in Tanzania. This claim goes well in hand with what anthropologist Michael Jackson (1998) says in his book Minima

Mama Fatouma was the one who told me about the family that she married into. How Papa Dickson's brothers used to be close. They used to sit together by a long table, in the middle of the village, and eat together, at least once a week. The wives of the brothers, she told me, have destroyed this feeling of community. They are greedy, envious, and jealous. If Papa Dickson buys a motorcycle, one of his brothers' wives will be envious and say that Papa Dickson's family employs witchcraft. It splits the community apart. So now all that Papa Dickson is permitted to do, is shout hello to his brother across the field. So even though Papa Dickson was my entrance into the rituals of the witchdoctors, Mama Fatouma was my ticket into the community of believers.

It is also possible to count the witchdoctors as informants, but to me they are mainly interviewees. Matthias for instance, is the son of a respected witchdoctor in a village far outside of Kaloleni. He is a man with a smile that is hard to interpret. I had trouble knowing if he was laughing at me, or whether he was jesting with me, or whatever he could have thought with his smile. Later on it was revealed, by the friendly informant Jafar Dyeka, that a majority of the witchdoctors have this mysterious smile. It is a smile that has two meanings. The first meaning is that they acknowledge one's disbelief. The second meaning is that they know that one has no idea of how the world works. As if one is a child and they are the masters. In this case, it has to be admitted that that is how it is. I know nothing, and people like Matthias knows everything. I think that it would be just like trying to get an electrician to tell me how electricity works, and he would just smile as I think that it is all magic.

When I first met Matthias he was sitting outside his house, waiting for us. Papa Dickson and I came there, the two of us sat down, and Dickson explained the reason for our presence. Matthias nodded, and started talking, sometimes in Swahili with Dickson, sometimes in broken English with me. Matthias had in his youth been a successful long distance runner, competing in countries abroad. He had been to Europe and America, he told me. All that stopped, suddenly, and there was no more money, and subsequently no more running. It was because he had been cursed. Ever since then, he has been trying to raise the money to get rid of this curse, so he will be able to continue his running career, and continue to make money off of running.

Ethnographica: The more potent healers, and the more dangerous witches, are usually in the outskirts of society. Up on the highest peak, on the furthest mountain, is where one is able to find the best witchdoctor. The best medicine that he prescribes, requires something that is difficult to acquire, such as a bird's feather from a bird of prey. The strongest witchdoctors are always far away. In Tanzania if one is in Kenya, in Kenya if one is in Tanzania.

Matthias tells me stories of how the witchdoctors are able to perform impressive magic tricks to enforce the belief in their authenticity. One time, a group of people were right outside his house, and the witchdoctor asked Jins to go get something that would make the client a believer. The Jin then came with a basket, flying through the air. Inside this basket were the dirty underwear of the client, who lived far from there.

Matthias told me how Moses in the Christian Bible used magic to outmatch the Pharaoh's magicians. How Moses' staff turned into a snake, a big snake, that ate the snakes conjured up by the magicians, showing the superiourity of Moses' magic. Ac-

Photo 5: Matthias' house, functions as both meeting place for elders as well as a local store of sweets and the important maize flour used for ugali. It is an intersection of social and economic development, as well as an intersection of the local and the global. Photograph taken by author, in Giriama-land.

cording to Matthias and the other informants, this was the beginning of witchcraft,. Witchcraft is from God, or witchcraft is possible to at least be perceived as being derived from an equivalent source such as that which divine entities is thought to emanate from.

Matthias spoke for hours and hours about witchcraft, and his life story. That his mother is a witchdoctor, and that all his mother's sisters are witchdoctors, and they learned how to perform witchcraft by the women in their family. Weeks later I would get to meet with his mother and father, and I would be the subject of a curse prevention ritual.

In the weeks that I was waiting to meet Matthias' mother, I was able to meet Gideon. Gideon is an elder that has connections with the witchdoctors in the Kaya. I met him twice in a smaller city. He was gave me a tour of the city, telling me about the industries and their work with the unions. I asked him what religion he would say that he adheres to. Baffled, he answered that his religion is witchcraft. His church is the sacred tree. His prayer is the use of herbs. His sacred texts are passed down orally within the Kaya. His Vatican is the Kaya. This revelation presented me with a comparison that would further elucidate the power relationship problem that this thesis would come to

stand before; That if a religious belief system like Christianity, or a rational belief system like scientism, is not put in an assumed opposition to development, then the belief in witchcraft should not have to be perceived as an opposition to development either, logically speaking.

Gideon introduced me to the Kaya, and the elders there. The Kaya, being the centre of all the strong witchcraft in Giriama-land, is also a UNESCO World Heritage site. It is referred to as a small forest, but it is mostly shrubbery. The first time I came there, I felt totally lost. There was just forest and footpaths all around me. It all looked like forest and footpaths, so I had no idea where I was. Papa Dickson and I were waiting there for an hour, for them to show up. People could be observed walking around in the forest, picking berries and snapping off branches. There were also small statues standing by the crossroad there, sacred statues, Dickson told me. I was nervous, it felt like a big ordeal. Then, these half-naked men came walking around in the forest. Plucking twigs and berries as well, and burying items in the dirt. Papa Dickson called out to them, and they came up to us. They all wore the same patterned sarongs. Colourful and prestigious patterns, exclusively worn by the elders amongst the Giriama. At the sight of them, a great sense of respect and admiration followed. These people are not just older than a majority of other people in this community, they hold the information behind the witchcraft that has been passed down from generation to generation. They are culture bearers of this region, of this people. They are the real deal, so to speak.

After Dickson had introduced me to the these elders, I went with Dickson's son Jafar, to meet with another witchdoctor, and this time it was in the centre of Kaloleni. Not rural at all. The two of us walked up the hill, around a house, and there it was. A small room on the outside of a house, filled with old buckets and feathers and animal parts. Over three gourds sat the witchdoctor, Nzima Maridadi. He gave me his business card, and showed me his board with a list of illnesses he is licensed to cure. In Kenya, witchdoctors have licenses issued by the state. Maridadi was not slow to show me his license. The other witchdoctors did not have business cards, and even though they were licensed they did not show me them. So this guy was different. He told me his life story, and showed me items that he uses in his witchcraft. He told me, for example, that the gourd would have killed me if I had had bad intentions, so he felt that he could trust me, because I was still alive.

