

# ***THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES***

## **Conflicting Idea of ‘Victim’ and ‘Perpetrator’ in Witch-Hunting: A Case Study in the State of Assam, India**

**Dr. Juri Gogoi Konwar**

Permanent Faculty, Department of Cultural Studies, Tezpur Central University, Assam, India

**Dina Swargiari**

Research Scholar, Department of Cultural Studies, Tezpur Central University, Assam, India

**Abstract:**

*In most cultures and societies witchcraft is seen as something evil and harmful, that's why the suspected witches are being accused and hunted. Witch-hunting is the witchcraft accusation that is often used as a symbol of the "barbaric" and "superstitious" practices of medieval and early modern people. After the enlightenment period witch-hunting is regarded as an illegal accusation and violation of human rights in different countries but it is still practiced in the current 21<sup>st</sup> Century in the developing country like, India. In most cases, the alleged witches are sought after, severely punished, displaced or killed. Throughout the milieu of studying the process of accusation in witch-hunting cases, one interesting idea came up as having a conflicting nature. The idea of 'victim' and 'perpetrator' has a confusing and conflicting nature as it differs between outsiders' and the insiders' viewpoint. The paper highlights the conflicting idea experienced in the field work by using unstructured interview method and observation method.*

**Keywords:** *victim, perpetrator, witch-hunting, witch, accusation*

### **1. Introduction**

The word “witch” is a translation of the Hebrew word “kashaph”, which comes from the root meaning “to whisper” which probably meant “one who whispers a spell.” (Linder, 2005). The practice of persecuting witches is as old as witchcraft. One common thing in most cultures and societies is that witchcraft is seen as something evil and harmful. In most cases, the alleged witches are sought after, severely punished, displaced or killed which are seen as the major consequences of witchcraft accusations. It is called witch-hunting which is often used as a symbol of the "barbaric" and "superstitious" practices of medieval and early modern period, now forgotten in the enlightened era. This is an interpretation that actually emerged in the later stages of the witch-hunts in European countries. In fact, it was legally sanctioned in countries like France, Ireland, Norway, Russia, Netherlands and Switzerland in the fourteenth Century and legal witch-hunting continued in Europe till the eighteenth century (Burns, 1959: xxi). The European Witch Craze started roughly during end of the 15th century and peaked during the first half of the seventeenth century. The belief that women were sinful and had the power of the devil within them developed out of the middle Ages. The Reformation further promoted the idea of a satanic kingdom of evil on earth with which to justify persecutions. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth the centuries, many Europeans developed a heightened concern with the phenomenon of witchcraft, seeing a new sect hostile to humanity. Thus, governments and society organized “hunts” for those alleged witches: accusing, torturing, and executing thousands of people. The intensity and viciousness of these hunts varied from place to place, as did their focus on particular targets, such as women. Finally, a changed world-view, informed by the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, brought an end to these hunts for threats that did not empirically exist. While the concept of ‘witchcraft’ has evolved and changed into different forms over the years and in different cultural contexts, the problem of witch-hunting has become a burning issue in recent years in different cultures and societies in India. Although after the enlightenment period, witch-hunting has been regarded as an illegal accusation and violation of human rights, it is still practiced in this 21<sup>st</sup> Century in the developing country like India.

Though not legally permitted today, in India, finding out witches is an established process for most of the villages or tribes who still has this practice. In contemporary period, the practice of witch-hunting is more prominent mostly among the people living in rural areas. Evidences has been made clear by the National Crime Record Bureau that, in India, each year there is about 200 women killed as witches in rural India. During the year 2000-2001, there were 253 cases of witch-hunting, and in between 2008-2012, more than 768 women have been murdered for allegedly practicing witchcraft. The report consist of the registered witch-hunting cases in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal. Here, middle aged and elderly single women in tribal as well as non-tribal women are orchestrated as witches and they suffer

from social stigma, displacement, economic boycott, torture and murder. This is prominent mostly among the tribes living in rural areas (Chakraborty, 2013:17). According to the National Crime Record Bureau of Government of India, in 2001 there were 126 total number of witch-hunting cases, 151 cases in 2002, 138 in 2003, 111 in 2004, 197 in 2005, 186 in 2006, 177 in 2007 and 175 in 2008. Accordingly, Assam has been listed as having 11 cases of witch-hunting reported or registered from 2001 to 2008. (Singh,2011). As many as ten districts of Assam, including Kamrup, Nalbari, Goalpara, Sivasagar and Udalguri, besides others have shown an upward trend in 'witch-hunting' cases since 2011. However, of the 80-odd cases, police did file charge sheet in 53 cases of attack/murder on allegations of practising witchcraft and also arrested over 500 suspects in connection with the total cases registered (Ray, 2014). No less than 85 cases of witch-hunting have been registered with various police stations in the state between 2008 and 2014. Between 2005 and 2013, total number of 66 women has been branded as witch and killed (Choudhury, 2014).

