

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Bokshi practice is one of the endemic social evils deeply rooted in all parts of society. It is also one of the superstitions in the society. The superstition beliefs and practices signify the current social status of any society. How the people think, do and behave as per the transformation of society is an important aspect of human civilization and development. The people's behavior and perception on different supernatural power signifies where the society is. There is no universally accepted definition of Bokshi practice. The term 'Bokshi practice' is similar to the English term witchcraft and different definition on this practice has been brought from English. Encyclopedia Britannica defines witchcraft as the exercise or invocation of alleged supernatural powers to control people or events, practically typically sorcery and magic. In the same way, the dictionary of sociology defines witchcraft is as the malevolent exercise of supposed supernatural powers, especially by women, attributed to a connection with the devil or evil spirits. It is a quite difficult to define witches and witchcraft across cultures. Traditional beliefs and faith healing in popular culture often have different connotations and create different understanding of it in the society (Niraula, 2014). Evans-Pritchard (1973) defined, "A witch performs no rite, utters no spell, and possess no medicines. An act of witchcraft is psychic act." He also described that witches do not know their being a witch until and unless they are accused of being the witch by others.

There are different terms and types of 'witch' in Nepali language. Some of them are Daini, Boksha/Bokshi, Chhaudi etc. In Nepal, there are two terms-Bokshi and Boksha. The former is used for female and latter is for men. However, the common one is Bokshi who is supposed to practice magical power through Tantra and Mantra and such magical power makes people weak and people die. It is believed that the innocent people are blamed for being Bokshi and they are treated very badly by the whole society. Moreover, it is believed that there are other magicians in the society they are called Dhami or Jhankris. Dhami/Jhankri can blame any person as being Bokshi. If once blamed, it is very difficult to get rid of this charge. Rest of the people in the

village also equally participates in blaming Bokshi after indication by the Dhami/Jhankri. Even other children start to tease the blamed people when they meet such persons and frighten to go near them. The perception of Bokshi increases in human mind since the childhood. In Nepal, children are often told that the Bokshi has long, black and uncombed hair, and therefore they look very dangerous. Bokshi are believed to be normal women with a very high magic power and can change their appearance at the time of attack (Sharma, 2009).

The parents are playing the important role for retaining this tradition in the mind of their children. When children make mistakes, they are threatened by saying that they would be bewitched on repeating such things again. If they want to go outside from their home during night, they are often told about the existence of such witches. Through this process, the people gradually perceive this believe (Shah, 2007).

The people in every society blame an innocent person for being Bokshi on the basis of different grounds. It is directly associated with acquisition of power and resources of elites in the society. If the people are materially affluent nobody blame them as Bokshi. When people are dependent to another person they are treated as the lower social status and different accusations are made against them. Many people believe that the Bokshi practice can pass from one generation to another. It is believed that the son or daughter learn this practice from their mothers. Especially, there are two characters in the society one is Dhami who is getting social recognition and another is Bokshi who is not getting social recognition from the society. The people who are illiterate, low social status and don't have power to defend against different accusations are blamed as Bokshi. The reports of various organizations show that the women are more victimized than men in this accusation because the women are still considered as the subordinate group in the society and they don't have access to power and resources in most of the societies in Nepal. Therefore, the study will be more focused on the term 'Bokshi' and it will analyze the factors based on people's perception in the village. Based on the analysis of data collected from the field this study has more focused on how a person believes that there is Bokshi in the society with the analysis of social relation associated on this practice.

The study is conducted in Bosan which is Tamang dominant community. Bosan is a small village of Dachhinkali municipality which is not so far from the capital of Nepal. There are many researchers who go in the same place to conduct study on various subjects like social change and

development, farming patterns, livelihood strategies of the people and so on. However, according to the villagers nobody came there to conduct this type of study in this area. Hence, through the sociocultural analysis of Bosan I have tried to explore the people's perception and belief on Bokshi practice in urban area of Nepal in this study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Witchcraft is a phenomenon that has captured the minds of millions since the beginning of history. The so called witches have caused fear, hatred, interest, widespread panic and variety of other emotions in other people from all over the world. Every society has some forms of witchcraft in their history. Witchcraft itself has a deep history of its own. In hunting-gathering and agricultural societies, the belief of this practice remains high. In these societies, witches are exclusively males. Witchcraft carries a prestigious and highly protected status in these societies and women are frequently excluded from the ranks (Robert and Yamane, 2011). The tradition of witchcraft had given legal status before nineteenth century i.e. in the Rana regime in Nepal. In this regime, there was a strong belief on the existence of the witchcraft. It might be due to a view to maintain some discipline on that affair. It was considered legal and there was a severe punishment to those who were proved to be witches. Witchcraft practice is one of the traditional violence against women, still practice openly in almost all parts of Nepal despite stated illegal by law (Glover, 1972)

Generally, the term Bokshi directly indicates the women. It is believed that some women have magical power which can be transformed from one person to another. Such belief was also in existence in the past. But this concept varies from society to society. According to Sharma, if a woman is charged for being Bokshi the whole society and people start to give mental and physical torture to her. Then it would be very difficult to her to stay in the society. Often the people nearby are accused of witches if incidents such as death of the cattle or miscarriage occur. The alleged women are tortured either by soot's smeared on their face, forcefully fed human excreta, by garlanded shoes, by expelled from the village or even killed. Sometimes, the family members of the accused persons are also tortured (INSEC, 2012). Although there is no scientific proof of the operation of Bokshi practices people are accused of this practice such a blind faith. It

is not only the problem of individual but also shameful to the total society and nation which requires measures to put an end.

In this situation, a few questions strike me to conduct this study. Actually why this practice is still in existence though many rules and regulations are made by the government and how a society perceives the notion that there are Bokshi in the society. Considering the aforementioned problems this study has tried to dig out the answers of the following questions:

- a) What is the perception of people in this practice?
- b) What are the functions of the Bokshi practice in the society?
- c) Who are the Bokshi in Nepal society?
- d) Why does a society blame to a person on charge of practicing Bokshi?
- e) What types of accusations are made against the victims?
- f) What is the basis of Bokshi accusation?

1.3 Objectives of Study

The general objective of this study is to explore the social reality of Bokshi belief and practices. The followings are specific objective of this study:

- To describe the perception of people on Bokshi practice among the people in Bosan
- To analyze the function of Bokshi practices in the study area

1.4 Significance of the Study

Bokshi practice is one of the serious social problems of Nepal. The women are often accused by men on charge of Bokshi practices. Many government and non-government organizations are working to eliminate this practice and they have conducted many researches in different parts of Nepal especially in Tarai area. Their research reports show that the people still believe this practice and they have a negative perception towards Bokshi (which is tagged by a society to a woman). Thus, this study will firstly identify the major causes of Bokshi practice based on the sociological point of view, and, therefore, the study report will support to explore more hidden facts of this practice for a sociologist, students and other researcher who conduct study on the same matter.

Another significance of this study lies in the analysis of people's perception on Bokshi accusation. This study will try to explore on how a person believes the existence of Bokshi in the society, who are the actual witches and why all women cannot be Bokshi. It is expected that the finding of this study will elaborate the answers of these questions and these findings will be reference for other researchers who want to conduct study in this matter. It is expected that this study will also be helpful for policy makers, rulers to bring effective policies and programmes to eliminate the social disparities including Bokshi practice of Nepal.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

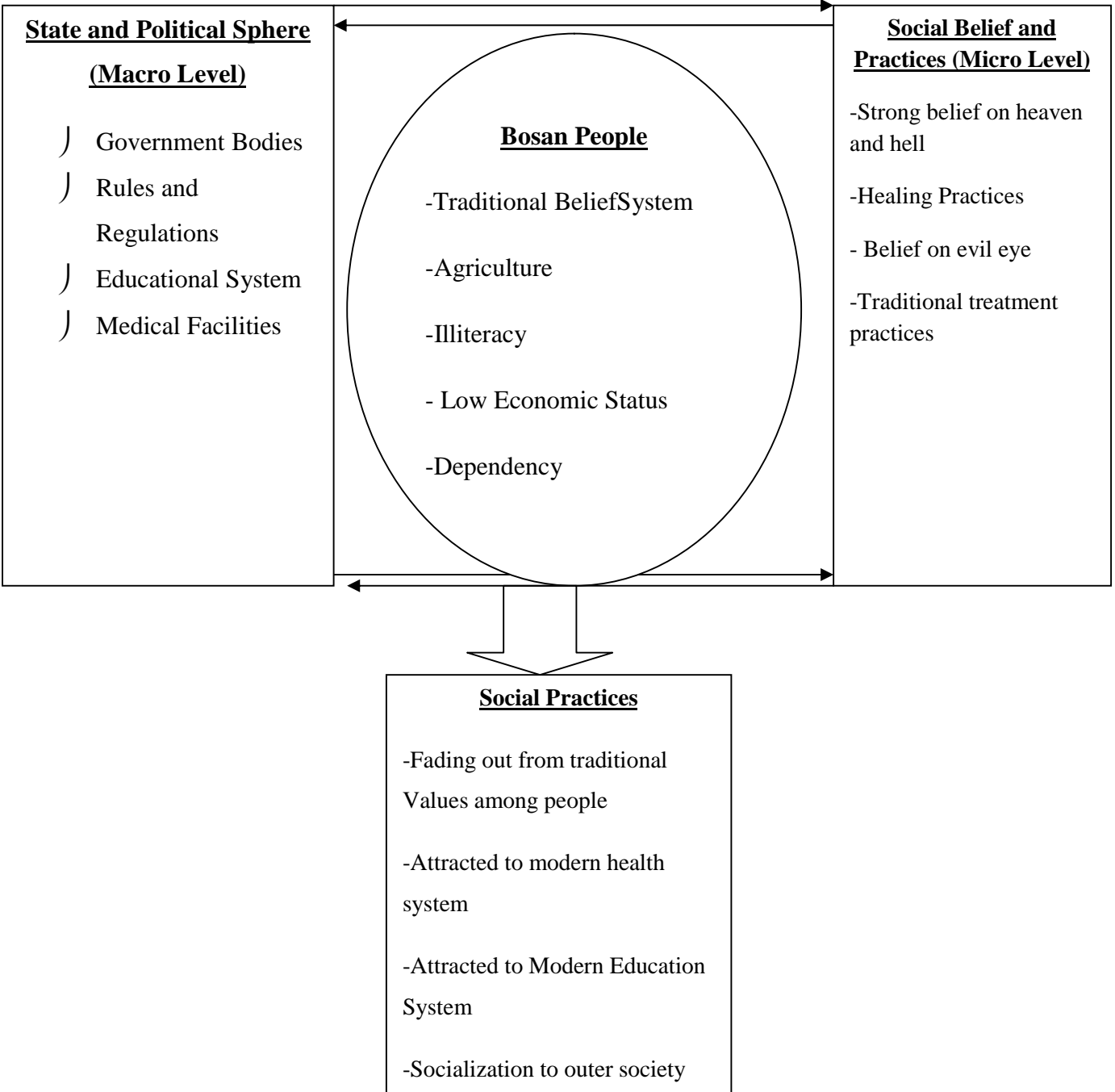
The Bokshi practices are studied by various sociological and anthropological perspectives. The concept of Bokshi practice can be interpreted and analyze based on the theory functionalism Emile Durkheim stresses that through the socializing process the basic values of any society are internalized by individuals and, for this to occur. Functionalists such as Talcott Parsons, G.P. Murdock and William Goode argue that any society is founded, maintained and reproduced on the basis of a broad value consensus for example the broad levels of agreement over fundamental values. On the one hand, Bokshi practice is maintaining discipline in the society. On the other, through the process of discipline, people perceive the belief of the existence of Bokshi in the society.

