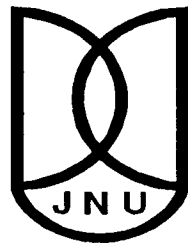


**STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE: A CASE
STUDY OF UTTARAKHAND
MOVEMENT**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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Date: 21st July 2003

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation “**Struggle for Existence: A Case Study of Uttarakhand Movement**” submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of Masters of Philosophy is a bonafide record of research work done by **Miss Natasha Kandwal** under the supervision of **Prof. Anand Kumar** in Jawaharlal Nehru University and that the dissertation has not previously formed the basis for the award of any other degree, diploma as another title.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Conventionally regarded as part of the field of collective behavior the phenomenon of social movements has been looked at from various angles. The classic definition captures what is central in any conception of social movement i.e. group behavior directed in a concerted way at bringing about social change. A social movement undoubtedly involves collective action as distinct from individual action. It essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization. Social movements are complete and varied phenomena with objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership and organization as its major components. One of the main issues in the study of any movement concerns its emergence. The relevant questions here are what are the structural conditions under which movements emerge? What are the motivational forces: what are the theories which conceptualize the genesis of a movement? The present documentation seeks to answer these questions in the light of the Uttarakhand movement with a stress on the structural conditions of relative deprivation. The concept of relative deprivation signifies a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and actually. It basically refers to a gap between expectations and perceived capabilities which can involve economic conditions political power and social status. And this is what happened to Uttarakhand region. It was this relative deprivation which motivated people and mobilized them around certain interests and issues. The present documentation attempts to look at these interests and issues.

The present study is an attempt to look at the dynamics of the Uttarakhand movement which was marked by unusual spontaneity and massive support base. The Uttarakhand movement has been an expression of discontent arising out of inter-regional socio-economic inequalities. It was basically against the socio-economic exploitation of the region and insidious marginalisation of the region. The movement represented an assertion for recognizing the socio-cultural identity of a part of the sub-Himalayan terrain. The movement also represented a protest against the refusal to recognize the special features of the hill region and the disabilities that the region had

been suffering. The movement was not a separatist movement. Rather it represented an urge to live and march with the nation on the path of prosperity and development.

The present effort has been to look at the historical background of various social mobilizations in the Uttarakhand hills to situate the Uttarakhand movement in a larger framework transcending the issues of development and economic backwardness. The effort has been to decipher the substantive basis of Uttarakhand movement. For this purpose the previous instances of mobilization have been looked at. These instances of earlier mobilization in the region on various issues of forest rights, alcoholism and dam construction have reflected on the mobilization potential of the region. At the same time they also resulted in community networks which have been instrumental in engendering a culture of protest in the Uttarakhand society. The combined existential experience of the people in the form of mobilizations, protests along with the historical inputs of the language, culture and geographic peculiarities given rise to Uttarakhand identity which in turn had been instrumental in resulting the movement on state autonomy. These instances of mobilisation must not be looked at as isolated instances of popular upsurge. They should rather be seen as sub components of a larger process consolidating an Uttarakhandi identity. And it is these episodes of mobilisation which had provided the base for the movement. The movement got consolidated gradually with each mobilisation and with each instance of developmental neglect. The issue of reservation of jobs escalated the movement. And it was realised that the polarity between the centre and periphery, between the core area and the rimland could be reconciled only by carving out a separate state.

The present dissertation is not an historical account of the movement. Rather it is concerned with various socio-economic and cultural variables involved with the movement and its institutional and processual aspect.

It is also equally important to gain an insight into the history, socio-economic profile of the region. The area known as Uttarakhand comprises the sub Himalayan districts of Tehri, Uttarkashi, Chamoli, Pauri, Deharadun in Garhwal and the districts of Pithoragarh, Almora, Nainital and Udhamshinghnagar in Kumaon. The region laps in about 1/6th of the area of the U.P state. Its homogeneity lies in its being Himalayan in natural division. The hill of Uttarakhand have been known variously in history. In

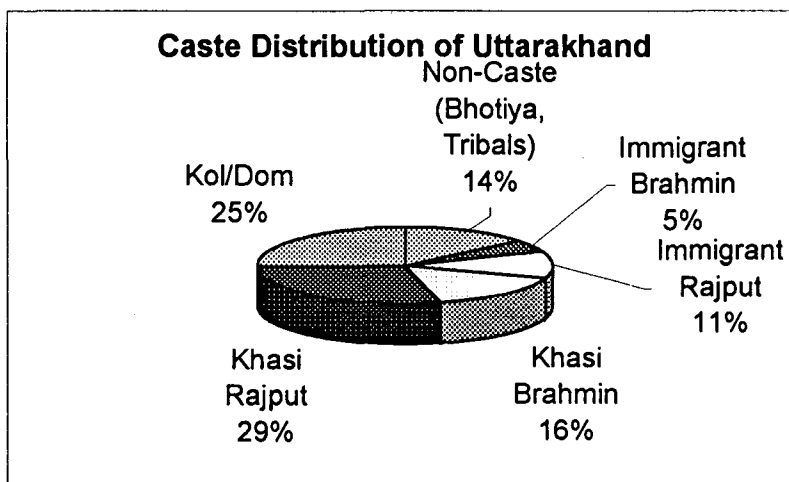
the Skand Purana the Kumaon region is referred to as Manaskhand and the Garhwal region finds mention as Badrikedar region. The location of the sacred Chaturdhams and the route through the Kumaon region to the Mythical abode of Shiva, Kailash & Mansarovar have added to the religious and cultural importance of the hills.

Ethnic Background

The people of Uttarakhand have a distinct cultural identity resulting from their heritage. The predominant component of the population belongs to the Khas stock.¹ The Shauk as (Bhotiyas) inhabiting the northern belt and the Tharus and Buskas living in the southern Tarai border belong to the Mongloid stocks of Naag and Kiraat. The near absence of the OBCs who constitute no more than 2-3% of the population may be largely attributed to the process of Sanskritisation. Hinduism is very strongly anchored in the hills and along with the tradition of Sanskritisation of the various local indigenous castes over the years has kept the region strongly at the center of the heartland of India.

The following pie diagram throws some light on the caste distribution of Uttarakhand.

Fig. 1.1



Source: Negi S. s. (1995), Uttarakhand: land and People, M.D. Pub, New Delhi.

¹ The region was referred to as Khas Mandal in ancient literature or as Khasdesh in the old British records.

Demographic Composition

The 13 districts of Uttarakhand together constitute an area of 51,125 sq. km for a total population of 58,74,000 (1991 census)

Majority of the population is made up of farmers. Some are engaged in household or small scale industries while some pursue different vocations including service in offices, factories, hotels and armed forces:

The following table illustrates comparison of Uttarakhand with Uttar Pradesh.