The tribal communities of North-East India have traditional belief in witchcraft, which is a magico-religious practice, at one point of time or other that was prevalent among most ethnic communities of the world. It is related to the traditional belief that the person, who is suspected to be practicing witchcraft, causes harm to his or her community through abuse of magical power. It is important to note that in the cultural milieu of Assam, the traditional belief in witchcraft is prevalent in many communities. According to Brahma, in most tribal communities of Assam, religion and magic are often treated together and regarded as complementary to each other (Brahma, 1992:145). In recent times, this social-evil of witch-hunting has raised its ugly head in Assam following recent incidents of killing of innocent people in the name of witch hunting particularly among the Adivasis, Bodos, Mishings, Rabhas and some other communities. While the validity of the allegations remain unclear and un-established, false in most cases, it is alarming to note that so many women continue to be discriminated and exploited on the basis of this charge. In Assam every year women have been branded as witches, tortured, hounded out of villages, often killed by mobs but very few confront the murderers. It is to be noted that, only the cases of murdered witches or reported cases are registered and counted. So, the number of witch-hunting cases is more than the given number, if both the registered and unregistered cases are summed up. There are an uncountable number of unregistered witch-hunting cases where the alleged witches are accused and neglected/socially excluded by their society or villagers.

## 2 Methods and Methodology

The present study is an attempt to understand the process of witchcraft accusation with special reference to three cases of rural areas of Assam in India. It consists of the different factors that lead to hunt and accusation of an alleged witch by their villagers. Primary data have been collected from the field area, Sonitpur district and Udalguri district of Assam and secondary data have been collected from sources like existing literatures, books, magazines, internet and articles. Observation method and unstructured interview method have been used for studying the subject matter. For this, three women, who were accused of practicing witchcraft, have been selected for interview along with their family members, the ill people of these villages and the village members. Cases of witch-hunting are taken into consideration to observe the behaviour and idea of 'victim' and 'perpetrator' of the study area. The paper tries to analyse the cases with the help of Gramsci's "hegemony" and Michel Foucault's "power relations" and "discourse".

## 3. Notion of 'Victim' and 'Perpetrator'

Throughout the milieu of studying the process of accusation in witch-hunting cases, one interesting idea came up as having a confusing nature. The notion of 'victim' and 'perpetrator' has a confusing nature. Who is the victim? And who is the perpetrator? The notion has a vast difference in outsiders' point of view and the insiders' point of view. The insider here means the people who live in the village/community/society/place where the incident of witch-hunting cases took place and the outsider means the people who are unknown to the accused witch and are not residing in their area or place. For the insiders, the one who harm the community members is the perpetrator who is called a witch and the victim according to them is the one/people who suffers by the spell/curse of the witch. The sufferer or the sick person in their society is regarded a victim according to the people in that community. As their member had to suffer for that witch, the people of that community try to rescue the victim (sufferer who suffers from sickness, illness, misfortune, accident and death etc) from the witch (perpetrator). When one is identified as witch, the people organises a village meeting and resolves to exclude her from the society by way of killing, chasing out or ex-communication etc. For them hunting the identified witch is permissible and the hunters admit it with no repentance. The hunter of the witch thinks that they are fully justified in their acts as the witch brings illness, death, misfortune and accident etc. According to them, witch harms the society or members of the community one after the other. So, they think that they are obliged to kill the witch in order to protect the community from death. The witch-hunters believe that they should not make the witch a part of their social life, which therefore had to be eliminated both physically and mentally. They think their violence is to restore normal life but their understanding is never accepted by the outsiders. It is a big question in their mind.

For the outsiders, the idea of victim and the perpetrator is different from that of insiders' viewpoint. Here in the case of witch-hunting, the notion of 'victim' is similar to the other cases like in murder case, criminal case and other such accusations. The alleged witch is regarded as the victim and the people who hunt and torture the witch are the perpetrator. In the hunting or accusation, there is an involvement of the ill person, family members of the ill person and members of their village or community, who are called perpetrator because they kill and hound the alleged witch.

### 3.1. Standpoint Model of Witch-Hunting

In order to define the notion of 'victim' and 'perpetrator', a model called "standpoint model of witch-hunting" has been created. Standpoint model of witch-hunting is a model where there is a strong arguments about people's conceived idea of 'victim' and 'perpetrator' which is generally associated with 'the sufferer' and 'attacker' respectively. For insiders the victim or the sufferer is the

one ill by the spell of the alleged witch. That witch is popularly known a perpetrator or the attacker for their community. They are strong in their belief, firm standpoint and this idea cannot be deconstructed by any external force/means like law, order or bail. And for the outsiders, the sufferer is the witch and the people who support the ill person of their community and attack the witch by means of mental and physical torture are the perpetrators. They regard witchcraft as a superstitious belief of the remote and uneducated community. The outsiders are also firm at their viewpoint or standpoint, and try to eliminate witch-hunting by means of governmental law and order. The standpoint model is shown below:

➤ **Insiders' Standpoint**

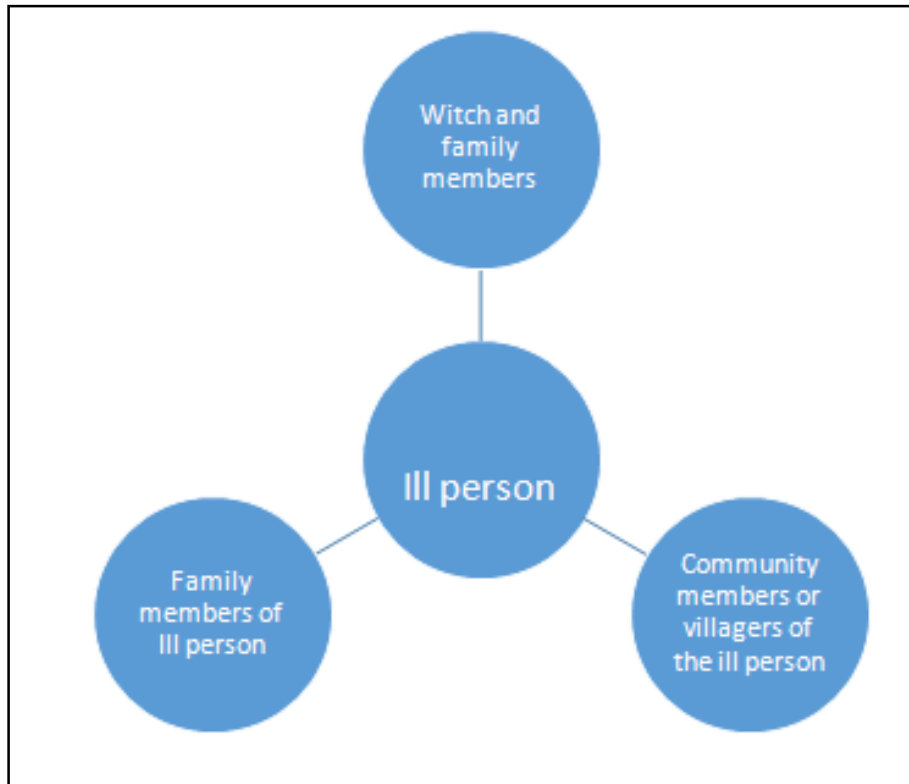


Figure 1

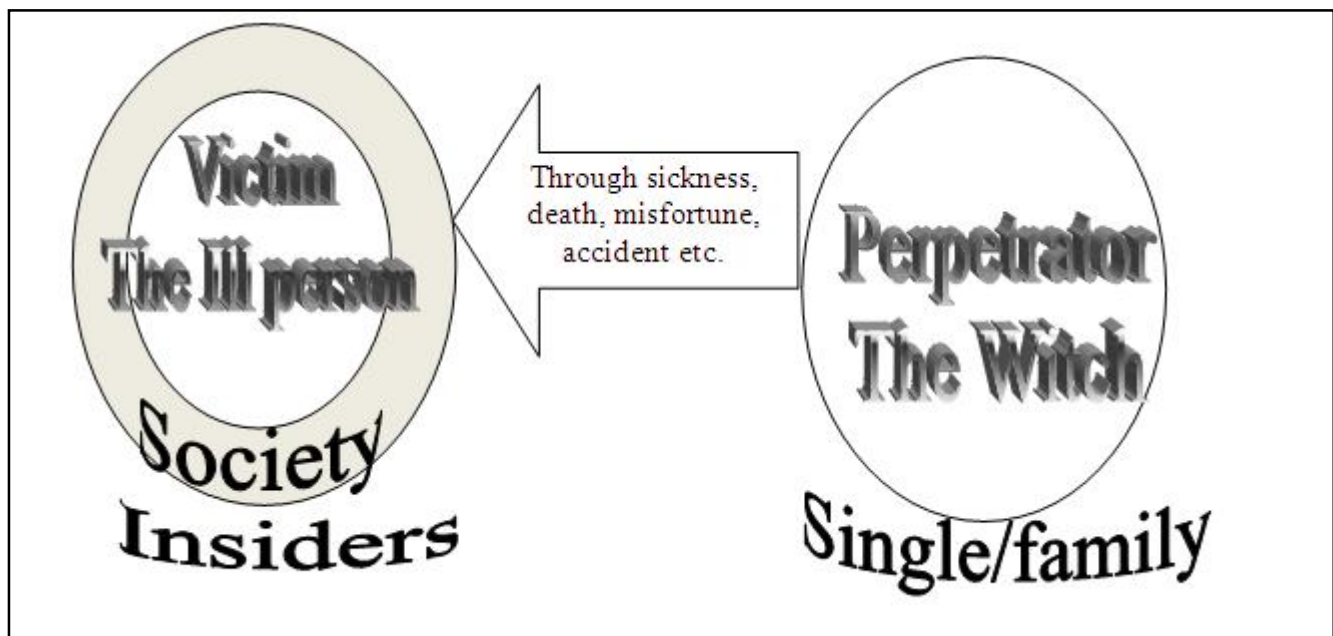


Figure 2

➤ **Outsiders' Standpoint**

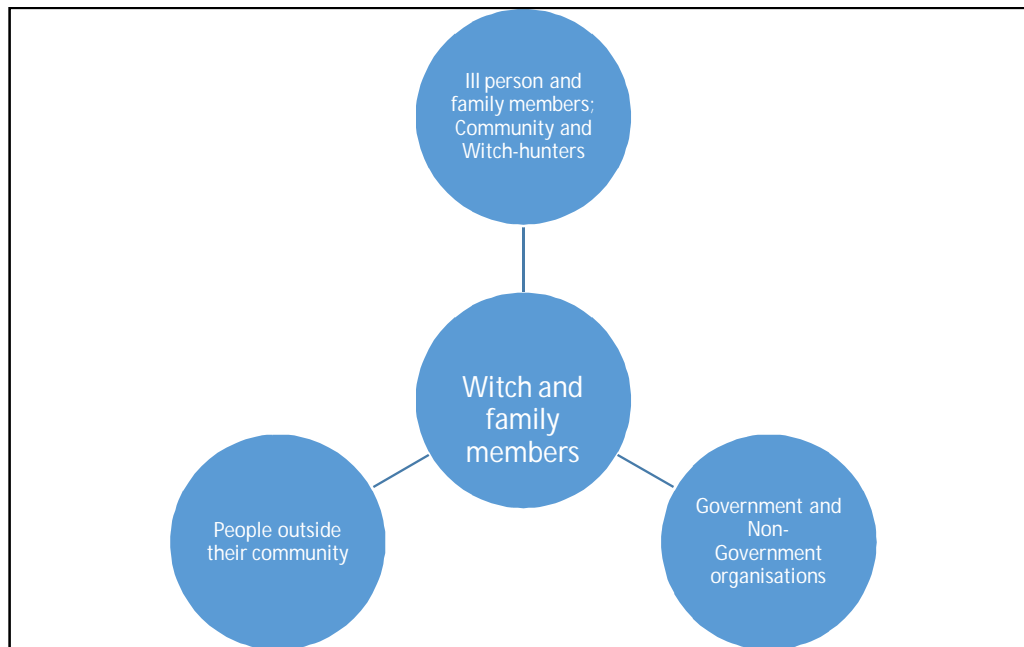


Figure 3

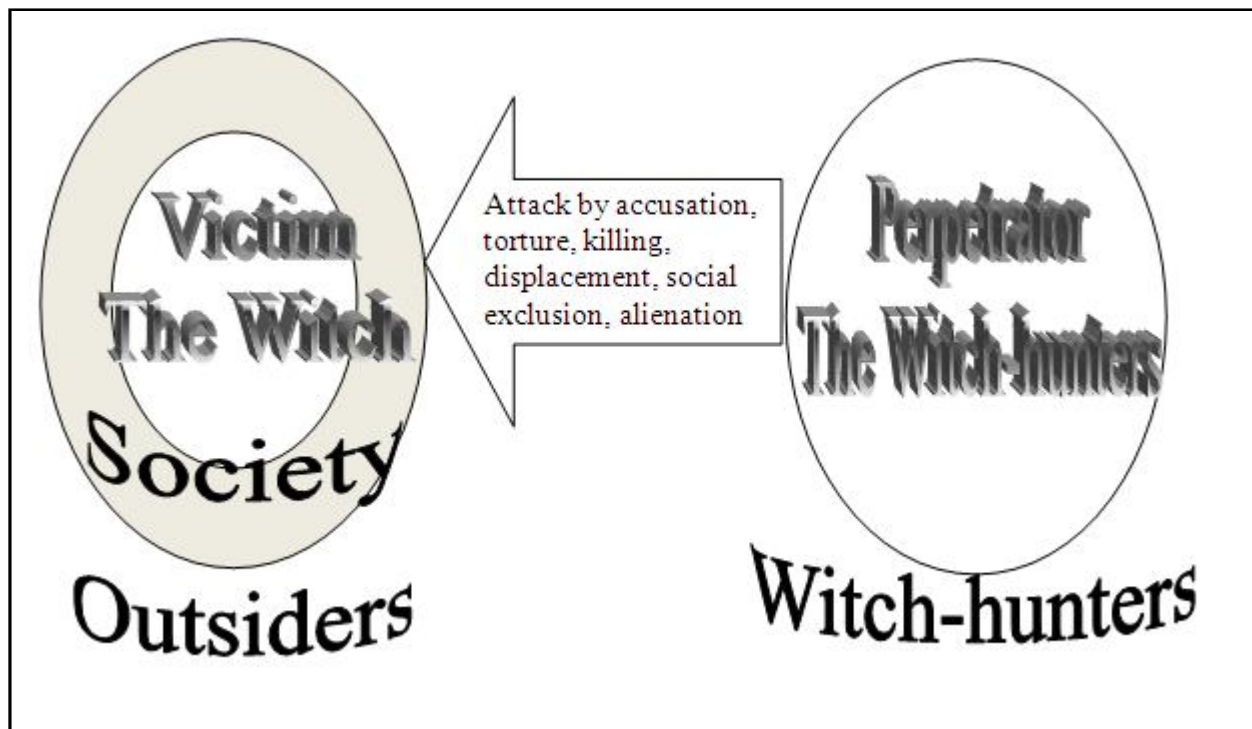


Figure 4

3.1.1. Justification of the Model

The model shows two different standpoints between two different groups of people i.e. ‘the insiders’ and ‘the outsiders’. There are both horizontal ovals and vertical ovals in both standpoint (a) and standpoint (b) in the structure of the model which tries to make a support of one another both for insiders’ and outsiders’ standpoints differently.

The first horizontal ovals in Figure 1 shows insiders’ standpoint that the accused witch and sometimes their family members are the people who spell on the ill person and so, they are harmful for their society. The ill person, their family members, their community members and their village members are therefore joined hands together in their ideas, discussions and decisions. The witch and their

family members are kept segregated and unsupported. As a result of which the three horizontal ovals are interconnected and joined forming a triangle structure and the one on top is kept unsupported and separate.

