

AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF USE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN COMMITTING WITCH HUNTING OFFENCE AGAINST WOMEN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NANDURBAR CITY OF MAHARASHTRA

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DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.11102489](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11102489)

Abstract

Since time immemorial women are victim of gender violence. Witch Hunting is one of them. Witch is a term for person mostly women who is believed to have control over life of others using magical powers. Believing that this person may create havoc in society she is murdered/raped etc. These offences, committed under garb of superstition are witch hunting. 7 states in India have enacted law on witch hunting and including Prevention of Witch Hunting Bill, 2016. However, there are many disparities in provisions. Example: one state treats rape as witch hunting while other state excludes rape and tries offence under IPC, punishments are also different in different states etc. Moreover, because of stringent provisions of Indian Evidence Act and witch hunting being an offence based on belief it is very difficult to prove offence thus, acquitting the accused. Hon'ble judiciary has now and then raised concerned about ineffectiveness of these Legislations. When we come to Maharashtra, state has its own legislation 'Maharashtra Andhashradha Nirmulan Act'. However, this Act does not punish wrongdoer. It only punishes one who is practicing witchcraft. It has no provision when we come to science and technology. Other reasons for its failure to address menace of witch hunting are lacunas present in definition, punishment and scope of the Act etc. Researcher in present paper by using doctrinal and empirical method (by interviewing 80 Advocates, 20 academicians, 55 police officials and 2 judges) aims to analyze provisions of Witch Hunting committed by misuse of science and technology and provide legal solution to curb the existing issue as she believes that persisting problem of witch hunting is directly related to the legal framework in Maharashtra.

Keywords: Legal Framework, Maharashtra, Nandurbar, State Legislation, Witchcraft, Witch Hunting.

INTRODUCTION

Women being vulnerable section of society are victims of catena of offences. Witch hunting is one of them. Witch means any person who is believed to have magical powers. It is believed that the said person by using magical powers can harm the society and is responsible for the natural calamities. In such belief people commit offences against the said person like murder, stoning, rape etc. This act is known as Witch Hunting. With the advent of science and technology these cases are also committed with the help of science and technology. Posters labelling women as witch are circulated, liked and shared.

This concept has its origin in Europe and has now rooted in different parts of world including India. As per NCRB¹ reports this menace of Witch Hunting is practiced in 12 states in India and Maharashtra is one amongst them. Despite of state legislation in Maharashtra the number is on the verge of increase.

Hon'ble Supreme Court has shown concern regarding increase in number of offences against witches. The Hon'ble Supreme court has stated inadequacy of legislative provisions as the reason of such increase in offences against Witches². Hon'ble Supreme Court in Gaurav Jain v/s State of Bihar³ has laid down guidelines for central

legislation preventing witch hunting cases in India. Accordingly, a private bill was introduced in Lok Sabha in 2016 titled Prevention of Offences against Witch Hunting Bill, 2016. However, the bill was not passed and therefore, it lapsed. Thereafter, no attempt was made to bring a central legislation on preventing offences against witch hunting. No central legislation is enacted till date. The offences were treated under Indian Penal code till 7 states namely Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Odisha, Maharashtra, Assam and Madhya Pradesh enacted the specific legislation on Witch Hunting. In other states the offence is still tried under Indian Penal Code and Constitution of India. Despite of 7 states enacting specific legislation on witch hunting, the number of cases of witch hunting is still on the verge of increase as per NCRB records. Chhattisgarh state has highest number of witch hunting cases in India. Maharashtra is also a state wherein cases of witch hunting are recorded in three districts.

When we come to Legal position in Maharashtra, the state has its own legislation 'Maharashtra Andhashradha Nirmulan Act'. However, this Act does not punish the wrongdoer. It only punishes the one who is practicing witchcraft. The other reasons for its failure to address the menace of witch hunting are lacunas present in definition as the definition does not include all forms of witch hunting, punishment (meagre punishment i.e. fine upto 500 and imprisonment upto 6 months) and scope of the Act as the Act does not include all forms of witch hunting and it only punishes the person who is practicing witch craft etc. In addition to traditional offences against witches, with the advent of science and technology, people in society are also committing offences using science and technology. For example- they are circulating photos of woman whom they claim to be witch, they are asking other people to not come in her contact on whatsapp/facebook, they are making her dirty videos viral etc. However, even these offences are not dealt by any legislation in Maharashtra or any central legislation.