As indicated by the key informants at the host family, Maridadi is a typical town witchdoctor. He knows a sufficient amount of esoteric ways to get him by, but he does not know about the herbs like the bush witchdoctor does. He employs more magic, and less hands-on healing. More placebo, and less causal correlations. Even though this sounds like something he could be judged for, this was not what my host family complained about as it pertains to witchdoctors like Maridadi. They already have regular doctors to go to, if they need herbal healing. No, when they complain about town witchdoctors, it is because the witchcraft is not sufficiently "strong". Like that time I met with the police chief in the pub, and he told me that all witchcraft is all fake…except for the ones in the Kaya, they are real.

Photo 6: Maridadi thought it would be fun if I dressed up in his working clothes. The shells allude to coast-region, carrying connotations of influences of the wealthy. The fan was made not from feathers, but from imported wig hair, also carrying connotations of wealth. The spirit containing gourd alone, was to represent traditional magic. Photograph taken by author, in Kaloleni.

5.3 Methodological Reflexions

For this thesis I have spent a total of 5 months in Giriama-land and 1½ month in Tanzania. I chose to conduct participatory observation (Jorgensen 1989b) of rituals with witchdoctors in two instances, because the method of participatory observation was clearly justified by the aim of my research question, as all of the necessary conditions were applicable:

— there are important differences between the views of insiders as opposed to outsiders (ethnic groups, labor unions, management, subcultures such as occultists, poker players, or nude beachers, and even occupations like physicians, ministers, newscasters, or scientists);

— the phenomenon is somehow obscured from the view of outsiders (private, intimate interactions and groups, such as physical and mental illness, teenage sexuality, family life, or re-

ligious ritual); or

— the phenomenon is hidden from public view (crime and deviance, secretive groups and organizations, such as drug users and dealers, cultic and sectarian religions). [_ _ _]

— the research problem is concerned with human meanings and interactions viewed from the insiders' perspective;

—the phenomenon of investigation is observable within an everyday life situation or setting;

— the researcher is able to gain access to an appropriate setting;

— the phenomenon is sufficiently limited in size and location to be studied as a case;

— study questions are appropriate for case study; and

— the research problem can be addressed by qualitative data gathered by direct observation and other means pertinent to the field setting. (Jorgensen 1989a:12-13)

Aside from the participatory observation I also performed semi-structured interviews, with four witchdoctors. Four interviews might not sound like a significant amount, but it was justified for two reasons. The first reason is that I just could not find a large amount of participants that were willing to be interviewed. The second reason is that theoretical saturation (Beitin 2012:244) was reached after three interviews. Those four interviews, together with all the informal conversations and unstructured interviews I did out on the field, they were sufficient to increase my understanding of the concept of witchcraft, to the degree that the arguments made in this thesis were made possible.

I chose to not conduct any surveys or any other quantitative techniques, because the research question is one that is better answered by qualitative methods. The research question is not about how many that believes in witchcraft or how many that have an attitude towards witchcraft, but the research question here concerns the concept of witchcraft and the concept of development, and to an extent also the concept of rationality. Therefore, the delineation of the enquiries in the field were limited to the employment of exclusively qualitative methods in general, and then participant observation and interviews in particular.

Photo 7: Gideon, in the middle, being cleansed from any potential curses, during a ritual in the Kaya, performed by the leaders of the elders. The nakedness, the bare feet in contact with the sacred ground, the forest backdrop, and the walking counter-clockwise, were all symbols of going back in time. A rewind to a time before any curse would have been placed, back to a time when there were no kinks in the social fabric. Photograph taken by author, in the UN World Heritage site, the sacred forest known as the Kaya.

One ritual that I participated in was with the elders of the Kaya, where they reapplied protection spells on a friend of Papa Dickson's, Gideon. They referred to the protection spells as anti-witch, because the protection spells will protect against destructive witchcraft. It was a session employing traditional magic, where they used herbs and roots they collected on beforehand. Everyone had to walk barefoot, including me, because the loci, the forest, is sacred. After the ritual a chicken's head was cut off, and the way the chicken fell would indicate whether the ritual was successful or not. I asked them questions about the ritual during and after, so the discourse employed here in this thesis is also the discourse employed by informants in the field.

The same applies to another ritual that I participated in, together with Papa Dickson, another friend of Papa Dickson's, Matthias, as well as with Matthias' oldest mother, whose name I was never told, out on the rural side of Giriama-land. It was a ritual where a Muslim Jin was involved. They wrapped my head in a piece of cloth, out of respect for the Jin, and the three of us drank rose-water underneath a sacred tree, where the Jin lives, to ask it for permission. Permission was granted,

and then two chickens were sacrificed by chopping off their heads and pouring their blood on the sacred tree. Matthias and his mother drew on the ground, put me on the drawings, mumbled a few magic terms, walked around me counter clockwise at first, and then clockwise at the end, signifying a rewind of time, to when there was no curse, and then a winding forward, to close the gap. They whisked sacred herbal water on me, and my feet especially. This ritual would protect me against anyone else cursing me in the future, so that I now afterwards am able to feel safe and secure. Using this autoethnographic material, it is inferred that reaching a mental state of feeling safe and secure may be one motivation for meeting with a witchdoctor.

I visited Matthias and Gideon on several occasions before the rituals, to interview them and listen to their stories about witchcraft. Matthias in particular would talk to me for hours about both his personal experiences and the mythology about witchcraft, as he knew it. Gideon was not learned as a witchdoctor himself, but he proclaimed witchcraft to be his religion, something that he was stern and adamant about. When I asked Gideon what his religion was, he was a bit taken aback, "Witchcraft!" he told me, and then he pointed to the tree and said that that was his church, to make sure that I would understand that witchcraft is just as much a religion as Christianity.

I would speak to Papa Dickson every day, asking him what he knew, which was quite a significant amount, and what he believed in, which was very relevant for this thesis. Both Dickson and Mama Fatouma saw no conflict between Islam/Christianity and witchcraft. Witchcraft functioned well for them in a syncretic relationship with other religious sets of beliefs. Neither those belief systems, nor the belief in witchcraft, differed from each other in their relationship towards development. Dickson's family was successful, lived a socially developed existence, and still believed in the existence of witchcraft, as well as Islam and Christianity. Their lives, was in itself an empirical exception to the claim that witchcraft universally negates development. Just stating this fact was not sufficient for a thesis though, there was still the need to demonstrate why witchcraft is not an antithesis to development, and also to show what consequences such a demonstration would have academically and practically.