The first vertical ovals having two layers, in Figure 2, shows that the insider society is supporting 'the ill person' and regard him or her as 'the sufferer'. The other vertical oval shows that 'the witch' is treated and regarded as 'the perpetrator', and so, (s) he is kept isolated, single or with family members.

The second horizontal ovals, Figure 3, shows outsiders' standpoint that the ill person and their family members; their community and the witch-hunters are all involved in accusing and hunting the witch for which reason the witch and his/her family members are suffering from mental and physical torture. The people who are not the members of that community or insider society and both the government and non-government organisations are against this act of accusing, hunting and torturing the witch. As a result of which the three horizontal ovals are interconnected and joined forming a triangle structure and the one on top is kept unsupported and separate.

The second vertical ovals having two layers in Figure 4 shows that the outsider society is supporting 'the witch' and regards him or her as 'the victim'. The other vertical oval shows that 'the witch-hunters' are treated and regarded as 'the perpetrator', and so, they are taken to jail, arrested and bailed.

#### 4. Accusation in Witch-Hunting Cases

Most of the cases of witch-hunting in the world have a similar kind of accusation process. But easy generalization cannot be given unless and until a broad idea about this social problem is clearly studied and investigated thoroughly. The study consists of three case studies of accused witches whose data have been collected from the field in Assam.

It is popularly known that, evil practice of witch hunting is common among the Adivasis, Bodos, Mishings, Rabhas and other communities in various parts of Assam. And it has a high incidence among certain tribes like the Bodos and the Adivasis. Illiteracy, poverty and lack of access to health-care are definitely contributing towards perpetuating the scourge among those communities. The study consists of the accusation in Assam, where all the three cases are directly connected to the disease caused in their village and the accused are all women. They are Bilginia Heren (Sex- Female, Age- 53, Village- Napaam, Community- Adivasi, District- Sonitpur, State- Assam); Lalita Daimary (Sex- Female, Age- 46, Village- Badagaon, Community- Bodo, District- Udalguri, State- Assam); and Ranjeeta Basumatary (Sex-Female, Age-46, Village- Daifangkuthi, Community- Bodo, District- Udalguri, State- Assam).

