

Healing Practice among the Mankirdia Tribe of Odisha

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Abstract:

Traditional Medicine play a significant role in the health care needs of tribal people. Traditional healers are integral resources for health care needs of the Mankirdia tribe of Odisha. Mankirdia tribe is one of the Particular Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG), known for its rich traditional knowledge. They use their own traditional healing sources to address different diseases; and transform that generic sources to their future generation. Mankirdia tribe have large quantum of indigenous knowledge resources from diverse fields. And their understanding towards health and healing possesses an alternative world view, which is quite different from the general perception. For instance the role of emotional condition holds much more importance for Mankirdia people than a physiological pain; and their cultural foundation inclines them to keep faith on socio-cultural realities, which is based on socio-religious, supernatural and material, immaterial objects. All these domains of knowledge have their own justification for well-being of the Mankirdia people. There are three dominant types of healers actively working in the Mankirdia community. The most respected healers among the Mankirdia are (*Ojha*) herbalist, religious healer (*Dirhi*) and the spiritual healer *Mati* or shaman. It was observed that herbalist healers and spiritual healers have good social recognition and trust among the community members. All of these have their own domain of practices but are not strictly compartmentalised among them. There are many situations they have to handle with each other's coordination, so their customary knowledge is interchangeable according to the need and demands of the diseases person. It is an ethnographic study, the fieldworker collected the lived experience of Mankirdia people in general and healers community in special. It concluded that Mankirdia tribes have strong faith on socio-religious, supernatural realm and extensively used various herbal, medicine for preventing, curative and rehabilitative purposes. And also use the modern health care practice in different health issues. Although they have faith on their own system of medicine; furthermore they use the alternative system of medicine as per the desire and demand. It shows the Mankirdia's rationality over choices they have made for treatment. The important cause of their use of traditional medicine is affordability, accessibility and availability of the medicine men near to them. And their strong socio-cultural belief system over indigenous medical approach.

Key words: - Traditional Medicine, Indigenous knowledge.

Introduction

Health is universal concern and interest of human being. All human societies develop their own understanding of health and illness (Clement; Martin, 1992). Interpretation of health and illness by and largely is a culturally informed process, one in which the patient, healer and the whole community of others construct and apply locally apposite disease theories to explanation for the misfortune at hand (Banerjee, 2003). So this is very important for the members of a community to maintain their health and to restore the ill health persons. Health is not only the outcome of interaction between hereditary factors but it is bio-cultural evolution as well adoption by the society and population.

It is said that health is wealth. Taking care of health is an indispensable feature for each and every individual in the society. Maintenance of good health is a pivotal part in the individual's life. The health is a part of multipolar realm of the society. It is contrasting to the disease at the other pole. The concepts of health include a complete well being of a person. That includes not only physiological well being but also emotional and social factors as well. In this respect it counters the monocausal dominances of physiological description of health. It is said that health is wealth. Taking care of health is an essential one.

The concept of health and disease though biological one are often culturally comprehended because these have been connected with various socio-cultural circumstances and habit patterns. The behavior and belief system of the people relating to the state of health or disease are pivotal to the practice of medicine. Any information, or beliefs, attitudes and customary action of a group centering on health and disease is crucial to the management of health problems. The entire way of a community including social and economic factors determine the size, nature and distribution of health problems. The cultural response of the community to the health problems is determined by the way individual members perceive different ways of dealing with health problems. This is a complex whole which includes cultural perception and meaning of health problem and health behaviour of the individual in the context of available and accessible resources is termed as health culture.

World Health Organisation defined Health as state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely absence of disease or infirmity. All societies have disease theory systems to identify, classify and explain the illness (Foster & Anderson, 1978). And the disease

theory or understanding of the community often culturally objective to define the whether or not there is a case of illness or individual is healthy.

In case of tribal people is concerned, they are isolated and independent. Hence they have their own unique medical system. The social structure of tribal community has its own structural and ethnic specificity. And the disease that inflict upon the tribal people are likewise to the attribute of their social structure. Tribal people orientation towards disease classification also comes through their cultural system. It is well observed that ideas of health, disease and medicine are very closely related each other and linked to the area of social relationship and the magico-religious realm. Most of the diseases among the tribal people are caused due to natural, spiritual and personified reason, it is the predominant connection among the tribes, for example physical and emotional disorder and even death of a person also supposed to be the cause of spirits and ghost. Tribal people don't see health as a isolated phenomena but as part of their magico-religious existence, that govern by social, ethical and cosmic equilibrium.