Table 1.2

Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh

Uttarakhand	Uttar Pradesh
Population 6.0 million (4.3% of state total) Significance: Uttarakhand's relatively low population as compared to the rest of the Uttar Pradesh mega-state has politically marginalized the hill people allowing them to be exploited and easily ignored by the nation's elites.	Population: 140 million (1991)
Area 51, 125 sq. km (17.3% of state total)	Area: 294, 413 sq.km
Pop Density: 94.4 per sq.km Significance: Most of the population is clustered in river valleys. If this were taken into account, the actual high population density and consequent land pressures would be revealed	Pop Density: 377 per sq. km
Rate of Pop Increase: 2.14%	Rate of Pop. Increase: 2.51%
Per Capita Income \$80 per year Private Consumption avg. Rs 21.26/ month (Indian poverty line: Rs. 85/month) Significance: The people of Uttarakhand have remained very poor, despite the region's tremendous natural resources. This is in large part due to its neo-colonial	Per capita Income: \$ 120 per year (Indian average is \$ 330 per Year)

<p>relationship with the rest of India that has continued and even accelerate since independence.</p>	
<p>Forest Cover: officially > 50% (recent studies have found the forests at <28%) significance Uttarakhand's forests are heavily exploited by outside commercial interests. What little is left to the locals is stressed beyond the breaking point. This is one of the main factors that prompted the Chipko movement where the people struggled for their forest rights.</p>	<p>Forest Cover: < 18%</p>
<p>Caste Breakdown:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rajputs 60-75% • Brahmins: 15-20% • Scheduled Castes (SC): 11.74-19.45% • Scheduled Tribes (ST): 0.01-9.99% • Other Backward Castes (OBC) <2% <p>Significance: OBC-dominated in 1994 wished to enforce the extension of the 27% plains OBC quota to the hill where the OBC population is less than 2%. This prompted an outcry from hill people who are already deprived of employment opportunities in their own land. Solutions ranged from regionally sensitive quotas to including the Uttarakhandi people in the OBC quota. A quota of 23% for SCs and STs already prevails and is accepted by most hill people.</p>	<p>Caste Breakdown:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scheduled Castes (SC): 21.16% • Scheduled Tribes (ST): 0.21% • Other Backward Castes (OBC): 27%
<p>Languages Central Pahan-Garhwali, Kumaoni, Tibeton-Himalayan dialects, Hindi Significance: Although Hindi is fast supplanting the native languages of Uttarakhand in the urban area. Garhwali and Kumaoni persist in the villages. The Central Phari</p>	<p>Languages: Hindi, Urdu, Various dialects</p>

languages are so diverse that one valley can often not communicate with another differences in dialect. However, cultural and linguistic homogenization throughout India is threatening minority dialects and tongues with extinction.	
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Table 1.3
Population Increase in Major Districts

District	1991 Population (in thousands)	% Increase 1981-1991	1981 % female literacy
Chamoli	441	21.15	18.34
Dehra Dun	1.104	33.24	42.03
Pauri	664	4.24	27.13
Tehri	575	15.69	9.42
Uttarkashi	237	24.74	9.17
Almora	824	8.85	20.27
Nainital	1.557	37.06	27.10
Pithoragarh	557	13.91	20.30

Source: Census of India Government of Uttar Pradesh Economist and Statistics Directorate as compiled by Shanti S. Gupta in Aggarwal.(Source J. C., Aggarwal S.P. (1995), Uttarakhand: Past, Present and Future).

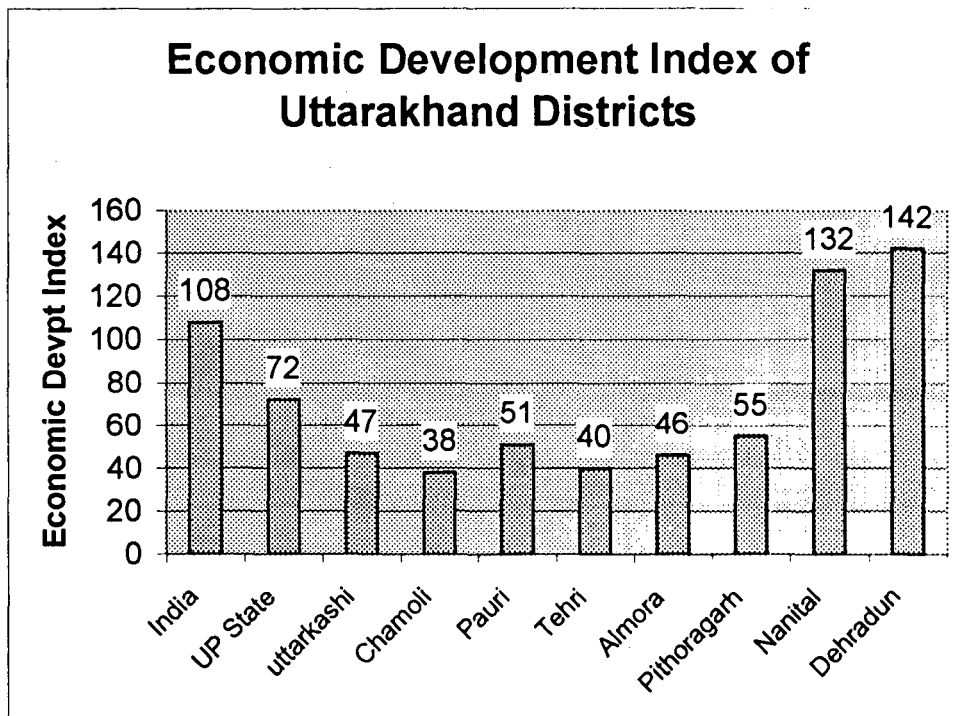
Economic Profile

Uttarakhand is often labeled as colony within the state and country that administer it. It has been an internal colony, a domestic colony exploited for and by outsiders. The region remained a part of a bigger province but in administrative procedure, economic and other spheres from which advantages could be accrued it remained different. The effect of historical, political and administrative differences was seen on the economic backwardness of the region. As a matter of fact the entire hill region has remained industrially backward with a very few industrial units lack of employment opportunities, little investment. Industrial sector forced a large

number of people to migrate to the plains. The families survive here on what is called 'Money order Economy'. The impact of the money order economy is seen in the fact that over 60% of the economy of Uttarakhand is mainly rural economy because urbanization has been negligible. There are very few towns like Nainital, Dehradun. The rural economy of Uttarakhand is dependent on farming, cattle rearing and cottage industry associated with these. In the post independence period the commercialization of agriculture could not take place because of the problem of communication, geographical inaccessibility, regional gravity and small size of the holdings, whereas the agriculture could not sustain life, the industries have been non-existent. Uttarakhandi families have at least one member earning a livelihood away from home.

The following table shows that compared to the national average and the state of Uttar Pradesh, majority of the districts have been low on economic development index.

Fig 1.4



Source: Bhatt, K. N. (1997), *Uttarakhand Ecology, Economy and Society*, Allahabad, Horizon.

Map showing major districts of Uttarakhand



Review of Literature

Uttarakhand has in fact been studied by the environmentalists, demographers, political scientists, historians and sociologists. A large number of studies as such have remained confined to either migration patterns women's active role, or to the Chipko anti-Tehri, anti-liquor movements. There have been numerous historical works on Uttarakhand which give an account of the political regimes and their chronology. Some historical works have been on reform movements like the Kuli Utar and the Shilpkar Movements in Kumaon and the dhan daks and the Praja Mandal Movements in the erstwhile Tehri state.

Apart from this conventional historiography of the Uttarakhand hills some scholars have worked on people's movements have in the colonial and post-colonial periods.

Shekhar Pathak (1986) has studied the various social and political movements quite extensively. His journal 'Pahar' has published very useful analytical material on the political, social, cultural, historical and anthropological aspects of the Uttarakhand society.

Ramchandra Guha (1986) has written on people's history comprising various movements against oppression and rampant deforestation. A somewhat similar focus one can find in Atul Saklani's (1987) *STUDY OF THE PRINCELY STATE OF Garhwal* wherein he has traced the roots of Garhwali nationalism to various reform movements in the beginning of the twentieth century such as the Garhwal Union or Garhwal Sabha, etc.