Therefore, researcher in the present paper by using partial doctrinal and partial empirical research method aims to analyze the provisions of Maharashtra Andhashradha Nirmulan Act with specific reference to offences committed with the use of science and technology and provide a legal solution to curb the existing issue as she believes that the persisting problem of witch hunting is directly related to the legal framework in Maharashtra. She has chosen Nandurbar city for data collection wherein she has collected data by interviewing 80 Advocates, 20 academicians, 55 police officials and 2 judges. Nandurbar city is the city in Maharashtra wherein highest number of cases relating to witch hunting are recorded and therefore, researcher has chosen Nandurbar city. Maharashtra state is divided in 4 regions namely – Marathwada, Vidarbha, North Maharashtra and Khandesh wherein Nandurbar city comes in Vidarbha region of Maharashtra.

Objectives

1. To understand origin of extend of witch-hunting in Maharashtra
2. To understand existing legal framework in Maharashtra dealing with Witch Hunting.
3. To come up with a law solution curbing existing unjust and inconsistent provisions in Legal Framework in Maharashtra.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Catena of literature was studied by researcher for understanding research done on witch hunting. Amongst them few are mentioned below. Amongst primary sources International Conventions, National and State laws, judicial pronouncements, and amongst secondary sources books, journals, magazines, research papers, newspaper clippings, youtube channels, websites were referred. One author⁴ traces origin of witch hunting way back in sixtieth century and lays down causes and legislative measures and compares same with witch hunting in modern times. In this literature one gets overview of past, present. It traces the origin and gives more stress on origin of the Witch hunting including the causes and impacts on society. It also lays down legal measures which were taken in ancient times which were connected to causes of the witch hunting. It defines the concept of witch, witchcraft and with hunting. Another literature⁵ discusses fundamental rights violation and witch Hunting at par. While discussing so the author advocates that witch hunting is grave violation of Article 14 and 21. She connects the witch hunting with the violations of human rights and fundamental rights. She also discusses different cases to justify her claim.

Judgments of Apex court were also referred by researcher. Suprme court and various High courts of different states have different vies on Witch hunting cases. Some are of view that special laws are necessary for curbing this menace. Supreme court of India had highlighted importance of special cell for witch hunting⁶, conviction under Indian Penal Code was upheld⁷, witch hunting is grave violation of Human Rights⁸ and there is a need for uniform legislation⁹. Newspaper articles also shed light on the districts affected in Maharashtra with the menace of Witch Hunting. Nandurbar, Nagpur and Amravati are the cities wherein witch hunting cases are reported as per the newspaper articles. Researcher came to know that Nandurbar is the most affected area and highest number of cases are found in Nandurbar district of Maharashtra¹⁰. There is no as such data available to justify these cases. But on the basis of newspaper blogs the Researcher came to know that Nandurbar is the highest recorded case city. Therefore, researcher has choosen Nandurbar city for data collection. Books, Articles and judgements dealt with extent, origin and Legislations of Witch Hunting. However, some of areas are not covered and some literature are of partial nature. They are not complete in nature. For eg: no one analysed the situation of witch hunting in specially Maharashtra, separation of punishment, provisions for rehabilitation etc.

METHOD

The researcher has used doctrinal and empirical research method. Doctrinal Method is used for studying legal framework. This research is analytical, explanatory and comparative in nature. Primary material would include Acts, declarations, judgements etc and secondary material would include books, articles, newspapers etc.

Empirical method is also used by the researcher. Researcher has collected data from 80 Advocates, 55 police officials and 20 academicians who are handling these cases from Nandurbar District of Maharashtra. This district was chosen by the researcher as Nandurbar district has recorded highest number of witch hunting cases in Maharashtra. The samples are chosen by using stratified random sampling. The information is collected by giving google forms. The sample size is advocates -100, journalists – 25 and police officials 25.