Beside the magico-religious knowledge, tribal people possess a rich pharmacology ideas, which they use for different disease preventive purposes. Sometimes they mix all together to cure a patient. Hence the theory of disease have two fold meaning one is supernatural and another is empirical knowledge. Therefore they follow various types medicines such as herbalist, home-made supernatural and sometimes surgical. There are some daily life practices of the community also keeps them to healthy. In otherwards we can say it is a normative code of the society, for instance ideas of hot and cold, separate house for delivery patient with strict observance of purification and hiding their bodily waste or dispose in isolated place, which makes sense of hygien among the community.

Mankirdia Tribe

Mankirdias are one of the smallest Particular Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) mainly found in Mayurbhanj district of Odisha. The Mankirdia is an aboriginal and nomadic tribe. Mankirdias are a hunting and food gathering semi-nomadic tribe. They live in a small band and move in the jungle to catch of wild animals in general. Monkey flesh in particular is their delicacy. They also, collect wild roots, shoots, tubers, fruits and leaves as raw material of their diet. They craft transitory settlement made up of small branches and bushes and make a structure on the outskirts of jungle adjoining to market centre called Kumbha. Everyday catch and collections are sold in the market and exchanged for other food items. As the wild

animals decrease in the jungle they move to another nearby jungle. Apart from hunting and gathering, Mankidias are good in rope making from the natural “Siali” fibre. These ropes are of high demand among the agricultural communities of nearby areas. They trap and eat monkeys and thus called as *mankirdia*. They are of *kolarian* by origin, mainly resides in the districts of *mayurbhanj*, *Balesore*, *Kendujhar*, *Jajpur*, *Deogarh* and *Sambalpur* of the *odisha*. But they are predominately seen in *mayurbhanj* district, speaks *mundari* language. Besides they celebrate number of religious ceremonies such as *Hera*, *Chaita parab*, *Magha*, *Sarhul*, *Egava* and *Sorai* and *dussera* etc. They settle between forest and market, continuously change their living place, that is called *tanda* (temporary house). They select the new *Tanda* or place considering the priorities of forest, local market, water sources and above all the most important to availability of *Siali* fibers, *jutes* and *monkey*. And live in leaf huts which is called as *Kumbha*, (House), which is a cone shaped. They also make leaf houses for their ancestral deity and dormitory. And these houses possess a barely minimum household assets like earthen, aluminium utensils, bead ornaments and coarse clothes and few silver ornaments. Further these they also keep bamboo basket, axe, knife, bow and arrow, monkey catching nets and date palm mats.

It was observed from field *mankirdia* tribe follow monogamy and practicing the bride price is still exist among their society. Along with they also practice *levirate* and *sororate* type marriage. *Mayurbhanj* district is situated in the northern part of the *odisha*. the whole region is known for its thick forest and mountainous. The location of *mankirdia* occupies the inaccessible and inhospitable terrain.

Methodology

The present research is an ethnographic study among the *Mankirdia* tribe of *Odisha*, a Particular Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG). The researcher has spent more than a year in the daily life of the said tribe; on the basis of lived experience of *Mankirdia* and their healing practices. All these world view of the *Mankirdia* tribe on health and healing approach is gathered by intensive field work method. The major methods used in this research i.e. oral history, informal interviews, case studies etc.

Diseases among the Mankirdia

The environment and habitation poses a severe challenge to the *mankirdia* and also influence their health. The common diseases are; skin disease, cold and cough (*Suluch*) fever