Merton (1968) points out that all parts of society have different functions in which they perform. Some of these functions are obvious and others are not-so obvious. He distinguishes the two by stating that the recognized and intended functions are the manifest function and the unrecognized and unintended functions were the latent functions. Through the Bokshi practice, people are preserving their cultures like performing Pooja and they are getting fulfilling dietary needs from the consumption.

Similarly, the binary opposition of Levis Strauss is another theoretical background of this study. The Bokshi character emerges in the society because there another character Dhami. In the same way, people believe that the two words-Dhami and Bokshi- have opposite roles and they perform the opposite characters each other. Bokshi is considered as unrecognized evil eye a negative and evil character by people whereas Dhami is considered as a gifted

character with recognized evil eye. There is not social recognition for Bokshi but there social recognition and support for Dhami. Based on the statement of the people one common thing is both have powers which they gain through Tantra and Mantra. It is believed that Bokshi perceives negative evil eye which is harmful to the people whereas Dhami Dhami performs positive evil eye which is useful for people.

The theory of symbolic interpretation is somehow also applied in this study. The theories of Clifford Geertz, Herbert Spencer, E.B. Taylor is one of the most significant aspects of this study. Geertz's position illustrates the interpretive approach to symbolic interaction, while Turner's illustrates the symbolic approach. The second major premise is that actions are guided by interpretation, allowing symbolism to aid in interpreting ideal as well as material activities. Traditionally, symbolic interactionism has focused on religion, cosmology, ritual activity, and expressive customs such as mythology and the performing arts (Des Chene 1996). The social structure, human culture and interaction among people affect their perception in the society. However, people are fading out the traditional value system. They are also choosing the modern health and education facilities, and process of socialization with outer society is increasing in Bosan. The following diagram can help to summarize the conceptual framework of this study:



1.6 Organization of the Study

This report is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter introduces about study design with objectives and the statement of problems. This chapter gives the study with the major objectives, conceptual frameworks. Similarly, second chapter is about literature review. I have collected various national and international literatures to support my study. I have tried to mention some western and eastern perspectives in Bokshi practice in this chapter. The reference of laws in Nepal shows that the Bokshi practice is still prevailing although there are laws against it. In the same way, the third chapter encompasses methodology and study design. Under this chapter, I have included some methods, tools and techniques that I applied to conduct this study. Fourth chapter is about the background of study area. The background of the study area highlights the general information of Bosan as well as the composition of population with different sociocultural characteristics. The chapter five is about people's perception on Bokshi practice. What is the perception of people on Bokshi, how they get such perception, who says there are Bokshi in the society are the major concerns of this chapter. Chapter six is about major factors that are associated with Bokshi practice. People's treatment practices, functional aspects of Bokshi practices, conflict and function of Bokshi practice, relationship between Dhami and Bokshi, social recognition of both characters etc are analyzed in this chapter. Finally, the chapter seven is the glimpse of the findings of the study with some recommendations.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Witchcraft, sorcery, evil eyes, etc. are considered social evils and malpractices of society. In general, so called low caste and class people have strong belief and faith on such practices. It an interesting subject matter of sociology as how society develops such beliefs and practices in daily life. There are enough literatures regarding this practice. In 16th and 17th the belief of people different magical powers was high in western countries. Magic, sorcery and ghost were considered as the supernatural power that affected the people's health and daily lives. In Nepal, Bokshi (Witchcraft) practice is one of the serious problems in all parts of the society. The people believe on evil power including Bokshi without any evidence of its affect in the society. Although Nepal is trying to control this system by enacting different rules and regulations people's belief on this practice is not minimizing. Different government and non-government organizations are working to control this system and they are publishing different reports. In this regard, I have discussed some historical background of the Bokshi practice written based on the study of western and Nepali societies in this chapter. The attempts of Nepal's government to control this practice have also been reviewed under this chapter. Some theoretical perspectives have been highlighted with the reference of different scholars. Much of the literature centers on the history, theories, power relation associated with Bokshi practice.

2.1A Brief History of Bokshi Practice: Western Perspective

Bokshi practice has a very fascinating history, which is fairly important to discuss. Because much of its history is veiled in superstition and has not properly been recorded, its exact history is hard to explain. It is easier to see Bokshi practice as mindset or belief than an organized institution.

According to Montague Summers, witches can be described as heretics and anarchists, most of which follow the devil power. Mr. Summers along with many other people take a pessimistic view towards the witchcraft practice. There are also some people who are known as anti-witch enthusiasts. They are Henry VIII, who was the first king of England and passed a statue against the practice of witchcraft. Many kings who ruled after him also created statue against witchcraft.

Throughout the centuries in England, strict laws and numerous trials were held against suspected witches. Some of the more notable trials include the Chelmsford trials in 1566, 1579, and 1589, the trials in Lancashire in 1612, and the Staffordshire trials in 1597. Many books had been written at the time about the subject of witchcraft such as *Demonology*, *Discovery of Witches*, *Discovery of Witchcraft* and others.

Niraula (2014) who works in gender and inclusion sector states that in Europe and the United States, persecution was generally associated with witch-hunting and witch trials which widely took place from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Witch hunting was widely practiced in Europe and the influence of European witch-hunting spread to New England. In Europe, both men and women were accused of practicing witchcraft but the ratio of women to men was four to one. In 1640s, England experienced the largest witch hunt in the history. The reason for large witch hunt was that between 1647 and 1665, the self-proclaimed witch-finders Mathew Hopkins and John Stearne, acting with considerable support and encouragement from towns to villages in the southern part of the country, discovered and assisted in the prosecution of a large number of witches. In Russia, witchcraft accusation was frequently seen in the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the common penalty for the convicted witches was exile to the borderlands rather than burning and hanging. People of all ranks feel under the accusation of witchcraft practices. In Germany, children were accused of being witches and such accusations were legal in the same time.

2.2 Bokshi Practice in Nepal

WHRIN (2014) presents that analysis of the belief in Nepal highlights that it is broadly similar to that of other countries in that it has prevailed, since ancient times, largely due to the dominance and impervious nature of deep-rooted cultural and religious practices. In particular, there is a strong shamanistic tradition. Belief in ghosts, spirits, and witchcraft is widespread, especially in rural areas. Spiteful witches, hungry ghosts and angry spirits are thought to inflict illness and misfortune. Dhimi mediates between the human and supernatural realms to discover the cause of illness and recommend treatment. As with other cultures, the Nepali belief in witchcraft maintains that women gain their witchcraft powers primarily in two ways. Firstly it is believed that they learn from their mother and it is passed on as a hereditary occupation. Secondly, it is

believed that the witchcraft can be passed to others via a mysterious, spiritual spell, which is given to others through food and/or drink. Whilst these beliefs may be most deeply held in the rural regions of Nepal, amongst community members with literacy levels, such beliefs are in general deeply engrained within society. Regardless of cast, levels of education or geographical locations, the majority of Nepalese people hold such beliefs to be true.

Peters (1979) gives four categories of spirit-caused illness in Tamang society in Nepal. These four categories are attack, bewitchment, and loss of soul and spirit possession. According to him, the people have beliefs that witches collect pieces of clothes, hair or nail clipping and can work through an effigy to cause harm to the victim. They also can use the help of particular ghosts. He claimed that Bokshi are real people but their identity is never disclosed.

Bennett (1976) states that in Brahmin and Kshetry households co-wives and older widows are suspected frequently. The widows as well as women who have never conceived are excluded from birthing processes as they have the reputation of making an innocent woman unable to conceive. Thus, infertility, miscarriage and death of newborn children are most often mentioned as caused by witchcraft.

Stone (1976) mentions witches are distinct from all other malignant forces as they are human and usually women. They are evil people who deliberately learn their magic in order to harm others. She suggests that emotion and jealousy as underlying motivation to the witchcraft phenomenon and shows that accusations are particularly voiced against those with whom one has important relationships or with whom one involves in competition for resources. She presents two most common patterns in witchcraft accusations. These accusations are against one is family head's brother's wife and another is against the females of family members who (allegedly) wants to one's bride to be given to them in marriage.

Pritchard (1976) focuses that the witchcraft practice is psychic act and a witch performs no rite, utters no spell, and possesses no medicine. He also mentions that witches do not know their being a witch until and unless they are accused of being the witch by others.