During my five month stay in Kenya, I spent many days just observing how people interacted with each other, and how people interacted with me. Once, people threw a cursed egg thrown at me, and then the host family told me that the curse would not stick because I was not a part of the household or the family. Another time, the inside of the house was sprayed with holy water, every day for weeks, to re-imbue it with protective qualities, the eating areas especially, and the kitchen.

I spent a significant quantity of my time conversing with people who had been subjected to curses, such as Mama Fatouma, and my friends at the volunteering organisation, and the rambling drunkards at the pub. Mama Fatouma told me at lengths about the nightmares, the violence, the sex, the drinking, and the physical assaults, that had been subjected to them as results of destructive witchcraft. She also told me how there are people who have closed rooms in their houses, where they do blood sacrifices, sacrificing animals and people. One of my closer friends at the volunteering organisation, Chrispus Charo, the man in charge of TACEP during my stay there, would tell me about how common it is for a woman to go to a witch to charm a man, make the man ignore his wife and children, so that the woman may be with the man instead. The charm often being something put in a glass of water. Charo would reiterate to me how this is a problem for the society, because he feels that there are too many women who have to prostitute themselves to support their children, and that there are too many children without parents, and he perceives it all to be a consequence of the destructive witchcraft. Then again, he also told a story about talismans that may protect against such charms, if one just goes to a sufficiently strong witchdoctor. This was a story that would indicate that Charo did not think of witchcraft in itself as negative, but that he did think of destructive witchcraft as negative. The celebration of constructive witchcraft in conjunction with the denigration of destructive witchcraft, is the strongest indicator of how witchcraft is not perceived as negative in-itself, and while this indication is pointed out here specifically, in order to justify why this material in particular is chosen to be described in this thesis, it is also an indication that is present in all the stories laid forth in this thesis.

I met with people who had experienced exorcisms, at the local churches. Karen Riziki, for instance, was a firm believer of the magic powers that preachers could possess. She would tell me every morning, that the preachers knows aspects about oneself that no one else could know, and that these preachers could exorcise bad spirits from people, and perform inspiring speeches.

Riziki's story did not convey all positivity, which became apparent when she also told me how expensive it was, for her to travel all the way to Mombasa, in order to meet the charismatic preacher, the one with the strongest power, and then to pay people there to get in, and then to donate to the preacher for his services. Despite all these expenses, she still felt that it was worth it, and that it had changed her life. No more partying, no more drinking, no more sleazy business at the local pub.

I met many people at the pub who told histories signifying their belief in witchcraft, and people at the pub who claimed not to believe in witchcraft. For instance, there was the police chief who had

transferred from Nairobi, who was cynical and grumpy about being positioned at such a small village, he at first said many times to me that witchcraft was just superstition, and that people were not sufficiently modern and educated.

I listened to the police chief patiently and accepted his disbelief about witchcraft, but when I told him that I had been to the Kaya, his facial expression went from laughing to being serious. He said "oh, but *that* is real magic. They have the old traditional magic that works. Not like those charlatans in the city that fool people for money with their weak fake witchcraft."

I listened to stories about people that my informants know, I listened to stories about themselves, and I heard stories about people I was able to become acquainted with. They invited me into their lives, and I am privileged for it. They had never done that before, these people that I met. They made an exception for me, and I feel obliged and honoured to make use of the material they have shared with me.

Photo 8: Hand-me-down school books. Shared knowledge. This picture represents no economic development, because there was no profit involved, but it represents plenty of personal development for each kid learning from the books, and also social development for the village who gets to benefit from the knowledgeable villagers. Photograph taken by author, in Kaloleni.

6 Analysis

This chapter will first start off by analysing the previous research done in the field, as previously presented. I have chosen seven researchers in all, to have their texts presented in this thesis. There are two interconnected reasons for doing this. The first reason is that it is necessary to point out that I do not want to appear to say that all the other researchers were wrong, instead what I want to show is that this thesis has a different focus of research, that the other researchers left a knowledge gap. The second reason that this chapter begins with short analysis of the previous research done in this field, is that by pointing out the knowledge gap that this thesis claims to fill, I wish to further legitimise the existence of this thesis.

After that, this chapter goes on to analyse the material presented so far, including that of the first chapter. This analysis will show how there is a corollary between the sense of control over one's own life and the societal control over others. To accuse a person of witchcraft, is to put that person in a category, and it is to make sense of an event in society. There are no accidents in a witchcraft society. If one person inherited more than another, it is because the former have employed witchcraft. If one person's crops failed, it is because another person has employed witchcraft. There is no bad luck or good luck. There is a subject behind every action, a person, a will behind every event. A person wanted it to happen, and that is why it happened. Ergo, One perceives the failure of one's crops, after which one accuses another of witchcraft. This action will make sure that the success of the accused ends right here and now. It is a matter of control. No one is allowed to be more successful than anyone else.

The consequences of this control, and the scientific significance of those consequences, will be the contents of chapter 6.

6.1 The Proposed Knowledge Gap

As was written in Chapter 4, in relation to the posed juxtaposition of witchcraft and development, James L. Brain presents us with three points. First, there is the point that the belief in witchcraft increases conformity in behaviour, by the application of a system whereby successful individuals are met with negative sanctions in the form of being accused of having employed witchcraft (Brain 1982:378). While it is here agreed with that witchcraft increases conformity in behaviour, what

Brain does not speak of, is how the use of the phenomenon of witchcraft may entail the enactment of negative sanctions as well. There is, for instance, the cursing and bewitching of successful people by the wachawi, for instance. Aside from that there is also the possible positive sanctions of subsequent protection spells cast by waganga.

The second point Brain presents is how individual economic success is punished by the negative sanction of witchcraft accusation (Ibid., 1982:379). I agree with Brain about this, because I have observed it myself, in how my host family was accused of having employed witchcraft. What Brain does not mention though, is how collective success is met with positive sanctions, in the sense of community that is formed by the witchcraft belief. Nor does he mention whether there may be different measures of success, such as that of the social development for instance.

The third point that Brain presents is that increased social mobility is a solution to witchcraft, in that the negative sanction of witchcraft accusation cannot be enacted if people just move away from the village (Ibid., 1982:384). It might be true for a person adhering from a culture such as the one that Brain originates from, but for the people in a culture with a witchcraft belief, moving anywhere does not solve anything. Jins are able to reach a person anywhere in the world, in an as short amount of time that would be considered impressive by any person whom it concerns. Witches are able to turn invisible and stand behind one's back without one knowing it. Curses and spells also have no limitation based on physical geographical distance. So for the person who believes in witchcraft, there is still reason to be afraid. Brain does not seem to have thought about covering this in his texts, but I try, with this thesis.