(Rua), itches and scabies (Babati), ulcer on head (Boho Ghao), warm (Rali), colic pain (lahi hasu), toocheach (Daten-hasu), ear-ach (luter hasoengana), throat pain (Nati Hasoengana), chest pain (Kunduda) wrist pain (Danda Hasu), head-ache (Boho-Asun), arthrititis (Tuku) and night blindness) malaria, ulcer etc. The staple diet of the people is rice and eat monkey flesh, which sometimes creates stomach related problem. Beside they also face severe malnutrition, vitamin deficiency diseases, which are common among the Mankirdia. It was observed from field work that some women are suffering from tuberculosis TB; except these there other diseases like Eye infection, dysentery, anaemia. for which they take medicine from traditional medicine men. The role of ecological significance in determining the choices over medical approach, remain crucial for any tribe. In case of Mankirdia tribe is concerned, their way of life has been influenced by forest. They have great expectation and faith on their environment. The health of an individual depends on genetic and ecological factors. It requires unrelenting change to the milieu as living organisms are dependent upon the environment (Shau, 1995). The place of habitation of Mankirdia community influences their health. It was evident that Mankirdia people directly depends on forest resources for their survival and livelihood; their relation with forest has irreversible and obligatory forces, which moulds the socio-cultural, ecological and economical arena of the community. Therefore the concept of health understanding among the Mankirdia not seen as isolated phenomena but integrated one.

They are nomadic, and travelled all round the hill areas of the district and also neighbouring states like Bihar, Jharkhand for collecting their livelihood. As they are known as nomadic tribe, they have no permanent location for habitation, they change Tanda (temporary house) in a frequent manner in order to get the required amount of facilities like market, water resources, accessibility of Sial fiber for rope making purposes and monkey for hunting.

Supernatural Diseases Causation and Treatment

The Mankirdia believes that due to presence of supernatural factors, they are affected by various diseases. Supernatural diseases have two ways of intrusion: one is directly from supernatural forces, sometimes disease caused through the human being who acquires supernatural power. Therefore the first one is called religious one and the second one is magical one. The seeking of the causes of diseases is an universal character and the Mankirdia believes in supernatural cause of illness and firmly believe on supernatural cause of illness and disease; sickness and disease are supposed to be the punishment inflicted by deity. It is seen as

result of unhappiness of deity, which brings evil consequence. Mankirdia have strong faith in disease caused by spirits and natural forces etc. In order to please them, they offer various kind of sacrifices and offerings in different time.

Religious Factors Causing Disease

Mankirdia are very much conscious of their religion and have highest reverence to their supreme god *Sing Bongais* the creator and protector of the life-cycle. It was old saying among the Mankirdia people that if there was any kind of dissatisfaction in *Sing Bonga* or any other deities, they will express it through various diseases like fever, chicken-pox and ulcer etc. So, such diseases are believed to be caused by god and goddess.

One of the old Mankirdia name *Brahma* told me during field work that, their god and goddesses dissatisfy with Mankirdia for variety of reasons, the most important one is illicit sexual relationship with a married woman, covert inter-tribe and caste marriage such activities are considered as sinful. Because of this reason, the god may cause several type of suffering including the physical pain of the body. Besides, there are other diseases which are supposed to be occurred because of the dissatisfaction of the god. These are *Kustha* and *Asair* (machi-putak). It was their belief that any kind of irregularities or breach of taboo are generally caused incurable disease, which stigmatise the suffering patients in their community. Mankirdia believe in spirits whom they ask to please by offerings and fowl sacrifices, they are known as *Buru-Bonga* (highest revered ancestral spirit among the Mankirdia).

Ala-Bonga

Mankirdia suffers not only by one god's anger but other god, if other deities are not properly satisfied when they are not propitiated. *Ala-bonga* is household god for each Mankirdia family and give protection to their family. Any kind of disrespect and ill-treatment is expressed through the disease like jaundice, chickenpox and menstrual issue among the women folk of the community. It was believed among the Mankirdia people that no treatment could succeed in above said diseases. On the contrary any kind of drug administration on patient may be harmful. The only option is worship, through which patient can be cured. And the satisfaction of god cures the patient as believed by Mankirdias. The degree of suffering of the patient depends how much the individual had made the mistake as said by the Mankirdia.

Shaman or Mati

The shaman or Mati is needed by the mankindias when disease are belived to have been caused through the use of supernatural power. The cure of the disease due to spirit,intrusion, sorcery, evil-eye are made by mati, his position is not heridiatry. He is belived to have a direct connction with the supernatural power. In fact his role is multiferous. He can even detect when evil deities enter in the body. And save the deities colony when evil-spirit harm them. Futher also save individual who suffers from evil-eye or spirit intrusion. He examine the patient through the use of stick methd and prepare for a ceremony to cure the patient. He lives with the mankindia man and is also respected by them. And helps mankindia people intime of need.