##### 4.1. Bilginia's Case

A housewife, Bilginia Heren (53) lives with her husband in a village called Napaam in Sonitpur district of Assam. She has some knowledge of herbal medication and mid wifery. She has been accused as a witch for two times, once in 2004 and another in 2014. The *Ojha* (village medicine man) has pointed that the disease is caused by the hands of a witch. The *Ojha* assessed that the witch resides at the southern direction of the patient's house. The villagers thought it was because of the evil spell of Bilginia who lives in the nearby house. So, the family members of the patient came to Bilginia's house with an aim to request her to let the disease be cured. At that time Bilginia got surprised and was also afraid because the group carried sword and knife with them. So, as she has some knowledge of applying medicinal plants for some simple diseases, at that time, she brought some turmeric and other plants, grinded them and asked the patient to drink two teaspoon full. After two or three days the patient got relieved and cured. This incident happened 10 years ago. But very recently, in April, 2014, another patient got seriously ill. The patient was not taken to the doctor for treatment, rather, taken to *ojha*. According to Bilginia, "This time, it was a different *Ojha*, (the earlier *ojha* has already died), but safter not being cured by the *ojha*, a group of the patient's family members and their relatives came taking sword, forcefully trying to cut off my neck, for not immediately curing the disease." As her husband was at home that time, she got rescued by him. The daughter of Bilginia gave the news to the village headman and other trusted/helpful people. On the next day, a village meeting has been organised by the ill person's family and they were asked to leave their house and go away from their village. She and her family members did not go away but lives still having the anxiety and cry. At present, the villagers threatened them by warning that Bilginia and none of her family members are allowed to go/visit their neighbour's house, otherwise they will have to pay Rs. 500 per head. Social exclusion and the neglect by her own villager are the serious dilemma faced by Bilginia and her family members till today.

##### 4.2. Lalita's Case

A housewife named, Lalita Daimari (43) living with husband and three children in a village called Badagaon in Udalguri district, in 2009, was waited by a group of people to be killed on the charge of practicing witchcraft. She once had a record of arguing with one of the powerful men in her village. She says that challenging an authority figure might be one of the reasons that a group of her villagers were targeting to kill her down one night when she would by chance walked through the village road. Next day, she was informed about the details by her nearest neighbour. There was a spread of gossip in the entire village that, she practices witchcraft and took away the life of two people (one who died in 2005 and the other who died in 2008, both due to some serious diseases) near her own house. By getting all these informations, on Sunday, at the church in front of all the people coming for worship, she stood up for explaining about her false accusation. But everybody opposed her and did not give her time as soon as she started clarifying her innocence. Later, she thought people will keep on gossiping and branding her as witch, and she will not get chance anymore to tell her truth. So, she ask some extra time for prayer and then prayed aloud to God in front all others present in the church that let others understand the falsification on her. In a way she also prayed that "If I am practicing witchcraft, lord let me suffer the whole life." From that day onwards she could live without fear/anxiety but on the other hand, the villagers still believes that she practices witchcraft. It is

very hard to take this sticky tag out of the villagers' mind. In any societal events and occasions, she is not invited or not taken as a good member of their village. Social exclusion is her life now, but she decided to live happily, ignoring peoples' gossips and neglects.

#### 4.3. Ranjeeta's Case

Ranjeeta Basumatary, an LP school teacher by profession, originally from Ambagaon village in Udalguri got married to Jishan Basumatary of Daifangkuthi, Udalguri, who is a clerk in District School Inspector's office.

She conveyed that she feels very heartbroken when she tries to recall that incident. With a lot of mental pain, she narrated from the beginning to the end of the incident. She said that at first it was her husband's elder brother Saimal and his wife Geeta who accused her of practicing witchcraft on their son. Since childhood their son has been known to be physically abnormal. One night near the toilet, outside the house, he saw a big image like his mother; suddenly he got shocked and started running here and there. As days pass by, every night the same shocking and running here and there continued in him. Ranjeeta's husband took him for treatment to a hospital in Guwahati. Doctor prescribed for 3 months course of medicines, but the boy discontinued taking them after 1 month as the disease seemed like cured. Unfortunately, the disease became more dangerous. He run away every night and most often went to beat the people who took him to the hospital. The parents of the boy took him to ojah (local medicine man) and felt little better. One day they called the ojah to their house for treatment. That night, the boy was bathed and left his clothes at the gate of Ranjeeta's house. From that day itself, she has been branded as a witch. Touching the Holy Bible, she and her husband confessed in the village church that they do not know any kind of witchcraft and mantras. After some days Ranjeeta helped a poor diabetic patient nearby their house, with Rs.9000, but he was not cured. Gossip spread in their village. Their family members themselves submit that Ranjeeta practice witchcraft, so, it was easy to believe it strongly. Whenever any disease takes place in that village, it was most often Ranjeeta to be blamed. Finally, it was 24<sup>th</sup> February, 2007, when people of Daifangkuthi called for an allegation meeting of Santi Daimary who was also branded as witch. When Santi was inquired she denied again and again. The people said that, the fire couldn't burn her and the sticks could not beat her. Ranjeeta Basumatary was also called to the meeting; she reached there by the time when the Santi was forced to tell that Ranjeeta is also a witch. She accused Ranjeeta and spoke aloud in front of all gathered there. Ranjeeta asked Santi aloud, "How can you say that I'm a witch, show proofs if you have any, and tell me who is my Guru, if I really learn any witchcraft?" Some people advised her to run away/ escape at that time, but she didn't run because she felt, she said, "I don't have any fault, I didn't harm anyone and I don't know to practice any witchcraft, so, people will not beat me." But then the people started whipping her with bamboo sticks and tortured her a lot. She was taken to the hospital at 6:00pm that day. On 27<sup>th</sup> April, she came to the village by taking along with her, some members of Bodo associations like Women's Justice, All Bodo Student's Union (ABSU) and All Bodo Women Welfare Federation (ABWWF). Unfortunately, the villagers didn't allow organising any meeting there, rather threw stones and broke their house for their returning to that village. Taking their two children, one in conceived state, the husband and she had to run away from that village and find a rented house in Udalguri town. Some days later when they wanted to buy land to build their house, they were not allowed to settle in and around that place. At last one Govt. employee of Agriculture department gave them a piece of land in Sapkhaiti and so, they settled there. At present they are living there in good condition, having healthy social relationship, but the sticky tag 'witch' is still with her and their family members, which comes out in gossips all around Udalguri. Their house in Daifang-khuti stands deserted and dilapidated today, nobody visits that place because people are scared that the snakes, newts and cats which were domesticated by Ranjeeta for the purpose of practicing witchcraft are still living there. At present she lives with her husband, two daughters and one son at a village called Sapkhaiti in Udalguri being accused, tortured and displaced from village Daifang-khuti.