Ram (2004) identified that violence is more common against women who belong to families that are rooted in the social tradition. All forms of violence appear to be higher to be higher in lower

economic status and more cases appears against women who lack financial resources and have no alternative protection.

Peacock(1973) describes a female ghost, who is seductively beautiful. Once a man slept with her, he is reduced to importance for the rest of his life. She is the spirit of a woman who died children. As women are usually blamed for sterility in a marriage it is interesting that the man who copulates with the sprit turns important.

2.3 The Theoretical Perspective on Bokshi Practice

Hsu (1983) suggests that accusations of witchcraft have the function of offering an outlet for psychological tension. Kluckhohn (1944) assumes that the function of the belief in witchcraft serves as a displacement of aggressive emotions, evoked against the authority of elders that is discharged against distant witches. Gluckman (quoted by Prell, 1968) witchcraft belief is a manifestation of strongly held negative emotions like hate, fear, anger, jealousy and frustration.

Douglas (1970) points out that the function of witchcraft accusation is to reaffirm group boundaries and solidarity. These theories stress the cathartic effect of witchcraft belief and its group maintaining mechanisms. Marx believes that women are also the proletariat class of the family. They are deprived of having access to the family resources and are dominated by powerful class i.e. male in the family. They cannot do own their own interest as the male decides the anything of the family.

Firth (1956) explores thatthe magic as commonly accepted, can be broadly classified as productive, protective and destructive. In the context of Nepalese society, witchcraft can be classified as the destructive magic. This is because it is always found to be utilized for something harm to others. The presence of Dhami in the society also helps to believe the existence of the Bokshi. These two things are very much related with each other and can be regarded as complementary things.

2.4 Laws and Regulations regarding this practice in Nepal

Nepal has made various national and international commitments to eliminate the existing disparities like Bokshi practice in society. For that it has ratified many international instruments

such as International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted by UN. Based on these international laws, there are many laws and regulations which are enacted to abolish the disparities of the society like witchcraft practice. Constitution of Nepal, 2015 clearly encompasses women's rights under fundamental rights. The article (38) of the constitution stipulates that no women shall be subjected to physical, mental, or any other kind of violence; and such act shall be punished by law. Similarly, according to Miscellaneous section 10 (B) of the General Code of Nepal, anyone involved in mistreating a woman on the allegation of practicing witchcraft will be sentenced to anytime between three months or two years imprisonment or will be fined a sum ranging from Rs 5,000 to Rs 25,000.

The government of Nepal has passed anti-witchcraft bill on July 30, 2015. The act stipulates a jail term for five to ten years with a fine of 50,000 if the accused find guilty in the offence. According to the act, those who involved for accusing people as Bokshi including Dhami are punished.

Glover (1972) states that witch accusation, one of the traditional violence against women, still practice openly in almost all parts of Nepal despite being stated illegal by law.

Considering the review of these different literatures I have tried to dig out why Bokshi practice is one of the social problems in Nepal despite having different control mechanisms. I agree with the scholar like Glover, Ahuja Ram and Peters in some extent. Most of the literature stressed that Bokshi practice is only prevailing in rural area. However, there are many evidences that at least one or two persons are killed on charge of Bokshi practice in urban area in Nepal. Even youths and students give first priority to Dhami for treatment in urban areas as well in Nepal. But I have not fully agreed with the the view that Bokhi the people of urban areas do not perceive that there is not Bokshi in the society. Thus, this study describes the people's perception on Bokshi practice and explores the factors that are associated with this practice in urban area of Nepal.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND STUDY DESIGN

Identification of methodology in research is critically important as it determines the choice of the research design. There are various methods of research which show the pathway of respective research and helped to address the research problem through extensive analysis of data. This chapter discusses the methodology and study which are used to accomplish the objective of the study as well as to set the research questions before going to the field. In this chapter, I have mentioned the reasons for site selection and design of research. I have used both primary and secondary data in this study. The primary data were collected from field by using different tools such as household survey, interview, observation, key informant interview. Similarly, the secondary data were collected through document review, analysis of the finding of different published and unpublished journals, reports and other publications of different organizations and case studies. The people of Bosan were asked different questions in order to get necessary information of the study. The information brought from the field visit of study area is analyzed in this study.

3.1 Reason for Site Selection

Kathmandu is a capital of Nepal. Many people believe that no such type of practice occurs in urban area like Kathmandu. But most of the daily papers and different organizations' reports say that many women are accused of being Bokshi in this area. The presence of Dhams/Jhankris in different corners of the street also expresses that people of Kathmandu also believe in different supernatural powers including Bokshipractice. Bosan is alike a periphery of Kathmandu valley and majority of the population of this area is Tamang. According to people although many researchers conduct study in different subject matters such as climate change, livelihood strategies, farming behavior including others no study has been done yet in this area. Therefore, Bosan area of Dachhinkali municipality is selected to conduct this study. Some reasons on why I chose Bosan to conduct this study are as follow:

-) The study area is like a periphery of Kathmandu and people are facing different problems in this area and I wanted to know how the people of periphery believe in Bokshi practice.

- J Separately located Bosan has only 50 households and is near from my resident and it is easy to go for data collection for me.
- J No study on the perception of Bokshi practice was conducted before in this area
- J Many reports focused that the Bokshi practice is only perceived by the people of remote areas but I was keen to know about the perception of people of urban areas as well.

3.2 Research Design

This study explores the fact of perception of Bokshi and functional aspect associated with Bokshi practice. In the same way, the study also focuses on the people's belief system through the socioeconomic analysis of the villagers of Bosan. This study describes the setting of the study area including the general information of the people. Thus, the study is exploratory and descriptive in its nature. The socio-economic condition of the people, changing attitude and knowledge in the society affects the perception and behavior of the people in the society.

3.4 Tools and Techniques of Data collection

The method of data collection is one of the important aspects of research study. It shows the path of research to achieve the findings as per the objective of the study. Thus, to achieve the objective, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected for this study. The quantitative data were collected through household survey, observation, interview and key informant interview. In the same way, qualitative data were collected through observation, document review and informal conversation with the people of study area.

3.4.1 Household Survey

There are a total of 50 households in Bosan and the household survey was conducted in all households. The information such as the current socioeconomic status of people, literacy status, marital status, age, total production of land and access of women on resource mobilization etc. were collected through household survey. In order to collect the information of the socioeconomic status of people, the household survey was conducted in all households. In the same way, it was done to compare the socio-economic aspect of people with the perception of people on Bokshi practice. It helped to identify the believe system of people based on their age, sex, occupation and other factors associated with this perception. The household survey helped

to segregate the information of each household into different tables. Before taking interview and key informants such as Dhami, senior citizens and others household survey was conducted in the village so that the respondents were easily identified during the household survey.

3.4.2 Observation

Observation can make the research to know about people's day to day activities. As Malinowski states that social reality is constructed by the people can only be understood by actively participating with them in day to day activities the people's behavior practices and the health seeking practices were seen from a close distance. There are some areas of Bosan where people are prohibited to enter because of the fear of evil eyes. The people believe that Bokshi learnt Bidhya in these prohibited areas and if local people enter in the same areas they are suffered from different kinds of diseases. The information collected from observation helped to analyze in order to make consistent with the objective of this study through the sociological perspective. Information such as protection of local resources by people in their households, household activities of Dhami and major areas where people are restricted to go are collected through observation.

3.4.3 Interview

The method of collecting information through person interviews is usually carried out in a structured way (Kothari, 2004). I conducted semi-structured interviews to collect information from each household. Some questions had been prepared before going to the field whereas some were produced during the interview process. A total of 50 individual interviews were conducted in the study area. Out of 50 respondents, 20 respondents were the school's level children from 10 to 16 year old whereas rest of them is from 20 to 75 years old. Hence, 25 males and 25 females were selected for the interview process purposively in order to take the information of basic health seeking practices in the village, their perception on Bokshi practice and so on. The respondents were asked seven closed questions and three open questions. However, some questions were prepared while interviewing them if the interviewer needed more verification. The interviewees were selected purposively on the basis of odd and even. It means if a male interviewee was selected from one household female was selected from another.

3.4.4 Key Informant Interview

In order to collect information about the perception and some details about Bokshi practice a total of eight people were selected for the key informant interview and were asked changing pattern of people's believe on Bokshi practice, current perception of people including other information related to the Bokshi practice. The key informants provided important information based on their experiences with their attitude towards Bokshi practice. As most of the informants were senior citizens (both male and female) the key informant interview helped to reflect the traditional influence on the perception of Bokshi practice. The treatment practices of Dhami and accusations made by them are also analyzed based on the information provided by Dhami. Out of the eight key informants, three were Dhami and rest of this is senior citizens (2 females and three males) from 75 to 85 year old of Bosan.

3.5 Data Presentation and Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed after field visit. The quantitative data such as age, education status, gender, and tentative income of the respondents were entered into SPSS and Microsoft Excel and analyzed them through the use of simple statistical tools to find out frequency and percentage. The presented data were analyzed and interpreted with tables. In the same way, the qualitative data collected from interviews, key informant interviews, observation and case studies were first transcribed and coded in different themes as per the objectives of the study. Finally, they were interpreted with different sociological theories in order to make them consistent with the objective of the study. The analyzed qualitative data remained effective to substantiate the quantitative data.

3.6 Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration is one of the most important aspects of research. It was completely maintained before, during and after the study. When I entered into the village everyone was new for me and I was also strange for them. But when I shared them the objective of this research they did not hesitate to give answers of my questions. I have not mentioned the names of the respondents in this report. Without prior consent and effective environment for the interview, no one was asked any questions related to this study. I clearly presented the objective of this research to the respondents who were suffering from the devastating earthquake of April 25, 2015. Those who did not want to give answers of the certain questions were not forced. I

accepted the values and tradition of the villagers. There are some places in the study area where no one is allowed for visiting. I did not go to such places as per the direction of villagers.