The second researcher that is here raised, is E.E. Evans-Pritchard. Even though he wrote his work a long time ago, it is still relevant, because of its seminal nature. Points that do not fit the problem description of this thesis are not raised, because the goal is here to exclusively point out the knowledge gap left to fill, so fans of Evans-Pritchard may take it as a compliment that there is here but one sole qualm about Evans-Pritchard's texts, in relation to the case at hand, and that is his statement that witchcraft cannot objectively exist (Evans-Pritchard 1937:63). Similar to Brain's point about social mobility, it is here agreed upon that witchcraft cannot objectively exist, for people with a different type of worldview than that of the witchcraft believers. From a similar worldview as that of the witchcraft believer, however, witchcraft is as objective as any other chain of causation. In respect to the statement about objectivity, while Evans-Pritchard does create new knowledge about the worldview of people who do not have a witchcraft belief, he does not engage

into knowledge production in regards to the worldview of the people who do have a witchcraft belief.

The third researcher that will be mentioned in this section, is Andrew Apter. His first point is that witchcraft replaces a failed economic development (Apter 1993:124-125). I agree, that this is the case, if we're talking about colonialism as a result of neoliberal economic development, and that if this is to be defined as something destructive because of the effects of increased witchcraft accusations. If, however, we're talking about it from the perspective of the witchcraft believers themselves, then what rose in frequency during the colonial era, was the amount of Wachawi, who were then met by negative sanction in the form of witchcraft accusation. So while Apter does cover that witchcraft accusations rose during the colonial era, he does not speak of the increase in people becoming successful via the use of witchcraft, which is what the witchcraft believer perceives to be the underlying root problem. The accusation is a negative sanction for those that do not share of their wealth with the rest of the community. For the witchcraft believer, the accusation and its subsequent punishment/cleansing is the solution to the root problem, the root problem which is the usage of Uchawi.

Andrew Apter's second point, is that the solution to witchcraft is a better sustainable economic development (Ibid., 1993:114). If people could develop their economic status without being exploited by foreign stakeholders, then witchcraft would lose its purpose, and people would just stop believing in its efficacy. While this thesis agrees that a different economic system would reduce the amount of observations of damage inflicted by witchcraft accusations, this is not because witchcraft beliefs would be reduced, but because there would be fewer wachawi to accuse of having used witchcraft with negative intentions. The Waganga would still be there, to help cure physical, psychological, and social sicknesses.

The fourth researcher that will be presented here, is Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman. There are four points to her texts that are relevant to us here. The first and foremost is that she looks at witchcraft accusations, a not witchcraft beliefs. What this entails is that she does not have the same focus of her research, when she speaks of witchcraft and development, that is present in this thesis, which is made further evident from the earlier operationalisation of the terms.

The second point that is to be found in Ekholm-Friedman's older texts, the more influential ones, is that if the economic development would not have been so bad, then there would not have been an increase in the quantity or frequency of witchcraft accusations (Ekholm-Friedman 1991:196,203),

hinting at that a better economic development would solve the implied problem with increasing witchcraft accusations. This point is similar to that which was found in Apter's texts, and so it has to be reiterated that this thesis does not look at witchcraft accusations as an isolated phenomenon, and neither does this thesis assume that a witchcraft accusation is something negative in itself, which is what opens up for a whole different research focus than that of Ekholm-Friedman's, which in turn enables this thesis to fill a knowledge gap.

The third point that is to be found in Ekholm-Friedman's texts, is that increased social mobility is a solution to the consequences of the witchcraft accusations (Ibid., 1991:196,203). Other researchers have said the same, and so it is here reiterated that this thesis looks at witchcraft beliefs, and that witchcraft beliefs do not disappear because of increased social mobility, and that there is no assumption of any value about this fact.

The fourth point that is to be found in Ekholm-Friedman's research is when she changes finds reason to change her more popular hypothesis. Instead of putting economic development in opposition to witchcraft, she puts rationality in opposition to witchcraft (Ekholm-Friedman 1994:90). What this entails, contrary to a majority of past research performed on this field of research, is that she opens up for the possibility that witchcraft and development are not polar opposites, and that the two might be able to coexist. It ends there though, as a possibility. This thesis picks up on that same trail, and takes it a little further.

The fifth researcher whose texts are analysed here, is Ralph A. Austen. He acknowledges that a majority of researchers have written that, increased social mobility would decrease the amount of witchcraft accusations, while successful people are afraid of being bewitched from people in their villages, and that the rich and wealthy are not exempt from being accused of being witches (Austen 1993:90). He does not go further into the connection between witchcraft belief and development than that, but this amount is sufficient to aid in legitimising the raison d'etre of this thesis, because this particular piece is a portion of what constitutes a necessary condition of what is being looking at in this thesis.

The sixth researcher's texts looked closer at here, are those of Cynthia Brantley, who also thinks that colonialism is connected to a failed economic development, and that this failed economy increased the amount of witchcraft accusations, and this is valued negatively because of how people who are accused of witchcraft get treated (Brantley 1979:116). Besides what has already been said about other researchers having similar points, it is here stated that this thesis does not judge how

people are punished for their transgressions, but rather that punishments may be perceived as signs of something different concerning the witchcraft belief itself.

Mary Douglas, the seventh and last researcher that is raised here, also speaks of witchcraft accusations as negative for development, in the sense that people cannot succeed as individuals without being afraid of being accused of having employed witchcraft (Douglas 1970:110,111). As this thesis have agreed upon previously, witchcraft accusations may lead to these consequences, but the research focus in this thesis is the witchcraft belief itself, and not the accusations in isolation. It depends also, on which development that one is referring to.

These are the questions that this thesis goes into, questions about the witchcraft belief itself, and which development that is juxtaposed against such a belief. In doing so, this thesis claims to fill an important scientific knowledge gap.

6.2 How The Giriama Interprets Events

I had observed a sufficient amount of different events being perceived as caused by witchcraft, that it had made me wonder when witchcraft was not involved. Therefore I asked Dickson, Gideon and Matthias the same two questions: "Can bad things happens to good people? Can good things happen to bad people?". The answers they gave me to these two questions surprised me. Yes, to both questions, but witchcraft is still involved, they said. That is to say, even accidents happen for a reason. The following two little parables, that was told to me by Dickson, will serve as explanations of this worldview.