Conceptual Analysis

Witch means a person who is believed to have magical powers. According to provisions witch means person indicated by any person or persons that he will harm or possesses power to harm or thereby he intends to harm any other person or persons or society or animal or living things by black magic, evil eye or by any other means, whether known as Dayan, Tonaha or by any other names¹¹. Witch means 'a woman who is believed to have magical powers and who uses them to harm or help other people¹².' Under superstitious belief that these women may prove to be threat to society they are being murdered, raped, stoned, nude paraded, their face is blackened etc¹³. A witch-hunt is an attempt to find and punish a particular group of people who are being blamed for something, often simply because of their opinions and not because they have actually done anything wrong¹⁴.

Witchcraft traditionally means the use of magic or supernatural powers to harm others^{15,16}. It means the exercise or invocation of alleged supernatural powers to control people or events, practices typically involving sorcery or magic¹⁷. This concept of witch hunting has its origin in Europe in early fifteenth century. It slowly expanded its roots in America. Till 17th century Americans were executed under the garb of witch hunting. After America various other countries including India were affected with this menace. When we come to India exact date of the offence is not known. However, first incidence of Witch Hunting was reported in Morigaon district of Assam which is known as The Indian capital of black magic. Since then this concept is practiced in different states of India.

Witch Hunting In Maharashtra

Maharashtra is the second most Populus state in India. It is situated in western peninsular region of India occupying a substantial portion of the Deccan Plateau¹⁸. There are 36 Districts in Maharashtra and out of those 36 districts, cases of witch hunting are reported in tribal areas like Nandurbar, Gadchiroli etc. 3 women were murdered for practicing witchcraft in Maharashtra in 2020¹⁹. Other offences like nude parade, stoning etc are not reported in NCRB and therefore the data is not available. Amongst these, highest number of cases in Maharashtra are reported in Nandurbar and therefore researcher has chosen Nandurbar district for data collection. To curb these menace centre as well as Maharashtra state has enacted a special legislation as follows –

Central Laws –

1. Constitution of India
2. Indian Penal Code
3. Prevention of Witch Hunting Bill, 2016

State Laws –

1. Maharashtra Prevention and Eradication of Human Sacrifice and other Inhuman, Evil and Aghori Practices and Black Magic Act, 2013

The State of Maharashtra is the first in India to pass a comprehensive legislation for protecting people from being exploited in the name of superstition. This legislation was drafted originally in 2003 by Narendra Dabholkar, the founder of Maharashtra Anhashraddha Nirmoolan Samiti (MANS). It was only after Dabholkar's murder in

2013, that the government came under pressure from different quarters for passing the legislation. The act criminalises practices related to black magic, human sacrifices, use of magic remedies to cure ailments and other such acts which exploit people's superstitions. It consists of 13 Sections. This Act aims, "to bring social awakening and awareness in the society and to create a healthy and safe social environment, with a view to protect the common people in the society, against the evil and sinister practices thriving on ignorance, and to combat and eradicate human sacrifice and other inhuman, evil, sinister and aghori practices propagated in the name of so called supernatural or magical powers or evil spirits, commonly known as black magic by common with sinister motive of exploiting the common people in the society". The Act encompasses the commission of twelve different superstitious acts, under the category of inhuman, evil and aghori practices. The Act prescribes a jail term of not less than three months which may extend up to seven years and a fine in the range of five thousand to fifty thousand rupees . Every offence under this Act had been made cognizable and non-bailable.

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This study is based on the witch hunting cases of Maharashtra state with specific reference to Nandurbar city. The researcher used convenience and snow ball sampling method for the study. The researcher prepared structured questionnaires for data collection for this study. Primary data were collected through the questionnaire directly from the respondents and the secondary data were collected from government records, books, journals and the Internet. Table 1 shows that amongst 80 interviews 40 were taken of female advocates and 40 male advocates. Amongst 80, only 20 advocates have contested the matters relating to Maharashtra Prevention and Eradication of Human Sacrifice and other Inhuman, Evil and Aghori Practices and Black Magic Act, 2013.

Table 1: Demographic Profile

OPTIONS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1. Male	40	50
2. Female	40	50
3. Others	00	00
Place of Work		
1. High Court	4	2
2. District Court	36	38

Table 2: Cases contested

Advocates	Male	Female
Contested cases	6	14
Not contested	14	6
	20	20

Table 3 states the number of cases reported under which laws. It states that maximum number of cases are reported under Indian Penal Code.