#### 5. Analysis of the Cases

Gramsci's "hegemony" refers to a process of moral and intellectual leadership through which dominated or subordinate classes of post-1870 industrial Western European nations consent to their own domination by ruling classes, as opposed to being simply forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions. Gramsci defines hegemony as a form of control exercised by a dominant class. In the cases of Witch-hunting, as there is the belief that the witch will harm the community in one way or the other, the leaders of the village plays a crucial role in threatening the alleged witch with torture and hounding. The accusation process is a systematic process according to them as understood by studying the case of Bilginia, Lalita and Ranjeeta. For the village people, this leadership is the social and moral service for their safeguarding the members of the village and the community as a whole. So, the accused witches are seen as a subordinate.

Witch-hunting attracts more attention than the craft itself. The traditional belief on witchcraft is most common among poor rural communities with little access to education and health services, and so, having more and longstanding practice of witch-hunting. Among the Bodo community and the Adivasi Community, when an individual gets sick or harm befalls the community, the blame falls not upon a virus or crop disease, but upon an alleged witch. The *Ojha*, who works as a local/village medicine man plays a crucial role in this context. The three cases which are mentioned above reveal that the marginalization of the alleged witches start with the discourse of the *Ojah's* pointing out the work of witch. The alleged witches are blamed and the accusation process takes its road.

The discourse of the alleged witch is powerless compared to the group of people in the community who stands against her, when taken for granted the insiders' standpoint and the discourse of the witch-hunters is powerless compared to the group of people outside the hunter's community, when taken for granted the outsiders' standpoint as rightly said by M. Foucault that individual is powerless compared to institutions, groups or the state (Balan, 2010). Because gossips and rumours play an important part in the processes leading to accusations of any "wrongdoing", it is similar in witchcraft accusations. Even when the art of witchcraft and sorcery are not overtly at work, rumour and gossip always work as a covert form of witchcraft against persons.

The accusers' narratives seem very strong. Here, accusers mean any person who supports and adds comments/viewpoints/evidences to the narratives that the people make during gossips/interaction/discussion against the alleged witch. In the narratives by the accusers of Bilginia, Lalita and Ranjeeta, it is observed that there are some similar and important points which are like-

- 1) "Yes, that night it was she who came through the field side with scary untied hair."
- 2) "She comes in my dreams every night."
- 3) "Even I saw her on the same night roaming around."
- 4) "She went nearby their house in the form of a cat/dog just before the patient died."
- 5) "She sucks blood from people, makes them very thin and then finally kills the patient."
- 6) "She did an imprints magic (in Assamese- Ban mara), so even the ojhas cannot cure the patient if the witch do not release/open it."
- 7) "You will not understand what she will do at what time, so it is better not to keep her alive or at our village."

Usually, power is understood as the capacity of an agent to impose his will over the will of the powerless, or the ability to force them to do things they do not wish to do. In this sense, power is understood as possession, as something owned by those in power. But in Foucault's opinion, power is not something that can be owned, but rather something that acts and manifests itself in a certain way; it is more like a strategy than a possession. Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain. Foucault thinks that it is wrong to consider power as something that the institutions possess and use oppressively against individuals and groups, so he tries to move the analysis one step beyond viewing power as the plain oppression of the powerless by the powerful, aiming to examine how it operates in day to day interactions between people and institutions.

There is a network of spreading beliefs about the Bilginia, Lalita and Ranjeeta, among the group of people in their villages. The members of the whole village or community are in one way or the other involved in the accusation of these three alleged witches. It is not marginalization, domination or discrimination of women by men, rather the deep and strong belief on witchcraft, which both men and women spread while in interaction with the people. It is not confined to the members of their own villages. Subjectivities from different people get connected to each others, as a result of which the evidences, either real or constructed become enlarged in the form of narratives among the people. The process of accusation does not end here, it continues towards the killing, displacement and alienation of the alleged witch.