Some studies have also been done by social anthropologists. Maheshwar P. Joshi's (1990) edited volume contains some useful articles on the Bhotia community, the caste dynamics, spirit possession amongst the Rajputs and Shilpkars. Atkinson (1979) *Gazeteer* is also quite informative. Uttarakhand hills have also attracted the scholars for the problems related to large scale migration of men, resultant demographic imbalances, geological sensitivity, development syndrome and peculiar while related economy.

Kedar Singh Fonia's (1996) work gives a bird's eye view about various aspects of the hill society.

The launching of the movement for a separate state in the wake of the extension of the OBC reservations by the then government of Uttar Pradesh in 1994 did give a fillip to very many writing on the Uttarakhand agitation, looking into the nature, geneses and politics of it. Much of the literature that had appeared during those years, aimed at analysing the demand for a separate state. There have also been journalistic accounts of the agitation. The year 1994 had witnessed violence in the region. This was the time when writers started looking up into the political dynamics of the region and made a strong plea for separate political set up for the region on the basis of the size of its area and population.

A series of questions about the reasons for the economic backwardness of the region have also been raised in various works P.C. Joshi-links the demand for a separate political set up with the Indian renaissance in the pre-independence days. He maintains that just as the renaissance leadership was opposed to the imposition by any alien (British) model on Indians, the agitation for a separate state in Uttarakhand pleads for autonomy from any national model which has resulted in the colonisation of the region by the economy of the relatively better developed regions.

While not many comprehensive studies have been published on the Uttarakhand Movement, some efforts have been made by regional scholars. But again these writings have been limited in their scope in terms of situating the movement in the context of social and economic profile of the region. Thus topics covered include such themes as rationale of a separate state, profiles of resources, demographic characteristics, human resources, cultural profile, anthropological and historical setting of various communities. The firing incidents at Pauri, Khatina, Mussorie and Muzzafarnagar, in 1994 and 1995 which resulted in the death of many young people of the hills, have found pictorial accounts in some of the books. Almost every martyr to the cause of the movement has been mentioned by name.

To some the movement has been a local movement for identity against the grand model of modernity and is in line with several other movements such as those

of the environmentalists, feminists, etc. The active role played by women of the region in the movement has been repeatedly highlighted in many of the works.

A part from various articles published in various journals, the local press has also contributed a lot by way of documenting every little of the movement local newspapers (Nanital Samachar, Himalayan Darpan), Magazines (Parvatvani, Yugvani, Uttarakhand Patrika, Uttarakhand Uday) have also made their contribution.

The present documentation has relied on all these literary sources of the movement. All these articles and works have given rise to certain questions what are the specific factors that made it possible for the movement to assume significant proportions? What has been the nature and genesis of the demand for Uttarakhand State? What has been the nature of local movements in the region that had taken place prior to the movement?

The present dissertation has tried to gain and insight into these issues in order to get a comprehensive view and totality of the Uttarakhand Movement. The present work also looks at the aftermath of the movement (what have they won so far) problems confronted by the state of Uttarakhand after its two years of creation as a post script.

Structure of the Dissertation

The present dissertation consists of 4 chapters.

Chapter 1 looks at various theoretical moorings on Social Movements. Sociology of social movements over the years has been involved with key conceptual problems. Some recurring areas are definition and classification, structural conditions under which movements emerge, ideology, collective mobilization, organization and leadership first chapter seeks to explore these areas. The chapter also seeks to develop an exploration of various theoretical explanations on collective action and situating the Uttarakhand movement.

Chapter 2 looks at various instances of mobilisation in the region as a prelude to the understanding of the high degree of mass mobilisation, witnessed in the region

in the form of the Uttarakhand movement. The relevance of doing a simultaneous study of these instances of mobilisation lies in the connections and disjunctions between not only these mobilisations but also between past and future, mobilisational experiences. These episodes of mobilisation must not be looked at as isolated instances. Rather they can be seen as sub-components of the popular upsurge.

In chapter 3 the intention is to look at the movement as a whole in the background of previous regional movements. The chapter explores the various issues involved with the movement which has made it different from other movements. It also looks at the structural conditions of the region which made the movement emerge. Like any other movement, the Uttarakhand movement had its own characteristics, strategies, leadership and organisation pattern, social support base, adversaries and the areas of peripheral support. Although the present dissertation is not a chronological account, one cannot overlook the important landmarks of the movement. Any movement is cyclical in nature and has its ups and downs. The Uttarakhand movement also went through the same cycle and has had a chequered graph of different stages.

The chapter also looks at the lacunae which the movement suffered. And finally the concluding chapter is like a postscript where the attempt has been to inquire into the present scenario of the state of Uttaranchal. It is concerned with analysis of the difference between Uttarakhand as envisioned by the movement and Uttaranchal, the current reality and what role has the state been playing.

CHAPTER II

PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Sociology of social movements over the years, has been involved with some key conceptual problems. Some recurring areas are:

- Definition and classification involves, to begin with, identification of the core features of a movement. These have been said to include for instance sustained collective mobilization, orientation towards partial or total change or counter attempts to maintain status quo. Classification of Social movements has most often been conceptualized around the consequences of a movement such as reform, transformation, revolution. The locus of a movement provides another criterion of classification. On this account movements may be classified into linguistic, religious, sectarian, caste, etc.
- Emergence questioning the structural conditions under which movements take place; some of the better known theories in this region have been those of relative deprivation, strain and revitalization. While Merton developed relative deprivation in relation to reference group theory to analyse social mobility, conflict theorists contributed to the understanding that dissatisfaction with the status quo is not determined by absolute conditions. Gurr introduced several classifications in the concept of relative deprivation. According to him relative deprivation implied a discrepancy between expectations and perceived capabilities involving economic conditions political power and social status. The structural conditions of relative deprivation provide the necessary conditions for the generation of a movement.

Strain theory propounded by smelser treats structural strain as the underlying factor leading to collective mobilisation. Strain is considered as the impairment of relations among parts of a system leading to malfunctioning of the system Revitalisation theorists like Wallace posit on the other hand that social movements develop out of a deliberate organised and conscious effort of members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture for themselves. Ideology or the strong value base

that sustain the solidarity of participants by way of non-material rewards is a relatively recent addition to social movement theorization. It is considered to be an important marker of a social movement.

- **Collective Mobilisation, Organisation and Leadership:** Collective mobilisation is a crucial component. It is not only related to ideology but to the nature of leadership and organisation. Collective mobilisation becomes spontaneous if the leadership is charismatic. But there are social movements which are characterised by collective leadership with a division of labour among different types of elites. While business elites support the movement financially, the political elite takes the charge of leadership. The intellectual elite are drafted to formulate the ideology and spreads the message. Collective mobilisation becomes diversified depending upon the talents of the participants of the movement. Any social movement tends to develop an event structure over a period of time. A past event influences the choice of strategy in the events to be followed. A set of events centered round an issue constitutes a phase and the course of a movement consists of several phases. And it is necessary to identify these events and phases to analyse the particular course of the movement. In the context of Uttarakhand movement it was the event of Muzzafarnagar on October 2 (When many hill people were killed and women were molested and raped) which can be called an important phase of the movement.
- **Social consequences and change** can be evaluated both in terms of positional changes within the concerned sections of a movement and in terms of impact on the wider society. Such changes have been found to bear a close relationship with ideology, interests, and organisation or a movement reaction of opposition reference groups and the wider political context as with the structural conditions of relative deprivation.