A person walks for miles, fills up the container with water, walks all the way home, trips on a twig and spills all the water right outside the door. It was not by chance that this happened. There is no chance. There was a will behind it. Someone desired this to happen. The container, the water, the twig, the foot, or something else has been bewitched.

A different person walks all the way to the waterhole, gets the water, and feeds his chickens back home. This person keeps doing this for a few months. The chickens grow large, healthy and strong. More so than his neighbour's chickens. This difference in chicken size did not just come out of nowhere. A person has employed witchcraft and effectively cheated the system. The larger chickens, the smaller chickens, their feed, or something else has been bewitched. Both cases may be sufficiently understood by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's theory of mystical participation. A subject, either in this

world or in the unseen world, participate with objects, such as a twig or bird feed, to reach a desired outcome, such as a thirsty family or larger chickens, using observable events as a means of implementation, such as the tripping of a person or the feeding of chickens.

A consequence of this, is that it is impossible for there to be any event that is ascribed as having unfolded due to good luck or bad luck. Winning the lottery or tripping on a twig, are both the outcomes of someone having employing witchcraft. It is also important to note, that the same applies if someone has worked hard to gain something, like an increased wage or larger chickens. If that is the case, then that is also so because of witchcraft. So, someone's individual effort cannot serve as a cause for an event. Witchcraft is still the workings behind it all.

E.E. Evans-Pritchard said that in Zande-land, witchcraft may be used to explain unfortunate events (Evans-Pritchard 1937). As it is observed in Giriama-land though, witchcraft may also be used to explain fortunate events.

Model 1: A visual representation of how the Giriama interprets events. Neither luck nor an individual's effort counts as an explanation as to why the event happened in the first place. That one worked hard on one's farm does not matter, that one was lucky to get more rain does not matter. In each case, the real cause behind one's good harvest would be witchcraft. Model made by author.
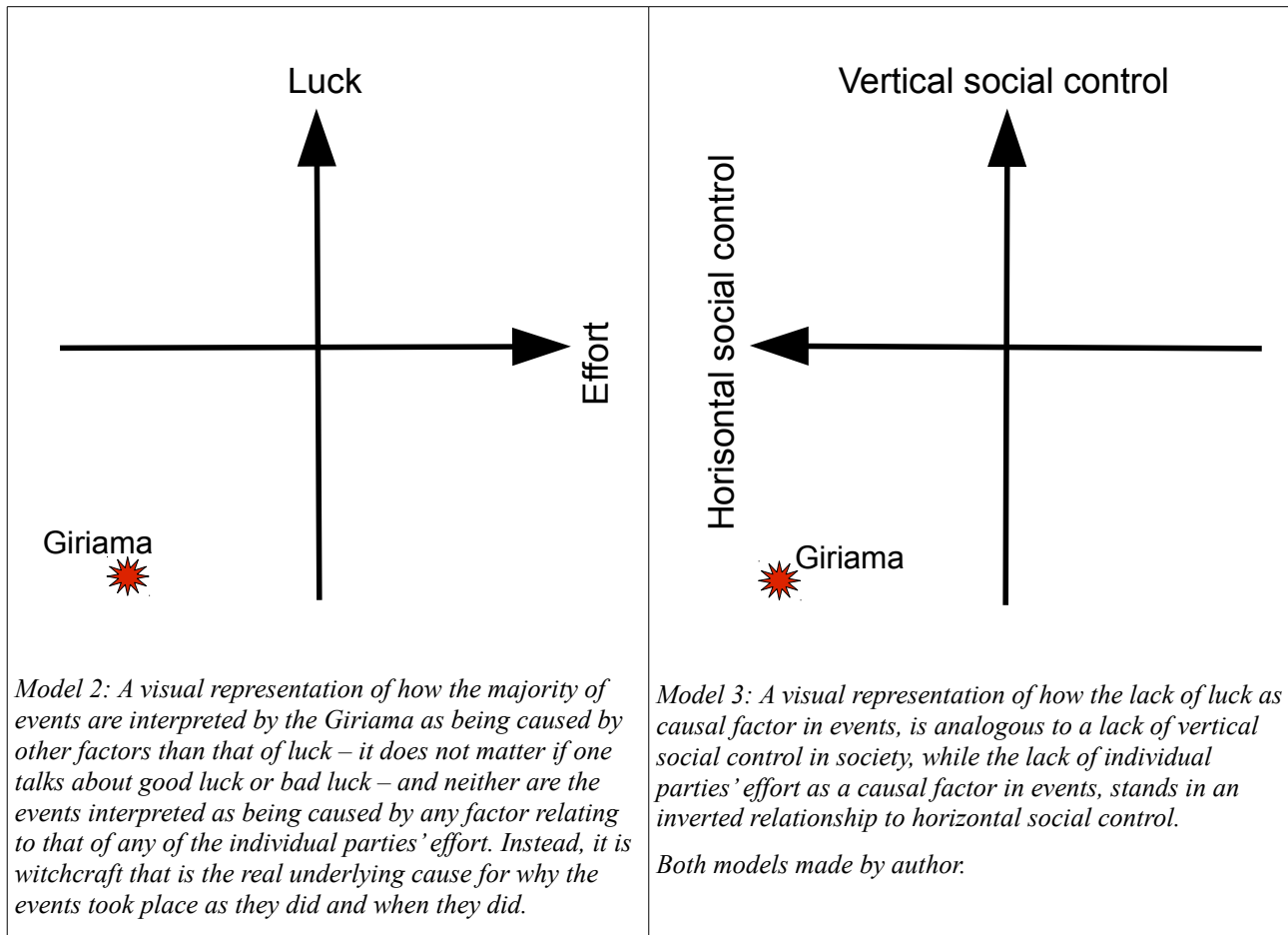
6.3 Connecting Lévy-Bruhl And Douglas

When I examined my field notes, I became confused. They said "There is no luck, but hard work do not apply to the individual". This entailed, that on the one hand, the absence of luck pointed to a libertarian[21] worldview, like an American culture, as described by philosopher Alain De Botton in his seminal work on Status Anxiety (2005). On the other hand, the absence of the individual's efforts in perceiving the cause of an event, was something that pointed to a communitarian worldview, the diametric contrast to that of a libertarian worldview.

Following this two-fold model, on a straight line between libertarianism and communitarianism, the Giriama are to be found on neither ends, at the same time. These two worldviews simply do not match. They are mutually exclusive. An absence of luck would entail effort, an absence of effort would entail luck. There cannot be an absence of both.