The Priests or Dirhi

Apart from the medicineman, mankindia also need priest or Dirhi in order to over-come certain disease. He is belived to be a piousman. And this man is apparently sober God fearing and a humble man. He is selected not by the people but by their god. His position is hereditary. He is the second specialist.Dirhi or priest is needed by the mankindias when the disease are said to have been caused due to dissatisfaction of God and deities. when the patient suffer for a long time and do not recover even after talking herbal medicine. Dirhi is called to diagnosis the disease. It is a believe among the mankindia people that,he knows different mantars for different types deities;and use the Oil-Water method to examine the patient. He can know the cause affliction and which deitye has dissatisfied with that patient. According to that he prepares for a worship for the recovery of the patient. In fact, Dirhi is only associated with religious factor and cure the patient through worshiping God. He has a special status among mankindias.And is invited in all important matter in the community. His decision is respected by the mankindia.

Ojha

The medicine man is popularly known as Ojha.Medicine practices is not a source of livelihood.But it is the personal intrest for him. In a sense he is a social worker in these nomadic tribe.He renders service to the serious patient at mid-night and in odd hours.Medicine practice is a hereditary profession for him but more often they also learn out of their own_intrest.The medicine man go for collection of herbs and plant every-day except Thursday.They belive that in this day, the deities wonder in the jungle and will disturb during

the collection of medicinal plant. Monday is the good day for the collection of medicinal plant. Before the collection of medicinal plant, the medicine man or Ojha worship Rangwa Bonga the deity of medicine for a successful preparation of medicine. The worship is made inside the jungle, no sacrifice is needed for the worship. After worshipping the deities, he starts to collect plant from different part in the dense forest. Each medicinal plant has a separate identity as said by the medicine-man. After the collection, the medicine man preserves them properly and in his leisure hour he use to process them. The preparation is made in a lonely place except his brother and disciples nobody will accompany him in this respect. Females members are never allowed in this place.

Process of Medicine Preparation by Medicine Men (Ojha)

The medicine man ojha diagnosis the disease according to symptom and from body temperature and checking pulse rate. He prescribes medicine to the patient to get relief from the physical pain. When the patient get cured he is presented with food, drinks etc. Before the collection of medicinal plant, the medicine man or ojha worship Rangwa Bonga the deity of the medicine for a successful preparation of medicine. The worship is made inside the jungle. No sacrifice is needed for the worship. After worshipping, the deities, he starts to collect plant from different part in the dense forest. Each medicinal plant has a separate identify as said by the medicine-man. After the collection, the medicine man preserves them properly and in his leisure hour he use to process them. The preparation is made in a lonely place, except his brother and disciples nobody will accompany him in this respect. The female are never allowed in this place. Normally he prepare a powder out of flowers, fruits, barks, and mixes them against certain disease. Manikirdia honour the medicine man. Therefore, Ojha enjoys a better status and lead a signified life among mankirdia.

Supernatural Agencies

Spirit is a immaterial non-living being. It is a mystical supremacy. Manikirdia people have a strong perception that most of the infant disease and death happens because presence of evil-spirit. The evil-spirit target to children due to their soft and delicate nature. So the spirit easily infringe into the body of the child. The symptoms are diagnosed when the body blood vomites. Manikirdia therefore never leave child alone.

Dan

Witch-craft is another kind of belief especially linked with causing diseases and death. When witch-craft is used for evil purposes, it is called as 'Beskarapam' by the Mankirdia language. It was heard from the old Mankirdia people that a female person usually possesses the mystical power to do evil; she is called 'Dan'. The eyes of the Dan are so powerful that she can exterminate a child at first look. She kills the child to kill the liver. And lives in common place with people. But the original colour will show at mid night when she acquires her supernatural power. It is generally believed that she moves out from the house at mid-night in the absence of other family member or sleep condition of the members. Then she acquires the power through chanting various mantras. If she will be diagnosed by other member, she may die immediately.

Bes-kukani.