There is no precise definition of the term 'Social Movement' accepted by scholars of all discipline or even scholars belonging to the same discipline. Like many other terms such as 'democracy', 'masses', 'popular', 'equality' the term movement is often used differently by different social activists, political leaders and scholars use the term movement interchangeably with organization or union. Some use it to mean

a historical trend or tendency such as renaissance, analytic movement, empiricist movement, etc.²

Sociologists and social anthropologists have shown increasing interest in the study of social movements and their linkages with social change. Social movements are becoming a matter of increasing concern for general public administrators and looked at with concern by policy makers. Some scholars are of the view that social movements belong to the area of process having connection with the social structure (social institutions, social relationship, values and norms) and social change. They cause change in the social structure. It is how ever not necessary that only social movements lead to social change, social change can take place independently of social movement.³ Social movement as an instrument of social change differs from imitative or emulative process of social change. The latter centers around acquiescence, request, obedience and loyalty and seeks to bring about change without endangering the law and order situation. But the former focuses on protest, conflict, challenge and revolts.

The term social movement gained currency in European languages in the early nineteenth century. This was the period of social upheaval. The political leaders and authors who used the term were concerned with the emancipation of the exploited classes and the creation of a new society by changing property relations. Thus, in the nineteenth century, the concept of social movement had a specific meaning in the continent of Europe-this identification of social movement lasted until the second decade of the nineteenth century which attracted few people belonging to labour class with limited goals of eliminating bourgeoisie institutions. Today this narrow meaning of social movement is no longer possible. Now it refers to a mass movement aiming

² Shah, Ghanshyam, (2002), "Social Movements and the state", Sage Publications, pp. 18-22.

³ Mukherji, Partha Nath, (March 1977), "Social Movements and Social Change: Towards a Conceptual Classification and Theoretical Framework", Sociological Bulletin, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 7-12.

at comprehensive and fundamental changes in the social structure and social order. It differs from classical sense of the social movement which implied creation by an entirely new social-economic and political order especially concerning the institute of property and distribution of power.⁴ Movement studies are recent in India in general and in Indian sociology and social anthropology in particular. While history and political science have for long been engaged in the study of organised protests and collective actions, that is social movements and revolutions, sociology and social anthropology are relatively recent entrants to this terrain. When movement studies broke upon the Indian social science scene, they did so with force for two reasons. First being a virgin terrain, a large number of scholars were eager to size it; by the mid-1970s social movements became a fashionable area of research. Second, movement studies gained currency in India in the context of the massive, long and protracted anti colonial struggle.⁵ Understandably, an overwhelming majority of movement studies are but analysis of the anti-imperialist struggle and the mobilization associated with it. Records relating to such movements invariably relate to the articulations and activities of the movement elite and its opponents.

“A social movement is an organised attempt on the part of a section of population to bring about qualitative changes either partial or total in the existing system of social relations, social institutions, values and norms through collective mobilization based on ideology.”⁶ This definition emphasizes the part played by the social movement in the development of social change. It has an ideological

⁴ Heberle, Rudolf (1968) “Types and functions of Social Movements in David Shills (ed) ‘International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences’, New York, Mc Millan, p. 28-30.

⁵ Oommen, T.K. (1990), *Protest and Change, studies in Social Movements*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, pp. 16-20.

⁶ Rao, M.S.A. (1978) “Conceptual Framework of Social Movements” in his (ed) *Social Movements in India* Manohar Publication, New Delhi, vol. I, pp. 68-74.

component i.e. a set of ideas which specify discontent, prescribe solutions and justify change. A much comprehensive definition states that “a social movement occurs when a fairly large number of or an otherwise identifiable segment of population deliberately bind together for collective action in order to alter, reconstitute, reinterpret, restore, protect, supplant. Supplant or create some portions of their culture or social order to better their life chances by redistributing the power of control in a society”.⁷ This movement may continue over a length of time through repeated collective actions. McLaughlin gives representative definitions of social movements, “collective enterprises to establish a new order of life” has been considered a classic definition. Among other definitions are “group behaviour directed in a considered way of bringing about social change”, “a group venture extending beyond a logical community or a single event and involving a systematic effect to inaugurate changes in the right, behaviour and social relationships and a collectivity which acts with some continuity to promote or resist changes in a society or a group of which it is part.”⁸ Paul Wilkinson gives a working concept of social Movement. Social Movements are clearly different from historical movements, tendencies or trends. It is important to note however that such tendencies and trends, and the influence of the unconscious or irrational factors in human behavior may be of crucial importance in illuminating the problems of interpreting and explaining social movement.

A social movement must evince a minimal degree of organization. Through this may range from a loose, informal or partial level of organization to the highly institutionalized and bureaucratized movement and the corporate group.⁹ Indeed much of the literature of the social movements has been concerned with natural histories, models or theories of movement development. Such models have attempted

⁷ Singh, Suresh (ed) (1972), “Social Movements among the tribals of India, Simla, pp. 55-65.

⁸ McLaughlin, Berry (ed) (1969), “Studies in Social Movements, New York, pp. 16-22.

⁹ Wilkinson, Paul (1971) “Social Movements, Pall Mal, London, pp. 15-28.

to simulate changes in movement structure and organisation ranging from states of initial social unrest and excitement and the emergence of a charismatic leadership, to a revolutionary movement's seizure of power.

A social movement's commitment to change and the *raison d'être* of organization are founded upon the conscious volition, normative commitment to the movement's aims or beliefs and active participation on the part of the followers or members. This particular characterisation of social movement in terms of volition and normative commitment is endorsed by something approaching a consensus among leading scholars in this field.¹⁰ It is the conscious volition of individuals acting collectively that brings about the embodiment of ideologies in social movements.¹¹

COMPONENTS OF MOVEMENTS

Objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership and organization are important components of social movements. They are interdependent, influencing each other. The objectives of the movement change from narrow particular local issues to broad aims for social transformation.¹²

Sometimes a movement which begins with broad objective may in the process get bogged down to one or two particular issues. Ideology also undergoes change. It provides direction for evolving strategies and programmes and also keeps the participants together by developing feelings of 'we-ness'. Various strategies and programmes end evolved to mobilize the people. They sustain the movement for a long period. Leadership which initiates or emerges in the course of the growth of the movement plays a crucial role in articulating the ideology and objectives, evolving strategies and programmes and maintaining the spirit of the participants. Neither of

¹⁰ Rulph Heberle also talks about collective will and normative commitment and element of volition.

¹¹ Wilkinson, Paul (1971), *Social Movements*, Pall Mall, London.