So the two-fold model was just not sufficient. There was something missing. A second dimension. Another axis. This moment is when I saw it, the four-fold model that could rationally explain the witchcraft in Giriama-land. This model is here used to facilitate a translation to the non-believer's way of thinking, by showing how social events are perceived in Giriama culture:

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[21]   When I speak of libertarianism and communitarianism in this context, it is not the political libertarianism and communitarianism that I talk about. Rather, what I talk about is the philosophical communitarianism and libertarianism. It is an important distinction to maintain here, because I do not talk about witchcraft as something political.

Luck

Effort

Giriama

Vertical social control

Horisontal social control

Giriama

Model 2: A visual representation of how the majority of events are interpreted by the Giriama as being caused by other factors than that of luck – it does not matter if one talks about good luck or bad luck – and neither are the events interpreted as being caused by any factor relating to that of any of the individual parties' effort. Instead, it is witchcraft that is the real underlying cause for why the events took place as they did and when they did.

Model 3: A visual representation of how the lack of luck as causal factor in events, is analogous to a lack of vertical social control in society, while the lack of individual parties' effort as a causal factor in events, stands in an inverted relationship to horizontal social control.

Both models made by author.

The more vertical social control that is incorporated in a society, so much more will the social-isation processes of the individuals be in such a way, that the individuals will perceive luck as a causal factor behind events.

Conversely, the less horizontal social control that is incorporated in a society, so much less will the socialisation processes of the individuals be in such a way, that the individuals will perceive effort as a causal factor behind events.

It has been shown in this thesis how the Giriama culture is characterised by low vertical social control, in examples such as how people cannot count on the police to show up, and when the police does show up they are just bought off. Similarly, it has been shown how the Giriama culture is char-acterised by high horizontal social control, in examples such as how people accuse deviants of having employed witchcraft.

6.4 Levels Of Abstraction

In order to make the connection more visible, between development and witchcraft as a control mechanism, this thesis introduces the theory of Grid-Group, by famed social anthropologist Dame Mary Douglas. In the analysis performed in this thesis, vertical social control and horizontal social control are equated with grid and group respectively. Grid and group are two ways of categorising life-worlds, which form a fourfold model when put together.

A society with high-grid, is a society in which everyone has a clear and specific role to play. It is a society with rules and laws, that are monitored and enacted. It is a society in which power is perceived to be emanating from the top to the bottom; What the president does in the big city, affects oneself out in the bush.

A society with high-group, is a society in which the neighbour knows one's name. It is a society with morals and political correctness. It is a society in which power is perceived to be emanating from left and right; What one does in one's own house, affects another in their house.

It is all connected, except when it is not. Because a lack of luck entails a low vertical social control, a lack of luck also entails low-grid. Because a lack of effort entails a high horizontal social control, a lack of effort also entails high-group. This is a connection that is made in this thesis, but even if it has no universal application, the analytical use is still valid for this case.

I hold this connection to be true because both grid and vertical social control, constitute the connection between various hierarchies; one's grandfather tells one to do something, the chief tells one's grandfather to do something, the elder in the Kaya tells the chief to do something, and so the chain of command is able to proceed indefinitely. This chain may be likened with a glue, a glue that holds societies together, when it is present. It is not present in this case, in Giriama land, not any more, as both me and David Parkin have observed. Ever since the Giriama left the Kaya, the old social structures have lost their legitimacy. Considering the high quantity of corruption in the country of Kenya, it is here inferred that there is no other vertical social control in place either. In that dimension, there is a seeming lack of development.

The same argument holds true for the connection between group and horizontal social control, because they are both about the connections between individuals within groups; the neighbour tells the preacher that one has a secret room in one's house, the preacher tells the local store owner which tells the other neighbours in the area, and bam, one is not allowed to enter the church any more.

These connections comprise a different type of metaphorical glue that holds societies together, when it is present. A more immediate reciprocal relationship, where one is able to observe the person that one is giving power. This immediate reciprocal relationship is a necessary condition for the existence of a form of control that is present in this case, in Giriama-land. A few examples from this research locus: The gossiping about the practices of witchcraft, the accusations of the practising of witchcraft, the actual use of witchcraft itself, and the dismemberment of both innocent and guilty witches.

6.5 Summary Of Analysis

The tool developed for this analysis is here described as having three components: First, there is the employment of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's theory of mystical participation, which aptly describes the witchcraft worldview in Giriama culture.

   After that, the particular worldview is positioned in a fourfold model, in order to position it in a context that will aid in the understanding of it.

   Lastly, it is determined that this theory of mystical participation on its own cannot sufficiently explain how development and witchcraft are able to coexist, and so the fourfold model is laid over on top of the grid-group theory that Mary Douglas used to explain witchcraft accusations.

   The result of combining grid-group theory with the theory of mystical participation, is a comparative tool that may aid in the interpretation of behaviours in cultures that have worldviews with different chains of causation from one's own.

   When this tool is applied on the case of the Giriama, it is demonstrated that there is no correlation with economic development. The next chapter will deal with this more thoroughly, and it will also go into a final discussion, a final discussion which will concern the consequences of not perceiving witchcraft as being in opposition to development.

7 Conclusion

On one level of abstraction, the witchcraft belief is a different type of worldview, such as the one described by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. On another level of abstraction, this worldview has a social function, such as the one that Mary Douglas hinted at.

By having combining these two theories, by having perceived the personal level of control that the worldview provides, as analogous to a social level of control, in the case of the Giriama, while the economic aspects of development that might be associated with development – such as a police that one is able to trust to uphold the law, a hospital one is able to trust to help people in need, and other matters of welfare – are observably missing from this geographical and social area, it has been shown that there is instead another system to uphold similar social functions, and that is the system that the witchcraft worldview provides.

Whether a lack of vertical social control have to be replaced by horizontal social control, this thesis has not been able to determine. What this thesis has been able to determine, is that in the case of witchcraft beliefs such as those in Giriama culture, horizontal social control has replaced vertical social control. In such a case, the witchcraft beliefs hold a social function of controlling behaviour and maintaining order, making sure that everyone knows their expectations and obligations in respect to their relative social positions in society.

This social function has been shown to not disappear with increased development. Even if the entire community raises its collective economic development, that in itself would be a consequence of the function of the witchcraft belief, because the witchcraft belief discourages individuals to rise above the norm, forcing any development to be collective. It is a social function that binds people together as a people. A function where internal cohesiveness is formed by treating arbitrarily substantial deviance with severe negative sanctions.