The three alleged witches mentioned above carried a kind of social exclusion and dilemma till today. Bilginia, Lalita and Ranjeeta, undergoes crying, anxiety and mental attack. They keep on telling their stories in same line to the people with an aim to confirm their innocence and blamelessness.

## 6. Conclusion

Isolation, displacement and social exclusion in the society is one of the consequences of witchcraft accusation which can be a matter of serious discussion in contemporary period. Who should actually be isolated, the witches or the witch-hunters? Both have their own justification and standpoint, they are both 'victim' and 'perpetrator' at different context and by different people's viewpoint.

It can be summarized that, there is deep rooted traditional belief at works that are connected to witch-hunting cases. The world is changing rapidly in this era of globalization. Therefore, it will not help if we turn a blind eye to the fact that incidents of witch hunting are on the rise in many rural areas today. As a conclusion, it can be said that simply adopting a law against witch-hunting will not suffice. A proper awareness programme with campaign, door to door education programme, field study, distribution of leaflets against witch-hunting to the people is required. Furthermore, both the specific nature of this problem as well as the commonalities that it shares with other such practices across the world need to be understood. Neither a too narrowly conceived understanding of this vexed problem, strictly limiting it to the immediate context will help nor will it help to generalize the problem to an extent that it gets diluted. It is very difficult to tackle the situations of witch-hunting because the stimulus of such action is deeply rooted to the traditional and spiritual belief system of the communities where there is ignorance of modern and scientific knowledge.

## 7. References

- i. Bălan, Sergiu. (2002). M. Foucault's view on power relations. [http://cogito.ucdc.ro/nr\\_2v2/M.%20FOUCAULT'S%20VIEW%20ON%20POWER%20RELATIONS.pdf](http://cogito.ucdc.ro/nr_2v2/M.%20FOUCAULT'S%20VIEW%20ON%20POWER%20RELATIONS.pdf). Retrieved on May 31, 2014.
- ii. Brahma, Kameswar. (1992). A Study of Socio Religious Beliefs Practices and Ceremonies of the Bodos. Calcutta: Punthi Pustak.
- iii. Burns, William E. (1959). Witch Hunts in Europe and America: An Encyclopedia. London: Greenwood Press.
- iv. Chakraborty, Joya., and Borah, Anjuman. (2013). "Witch hunting in Assam: Strategising Alternative Media for Women Empowerment and Overcoming Superstition." *Journal of North East India Studies*. 3.215-24. Retrieved September 6, 2014.
- v. Chaudhuri, Soma. (2008). "Tempest in a Tea Pot: Analysis of Contemporary Witch Hunts in the Tea Plantations of Bengal." Diss. Graduate School of Vanderbilt University, Tennessee.
- vi. Chaudhury, Ratnadip. (2014). The Charade Of Witch-Hunting. [file:///C:/Users/Juri%20Gogoi%20Kowar/Downloads/The%20Charade%20of%20Witch-Hunting%20\\_%20Tehelka.com.html](file:///C:/Users/Juri%20Gogoi%20Kowar/Downloads/The%20Charade%20of%20Witch-Hunting%20_%20Tehelka.com.html). Retrieved on May 19, 2015.
- vii. Daimary, Anjali. (2012). The Idea of 'Evil' among the Bodos: Text and Context. In Prasanjit Biswas and C. Joshua Thomas (ED.), *Construction of Evil in North East India: Myth, Narrative and Discourse* (pp.100- 113) New Delhi: SAGE publications India Pvt Ltd.

- viii. Douglas, Mary. (2004). *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*. New York: Routledge Library.
- ix. Mastroianni, Dominic. (2002). *Hegemony in Gramsci*. from *Postcolonial Studies @ Emory* <http://postcolonialstudies.emory.edu/hegemony-in-gramsci/>. Retrieved on June 7, 2014.
- x. Linder, Douglas. (2005). *A Brief History of Witchcraft Persecutions before Salem*. <http://E:/WH-global/A%20History%20of%20Witchcraft%20Persecutions.htm>. Retrieved on April 22, 2012.
- xi. Miguel, Edward. (2005). *Poverty and Witch Killing*. *The Review of Economic Studies* 72.1153-1172.
- xii. Ray, Sanjoy. (2014). *Probe into 15% witch-hunting cases in State meets dead end*. <file:///C:/Users/Juri%20Gogoi%20Kowar/Downloads/The%20Assam%20Tribune%20Online.html>. Retrieved on May 19, 2015.
- xiii. Singh, Rakesh K. (2011). *Witch-Hunting: Alive or Kicking*. <http://www.isidelhi.org.in/wl/article/rakesh1701.pdf>. Retrieved on May 19, 2015.