¹² Shah, Ghanshaym (2001), "Social Movements and the State", Sage Publication, pp. 26-32.

these components are apriori and static. They evolve, they get changed in the course of the movement. They are in a rudimentary form in some movements and fairly well developed in others. Though these components are found in all types of movements or insurgencies, including the so called 'spontaneous' rebellions, their forms vary from very unstructured to well organized.¹³

Social movement has to be distinguished from the collective behavior that usually takes the form of crowd behavior, mob-action, riot, panic. The phenomenon of collective behaviour may range from responses to the disaster, the disorderly street mob or radical social upheaval to the peaceful shift in the orientations of individuals and small groups. Whenever any custom which is conventionally and officially accepted fails to take account of or runs counter to deeply felt sentiments or common perception of reality, people create a current of agitation by their actions. The collective behaviour is a problem solving activity rather than a structural social action. The phenomenon of collective behavior very often remains confined to a particular society though it might give rise to a chain of reactions at another place. But it's not as widespread as social movement. In it the behaviour of the participants is never determined by the prior expectations with the position they occupy in stable social structure. So collective behaviour is ubiquitous which causes tentative disruptions but introduces certain modifications in the social structure. The collective behaviour occurs sometimes in complete isolation or sometimes it is part or an offshoot of a wider social movement. A social movement is very often preceded by collective behaviour against the established social order. The experiences in collective behaviour can be related to a conversion process, since it may produce new image (ideological commitment) or new groupings out of which social movement grows. Collective actions which follow the path of acquiescence for social mobility and change in status are not treated as 'Social Movement'. The action which is legally permitted and widely accepted as binding in society or part of society at a given point of time is institutionalized action. Such actions include petitioning, voting in

¹³ Guha, Ranjit (1983), "Elementary aspects of peasant insurgency in Colonial India, OUP.

elections, fighting legal battles in courts of law. Sometimes these methods are accompanied by other collective actions and used as tactics. Such mobilization though can be treated as a social movement, the anthology is largely confined to the direct actions of a group of people¹⁴ non institutionalized collective action takes several forms such as protest, agitation, strike, satyagraha, hartal, gherao, riot. Agitations, protests, strikes and riots are often but not always part of a social movement of a particular structure of society. Some collective actions are often labeled by authorities as riots but they are more often than not a part of ongoing movements.

In terms of the criterion of leadership there are millenarian, messianic and chilliasmic social movements. In a highly industrialized society traditional groups and institutions have lost control over loyalties and behaviour of the individuals. The weakening of primary group attachment and the impersonal character of large scale organisation alienate men from the source. Such alienated people are easily mobilized around charismatic qualities and symbolic goals.¹⁵ The term millenarian is now used not in its specific and limited historical sense but typologically to characteristic religions movements which emphasize immanent, total, ultimate world and collective salvation.

In Messianic movement, a Messiah as a leader attracts the prophetic powers of inducing assurance in the minds of the people because of their peculiar belief system in their culture. In Chillasmic movement a charismatic leader is supposed to attract the followers because of his charisma, his personal qualities and alleged miraculous success.

The social movement strives to bring about entirely new socio political order. To justify their aims social movements develop a

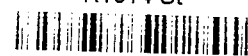
¹⁴ Shah, Ghanshaym (2001), "Social Movements and the State", Sage
New Delhi, pp. 27.

¹⁵ Gusfield, J. R. (1971), "The Study of Social Movements" in Social
York, McMillan.

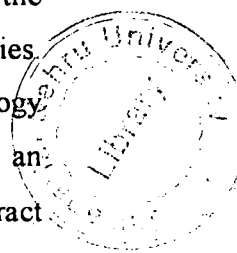
consistent set of ideas which its members must accept uncritically. From the ideology are derived action programmes of a more changing nature. It is a foundation of group cohesion and solidarity. Founders of modern socialism Karl Marx, Engels as well as conservative advocate of social reform Lutz Von Stein deserve a credit for having demonstrated that ideology is linked with social situation of certain classes expressing the socio political interests or needs of these classes and if they are not linked in this way to the actual social situations of certain classes, the idea will remain without practical effect.¹⁶ Ideology codifies and recognises beliefs, myths and outlooks and directs responses to specific social situation. It is not only a framework of consciousness but also a source of legitimizing actions. The formulation of ideology is an important aspect of any social movement. It provides the source of legitimization of new values, norms, institutions and relationships envisaged by the leaders. It provides the basis of interest articles and of establishing new identities. Social movement therefore must develop sooner or later a comprehensive ideology and theory which should be convincing to the movement participants. Such an ideology, therefore attempts "to justify their aims, typically resort to abstract principles concerning the nature of man, his destination and his natural rights in combination with a critique of the existing economic, political and cultural institutions. The ideas of liberty and equality are common to all major social movements, sometimes in combination with the idea of national unity and independence."¹⁷ It is this ideology that gives directionality to change by specifying the proximate and ultimate goals. The arrangement of such goals in a temporal priority enables the formulation of long term strategies and programmes and tactics. Movement ideology is usually formulated by the leadership and often in abstract terms but it is a necessary input which provides the requisite passion to the rank and file to plunge into collective actions. And this ideological vision of the leadership

¹⁶ Heberle, Rudolf (1960), "Types and Functions of Social Movement in David Shills (Ed.) International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, McMillan, New York.

¹⁷ Mukherji, Partha Nath (1977) "Social Movement and Social Change", Sociological Bulletin, vol. 26, pp. 9-11.



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needs to be translated into problem oriented, issue centred programmes taking into account the existential conditions of the specific social category which is sought to be mobilised into collective actions. The success of a movement largely depends on the perception by participants of the organic link between the ideology and programmes of the movement.”¹⁸

TYOLOGY

The literature on social movements abounds with typologies or classification which is made in terms of various criteria which range from being purely descriptive in nature to those which have been deduced from a body of theory. The locus of the movements is a criterion of social movements. On this count social movement may be classified into linguistic, religious, secular, sectarian, caste, peasant, worker, tribal, ethnic, feministic. Scale and spatial spread is also a criterion in terms of which it may be classified into nation at, regional and local social movement.”¹⁹ The most important criterion of the classification is that of consequences of the social movement and its orientation to the crusting culture and society. On this basis the movement may be reactionary or revivalistic, conservative, revisionary or reformative, transformative, revolutionary, nativistic and revitalistic”.²⁰ When social movements advance aims seeking to bring back the “good old days” they are called reactionary movements. Movements have been also classified on the basis of structural changes reformist, transformative and revolutionary.²¹ Reform movements

¹⁸ Oommen, T. K. “Sociological Issues in the analysis of Social Movements”,
Sociological Bulletin, vol. 26, pp. 32-42.

¹⁹ Singh, Upjit (1988), “Jharkhand Movement in Bihar, Nines Publication”, New
Delhi, pp. 8-12.

²⁰ Ghanshyam Shah has classified movements inter revolt, rebellion, reform and
revolution in this analysis of protest movements.

²¹ Rao, M.S.A. (1948) “Conceptual Problems in the study of social movements in
M.S.A. Rao (ed. “Social Movements in India, Manohar, Publication: New
Delhi.

bring about partial changes in the value system transformative movements aim at effecting middle level structural changes and the objective of revolutionary movements is to bring about radical changes in the totality of social and cultural systems. These movements also vary in terms of conflicts embedded in them. Conflict is least in reform movement, it acquires a sharper focus in transformative movements and in the case of revolutionary movements conflict is based on the Marxist ideology of class struggle. Movements have also been classified on the quality of change – accumulative alternative and transformative.²² While accumulative changes are intra-systemic, alternative and transformative and systemic changes. Alternative change is geared to create new structures while transforming change seeks to replace the existing structure and substituting it by another. Mukherji distinguished between the nature of change they pursue. Thus “any collective mobilization for action directed explicitly towards an alteration or transformation of the structure of a system, or against an explicit threat to an alteration or transformation of a system, can be understood as a social movement. Collective mobilizations aimed at changes within a system are quasi-movements. Conflict over specific issues which mobilize support of existing groups through legitimate institutional structures and are able to pressure the system describe the behaviour of quasi movements. Collective mobilization aimed at wide ranging and far reaching changes in the major institutional system is a revolutionary movement”. Revolutionary movements are social movements of societal scale. A revolutionary movement may encompass a variety of social movements and quasi movements: a social movement likewise may give rise to a variety of quasi movements and a quasi-movement may have a variety of manifestations. T.K. Oommen²³ believes that the movements will neither have the potentialities to riot out the existing system completely nor will they succumb to the transitional structure entirely. Social movements provide the stage for confluence

²² Mukherji, Partha Nath (1977) “Social Movement and Social Change”, *Sociological Bulletin*, 26(1).