That social function of control, that binds people together, and encourages collective development over individual development, that social function was the reason for why my host family's farm boy was killed in the middle of the night, because of his deviance from the norm, because he was to inherit more land than his brother, because he was about to increase his individual economic development beyond that of the collective standard norm of the community.

That same social function of witchcraft belief was also the reason for why the co-workers at the TACEP NGO feared appearing successful in the eyes of others, which encouraged them to not take more from the commons than what is necessary for the whole community to survive, and which encouraged them to aid the entire community to develop together as a whole.

That social function of the witchcraft belief was also the reason why the relatives of my host family could not escape being bewitched just by them moving to an urban environment, because the belief is that the witchcraft works over enormous distances in a very short amount of time, in order to discourage people from thinking that they are able to take from the commons and leave for the big city, in order to encourage people to continue helping their relatives and friends and the rest of the community even if they move to the big city.

That social function of witchcraft belief was also the reason for why there was no internal conflict for the traditional witchdoctor communicating with his patients with a modern mobile phone, because the chain of causation does not end with explanations of the natural world, the chain of causation implied in the witchcraft belief includes the chain of causation of the natural world, and adds a subject at the end. This entails that a mobile phone is just a means to an end, just like all material possessions are, for the unseen mystical forces. A witchdoctor would have no problem sitting in a fancy office, communicating with a computer, wearing a suit, because all that economic development, it is just a means to an end, for the mystical forces who have decided what will happen and when it will happen. How en event will unfold is unimportant, ergo a mobile phone is of no concern for the people who believe in witchcraft. If anything, in relation to development, the sight of a mobile phone would be a sign that the witchdoctor is so proficient that he has people calling him all the time, patients who needs his assistance.

That social function of witchcraft belief, was also the reason for why this thesis has been able to state that there is no conflict between witchcraft and development, because, the economic state of affairs is a means to an end for the mystical unseen forces, and the social state of affairs is aided by the individuals working together to increase the collective standard, an increase of the development for all the individuals simultaneously.

The judgement of witchcraft beliefs as valued negative, has been shown to be a judgement that emanates from the conflation of development with economic development on its own. It has been shown that is implied that if a person is killed and shoved in a bag, such an event has a negative value, just because that individual wanted a better life. However, if development is problematised to

include aspects of social development, and witchcraft belief is problematised to include constructive witchcraft, then it has to be acknowledged that the extra-judicial murder of that one person was in line with the informal rules of the system made possible by the witchcraft belief, ultimately executed for the sake of the development of the collective, for the sake of the entire community.

It has also been shown in this thesis, that if the negative sanctions themselves are to be a reason for the judgement of witchcraft beliefs as intrinsically negative, on account of sympathy for the deviants who wishes to embody neoliberal ideals and values, then the negative sanctions in a system of vertical social control has to be judged on the same merits, effectively leading to the disbandment of social institutions such as prisons and mental health care. Therefore, the initial assumption that witchcraft is an antithesis of development, has been demonstrated cannot hold up in the face of logical scrutiny, when the valuing is performed from a different culture, from an etic perspective. That is the case, unless one is willing to accept judgement of the enactment of the negative sanctions used in one's own society.

Rather, to avoid being ethnocentric, the valuing of the system of horizontal social control made possible by the witchcraft belief, is a valuing that has to be constructed from a standpoint from within the same field in the fourfold model of Grid and Group. In doing so, a judging of this system as not catering to individualist ideals, does not take into account the simple fact that the people that reify the system via action, the people who kill witches and shove them in black plastic bags by the side of the road, they do not themselves value individualism higher than communitarianism. Ergo, such a judgement would be similar to be asking another nation to decide the laws by which one's own nation is supposed to live.

By that measure, this thesis has been able to state that witchcraft does not carry a negative value in itself, and neither does witchcraft constitute a negative value for any type of development. The type of development that witchcraft believers actively strive to achieve, is one where the entire community raises its standard. To judge witchcraft belief as negative for development, would therefore be equivalent to saying that it is to be valued negatively if the entire community raises its standard. The claim that witchcraft is negative for development, is tantamount to a claim that it would be negative for the entire community to develop. The social system by which witchcraft believers via action practice their beliefs, has as a social function to aid the development of the entire community. So to judge witchcraft as something negative to development, is to ethnocentrically say

that it is more positive that a few individuals developed their individual lives, than if the entire community developed their collective lives.

Following C.S. Peirce's pragmaticist maxim, which states that social phenomena are their consequences, by observing the actions of the witchcraft believers, the thesis has been able to state that a collective raise in the entire community's standard is their culture's positively valued social development, as well as their cultural view of what constitutes a sustainable economic development, and also their culture's ideal personal development.

8 Summary

The negative sanction of being accused of witchcraft is not because someone has more material possessions than someone else. The Giriama people do not perceive being rich as negative. Witchcraft is not an antithesis to economic development.

Jealousy and envy are problems, according to themselves. Not because it gives people an incentive to accuse each other of witchcraft, but because it gives people a reason to employ destructive witchcraft. It is important to distinguish constructive and destructive witchcraft.

The negative sanctions are for the transgressions of having employed destructive witchcraft, because doing so is like cheating the system. Destructive witchcraft makes people die, it makes people lose their harvests, it makes those who employ it get more than others who have worked hard for it. The employment of witchcraft entails that there are people who work all their lives without ever getting anything, while others just goes to a witch and then gets everything just handed to them. Witchcraft believers get upset over this because they perceive it to be cheating. It is considered unfair. It is something which creates an imbalance in the social fabric of reciprocity. That is why the negative sanctions associated with witchcraft belief will persevere, despite increased/better economic development, because the witchcraft believers will always seek to regulate and minimize destructive witchcraft. The law does not regulate destructive witchcraft, the law regulates the extra-judicial killings, effectively working against the people trying to protect themselves from the effects of destructive witchcraft.

Because there is no correlation between witchcraft and economic development, increased/better economic development will not reduce the amount of people believing in witchcraft. There is no correlation between the belief in witchcraft, and economic development.

The belief in witchcraft does, however, have an impact on social development, because people bond together as a united community. In the long run it reduces the amount of envy and jealousy, because with fewer destructive witches, there will be less reason for the enactment of negative sanctions. As a parallel, it may be compared to how more trust in our police force decreases the amount of people suspecting each other of criminal activities. The difference being that this system of control is not vertical, but horizontal. In the witchcraft belief system, the trust needs to be in the re-

assurance that if a person employs destructive witchcraft, that person will be met with negative sanctions. A trust in that justice will be served.