3.7 Limitations of Study

This study was conducted as per the requirements of the dissertation of Master's Degree of sociology discipline. Data and information related to Bokshi practice were used from daily news, reports, journals, study papers and other publications of different government and non-government organizations. This study was more focused on how a society blames a person and what the perception of people who work against the Bokshi practice is. Only information on the perception of the Bokshi practice was collected from the people of the study area. Although there are many other factors associated with Bokshi practice, only the perception and the major factors associated with Bokshi practice were analyzed in this study report. In this regard, this study may not cover all findings associated with Bokshi practice.

CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUND OF STUDY AREA

The background of the study area shows the information of the society, culture and different sociocultural characteristics of people. The general information of the people such as their level of education, occupation, land ownership pattern etc. play crucial role to provide a brief overview of respondent population in research. Taking this learning in mind, this chapter presents a brief overview of the study area including its geographical distinctiveness, and the composition of population based on different social characteristics. Analysis on how different social characteristics such as education, occupation, and land ownership affects the people's perception on Bokshi practice is one of the most important objectives of this chapter.

4.1 The Study Area

Bosan is situated in the seven km south from Kirtipur municipality, three km north from Dachhinkali municipality and five km east from Chandragiri municipality. Separately located Bosan is a small village and has only 50 households. The total population of Bosan is 214 with 111 male and 103 female. A narrow concrete road connects Bosan to Kathmandu metropolis. There is only a primary school in Bosan so that children go to Kathmandu valley for further study. In the same way, there is a health post in the village for the basic health checkup. The people go to Patan and other hospitals for treatment if the local health post refers them to other hospitals for treatment.

4.2 Caste and Ethnicity

Out of the 50 households, only four households are Kami and rest of this is Tamang in Bosan. In the recent politics, Tamang claims as an indigenous groups and some foreign scholars also write the same. Bennett (2008 and etal) writes, "Tamang is the existing indigenous groups belonging to mainly the Tibeto-Burman language group. Since many of these groups consumed homemade beer and spirits, they were called 'liquor-drinkers' or matwali by the Brahmans and Chhetris whose caste status did not allow them to take alcohol which was considered polluting. In contemporary Nepal these various ethnic groups are now referred to as the Adivasi Janajati".

Some Tamang key informants of Bosan shared that their ancestors came there about 70 years ago from Tibet for the business purposes and they settled in the same place. However, Kami were brought from other areas when the population of Tamang increased and they needed some domestic weapons. The Table 1 presents the caste and ethnic wise division of people based on sex in Bosan.

Table 1: Caste and Ethnic Wise Division of People Based on Sex

Caste	Sex					
	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Total	Percent
Tamang	100	46.72	94	43.92	194	90.65
Kami	11	5.14	9	4.20	20	9.35
Total	111	51.87	103	48.13	214	100

Source: Household Survey, 2015

It was found that the households of Kami are about 400 meter south from Tamang households. Both the households of Tamang and Kami are located in two different clusters. It was observed that the caste based occupation still exists in this area. According to a Tamang key informant, they do not eat any food or water served by Kami because their gods will angry if they eat food or water served by Kami. However, during the observation it was found the the youths were drinking local alcohol served by Kami in the village. Some youths shared that they eat or drink anything served by Kami without knowing their senior family members.

The separate settlement of Tamang and Kami shows that the caste based discrimination and untouchability still exists in Bosan. According to a youth (who is Kami), Kami are also restricted to touch the elderly people especially Lama (priest of Tamang) of Tamang in Bosan. Tamang believed that they will be impure if Kami touches Tamang. However, the youths were playing in the same play ground, sitting in the same classroom in school. Even the elderly people do not restrict their children to play in the same ground but they do not allow Kami to enter Kami in their households.

4.3 Age and Sex Composition

Age and Sex of the population determine the economic activity, their perception and roles in every household activity. Fricke (1993) argues that the age sex and marital status are the special characteristics of human population that directly and indirectly affect the daily economic activities of people. In the same way, these characteristics also affect the life style and behavior of people. Age shows the people's maturity and expansion of different social learning in the society. The table 2 shows the age group of people in Bosan based on the sex

Table 2: Age and Sex Composition of People Based on Sex

Age Group	Sex				Total	
	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Number	Percent
014	22	10.27	16	7.47	38	17.74
15-59	78	36.44	72	33.64	150	70.08
60 above	11	5.14	15	7.04	26	12.18
Total	111	51.87	103	48.13	214	100

Source: Household Survey, 2015

According to CBS report, the age group from 0-14 and above 60 is referred as dependent population whereas the age group 15-59 is considered as active population. According to the census report of 2011, the total percent of active population is 57 percent¹ in Bosan. It was found that 70.08 % population is active in Bosan. Although the number of male active population is higher than the female's number the majority of male population is outside of the village for employment or other purposes and the female are taking all responsibilities of their households. They involve in caring their children, planting vegetables in the farms, caring the livestock and so on.

¹National Population and Housing Census (National Report, 2011)

It was found that the people age of 60 and more also involved in several farm and non-farm activities because of the migration of economically active family members for foreign employment in Bosan. Similarly, the children are also found supporting their family in general household activities such as fetching water, taking care of children and cattle in huts.

4.4 Marital Status

Marriage is one of the important parts of life. From marriage, human beings are legalized for sexual relationships and they enter in the family life. In other words, marriage system is considered one of the beginning stages of family life in Nepal. In most of the Nepali society, through the entry of family life human beings should follow the occupations which are followed by the family members. However, the people are leaving their traditional marriage system followed by their ancestors due to increasing pattern of migration for foreign employment, study purposes or other reasons in Bosan. It was found that most of the Tamang got marriage with neighbors' son or daughter in past but the trend is now decreasing in Bosan. It was found that the people are not confined in their households and they are free to get married with outsiders (with the boys or girls of their working or study areas).

It was also found that the marriage is also seen as one of the important factors of every household in Bosan. The people believe that the investment and consumption in marriage determines the status of the household. Tamang people especially invite all their relatives and villagers to celebrate marriage in Bosan. High importance is given to the son's marriage rather than the daughter because the household gets another labor power through son's marriage. In the same way, the marriage of boy is taken as a prestige of the household. A Tamang key informant shared that even a boy brings a girl from outside of the village his family members celebrate the ceremony by inviting all their relatives but if a girl elopes and gets married they do not invite their relatives for celebrating marriage. The table 3 presents the marital status of study people based on the sex in Bosan.

Table 3: Marital Status of People Based on Sex

Marital Status	Sex				Total	
	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Number	Percent
Unmarried	57	26.6	58	27.1	115	53.7
Married	50	23.3	32	15.0	82	38.3
Widow/Widower	4	1.9	13	6.1	17	8.00
Total	111	51.87	103	48.13	214	100

Source: Household Survey, 2015

The table 3 shows that the highest number of population (53.7 percent) in Bosan is married followed by married and widow. The table also shows that the number of female widow is higher than the male. It indicates that the female expectancy is higher than male in Bosan. In general there is not any difference in the age of marriage between male and female in Bosan. Both get married soon in this area.

There are also some local norms for getting marriage in Bosan. Tamang rarely gets marriage with Kami and so does Kami. A Tamang key informant shared that if a son/daughter of Tamang gets married with lower caste daughter/son the senior citizens of the village including Lama decide whether he is eligible to enter into the house or not. If the meeting decides not to legalize his/her marriage he/she is ineligible to stay in the village. However, if kami get married with Tamang they do not organized such meeting to get permission from the villagers. It was observed that the bridegroom should make the relatives happy by serving local alcohol with snacks in Bosan.

4.5 Educational Status

Education is one of the most important factors of human beings. The formal educational institution was introduced in Nepal in 1910 BS during the Rana regime. However, the people

were not allowed studying in this period. Some people from Bhramin community used to take formal education in India. The people from other communities did not have such access before 2007 BS in Nepal. The Tamang dominant societies like Bosan were completely deprived of taking formal education in Nepal during Rana regime. However, the level of education is increasing at present in urban area in Nepal. According to the national census report, 2011 male literacy rate is 75.1% compared to female literacy rate of 57.4%. The highest literacy rate is reported in Kathmandu district (86.3 %) and lowest in Rautahat (41.7%).

It was found that the formal education system began from 2018 BS with the establishment of a primary school in Bosan. Before the establishment of the school, the students used to go to Kathmandu valley to take formal education. However, there were only three or four schools at that time in Kathmandu valley. Some senior citizens shared only the children from Brahmin or Chhetry used to go for studying at that time because majority of Tamang thought that taking education was only for the Brahmin or Chhetry's children. Some children of Tamang were sent to Gumba to take Lama Bidhya which makes Lama for doing different Tamangs rituals especially birth and death rituals. There is a Gumba near the village in Bosan in which some children are studying Lama Bidhya to be priests. The table 4 shows the educational status of people based on sex in Bosan.

Table 4: Educational Status of People Based on Sex

Educational Status	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
Illiterate	5	2.3	30	14	35	16.4
Literate	49	22.9	32	15	81	37.9
Primary	21	9.8	10	4.7	31	14.5
Lower Secondary	8	3.7	9	4.2	17	7.9
Secondary	6	2.8	9	4.2	15	7
+2	14	6.5	10	4.7	24	11.2
Bachelor's Degree	8	3.7	2	0.9	10	4.7
Masters' Degree	0	0	1	0.5	1	0.4
Total	111	51.9	103	48.1	214	100

Source: Household Survey, 2015

The male literacy rate is higher than the female in Bosan. The data shows that the male literacy rate is 51.9 whereas female literacy rate is 48.1 percent. In comparison to the national literacy status the number of female literate population is praiseworthy in Bosan. Although 37.9 percent people are literate only one person (0.5 percent of total population) has the qualification of Master's degree in Bosan. Some women shared that they learnt to read and write in their homes

by taking classes of non-formal education. According to them, they could not take higher education because of the poor economic status.

The data presented in the table 4 indicates that although that the numbers of girls in the lower secondary level is higher than the male the ratio is gradually decreased in the secondary level which clearly shows the boys and girl dropout the school particularly at the age of 14-16. A key informant shared that the family members used to get marriage of their daughter in early age and they did not get chance for studying. According to her, the girls were denied to send schools from every household in the past because the family members believed that if girls learnt to read and write misfortune would occur in the family. However, some women learnt to read and write through different non-formal classes conducted by government of Nepal in the village.