²³ Oommen, T.K. (1990), *Protest and Change: Studies and Social Movements*, Sage Publications, Delhi, p. 19.

between the old and new values and structures. His typology is related to the process of movement crystallisation, the life style and phases of social movements. Each of these developments gives rise to the emergence of three distinct types of movements- charismatic, ideological and organizational. Such a typology doesn't insist that the movements are necessarily oriented to change. They may not only lead to system stability but in fact pursue it as a goal. It recognizes that even if all movements are change oriented from the point of departure of the system state, some of the movements may be stability oriented from the perspective of the point of distinction. Apart from these attempts to evolve general typologies of movements there have been a few efforts to categorize a movements among one or other social collectivities- tribes, peasants, etc. Social movements are also classified on the basis of issues around which participants get mobilised. Some of the movements are known as forest, civil rights, linguistic, nationalist. In terms of the space, structure and agency, a movement has the probability of becoming local or regional. The regional movements emerge and grow out of the specific conditions of a region. Regional movements are more or less confined to a definite area and emerge due to the local conditions.²⁴ Such movements are diverse and have conditions voted in local history and culture. The Uttarakhand Movements falls under this category. Other instances are the Telangana movement, the Moplah rebellion or the Satnami movement. All these movements had distinct features and were regional in terms of their spatial occurrences.

APPROACHES

Theoretical perspectives on social movement have approached the issue of social mobilisation and collective action from different entry points. Various strands of thought related to social movements are to be found in the Marxist approach, neo Marxist, structural functional approach, Neo social movement, Political Process approach, resource mobilization approach under various conceptual categories such

²⁴ Puri, Harish K and Judge, Paramjit S. (ed.) (2000), "Social and Political Movements", Rawat Publications, New Delhi, pp. 8-12.

as 'social mobilization', collective action 'community solidarity', collective behaviour etc. notwithstanding the conceptual disagreements implicit in various approaches there lies at the bottom, a common thread running through these in terms of a commonly shared understanding of interests among the participants and the larger socio-economic forces operating at the macro level (mainly emphasized by modernization theorist under the conceptual construct, 'social change'). Among various theoretical perspectives there is a kind of consensus that social movements are manifestations of collective aspiration to social change. There are disagreements as to how a social movement is best defined and what might distinguish it from a political party or pressure groups whether it is to be seen in terms of an attempt to transform cultural patterns or merely as another actor in institutional politics. Social movements can be distinguished from other collective actions in that they have mass mobilization and collective action as prime sources of social sanction and power.²⁵ That is at the heart of collective mobilization is the interest of social groups which get mobilized and their positions in the societal alliance influencing the allocation of values. In this perspective social movement can be seen as collective attempts to advance or defend common goals through collective action and mass mobilization. Most social theorists agree that social movements as a mover of collective action involves a socially relationship which got manifested in classical workers' movements, students, civil rights movements and oflate New Social Movements of post industrial age.

Scholars following the Marxist approach are primarily interested in bringing about revolutionary change in the society. According to them, the causes of social movement are located in the economic structure of society. Antagonistic interest between the propertied and labour classes are inherent in a class based society which generates contradictions. The former use the coercive power of the state as well as of other institutions including religion, education, mass media to impose their ideology on society and control the exploited class. The latter resist, protest and occasionally

²⁵ Scott, Allan (1990), "Ideology and New Social Movements, Union Hyman, London, pp. 12-15.

revolt or launch organized and collective action against the dominance of the propertied classes. Their effort is to bring about revolutionary political change by overthrowing the dominant classes in power. According to Marxist scholars members of the same class not only have common consciousness regarding their position in society and the common interests they share. This facilitates their collective action against the ruling classes and state, demanding a qualitative shift in the present state of affairs. Revolution would be an extreme mode to bring in this change. There is a good deal of debate among Marxist scholars on theoretical and methodological issues. Recently a group of Marxist historians, known as subaltern scholars, have begun to study 'history from below'. They criticize the traditional Marxist historians for ignoring the history of the masses as if subaltern classes don't make history of their own, depending solely on the advanced classes or the elite for organization and guidance. It is also argued that traditional Marxist scholars have undermined cultural factors and viewed a linear development of class consciousness.²⁶ There is a great deal of variation amongst the non-Marxist scholars, in their approach towards analyzing social movements. The ideological positions regarding a need for social and political change and the role of movements therein differ. It is argued by some scholars that the mass movements are the product of mass societies which are extremist and anti-democratic. Structural functional approach views change in terms of structural differentiation reintegration and adaptation. According to this sequential model of change, a movement may appear in any one of the stage. Emergence of specialized and autonomous units, elaboration of division of labour and intensification of role specialization relieve consideration stresses and strain in the system which renders one or another social category socially deprived which in turn may inspire movements. But these movements are viewed as temporary aberrations, pathological, indicative of transient anomies movements are incapable of effecting long term and on-going processes of change because specialization permits maximum control over the environment by assuming more effective roles and creating more

²⁶ Chaterjee, Partha, Models of Power: Some Classification, *Social Scientist*, vol. 13, Feb 1985, pp. 16-18.

efficient units. Whereas the Marxist tradition characterises the quest for social change, by means of collective action as a positive and unavoidable feature, the structural functional approach would consider any such collective mobilization as pathological undesirable, disequilibrating and harmful for the societal well being. If the Marxist tradition aimed at superceding the existing social arrangement, the concern of structural functional approach was to maintain status quo by means of preserving the equilibrium of existing arrangement of social organization. In a functional system conflict and change are values no more desired and rather are deviants. Collective behaviour outside the domain of conventional modes of participation thus came to be treated as a challenge to the established order. Structural functional tradition sought to replace conflict as the essential feature of social life with an alternative model based on 'consensus' such an explanation of collective action and popular mobilisation based on consensus or equilibrium model for social organisation was extended by various social scientists. Coming to their individual arguments Korn Hauser postulated a mass society comprising of 'atomised individuals' consequent upon rapid social changes. Such atomized individuals in modern societies, devoid of all primordial societal bonds, uprooted from the traditional social organization are according to Korn Hauser most prone to participate in current spate of protests and social mobilizations.

Johnson on the other hand sought to explain social movements on the bases of social dysfunctions which are set in motion by social changes. The breakdown of value consensus for him would cause disequilibrium in the social system which in turn would disrupt the traditional behaviour. According to him the disequilibrium of a social system causes personal tensions and individual aberrations, ultimately culminating into a protest movement.

Neil Smelser observed in the strains theory that the strain on any part of the whole system results in malfunction of the existing relationship among its various parts. He uses the term deprivation to describe ambiguity in the allocation of economic resources as well as resources of power and status. The cause of deprivation leads to revolutionary activities. There are also structural strains apart from deprivation leading to social movements. He counts six necessary conditions for

the development –structural conduciveness, structural strains, growth of a generalized belief, precipitating events, mobilisation of participants for action and social control mechanism. He visualizes social movements as inherently irrational and weak rather than as articulating new vision for future.