Table 3: Cases reported under which Act

Kinds of cases	No.
Indian Penal Code	15
Maharashtra Prevention and Eradication of Human Sacrifice and other Inhuman, Evil and Aghori Practices and Black Magic Act, 2013	2
Prevention of Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace Act	1
Information Technology Act	1
Other	1

Table 4 shows the challenges faced by the advocates while trying the matters relating to witch hunting. Maximum number of advocates faced problem in collecting evidence as the offence is based on belief. 12 advocates also faced problem for proving the offence.

Table 4: Challenges faced while contesting the offence

Kinds of cases	No.
Collecting evidence	13
Proving the offence	12
Procedural clutches	11
Non-cooperation from witnesses and victim	9
Framing of issues	2

Table 5 shows the data collected from the academicians. Researcher had interviewed 20 academicians from law colleges wherein reasons were asked to academicians for labelling the women as witch. Following is the data collected from them. Changes to be made in the present legal framework were also discussed by the researcher.

Table 5: Data collected from academicians

Data	No. of academicians answered
<i>Reasons for labelling her as witch</i>	
a. Magical Powers	12
b. Someone is ill in the vicinity	11
c. Some calamity has occurred	8
d. Grab her property	3
e. She/he says that she can control the lives of others	4
f. She/he has cured an ill person	7
g. Other	

Table 5: Data collected from Police officials

Data	No. of Police officers answered
<i>Trained to deal with the cases</i>	
a. yes	19
b. No	36
<i>Report under which law</i>	
a. IPC	50
b. IT Act	2
c. Maharashtra Prevention and Eradication of Human Sacrifice and other Inhuman, Evil and Aghori Practices and Black Magic Act, 2013	3
<i>Problems in data collection</i>	
a. Non-cooperation from victims	45
b. Stigma	40
c. Not well trained	36
d. No problem	14
e. Media interference	46
f. Others	8

The unstructured questions included the suggestions for improvement of legal framework, Importance of legal framework, examples of previous bad experiences, other challenges in dealing with the cases of witch hunting.

• **Meager Punishment:**

The punishment provided by the state enactments is meager. The punishments provided include fine of 10/- upto 50/- and imprisonment up to 7 yrs. However, the

offence committed is of serious nature. The offenses include nude parade, sexual exploitation, rape etc.

As the punishments provided for such heinous acts are meager people have no fear while committing such acts.

- **Difficult to prove the offence:**

As seen in various cases referred above the accused is acquitted only on the ground of lack of evidence to prove the offense. Many a times it happens that because of fear of a particular community no one is ready to depose against the accused. Moreover, as witchcraft is related to a particular superstition it becomes very difficult to prove the offence.

In case of witch hunting, it is a crime which is socially manifested hence out of either fear or acceptance of the practice people remain silent, which becomes huddle in collecting evidences. Hence due to lack of evidence proper justice is not achieved. Apart from it generally it is seen that the person who commits witch hunting are influential people and due to the fear and threat of those people no speaks against them. As in a case of Tula Devi & Ors. v. State of Jharkhand , a case of brought in Jharkhand High Court were the court dismissed the case on the basis that the victim has failed to prove that the accused her of being witch and harmed her and there was lack of eyewitness.

Another reason behind lack of evidence is delay in reporting the incident. Due to the geographical reason and societal pressure very few incidents are reported and that too after a long gap, hence it makes the witness testimony unreliable, which was a ground for not convicting the accused.

- **Absence of uniform legislation:**

As we all know various states have enacted various legislations for preventing witch hunting in that particular state. The provisions relating to punishments, procedure of handling cases etc differs state to state. One state has provision for rehabilitation of victim, other does not have.

One state has provided protection to victim and witnesses, other does not provide. And there are many provisions which are not uniform in nature.

Many states have not yet enacted laws on witch hunting. And the victims have to approach the Hon'ble court under IPC. However, many a times it happens that IPC does not cover the offence committed by accused. And hence, the victim remains remediless.