Some key informants said that taking education means earning money in future. Now, the youths easily earn money from foreign employment and they dropout the school without completing education. I asked some children about their aim in future they replied that they would go abroad and earn money in future. It is seen that the value of education is decreasing in Bosan.

4.6 Major Occupation

Marx states that the economic system of the particular society is considered one of the foundations of the society in which the cultural practices, education system and other parts of the society develop on the basis of such foundation. The occupation of the particular society indicates the economic activity of that society. However, the occupation and economic activity of any society is not static. They are changing day by day with the changing structure and culture of society. Nepal is an agriculture based country and majority of population depends on the agriculture. However, there are multiple sources of income generation in a single household. Due to the fall of the productive land and lack of effective irrigation system the number of population depend on the agriculture is also decreasing day by day in Bosan.

Most of the people in Bosan say that agriculture is their main occupation and they are farmers. However, the production of the farm is not enough to survive for all family members. The family is running through the earning sent by the foreign employers of the household. Multiple occupations such as agriculture, business, government and private services, foreign employment,

carpenter, driver etc are reported as occupation in Bosan. The table 5 presents the division of occupation of people based on sex in Bosan.

Table 5: Major Occupation of People based on Sex

Main Occupation	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agriculture	22	10.5	39	18.7	61	29.3
Business	9	4.3	6	2.9	15	7.2
Services	12	5.7	4	2	16	7.7
Foreign Employment	9	4.3	0	0	9	4.3
Carpenter	8	3.6	2	1.0	10	4.7
Driver	3	1.4	0	0	3	1.3
Others	46	21.6	54	24	100	45.7
Total	109	51.4	105	48.6	214	100

Source: Household Survey, 2015

The table shows that the highest number of population involves in agriculture. Although the people have no enough land for production they are compelled to depend on the agricultural sector. During the field visit it was stated that the people who depend on agricultural sector are elderly persons or females. Majority of the population is earning money by selling different agricultural productions. According to the key informants, the money earned from agricultural activities is spending for buying daily consuming goods and money brought from foreign employment is investing for the children's health and education. The maximum number of

population is student in Bosan and most of them completely depend on their parents or other family members for surviving.

4.7 Land Holding Size

Nepal is an agriculture based country. 62² percent of population depends on the agriculture in Nepal. However, due to the lack of effective irrigation system and government's effective plan in agriculture sector the scope of unproductive land is growing in Nepal. In Nepal, the number of female headed households is lower than the number of male headed households. According to the national census report (2011) female-headed households in the country have increased by about 11 point percent from 14.87% in 2001 to 25.73%. The report shows that the productive land is decreasing in Nepal.

As stated above agriculture is also the main source of income in Bosan as well. However, most of the people shared that the agricultural production is only used for consumption. When the respondents were asked about the status of productive land they shared that some households left to harvest anything because of hte lack of manpower in the village. In the same way, the people are leaving to plant the traditional crops and corns such as paddy maize and millet because such production did not collect the expenses spent during harvesting time. The table 6 shows the total land ownership of the people based on sex.

² Domestic Household Survey, 2012

Table 6: Land Holding Size based on Sex

Land Ownership	Household Head				Total	
	Male		Female		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
Below 1 Ropani	10	20	4	8		28
1-5 Ropani	17	34	6	12		46
6-10 Ropani	6	12	3	6		18
Above 10 Ropani	2	4	0	0	2	4
Landless	1	2	1	2	2	4
Total	36	72	14	28		100

Source: Household Survey, 2015

The above table clearly shows that only 28 percent households are female-headed and they have access to the land and its production in Bosan. The majority of households (46 percent) have 1-5 Ropani land of their own. Out of them, only 12 percent of households are headed by female. Two percent of households headed by male have more than 10 Ropani lands. The number is similar to the landless population. Out of two landless households in Bosan, one is headed by male and another is by female.

It was found that the people plant seasonal vegetables, paddy and other crops in their land. The production of the vegetable is the main source of income in Bosan. The people sell vegetable in Kathmandu valley and purchase daily consuming goods such as rice, oil, meat and other items. As only women are living in the village they feel comfortable to plant vegetable in the farms rather than planting seeds of corns in Bosan. Besides agriculture, the foreign employment is another source of income in Bosan. Although most of the informants were females in Bosan the land belongs to the family members were registered in the name of their husband or father-in-law. Only 28.6 percent of females have their access of land in Bosan which clearly shows the stratification between males and females in land ownership in Bosan.

CHAPTER V

PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION ON BOKSHI PRACTICE

The people's perception on different supernatural practices varies from one society to another. They are shaped by what the people learn from their culture and the process of socialization in the society. What people see, learn and do depends on the way they are socialized and their internalization of social norms. In this chapter, I have mentioned how people perceive that there is the existence of Bokshi in the society and which factor affect to perceive such beliefs in their daily lives. Major agencies of treatment in Bosan, role of Dhami for convincing people about the existence of Bokshi in the society are some major sub-titles of this chapter. In a nutshell, this chapter focuses on the answers of the questions: Is there similar perception on Boskhi practice between male and female? Does the educational background affect the perception of people on Bokshi practice? etc.

5.1 Myths on Bokshi Practice

The superstition practices and belief accepted in one time is passed down from one generation to another. Such belief and practice became myths since time immemorial. It is especially difficult to remove this superstition as it has been accepted by the people for generations and is passed down from generation to generation even today (Paudel, 2014). When the respondents were asked on how they heard about Bokshi practice in the society they said that their ancestors shared them various myths about the Bokshi practices in their childhood. However, none of them is aware about the reality of the myths. The people especially senior citizens of Bosan believe that the myths were the real stories in the past but there is not any documentation in the village because their ancestors did not know to read and write and no one kept them as the written form in Bosan. Some myths shared by the key informants are given below.

5.1.1 Parbati is a Creator of Bokshi

Bokshi practice is in existence from God's period. Mahadev and Parbati both used to play magical power. However, Mahadev learnt to rescue people from difficult situation and Parbati learnt to suffer people. Parbati learnt mantra of Bokshi from self because she was the wife of

Mahadev because Mahadev had magical power and her wife also received some magic from the god in god's period. Mahadev had one powerful mantra which he had not shared with Parbati and therefore, she could not win her husband in magical practice. Those who went to learn such magic with Parbati became Bokshi and those who went to see Mahadev about magical practice became Dhami. Dhami are the Chela (students) of Mahadev and Bokshi are the Chela (students) of Parbati.

5.1.2 Rana Ruler Dismissed Laws of Bokshi

Once a Rana king became sick. He called a Dhami for treatment in his palace to find out the causes of diseases. When the king asked about the causes of diseases Dhami said that he was suffered from his wife i.e. Rani (queen) who was Bokshi and suffered him by playing evil power. Dhami said that if he tried to cure of this disease by mantra his wife could be disabled. After that, Rana ruler dismissed prevailing laws of Bokshi to protect his prestige from possible danger. Otherwise, Dhami made the queen disable through mantra.

5.1.3 Bokshi Dance was Popular in the Past

There was a popular dance in the village which was called Bokshi dance. Nobody was used to allow seeing such dance except Bokshi. The Bokshi used to gather in a secrete place and dance during night. If other people used to visit the area they were suffered from different diseases. Even the family members did not know where their members had gone during night because they Bokshi made them in deep sleep by using mantra. They used to dance in Aunshi and Purnima upto seven nights every year.

(Based on the Information of Key Informants)

Such myths are common and are told in every household in Bosan. When I asked some children about the reality of myths they shared they saw same type (who were told in myths) of activities in dream. Therefore, it is very difficult to disbelief the myths which they heard in their childhood. The myths shared by the senior citizens gradually expand in all households and they are taken for granted by people in the village. These myths transferred from one generation to

another and the youths and children also get fear with Bokshi and hesitate to say there is not Bokshi.

5.2 Belief on Bokshi Practice Based on Gender

It was observed that almost all people in Bosan believe that there is Bokshi in the village. However, some of them feel uneasy to say about the existence of Bokshi due to their educational status and the fear of national laws. The people have the perception that Bokshi generally walk during night with taking candle in their hands. They take candle to protect their lives from evil. The people believe that if Bokshi are attacked by evil while worshipping god their evil does not work effectively. A key informant said:

One midnight I saw many naked Bokshi in the village. Everyone had a candle and they were praying their god by carrying candle. I hid near the place and watched the scene. They reached near Pipal's tree and moved by reciting mantra. When it was 12.00 am, they stopped moving around the Pipal and made a circle. There was an old naked woman around seven or eight young ladies. The old woman was teaching Bokshi Bidhya to the young girls.

It was found that the people have the perception that the senior women secretly teach Bokshi Bidhya to junior. According to some respondents, if they teach such Bidhya publicly the villagers would kill or expel the women from village. However, no respondents in Bosan said that they knew Bokshi Bidhya. The table 8 presents the people's belief on Bokshi practice based on sex in Bosan.

Table 7: People's Belief on Bokshi Practice based on Sex

Sex	Have you seen Bokshi?			Total
	Yes	No	Cannot Say	
Male	16	15	4	35
Female	0	11	4	15
Total	16	26	8	50

Source: Household Survey, 2015

Table 8 shows that no women said they have seen Bokshi in their village and four were unable to say about this. The number of male who claim that they have seen Bokshi in the village is higher than the female. It was found that the women feel hesitation to say about the existence of Bokshi in Bosan. As most of Bokshi accusations are made against women the women stood against this practice to protect themselves from such accusations in Bosan. When I asked a young woman in the village, she said that generally people accused women for practicing witchcraft in the village but they have not seen real Bokshi in Bosan. Some key informants said that they do not want to disclose about this. It seemed to say that they had seen Bokshi in the village but did not want to share about this due to the lack of security for them. It shows that the belief of Bokshi practice is deeply rooted in Bosan. People get afraid with the punishment of government of Nepal to share publicly.