Eisentadt seeks to explain the phenomenon of social movements as a consequence of structural strains in the social system brought about by the process of modernization. For him modernisation is both the cause and consequence of social change. Modernization undermines traditional sources of political authority and creates neo bases of political association and new political institutions. The process of modernization creates a gap between the degree of mobilisation and the capacity of political institutions to absorb the demands of new mobilised groups.

Karl Deutsch²⁷ links up the phenomenon of social mobilisation to the issue of political development. Like other modernisation theorists he also visualizes social mobilisation as a process in which major clusters of old social, economic, psychological commitments get eroded or broken down and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour. This theorization also postulates the uprooting or breaching away of old settings habits and commitments followed by the induction of mobilised persons into some relatively stable patterns of group membership, organisations and commitment. For him social mobilisation coming in the wake of modernization would broaden the politically relevant state of the population.

Thus for these scholars movements are the product of mass societies which are extremist and anti-democratic. These scholars are in favour of excluding the masses from day to day participation in politics which hampers the efficient functioning of the government. The Indian scholars who approved of the agitations against foreign rule for independence did not approve of them in the post Independence period, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s. They condemned them

²⁷ Deutsch, Karl (Sept 1961) Social Mobilization and Political Development, American Political Science Review, pp. 14-20.

outright as dangerous and dysfunctional for civilized society. Though some others don't favour revolutionary change in the political and economic structure, they advocate political change which is confined to change in government and political institutions.

Social psychological theorists on the other hand have explained the social mobilizations not through the structural stresses and strains but by means of subjectively felt conditions of relative deprivation arising out of a distinct shortfall between the growing expectations of various social groups and its fulfillment. This approach in a way reversed the Marxian tradition that increasing misery and poverty will eventually create objective conditions for a revolutionary outburst. Socio psychological approach gives precedence to the subjective feelings and perceptions of the participating individuals over structural, objective and historical logic preferred by Marxian tradition. T. Gurr claims that relative deprivation is the basic condition for civil strife of any kind. For him deprivation is primarily psychological therefore he doesn't deal with the socio-economic structure. The psychological dimension of the participants is important but not sufficient. He operationalises relative deprivation as the perceived discrepancy between men's value expectations and value capabilities. This approach considers relative deprivation as the causal factor behind various kinds of protests and mobilisation with varied degrees of intensity ranging from small scale mobilisation to the revolutionary mode.

The decade of sixties can be taken as a watershed in theorisation on social movements. In the large scale social mobilisation during the decade in the form of students movements, Black civil, Rights Movements, Peace movements, anti-war demonstration made social science practioners realise that their conceptual tools were inadequate to deal with this transformed reality. This was the decade when the western social scientists had predicted an end to the ideological conflicts and more pluralist and pragmatic consensus to emerge. All hitherto theoretical reflections weren't equipped enough to grapple with this newly found enthusiasm towards popular protest and mobilisation. Neither Marxism with its concern to define the precondition of revolution by examining the structural contradictions of the capitalist system nor the American structural functionalism with its focus on integrative

mechanisms of institutional collective behaviour could explain adequately these mobilizations, protests and social movements. The events of sixties resulted in a more specific and direct theorisation. A more direct effort was made by the social science theorists to understand and explain this newly found social reality which was contrary to earlier effort which addressed the issue rather holistically treating the social system as a single unified, homogenous and absolute whole.

Theoretical paradigms which were developed in the wake of the development of sixties are Resource Mobilisation Approach, Political Process Approach, Identity Oriented Approach, Resource mobilisation approach on collective action goes into the organisational dynamics of social movements by focusing on various Kinds of Mobilising structures, networks and organizations through which groups seek to organize themselves into social movement.²⁸ It sought to focus on mobilisation processes and on the formal organisational manifestation of these processes. Thus, social movements came to be characterised in terms of opportunities, strategies, moves of organization sophisticated organisational forms and competition with groups and authorities having opposing interests. Social mobilisation phenomenon in resource mobilisation approach was seen as based on strategic instrumental reasoning, cost benefit calculation and rationally determined interests.

Another theoretical paradigm on social mobilisation which ascribes supreme importance to organizational dynamics of social movements is political dynamics of social movements. This is political process approach which place the pattern of social mobilisation within the large political context of a society and seeks to explain the phenomenon of protest in a cross cultural comparative perspective on the basis of degree of acceptability of the culture of protest by the political regime of the day. Unlike modernisation theorists who portrayed the phenomenon of social movements as an indirect consequence of social change, these scholars linked it up to the changing face of power equation in the wake of modernisation or social change process. Thus the argument of political process theorists goes against the classical

²⁸ Zald and Mc Carthy (1996) "Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: by McAda, Mc Carthy and Zald, Cambridge, pp.

theories of collective action such as theory of mass society, relative deprivation which stress on a direct link between social change and social movement Political opportunity structure implies those signals to social and political actors which encourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements. Thus, the political process approach accords primacy to the degree of openness of a political system to challenges addressed to it by social movements. The idea implicit behind this theorisation was to explain the variations in the degrees and patterns of social mobilisation in different national political contexts. In a way the political process approach was also an effort to establish a causal link between the institutionalised political and social movements. Changes in the institutional structure or informal power relations of a given national political system are treated as important factors influencing social mobilisation. Underlying conviction of this approach is that social mobilisation and collective behaviour are shaped by the broader set of political constraints and opportunities unique to the national context in which they are embedded.

Identity oriented approach focus on substantive objective of social mobilisation and not merely on organization. The key question is how social movements produce new historic identities for society. What is important in this approach is its emphasis on the normative character of movements and their capacity to effect cultural change like the invention of new norms, institutions and social practices in their struggle to redefine social identity. This concern with the norms and identity over organization and the pragmatic context led many scholars to ignore the elements of calculation and self interest (that are focus of resource mobilisation approach). Social movement for them is organized collective behaviour of a class actor against his class adversary for the social control of historicity in a concrete community. Social movement is perceived as an action directed towards predetermined ends. Social movements are not generated spontaneously and rather are results of the structure in which group action moves, providing at the same time identity to the group. In this context new social movements are conceived as potential bearers of new social interests in a new historical era termed as 'Post Industrial' society. Social movements are characterised as principle agents of social

transformation generating cultural space. These new social movements are a specific type of social mobilisation in response to new types of challenges peculiar to modern day societies. Scholars of new movements agreed that conflict among the industrial class is of decreasing relevance and that representation of movements as largely homogenous products is no longer feasible. However there were differences in emphasis of the relations to the possibility of identifying the new central conflict which would characterise the model of the emerging society defined as post-industrial, technocratic or programmed. Alain Touraine (an influential exponent of this approach) holds that social movements are the central forces fighting one against the other to control the production of society by itself and the action of classes for the shaping of historicity. In the industrial society the ruling class and popular class oppose each other as they did in the agrarian and the merchantile societies and as they will do in the programmed society where new social classes will replace capitalists and the working class as the central actors of the conflict. In 1980s this approach was emphasized by Claus Offe in whose view movements develop a fundamental, metapolitical critique of the social order and of representative democracy, challenging institutional assumptions. Among the principal innovations of the new movements, in contrast with workers' movements is a critical ideology in relation to modernism and progress; decentralized and participatory organizational structure, defence of interpersonal solidarity against the great bureaucracies. New Social movements are characterised by an open fluid organisation, an inclusive and non-ideological participation and greater attention to social and economic transformations.

Another contribution to the definition of the characteristics of new movements has been made by Alberto Melucci who asserts that the new social movements try to oppose the intrusion of the state and the market into social life, reclaiming the individuals identity and the right to determine his or her private affective life. New Social movements don't limit themselves to seeking material gain but challenge the diffuse notions of politics and of society themselves.