The Socerry is another form of supernatural power. It is practised by the both male and benevolent. According to the views of the Mankirdia people, the malevolent practice is known as Bes Kharpam and the benevolent practice is known as Bes-kukani. The earlier one indicates that the sorcerer keeps the spirit under his control; he uses it against his enemy by pouring any kind of bone, ash and nail inside the body. As a result the targeted person will start blood vomiting, he will be diagnosed as intruder by a spirit. This type evil-spirit again sub-divided into two types; (a) Here Dan is a spirit caused by a male person and Era Dan is a spirit caused by a female person. The female spirit is more dangerous than male one. One woman of the Mankirdia community told that all Mankirdia members are not sorcerer practitioners, but few of them learn it from other people. Again they train some of their children if they want to do so. If some one is interested to learn the pattern will follow from mother-to-daughter and father-to-son process.

The Bes Kukani (benevolent sorcery) is used by the sorcerer when someone suffers from evil-eye, spirit intrusion. It is used to cure the person. During my field work, I couldn't able to trace any such event, but it was told by Mankirdia people that, if some one is interested to practice this art, they should have learned from Maghi and Kolha and Santhali.

Evil-Eye

This is very common and widely practiced belief related with the health and disease. The effect of evil eye. It is supposed to be possessed by human being as well as the spirit, the children are the soft target by this evil-eye spirit. It was known from the field that, when food intake of any

children is seriously viewed by some human being whose looks are evil by nature. The child will immediately be diagnosed when refused to eat food and weeps continuously.

Beside this, there is also some old saying that, when serious view is mixed with greediness then it affects the children. Mankirdia also believe the evil-eye of the spirit who lives in the forest, and very close to human being. This kind of spirit generally attacks pregnant women to kill their children, it is more dangerous if the mother in her advanced stage of pregnancy goes to the forest are said to be affected by the evil-eye.

It was concluded from above points that the impact of emotional factors influences the health and disease more than the physiological factors. And the social history of Mankirdia people also cited such kind of instances, which show the importance of emotion, psychological characteristics are given much priority than anything else. The general understanding of the health and well-being is quite different from general discourse towards health.

Magical World View of Mankirdia Tribe

Religious-magico realm constitutes a way of life among the Mankirdia people. There is strong belief in Mankirdia society is that everything happens because of the presence of supernatural powers either spirits perched about in earth, air and water, hill and forest and spring or by lesser powers and energies immanent in various animate as well as inanimate objects. All the bad times are supposed to be the cause because of this unknown power. It has been observed that Mankirdia's whole life is pervaded by his religious-magic. Besides they have a perception that everything above, below or around their life is animated either spiritual energy or power as every living being is animated by soul.

The process of magical power starts in the individual's mind, when he/she thinks to achieve certain objective by utilizing or avoiding some magical virtue which is supposed to inhere in certain material objects. For this, the magician needs to adopt certain methods like pantomimic, other practices, spells, through impersonal powers. So he can reach the targeted objective for himself as well as for his community.

The Mankirdia believes on Mati the magical person in their community. He is not made but born. There is saying among the Mankirdia community is that, the magical power comes to a person through dreams, or a trance a familiar spirit and tutelary deity. It is possible when someone will be more inclined towards supernatural power at the very childhood period.

There are various types of realm, where the magical powers works or apply by the mankirdia people. Any man can acquire the the art of magic by an expert into the mysteric power. In order to achive the magical power one should followed certain restriction like fasting, offering prayer to certain god. Sometimes certain food diet has been followed by the practicing person. But there is a universal agreement among he manikirdia tribe is that the women whose tongue is black belived to posses an innate power. And she can bewitch any person at first staring at him.

Although there are different fields for mankirdia tribe where they apply the art of magic in order to achive the goal for any individual or in communitys welfare. The most important field like; rain stoping, stoping storm, snake-bite and attracting a beloved person and causing death to the enemy.

I: The traditional magical practice by which the mankirdia is as follows; the youngest member of family puts some mahua flowers into an earthen jug fills it with a leaf of the suru-yam, that is tied up with a string pasing round the neck of the jug. And then after the buries the jug in a hole covred up with earth. It is believed among the mankirdia tribe, it will sure bring rain.

II: The mankirdia belives that a child born of a mother who has not the menstuous flow before conception, attracts lightening towards itself; and mankirdia will remain at a distance from such a person when lightening-flashes are seen or the sound of clap is heard.