5.3 Level of Education and People's Perception on Bokshi Practice

Educational status signifies the current development of particular society. The level of education also determines the people's perception and development of different practices in the society. Most of the people in the village believe that there is Bokshi in the society and they hurt people anytime. During the informal talk, some graduate students asked that if there are not Bokshi in the village why people go to Dhami? And why do not they hate Dhami like Bokshi? Based on their information we can say that the Dhami and Bokshi can be thought interchangeably and they both come together in the society. The presence of Dhami means the presence of Bokshi in the society. However, the former is well known and everybody says about their existence in the society the latter is treated as an enemy.

When the students were asked by showing the questionnaire they hesitated to say about the existence of Bokshi in the village. According to them, when they think school's education and learning they feel hesitation to say there is Bokshi in the society when they remember the stories and myths of Bokshi shared by their parents and grandparents they cannot say there is not Bokshi in the society. The parents, grandparents and other ancestors are more responsible to put the information of Bokshi practice in their mind in every household. Their parents and grandparents did not only share different stories on Bokshi practice but also taught how to treat Dhami and how to treat Bokshi in different occasions. The youths also shared they learnt about Bokshi when

they heard the conversation of some people in the public places. It was found that the children fear with the fizz of the leaves in the trees by taking this as the spit of Bokshi.

During the interview, the students or youths shared that they are always in confusion on what is right and what is wrong. In their childhood they were taught that Bokshi can suffer people and they can be found in all societies whereas in their school live they learnt that there is not Bokshi in the societies. When asked about the existence of Bokshi in the society, no persons of having higher education (Bachelor and Masters) say that they have seen Bokshi in the society. However, four percent of them who have +2 level qualifications say that they believe in Bokshi practice and they can say that Bokshi can be found in the society. They claim this based on the statement shared by their parents. Their parents also used to bring them to Dhami for treatment in their childhood and they were cured by Dhami. It was observed that the persons who have the qualification of higher education are in confusion about the existence and non-existence of Bokshi in Bosan.

Hence, it was found that the education of schools cannot eliminate the people's perception from their mind as it is rooted in their mind since their childhood. It was also seen that even the youths who have higher education feel uncomfortable to say there is not Bokshi in Bosan.

5.4 Health Seeking Practices

There are various health seeking practices in Bosan. The people go to Dhami to find out causes of any kinds of diseases at first. The children are also brought to Dhami for treatment. If Dhami says the children or other people suffer from 'Lago' and they can only be treated through Tantra and mantra their parents do not admit them in hospital. According to the respondents, some Dhami sometimes refers to doctors if the patients do not suffer from Lago and they admit to hospitals for treatment as per the direction of Dhami. Nowadays, according to some key informants, the trend of curing patients by doctors is increasing the village as compared to the previous years because many people left Dhami Bidhya and the number of Dhami is also decreasing. Some people directly go to doctors without consulting with Dhami. However, the number of such individuals is very low in Bosan. Some people first go to hospitals for treatment. If the people who directly go to hospitals do not get speed recovery they come back to village and consult with Dhami. Some people also go to Dhami because of their low financial status.

According to the respondents, the fees of doctors are higher than the amount taken by Dhami. Dhami don't have any rate of fees in the village. If the patients do not give any fees they do not ask money from the patients. But it is difficult to get treatment without paying fees in hospitals.

Generally, some people especially senior citizens go to hospital when their sons or daughters persuade them to go to the hospitals. However, they do not believe the modern treatment practices of hospital. A key informant said that he went to Patan hospital for treatment after his sons persuaded him to go the hospital for curing diarrhea. He was prescribed medicines and asked to take saline but he refused to take it because, according him, the injection kills patients if the patients are attacked by Bokshi. He said, *"I came back to home and went to Dhami, he gave me Achheta. After three days of consuming Achheta I completely fit. Our ancestors also used to go to Dhami because there were no doctors in their period. Now, the youths go to doctors and they don't believe Dhami/Jhankri but I believe"*. The table 9 presents the major agencies of treatment and number of respondents.

Table 8: Major agencies of treatment and number of respondents

S.N	Major Agencies for Treatment	No of Respondents	Percentage
1	Dhami	21	42
2	Doctors	10	20
3	First Dhami and Doctors	11	22
4	Baidhya/Ayurveda	7	14
5	Own Home	1	2
Total		50	100

Source: Household Survey, 2015

It was found that the people do not follow that the number of people who directly go to consult to doctors for treatment is lower than the number of people who go to other places. Some respondents said that they have not consumed any allopathic medicines yet. They believe that the allopathic medicines hurt people and those who suffered from Bokshi are never cured by doctors. It was also found that some people consumed local medicines (Jadibuti) in their own home.

It was found that the senior citizens do not consume allopathic medicines in Bosan. They said that they go to Dhami to eliminate evil eye of Bokshi because they learnt the same thing from

their ancestors. Their ancestors also used to cure their diseases by consuming local medicines (Jadibuti). Most of the patients in Bosan call Dhami for the treatment of their children. When the children grow up they do same what their parents had done before for their treatment so that only some people directly go to doctors when they become sick.

5.5 Persuasive Roles of Dhami to Believe on Bokshi Practice

Based on the information shared by the respondents one can say that the role of Dhami is motivating people to believe in Bokshi practice in Bosan. Out of 50 respondents, 27 said that their family members call Dhami in their homes and 17 of them said that they go to Dhami by taking patients to Dhami when the family members become sick. Dhami use Dhyangro to eliminate the power of the mantra of Bokshi and sometimes provide Jadibuti to cure the patients. They can cure Lago and also identify Bokshi. The local Jatibuti helps to get treatment for patients and the people believe the treatment practice of Dhami.

According to the respondents, the number of Dhami was higher than Bokshi in Bosan in past whereas the number is decreasing at present because after the death of Dhami their sons or grandsons gave up same occupation followed by their ancestors because they go outside for foreign employment or study purpose. Therefore, the number of people having various diseases is increasing in the village. It was found that people believe without the presence of Dhami in the village Bokshi get environment to grow up in Bosan because only the minimum number of Dhami cannot control Bokshi in Bosan.

The respondents shared that the diseases which were spread by Bokshi are different from other diseases. According to them, most of the symptoms of the diseases which were spread by Bokshi are vomiting, and weakness. It is believed that Bokshi can also change their physical appearance. Sometimes they can be cat, snake and other animal and can walk during midnight. Most of the people believe that the Bokshi can also suffer animals. Only Dhami, according to them, find out such physical appearance and the symptoms of diseases.

A 76-year-old senior citizen of the village said, *"Once there was a cow in my home. The cow used to give us milk. One day, a woman came our home and saw the cow. I was boiling milk. I did not give milk to the woman. On the following day, the cow did not give us milk. I knew that*

the woman was Bokshi. Bokshi can suffer both people and animals when they don't get what they expected. I called a Dhami for Phukphak and he cured cow by using his mantra. After that the cow gave milk. I have never used allopathic medicine while I become sick. There is a Dhami in another village I often go there for treatment."

Most of the people believe that the power of Bokshi can only be eliminated by Dhami. Majority of the respondents (77 percent) replied that Bokshi directly cannot kill patients. They suffer people for long time and make them weaker and weaker. Generally, Dhami carries Khukuri to protect himself from the attack of Bokshi because he has the perception that Bokshi feels fear from sharp weapons and their mantra does not function effectively due to the fear. Symbolically, the Khukuri shows that Dhami means brave person who has supernatural power and can kill even the evil power including the power of Bokshi.

Some key informants said that sometimes Dhami can also be sick but they do not cure themselves. They often go to see senior Dhami or their guru for treatment. If a Dhami does not cure a patient, he refers the patients to senior Dhami who plays strong evil eye than others. Some respondents said that just as it's difficult to see the dust of own eyes by a person himself Dhami can't cure his own disease.

When Dhami cures patients through local Jadibuti the local medicines help the patients to cure their diseases. Gradually, belief of Dhami increases in the village as they need not go to other places for treatment. The roles of Dhami also persuade people to believe in Bokshi practice. Only few Dhami refers to the patients to doctors. Most of them check the patients by taking Achheta in a plate and he blames a person (without reciting his/her name) as the Bokshi. He also orders the patients to feed Achheta and some patients psychologically become fit after consuming rice. Gradually, the patients of parents are motivated by the roles of Dhami to go to Dhami for treatment.

5.6 Bokshi: Unrecognized Evil Power

As the Dhami continues to hold positions of power within the community, women accused of witchcraft are severely stigmatized and suffer from both physical and mental torture. The common forms of victimizations used all are deliberate, planned and involve extreme methods to

inflict the most suffering on the victim (WHRIN, 2014). People believe that Bokshi can also play evil power but their intention is to suffer the people. However, no respondents shared the names of Bokshi and they did not show the houses of Bokshi in Bosan.

When I asked them what they do when Bokshi come their houses the respondents said that they hid food and other consuming goods to protect from the evil eye of Bokshi. The father or mother instructs their children to not eat food served by some particular women in the village and they do the same in the village. Gradually, the kids do not go to the houses of such persons and do not eat anything served by them.

Based on the information provided by the villagers there is one thing is similar between Dhami and Bokshi. That is both have evil power and they get this evil power from their parents or ancestors. Although both Bidhya can be learnt from same techniques it is believed that their evil power is different from one another. Bokshi symbolizes the dreadful, bad and negative character of the society. Stephen (1987) also characterizes Bokshi as socially unimportant persons who harbor totally destructive powers and carry blame for misfortune and death. Some people said that some Dhami have also both evil power i.e. power of Dhami and power of Bokshi. However, most of them play for positive purposes. According to some key informants, when a Dhami is not satisfied he can play the power of Bokshi to retaliate from the households when he did not get satisfaction. However, they do not think that the patients need doctor for treatment because Dhami does not send them to hospital. A respondent in the village shared, *"once my nephew became ill and Dhami sacrificed a goat to treat him but he died after Pooja (after sacrificing the animals) another Dhami found out that he died because the Dhami could not satisfy Bokshi"*. The term Bokshi signifies socially unaccepted evil power in the society.