The answer to the question of whether witchcraft is positive or negative, has been shown to be that it depends on 'for whom' witchcraft would be positive or negative. To have been able to answer this, was one of the reasons for the operationalisation of the terms witchcraft and development. For the individual who wants to have a successful local store, and fulfil the neoliberal dream of self-fulfilment, the belief in witchcraft may be a hindrance. Such an individual will be cursed or bewitched, stopping his quest for success that may be associated with ideals of economic development. But for a community that is surviving on a shared commons, anything that will stop people from cheating themselves to affluence, which is what people do when they employ witchcraft for their own selfish desires, and anything that will stop people from consuming more resources than they need, which is what people do when there is no threat of others employing witchcraft against them, for such a community, the belief in witchcraft will be beneficial. For a community that lives or dies depending on the social development, the belief in, and the practical employment of, the social system of witchcraft, will be beneficial.

As has been argued previously in the thesis, the value of whether witchcraft is positive or negative, has to come from within a similar culture, in order for the judgement to avoid being ethnocentric. If the value of the witchcraft believing community is taken into account, then the short answer is no, witchcraft is not negative for development.

The longer answer was found after the operationalisation of the terms witchcraft and development, in that constructive witchcraft even aids social development, which for a community where social development is a necessary condition, the employment of constructive witchcraft will be valued as an ideal, compared to its non-existence especially, but also compared to its antithesis, the destructive witchcraft. While a neoliberal self-fulfilling success-desiring individual is able to perceive both kinds of witchcraft as hindering to economic development, the community that idealises communitarian values will exclusively perceive destructive witchcraft as hindering of social development. This is a difference that could help increase understanding for how witchcraft believing cultures may have individuals who say that witchcraft is undesirable. Many of those individuals are speaking about uchawi rather than aganga, they are speaking about destructive witchcraft rather than constructive witchcraft. Having elaborated upon this juxtaposition of witchcraft and development, this thesis has shown for future researchers that it is not so easy as to just perceive witch-

craft as inherently negative or destructive for development, but that one has to go deeper and ask about the ontology of the witchcraft in order to understand the role of witchcraft in relation to development.

Witchcraft belief is a belief system like other belief systems, in that it has the social function of enculturating a sense of duty towards the collective, and in cultures where communitarian ideals are valued higher than individualist ideals, such a social function is normatively valued as positive.

For the furthered understanding of humanity and human phenomena, this thesis is able to aid people to understand each other, between cultures with witchcraft beliefs and cultures without witchcraft beliefs.

This thesis have resulted in two conclusions of scientific significance for the academic community. First, there is the tool of analysing cultures that have other views on chains of causation, which is a tool that is hoped to be transferable to other cases. Second, it is not something which is inherently negative, to have a different rationality, a different view on chains of causation. This has been shown when juxtaposing witchcraft against development, because constructive witchcraft is beneficial for social development, in societies where communitarian values are idealised.

The first aspect that I would recommend looking closer at, is how witchcraft beliefs affects the issue of control. Especially the sense of existential control that it provides. It could say a significant amount about the concept of rationality as a whole. Another aspect that would be interesting to look closer at, is whether the witchcraft belief system differs from other belief systems. Aside from that, it would be an interesting idea to apply the tool of analysing cultures with witchcraft beliefs, on other cultures with witchcraft beliefs, and also on more familiar phenomena within the cultures of the West/North. It could reveal that there is more to have in common with the witchcraft beliefs than what one would think. It would be logical to assume that there would be instances where people express a different view on chains of causation. All that is for another day, another time, another text. This text ends here. Thank you for your time.

Appendix – List Of Definitions

- Constructive Witchcraft = Witchcraft performed by Aganga, people with constructive intentions. See Aganga.

- Destructive Witchcraft = Witchcraft performed by Uchawi, people with destructive intentions. See Uchawi.

- Uchawi = Destructive witchcraft / Witchcraft used by persons with destructive intentions. Examples include curses, destructive spells, bewitchings, the sending Jins after someone.

- Wachawi = Witches / Witchcraft users with destructive intentions. The people who use destructive witchcraft.

- Aganga = Constructive witchcraft / Witchcraft used by persons with constructive intentions. Examples include spells for the purpose to heal people from sickness, spells for the purpose to protect people from harm, the cleansing of curses, and the finding and dealing with destructive witchcraft.

- Waganga = Witchdoctors / Witchcraft users with constructive intentions. The people who use constructive witchcraft.

- Social development = A development on a social level. Feeling at home with others in one's village, feeling that one is able to trust one's neighbours, knowing that someone will help out if something happens,

- Economic development = A development on a material level. A higher salary, a bigger farm, more farm animals, and an overall higher standard of living. A car, a TV, and other material possessions.

- Personal development = A development on a personal level. Increased/better personal skills, personal knowledge, and other aspects related to personal growth overall. Knowing how to juggle, knowing how to farm, knowing how to drive a car, and anything like that.

- Witchcraft accusations = the social phenomenon of people accusing/being accused of having employed the use of witchcraft.

- Witchcraft beliefs = the set of ideals, values, and norms, that are reified by the actions of a people with a particular rationality, a particular view on chains of causation. Similar to the definition of religion.

- Kaya = Sacred centre of traditional witchcraft practices, where the elders live. Traditionally each tribe had their own kaya, but this has more or less been centralised by the Giriama Kaya.

- The Kaya = The colloquial name of the Giriama Kaya, as well as the actual forest where it resides. A UN World Cultural Heritage site.

- Ugali = Maize pudding. The staple food in any Kenyan household. Holds high status in the eyes of the people. Perceived as worker class food. Signifies what it entails to be Kenyan. Has been written about by many others.

- Negative sanction = Any response with the intention to discourage people from repeating an action.

- Positive sanction = Any response with the intention to encourage people to repeat an action.

- Personal/Existential control = An experience of being able to choose whether or not to decide what one may do and think.

- Social control = The function of social structures that determine people's behaviours.

- Grid = The amount of control asserted from a supra-local position, from without a group. A necessary condition for the existence of hierarchy.

- Group = The amount of control asserted from an intra-local position, from within a group. A necessary condition for the existence of egalitarianism.

- Vertical social control = The function of supra-local social structures that determine people's behaviours. For instance, the enactment of laws, religious edicts, and the banning of witchcraft practices.

- Horizontal social control = The function of intra-local social structures that determine people's behaviours. For instance, the consequences of gossip, peer pressure, and witchcraft accusations.

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