This failure to establish a specific law relating to witch-hunting violates several core rights provided by different international treaties and conventions, which includes the right to non-discrimination, the right to security, the right to life, right to access national tribunals and the most important right to live a decent life free from cruel and inhuman treatment.

- **Poor implementation of prevalent laws:**

As mentioned above few states still does not have a separate law to tackle with the societal wrong of witch-hunting, though the rate of witch-hunting is high there. And the states which have enacted laws and not effective as it lacks legal backing due to lack

of national legislation. The ineffectiveness of states legislation is witnessed through the increasing incidents of witch-hunting after its implementation over states.

- **Conspiracy – part not covered by legislation:**

In majority cases it has been witnessed that there is a third party involvement in branding witches, which initiated the hunts in order to confiscate property, mainly of the victim. Jealousy and family rivalry are also seen in these cases. These cases are not at all involved in any of the legislation of any state.

However, it is seen in many cases that under the garb of witch craft they commit violence and grab the property of the victim women. But such cases are not covered by any law.

- **Social Aspect:**

Apart from legal framework some changes in society are also needed. There are many parts in society which needs work and they are:

- **Lack of education:**

Illiteracy is one of the most effective dynamic pressures, which may have different root causes and potential to generate many unsafe conditions. Such unsafe conditions combined with some external threats mainly superstitions, which causes different problems to the rural community especially tea tribes and tribal community in which the practice of witch hunt is prevalent. Illiteracy also halts the overall progress of the community.

- **Health care deficits:**

In many states proper health care facilities are not available and hence people who are not literate go to Ojhas as they feel that by mantras the people having ill health will recover. Which finally leads to witch hunting.

- **Poverty:**

Poverty and violence go hand in hand. The main reason behind such evil is poverty. Many a times property of the victim is main reason for resorting to witch hunting.

- **Superstition Of Villagers:**

In rural areas the number of people believing superstition is high. They believe that woman is able to learn the evil mantra for becoming witch. They also believe that these wwomen can learn good mantra as well. And the present law is inefficient to eradicate such superstition as people have faith in superstition and not in law.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

It is a fact that witch hunting is prevalent in different parts of India and the number of cases of witch hunting are increasing day by day. Wherein not only women are targeted but men also fall prey to the violence of witch hunt. Thus, the overall objective of this research project is to explore the different cases of witch hunting and to provide a legal solution to curb this menace of witch hunting so that human rights violations of these victims can be avoided. To that end, this paper offers a stylized framework for thinking through the underlying drivers incidences of witchcraft and witch hunting in Maharashtra with specific reference to Nandurbar city, focuses on present legal framework, and discusses broad strategies for eradicating the menace. In an effort to

provide guidance to policymakers and other agents of change addressing the representation challenge, the researcher concludes by highlighting some suggestions that would guide future reform efforts –

- **Need to redefine witch hunting:**

The present definition of witch hunting includes only murders which are committed under the garb of witch hunting. However, there are many other offences such as rape, nude parade etc which shall be included in the definition of witch hunting.

- **Uniform Legislation:**

There is a need of providing or enacting special legislations at central level providing uniform punishment, uniform procedure for tackling the menace. This legislation as will be applicable to whole India, the victims of the state where there is no legislation curbing witch hunting will also have remedy in the said legislation enacted by central government.

- **Relaxation of stringent provisions relating to evidence:**

The inconsistency brought in by the decision in *Tulsa Devi vs. State of Jharkhand*, with regard to the burden of proof needs to be reversed. The case which laid down that the victim must prove that the accused identified her as witch frustrates the purpose of the Act, as identification is done extremely surreptitiously, and weak women victims can hardly prove the accusation in the court of law.

- **Category to be included in NCRB Reports:**

NCRB Reports only give the statistics of murder committed of women. However, there is not statistics available of other offences. NCRB shall also category wise report other offences under the garb of witch hunting.

- **Specific provision dealing with the property of the victim:**

As discussed earlier in recent times the main reason of witch hunt is property. There shall be specific provision dealing with the same. The Act may incorporate the clause that in the case of witch killing, the property will not go to the nearest male agnate but will be taken over by the State.