Generally, the people who do not get support from society are blamed as Bokshi in the society. When Dhami accuse an individual as a Bokshi the the villagers do not want to support his/her in any kind of difficulties he/she face.

It was found that Bokshi means the people who suffer others. There is dilemma among people whether Bokshi is a symbol to denote enemy or it's really a character. Some respondents said that Dhami also knows who Bokshi is in the village but he does not disclose others. When I secretly asked a Dhami to show the houses of Bokshi he denied for doing so. During the observation, it

was known that most of the accusations of Bokshi were made to innocent, powerless and single women and Dhami instructs secretly to the names of the persons who are socially and economically weak in the society. However, it was also observed that Dhami just accuses people as Bokshi to get their support and recognition from people in the society.

CHAPTER VI

FUNCTION OF BOKSHI PRACTICE IN SOCIETY

Bokshi practice has both social and individual function in the society. This practice is maintaining discipline in the society and people get fear with evil eye which restricts people to enter in the certain evil areas made by people. Through the perception of different social practices in the society the social order is maintaining in the society. The worshipping tradition of people in their day to day live, celebration of different ceremonies in the name of supernatural power have functional meanings in the society. The people are giving a power to a person who is supposed to be brave and save people in any kinds of difficult situation in the society in order to survive all people in the society. Hence, this chapter describes about functional roles associated with Bokshi practice.

6.1 Protection of Local Resources in Society

People believe that Bokshi is supposed to have some kind of evil eyes and they tend to give trouble to the people. It is believed that evil eye is responsible for people's illness which makes people weak and every human being is suffered by the supernatural power of Bokshi in the society. Of the 50 interviewed people in Bosan, 39 replied that generally people feel sick due to the attack of Bokshi in the village and they are cured by Dhami or Jadibuti.

It is believed that Bokshi practice can be defined as an evil eye and is transferred from generation to generation. People have some treatment practices to cure the diseases which they call Lago. While I reached at respondents' homes I saw a small bundle of chilly and over the doors of every household and when they were asked about the meaning of the bundle they said that the bundle was covered with some chilies and lemons with old clothes and is kept to protect from evil eyes. It is believed that Bokshi cannot directly enter in the household when they see the bundle over the doors. The respondents replied that when people put such thing in their houses they feel safe and the things eliminate their fears.

Some people shared that they put some sharp weapons below their pillows during night. As they shared the Bokshi cannot enter into their homes due to the fear of the weapons and the people do not suffer from Aithan. It is believed that the weapons especially made from irons can save people from evil eyes. During the interview a 74 year old woman shared that before two years a Bokshi daily used to come to her bed at night and she was suffered from Aithan. When she got up early in the morning she felt weak in the morning and there were some different blueprints around her body. She believed that her blood was taken by Bokshi who used to come during night. According to her, when she started putting a sharp weapon under the pillow she is not suffering from such attack. They also worship the sharp weapons because the weapons protect them from dangers. Through this belief, the people are preserving the local resources in Bosan.

6.2 Maintaining Social Order

People in Bosan perform different Poojas in several occasions. They believe that different evils including Bokshi promise their god to give crops and other resources in different occasions. Dhama orders the villagers to provide animal's blood to make Bokshi happy. He also instructs the people to provide animals' blood to the god of Bokshi. They also separate some portion of milk for evil when their cows or buffalos bear a young one. During such Poojas and other occasions Dhama is called to perform all the processes of Pooja because it is believed that only Dhama can give satisfaction to Bokshi. If Bokshi are not satisfied they attack to household's members. As Talcott parsons focuses on the role of shared values in maintaining social order in the society the Poojas celebrated by people in Bosan contribute for solidarity among the people in Bosan. In the name of this practice, the people gather in the public places and offered some portion of food for the name of god and they distribute each other.

The people also give some portion of crops or other products to nature during different ceremonies such as marriage ceremony, birthday ceremony, Dashain, Tihar and other festivals. Some people shared that they give some portion of their cooked rice or other varieties to gods including the god of Bokshi when they cook in these ceremonies. The people believe that the god of Bokshi becomes happy when they get blood of the animals so that they sacrifice animals to make them happy in different occasions. Why people are doing these activities in the society is to protect themselves from fear of evil power in the society. The sacrifice behavior and

worshipping is also developing consumption habit of people. During the crops plantation and collection season people are exhausted and they need diet and, therefore, people are getting such things from sacrificed animals' meat.

Bokshi practice can have both functional and conflicting roles in the society. This practice is also maintaining discipline and order among people. When children denied eating something their mothers show fear of Bokshi and the children eat food due to the fear. Thus, the perception of Bokshi is developed from childhood.

In the same way, even elder people return home on time from outside due to the fear of Bokshi. On one hand, such type of evil power is maintaining disciplines in the society, on the other; people gradually perceive that there is evil power in the society and such power can hurt people or make them happy. Due to the fear, people are maintaining discipline in the society and functionally, such practice is maintaining social order among people.

This is also common that surrounding of a village is classified as human area and evil area. It is perceived that if an individual enters to evil area he/she will suffer by something immediately. Hence, when I observed the areas near by the village, there were lots of grasses and the respondents shared that the animals graze during festival seasons as most of the people in the village are busy in the celebration of the festivals. It was found that the restricted areas become good pasture lands for animals during ceremonies. As such, people gather in the public place and celebrate festivals by playing cards or doing other activities.

6.3 Dhami: Given Power to Some Individuals for Healing

The belief in Bokshi practice in the area is propagated by one of the most powerful people in the community called Dhami. It is also called witchdoctor by the villagers. The people believe that Dhami can cure patients by providing medicinal treatment and by removing Lago of the patients. Dhami is the primary identifier of Bokshi. Dhami carries out his/her work publicly and openly. It is believed that Dhami's work is purely beneficial to society and they are, therefore, highly respected in the society. Dhami are consulted to cure different kinds of diseases in the society.

Puja Roy presents three case studies which demonstrate that whilst "communities profoundly believe in evil spirit these beliefs and fears are usually exploited by a few community members

who have ulterior motives in suggesting that a woman is a witch", including maintaining economic or social subjugation or seizing property. According to Roy, Dhami (she called witchdoctor) is revered by society, so that this word is seen as the ultimate truth and warns that his hold over a village is something that development workers must consider seriously in terms of its detrimental effect of their programmes.

Dhamsi is the main identifier of Bokshi in the society. Out of the total incidents of Bokshi practice, Dhamsi is responsible for 56% of incidents in Nepal in 2015 (WOREC, 2015). The respondents in the study area also said that Dhamsi is the main person to identify Bokshi and he has also evil power. It is believed that he shows his evil power for the positive purposes. Some people blindly accept the statement of Dhamsi in Boshan. How people believe Dhamsi can be said by taking the following example. A young boy in the study area shared that if a Dhamsi orders not to provide water to the person who is suffering from diarrhea many people do not give water for the patients. But the interesting thing is though the patient died of excessive dehydration people think that he/she died due to the attack of Bokshi because Dhamsi had already identified it. They believe that Dhamsi does not provide harmful advice to the patients because he is the protector. It is believed that Dhamsi play roles for positive purposes and Bokshi play roles for negative purposes.

Though the Dhamsi does not provide ample evidences against Bokshi, people become so blind and believe to Dhamsi that they cannot think other options besides giving torture to these blamed Bokshi (Sharma, 2009). When I asked the people to show me the houses of the Dhamsi in the village everybody showed me his house but when I asked them if they could show the houses of Bokshi nobody spoke about this. The people believed that there are Bokshi in the village but they are restricted to speak about her due to the legal provisions of Nepal. Some villagers or close friends talk about Bokshi secretly. Dhamsi can walk in the village without any restriction and nobody hide anything in their houses when they see Dhamsi. One respondent of the area said, "*Bokshi wants to kill people and Dhamsi wants to protect them.*" In this sense, Dhamsi signifies the socially accepted evil power in the society and the whole society gives social recognition for the roles of Dhamsi. He is socially created character and the society gives him power to maintain discipline in the society.

6.5 Dhami Collects Resources for Consumption

Both social and individual functions are associated Bokshi practice. Socially, this practice is maintaining discipline in the society whereas the family members of Dhami are collecting resources through this practice in the village. INSEC,(2014) states that those who do not have enough land, whose husband or wife died, who are helpless, who are not cared by their sons or daughters and who are easy to put in domination are blamed as Bokshi by Dhami. Dhami is free to accuse any person for practicing Bokshi Bidhya because he is socially recognized person in the society. *"Generally Dhami blames Bokshi to those who do not have more resources and do not have their husbands or wives. If a man or woman does not have other family members to defense on the accusations made by society he/she is blamed as Bokshi as a Bokshi."* WOREC, 2013 shows that out of 76 accused women for practicing Bokshi in Nepal, 53 of them were widow and helples who were blamed by Dhami first and whole villagers accused them of being Bokshi.

It was found that although Dhami does not have any rate of fees he/she gets some money, rice and other consuming goods from the patients' households. According to a Dhami, no one sends him empty hands when he goes to treat the patients in the village. He can also get some portion of meat of sacrificed animals from the patients' households.

As Dhami does not have other occupations he/she also needs to survive. It was found that if the villagers do not give anything to Dhami for his/her treatment he surely gives up going to the patients' homes for treatment. A respondent (who is a teacher) and is also known as Dhami in the village said that he is called Dhami by the villagers but he does not perform Dhami Bidhya because he does not need to collect resources for surviving. He can sustain through his occupation i.e. teacher. He said, *"I do not need to hold Dhami occupation (he said occupation). May other poor people get something from patients to survive."* In the same way, people believe that if Dhami is not satisfied it is very difficult to cure the patients in village. Therefore, they give money, rice meat and other consuming goods to Dhami. A Dhami in the village said that the consuming goods got from a patient's household can contribute to survive at least four members of his household for one day.