III: Driving Mosquitos

Mankirdia people suffers from malaria disease a lot because it is hilly and forest area. So in the month of august they seriously affects by the variety of bugs and mosquitos bite. In order to remove above these instects, they smoke their huts by burning the wood of the struck by lightening. It was observed that when the hut of mankirdia is infested by mosquitos (Sinkeri), it is generally seen in month of august. Then he places a lump of boiled rice on the roof of his hut just near the caves and calls upon the Bhusri-Bhut (Mosquitos-spirit) ‘‘Saying Here is the offering for thee; do not come inside the hut anymore’’

IV: Remove the Intoxication of the Snake

Mankirdia people also use magic power to remove and avoid the the intoxication of the snake likespecies. It happens when a snake of the species passes through a field of the millet

(janhe),the grain when boiled and eaten will cause intoxication. In order to prevent the above danger the mankirdia people roast some mustard seeds and throws them in the direction, which the snake has taken.By adopting this procedure, they belived that the intoxication is transferred to the snake.

V:There are wide range practice of a magic, which is known among the mankirdia people. It is particularly famous among the youth people, thos who wants to win the heart of the beloved one of opposite sex person. For successful of the magic, they have to collect two roots of two different plants.These are jagmohani and Chandoa, pounds them and mixes them together.And then with the help of an intermediary called gahi, massage to mix this magical medicine with some article of food for the beloved person.Then he can win the heart of the beloved person.

VI:Causing Death to Enemy

Acoording to the old legend of the community that, when there was a serious conflict arise among the community members or with outside people, then the person try to apply this magical technique to kill the opponents.It is possible by apllying the rice technique;when the mankirdia want to cause death or sickness to an enemy,he takes up some arua rice in his hand and invokes his Nasan spirit and throws the rice in the direction of the house of the enemy.And the same time exhorting the spirit to go in that direction and attack the enemy .

Diseaese and Homely Treatment Methods

There are various home made treatment also available among the mankirdia tribe.Although these techniques more often alike with herbalist process and some times used same plants in different diseases.So there is no watertight compartment between these two but both are helping each other.

Table1:List of Indigenous Medicine and Parts of Plants Used

Disease in Local Term	Egnlish Term	Indigenous Meddicine	Parts of the plant used
Boho-Asun	Head-ach	Bhauri mala shosho	Roots/Leaves

Suluch	Cold-cough	Bin-bengal	Roots/Leaves
Lutur-hasoengana	Ear-ach	Nalbha	Leaves/flowers
Danda-asun	Waist-pain	Hati-lutur	Roots
Kunduda-hasu	Chest-pain	Pogda tree	Leaves/Roots
Nati-hasoengana	Throat-pain	patugarud	Roots
Boho-gaho	Ulcer on head	Sarjam bokla	Roots
Goda-boka	phylaria	gada	The leaves
Bayhu-hacga	burnt	Hatna-banda	The leaves
Rali	warm	sigdata	Root/Bark
babati	Itches-scabies	kulitrama	Root/Bark
Duku	Joint -pain	Harbhartil	The bird flesh
Ruha	fever	neemfruit	Fruit/leaves
monam	Boli	Dhada sona	leaves
mayama	Nasal bleeding	Tortoise tress	The brain of tortoise

Conclusion

The Mankirdia of odisha believe in disease caused by spirits Besakukani and Bes Kharpan and different deities like Devi Mahi and Burhi Mai. In order to propitiate them, more often they involve animal sacrifices to please the above deities and spirit. Some time it was also observed from their day-to-day life, they follow several taboos to avert the ill effect of the evil-spirits. Besides this they extensively depend on various herbal medicines, which they regularly collect from near by forest and make various types of medicine for different types of diseases. In case of surgical knowledge is concerned, it was found that they had not sophisticated knowledge on that, but cure some minor surgical cases by applying their own technique for instances, to cure a wound, wound bleeding and to cure a broken bone etc. The Mankirdia have medical facilities available by the government which they accept and utilize but the presence of these government medical systems doesn't satisfactorily improve the health of Mankirdia tribe. Sometimes Mankirdia have their inner fear towards the modern medical approach and many times they are exploited in the name of good treatment, also their social image is sometimes ignored by the existing modern medical doctors set up. These are major reasons for failure of government medical service in tribal areas. The most important thing was seen among the Mankirdia people, they use both systems of medicine in their day-to-day

life. But their world views more often influenced by their socio-cultural disease causation theories, etiologies of different diseases, which they seek explanation from their cultural world. So, they keep a strong belief on the social-cultural realm rather than exclusively materialistic world.

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