Footnotes:

- 1) National Crime Records Bureau, '*Crime in India 2019*' (NCRB Vol I, 2019)
- 2) *Tula Devi V State of Jharkhand*, 2006 (3) JCR 222 Jhr.
- 3) *Gaurav Jain v/s State of Bihar*, 1991 Supp (2) SCC 133
- 4) Dr Darren Oldridge, *The Witchcraft Reader* (Norway: Routledge Publication, 2008), 65-68
- 5) Ibid
- 6) *Gaurav Jain v/s State of Bihar*, 1991 Supp (2) SCC 133
- 7) *Tula Devi V State of Jharkhand*, 2006 (3) JCR 222 Jhr.
- 8) *Bhim Turi v/s State of Assam*, 2017 SCC OnLine Gau 813, decided on 27.10.2017
- 9) *Jitu Murmu vs State Of Odisha*, BLAPL No.3707 OF 2020, decided on August 10, 2020
- 10) Shweta Sengar, "Woman Labelled A Witch, Stripped & Paraded Naked By Locals In Maharashtra", *India Today*, *Nandurbar Edi*, April 18, 2022 <https://www.indiatimes.com/news/india/witch-hunting-in-india-maharashtra-woman-labelled-a-witch-stripped-paraded-naked-by-locals-567228.html>

- 11) Section 2 (1) of The Chhattisgarh Tonahi Pratadna Nivaran Act, 2005
- 12) Cambridge Dictionary, last modified April 17, 2023,
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/witch>
- 13) Archana Mishra, *Casting evil of an Eye: Witch Hunting in Tribal India*, (Newyork: Rolibooks Publication, 2003)
- 14) Ibid
- 15) Ibid
- 16) Ibid
- 17) Ibid
- 18) NCRB report 2020.

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- 4) *Emperor v/s Shankaraya Gurushiddya Hiremath*, [1940] AIR(Bombay) 365
- 5) *Gaurav Jain v. State of Bihar [1991] Supp(2) SCC 133*
- 6) *JituMurumu @ Sukul Murmu & Anr. v. State of Odisha [2020] BLAPL No.3707 OF 2020*, Orissa High Court at Cuttack
- 7) *Madhu Munda and Ors. v. State of Bihar [2003] (3) JCR 156 Jhr*
- 8) *Mrs. Sashiprava Bindhani v/s State Of Orissa And Others [2012] WP of 6287 of 2012*, Orissa High Court : Cuttack, decided on 25 April, 2012
- 9) *Smt. Moyna Murmu v/s State of West Bengal [2016] SCC OnLine Cal 4272*.
- 10) *Tula Devi and Ors. v. State of Jharkhand [2006] (3) JCR 222 Jhr*.
- 11) *Unknown v/s Kali Singh And Others [2016] Death Reference No.7 of 2016*, Calcutta High Court, Judgment delivered on October 4, 2018
- 12) *Unknown v/s State Of West Bengal And Others [2015] WP NO.27093 OF 2015*, Calcutta High Court, decided on August 2, 2016

1.1. Laws/Conventions/Rules

1.1.1. International Conventions

- 1) The Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) 1984
- 2) The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1979
- 3) The Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment 1975
- 4) The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) 1966
- 5) The International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) 1966
- 6) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948
- 7) United Nations Declaration on Rights of Indigenous People 2007

1.1.2. National Legislations

- 1) The Constitution Of India, 1950
- 2) The Drugs and Magic Remedies (Objectionable Advertisements) Act, 1954
- 3) The Indian Penal Code, 1860
- 4) The Prevention of Witch-Hunting Bill, 2016
- 5) The Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993
- 6) The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1998

1.1.3. State Legislations

- 1) The Assam Witch-Hunting (Prohibition, Prevention and Protection) Act, 2015
- 2) The Chattisgarh Tonahi Pratadna Nivaran Act, 2005
- 3) The Karnataka Prevention of Superstitious Practices Bill, 2013
- 4) The Karnataka Prevention and Eradication of Evil and Inhuman Practices Bill, 2014
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- 6) The Maharashtra Prevention and Eradication of Human Sacrifice and other Inhuman, Evil and Aghori Practices and Black Magic Act, 2013
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- 9) The Prevention of Witch-Hunting Practices Act, 2001
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- 11) The Rajasthan Women (Prevention & Protection from Atrocities) Bill, 2011

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