When I asked a Dhami in the village he said that some diseases cannot be cured without sacrificing animals because Bokshi had promised to give blood to their gods and they expect human blood to make their satisfied. According to him, Dhami convince Bokshi to be satisfied

with animal's blood during the treatment process and he cuts animals when Bokshi agrees to get animal's blood. The blood which Bokshi got from patients will be sent to the god of Bokshi through worshipping process and the patients are cured by Dhami. If they don't give blood in the name of god the patients will be killed by Bokshi. It was observed that some portion of meat and the head of the animals (which were cut) are taken by Dhami to their homes. Dhami shared that the collected materials such as rice and other consuming goods cannot be eaten or taken by the patient family members and relatives. If they eat them they will suffer from other diseases. However, the interesting thing is they are allowed to eat meat by sitting outside of the home. When I observed the processes of Pooja performed by Dhami he took the head of a goat and asked the patient's family members to eat meat. I saw the amount of meat was higher than rice and vegetables and the family members of Dhami cannot eat all. Hence, Dhami continues blaming people because he does not want to give up his occupation which helps him and his family members for survive.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

1. The majority of the respondents believe that Bokshi practice exists in their society. It was known that out of the total respondents interviewed, 64 percent respondents are still going to Dhami for treatment, and therefore, they give first priority to Dhami than other agencies for treatment. Some Dhami treat patients by providing local medicines in lower cost so that the villagers prefer them for cost effectiveness. However, out of 50 households' members only 16 respondents replied that they have seen Bokshi in the village but they did not mention their names. According to them, Bokshi is a person who does not comb hair, performs opposite roles than other people, and wants to live in the secret places or inside his/her homes. Based on the gender's perspective, it was found that majority (0% out of 25 women) of Bosan replied that they have not seen Bokshi in the society but they believe that there is Bokshi in the society. It was found that they said so because most of the Bokshi accusations were made against women in the society and women themselves get afraid whether they are blamed by the people in Bosan.
2. Another interesting part of the study is majority of people said that Bokshi Bidhya can be transferred from senior to junior. A total of 34 percent people in Bosan shared that mother-in-law or mother teaches this Bidhya to their daughters-in-law or daughters. People believe that the pattern of learning of Bokshi Bidhya and Dhami Bidhya is same but they easily accept the presence of former and do not accept the presence of latter in the society.
3. Both conflicting and functional roles are associated with Bokshi practice. On the one hand, Dhami who identified Bokshi collects daily consuming goods from the patients' family members or relatives and on the other hand, this practice is helping to maintain discipline in the society. However, through the means of discipline the small kids perceive that there is Bokshi in the society that sucks human blood and it always wants to kill people. The perception of Bokshi develops through the myths shared by the senior citizens to junior. When the myths are told to the children they gradually get shape in the future and expand to the whole society. People blindly support the statements of their ancestors on the existence of Bokshi in the society although nobody finds evidence on their existence in the society.

4. The fear of the existence of Bokshi makes only a small portion of people disciplined. However, the accused suffer from unnecessary tortures and mistreatments in the society. Although some people said that they do not believe on Bokshi practice they also do give first priority to Dhama for treatment which shows that the people's perception on Bokshi practice is rooted since their childhood. Even young people who have higher education do not directly want to go to doctors for treatment because they are in dilemma to say there is not Bokshi in the society. It is because some myths shared by the elder persons are reflected in dreams during night and other persons get fear with the evil eyes.
5. The Bokshi practice is not only analyzed based on the single sociological perspective. Symbolically, Dhama and Bokshi are two characters in the society but the former is referred as brave and positive whereas latter is referred as the enemy and negative. Dhama character gains power through social recognition whereas Bokshi character does not gain power because whole society blames them as an enemy. When people in the society think Dhama as a powerful person Dhama himself feels that he is superior than other people and he is free to blame innocent persons as Bokshi.
6. Based on the information collected from the respondents, one can say that both Dhama and Bokshi are made by society. If the society does not give a person to a social recognition no one is accused of practicing Bokshi Bidhya. The people blame Bokshi to those women who do not have resources, do not have their strong supporters and do not have power to defend against these accusations.
7. It was observed that the society blames Bokshi to the persons who have lower social status. If a person becomes educated and gets job the society cannot blame his/her Bokshi and gradually the society cannot blame her family members as Bokshi because of their independency. Same thing is also applied to the male. It was found the accusation for being Bokshi in the society relates the the process of social disintegration. When the people are excluded in their roles which they had done before they feel uneasy to go the public places and confine to own households. Gradually, they perform opposite roles

(such as deny combing hair, deny wearing clean clothes and so on) and people blame them as Bokshi and they are deprived of getting social integration in the society.

Recommendations

As there are several limitations of this study the following recommendations are given to the future researchers who want to conduct research on the same topic. These recommendations are given as follows:

- I. This study just gives a brief overview of the Bokshi practice that takes place in urban area. However, only this study is not enough to know about the dimensions that are associated with this practice. Therefore, an extensive study should be done to find out the multidimensional aspects of Bokshi practice in Nepal.
- II. This study has tried to analyze the perception of the people of Bosan on Bokshi practice. The perception differs from people to people and society and society, and, therefore, another research should be conducted to know the perception of different people of different places.
- III. Only the 50 interviewers and 50 households cannot cover whole information of Kathmandu valley so that the study area and respondents should be exceeded to conduct the same type of research in future.
- IV. This study is just for the fulfillment of Master's level dissertation writing of sociology of Tribhuvan University. I have only centered upon the format and information for master's level dissertation writing of the central department of sociology. The researchers will find many things associated on this practice in future so that extensive study should be conducted.

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ANNEXES

Annex-1

Questionnaire for Household Survey

Namaskar

My name is Binod Gautam. I am a Masters' level student of Sociology in Tribhuvan University Kirtipur, Kathmandu. The students of Masters' level have to prepare a report of dissertation to complete their final examination. For that, I am conducting a research on the perception of people on Bokshi practice in this village. I will ask some questions to you. Your answers will help me to complete my final examination. The following questions are only for the completion of my dissertation. I will keep your personal details in secret and will only publish the findings of your answers. I am sure that you will help me by providing necessary information.

1. Family Background

Name and Family name	Relationship with household head	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Occupation		Educational Status a. Illiterate b. Literate c. Primary d. Secondary e. Secondary f. +2 g. Bachelor h. Masters i. Above Masters j. Irrelevant
					Primary	Secondary	

2. Information about land

Landless		
Till One Ropani		
From 1.1 to 5 Ropani		
5 To 10 Ropani		
Above 10 Ropani		

3. Livestock

Cow				
Ox				
buffalo				
Goat and Sheep				
Others				

4. Production (in Muri)

Paddy		
Maize		

Millet		
Vegetable		

5. Annual Expenses

Below 50,000		
From 100000-150,0000		
From 150,000-20,0000		
Above 20,0000		

Annex-2

Questions asked for the interviewees

1. Do you believe in Bokshi Practice?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Cannot say
2. Who does find out Bokshi?
 - a. Dhami
 - b. Neighbor
 - c. Family member
 - d. Self
 - e. Others
 - f. Cannot say
3. How does Bokshi Bidhya learn?
 - a. From Guru
 - b. Self
 - c. From Mother/Mother-in-Law
 - d. From Family Members
 - e. Others
 - f. Cannot say
4. Have you seen Bokshi?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Cannot say
5. Who can be Bokshi?
 - a. Rich
 - b. Poor
 - c. Both
 - d. Cannot say
6. Who is Bokshi ?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
7. Is there any difference between Dhami and Bokshi?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Cannot say

If yes, what is the difference between them?

 - b. Can all people become Bokshi?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Cannot say
8. What do you mean by Bokshi?
9. How does Bokshi look like?
10. What do you do if Bokshi comes to your house?

Annex- 3

Questions asked for Key Informants (Dhami only)

1. The villagers are called Dhami to you. What do you say?
2. How did you know Dhami Bidhya?
3. It is said that there are many types of Dhami. What are they?
4. What type of Dhami are you?
5. What are the main difficulties to use Dhami Bidhya in this society?
6. Does Bokshi have their Bidhya like Dhami?
7. If yes, how do you control that Bidhya?
8. How do you treat the patients who suffer from Bokshi?
9. Have you seen Bokshi till now? If yes, what are the grounds of indicating Bokshi?
10. Why all people cannot be Dhami or Bokshi?
11. Is there any difference between Dhami Bidhya and Bokshi Bidhya?
12. What types of people (poor, rich, residents of urban areas or rural areas) come for treatment with you?
13. How do you treat them?
14. Do Bokshi come to treat with you?
15. Is there any different method for treatment for Bokshi than other general people?
16. In your opinion, why do people learn Bokshi Bidhya?
17. Is there any danger for you after finding out Bokshi in the village?
18. Where did you learn Dhami Bidhya?
19. Can Bokshi attack Dhami?
20. Where do you go when you feel sick?

Other Key Informants

1. What do you mean by Bokshi?
2. How do they play evil eye in the society?
3. What is your perception towards Bokshi?
4. Is there any evidence on Bokshi practice?
5. Do you believe there is Bokshi in the society? How?
6. How did you know about the Bokshi practice?
7. How do Bokshi look like?
8. Where do the people go for treatment if they are sick?

9. Can Dhama cure the patients? If yes, how?
10. Is there any difference between Dhama and Bokshi?
11. Who is Bokshi in the society? (Male, female, rich, poor or others?)
12. How does Bokshi Bidhya learn?
13. Why does a person want to be Bokshi?
14. What is the difference between Dhama Bidhya and Bokhi Bidhya?
15. How do the people find out Bokshi?

Annex-4

General Information of Key Informants

SN	Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Sex	Expertise
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1	Sante Tamang	83	Male	Senior Citizen and well known by all villagers
2	Mangali Kami	79	Female	Senior citizen from Kami caste and ethnic group
3	Kashi Tamang	80	Male	Senior Citizen and former politicians of the village
4	Kumari Tamang	81	Female	Senior citizen from Tamang caste and ethnic group
5	Hasta Tamang	77	Male	Senior Citizen of and former Lama (priest of Tamang) in Bosan
6	Bakhim Tamang	76	Male	Dhami in the village
7	Kanchha Tamang	77	Male	Dhami in the village
8	Basanta Tamang	47	Male	Dhami in the village (also primary level teacher)