Thus the new social movements today are what must mobilize people in pursuit of common concerns. Far more than classical worker's movements, these social movements motivate and mobilize hundreds of millions of people in all parts

of the world mostly outside established political and social institutions that people find inadequate to their needs.²⁹ This popular movement to social movements is manifest identity seeking and responsive mobilization or social movement with little or no membership ties. The ecological/green movements and the peace movements can be termed new. They respond to social needs which have been more recently generated by world development.

Despite variations in the analytic plane in which these approaches have tried to examine single social reality (collective action), there seems a unifying theme in all these theoretical traditions as these all presume 'social movement' as a consequence as well as cause of a social process namely social change. While neo-Marxist tradition highlighted the superstructure base relationship and the dynamic relationship between the relations and forces of production bringing in its wake a social change which would define the mass mobilisation for socialist revolution. Structural functional tradition on the other hand highlighted the societal change due to modernisation bringing certain structural deficiencies giving rise to mass mobilization. Modern approaches on the other hand illuminated different aspects of mass mobilization viz. Organisational culture, psychological and political aspects. If resource mobilisation approach confines itself to the issue of organization, institutions (instrumental aspects of social mobilisation) the political process approach on the other hand focused on the political context of social movements. Identity approach brought back the entire debate to the realm of perceptions, traditions and commonality of experiences. It goes into the cultural bed rock of collective behaviour and brings to the fore the issue of collective i.e. group identity. Thus identity as a perceived boundary of social categories viz women, students, ethnic group, etc. acts as a conduct for channelising motivational sentiments into a mobilisational fact.

In a way all these approaches with their shortcomings have tried to explain the phenomenon in totality and none can claim absolute position in explaining it fully. At

²⁹ Porta, Dantella Della and Diani, Mario (1991), "Social Movements, an Introduction, Blackwell Publishers, pp.17-22.

the same time these various approaches have brought out the importance of one component or the other of this reality.

A social movement like an organ takes birth, develops, functions and then dies. Some movements die an immature death for they fail in their move for social change. Some movements are simply started and then gradually accommodated in the existing power structure. Some movements again grow and successfully achieve their defined goals. In a nut shell then a social-movement is a tight-knit collective action going through various phases. They rise, consolidate and eventually succeed, fail or change. Armand L. Mauss (1975) suggested that social movements typically pass through a series of various stages. These stages are:

- Incipency: It is the first stage which begins when large number of people become frustrated about a problem and don't perceive any solution to it through existing institutions.
- Coalescence : At this stage groups begin to form around leaders to promote policies and to promulgate programs. A dominant group or coalition of groups emerges that is able to establish itself in a position of leadership. Its goals become the goals of many and its actions command wide participation.
- Institutionalisation : Is the stage when social movements reach the peak of their strength and influence. It becomes firmly established in the formal, rational organizations that have the power to effect lasting changes in the social order.
- Fragmentation : It is quite possible that having achieved their goals, social movements undergo fragmentation and gradually begin to face apart. Their organisational structures no longer seem necessary because the changes they sought to bring about have been institutionalized or the changes they sought to block have been prevented.
- Demise: Eventually many social movements experience a demise or cease to exist. The organisations they created and the institutions they introduced may well survive, however they are no longer set apart from the mainstream of the

society. Transformed from social movements into institutions, they leave behind well-entrenched organisations that guarantee their members the goals they sought.

What most characterises social movements is that they do their own thing in their own way. The most important thing that social movements have to offer both to their participants/members and to others in their world is their own participatory self-transforming trail and error approach and adaptability.

No movement in contemporary Indian politics has been able to generate so much popular support that too in such a short span of time as the Uttarakhand Movement. The issue is whether to treat the movement as an isolated social and political phenomenon or look at it in terms of inspiration that it could be deriving from previous experiences of mobilization.

Though the demand for granting statehood in the region was voiced long back in 1938, its sudden transformation into mass mobilization caught the attention of the social scientists. The most popular explanation for the movement, available is the one of economic backwardness and developmental neglect which sounds similar to the core periphery model of development. If we take development as an important criterion for participation and mobilization in a democratic social order then the movement exemplifies social mobilization as indicative of the desires and aspiration of the people to be part of the state's developmental efforts. Thus, the movement is an effort by the people to extricate the region from its economic backwardness and the Chipko becomes a manifestation of local people's desire to gain access to the development process. The movement aimed at rejuvenating the society to face the challenges posed by an alien insensitive and callous model of development. The main positive all out of the movement has been tremendous growth by political awareness, awareness of the economic plight of neglect of an alien model of growth, depleting natural resources of slipping out of control of their own resources.

The Uttarakhand movement can be located under Marxist framework for analysis which sees social movement located in the economic structure of society members of the same class not only have common interests vis-à-vis the other classes,

but also share a common consciousness regarding their position in society and the common interests the share. This facilitates their collective action against the ruling classes and the state in the case of the Uttarakhand movement it is the national model of development. In this context the movement is conceived as a protest against the national model of development.

INTERNAL COLONY: RATIONALE FOR REGIONAL MOVEMENTS

India's path of economic development is related to the recent phase of various autonomy movements, the Uttarakhand movement being one of them. In post independent India all efforts were made to promote and develop capitalism and internal colonial system (to borrow from Micheal Hecthere)³⁰ was created to serve this purpose. Thus, within the country itself certain select centres developed at the cost of the rest of the country which offered a vast colonial hinterland. Under this form of development certain areas experienced rapid development while others were drained of its resources and Uttarakhand, was one such area. It can be aptly called Uttar Pradesh's internal colony. Its local mineral, forest water resources had been serving the interests of urban Lucknow. The hill folk of the region became conscious of their oppression and raged a struggle against this form of exploitation. At the root of the movement was the exploitation of the local resources and people, denying the local people adequate scope for economic and cultural development.

The movement represented an urge to move away from such kind of exploitation towards a path of economic revitalisation and development.

³⁰ Hecthere, Michael (1975), "*Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536-1966*", Routledge Kegan Paul, London.

CHAPTER III

UTTARAKHAND'S LOCAL AND REGIONAL MOVEMENTS: PRELUDE TO THE UTTARAKHAND MOVEMENT

The Uttarakhand movements was basically an expression of the realization on the part of the people that it is they who must take decisions regarding socio economic, environmental and other matters. But as a prelude to the understanding of high degree of mass mobilization witnessed in the region, it becomes important to have an insight into the instances of mobilization in the region in a retrospective manner. The issue is whether to treat the recent mass upsurge as an isolated social and political phenomenon or to look at it in terms of legacies and inspiration that it could be deriving from previous experiences.

Looking into the historical past of Uttarakhand region one finds that the area is replete with various movements and protests. There had been a wave of social movements which had swept Uttarakhand. These movements had helped Uttarakhand to emerge from a position of relative obscurely to one which more accurately reflects its ecological and cultural importance.³¹ These movements and protests ranged from the forest rights and anti-beggar or movements (in pre-independence period) to the movements against liquor trade, dams, mining, quarrying and to course the most celebrated one the Chipko. The unique social structure of the region as shaped by its ecological environs and culture, historical factors has been responsible for this tradition of protest.³² Egalitarian social system characterized by absence of the intermediary class in between the rule and rulers and more or less evenly divided land holdings led to kind of community solidarity marked by the absence of class and caste antagonisms which facilitated mobilization of people on the issue of common concern. On the one hand the topographical features determined the subsistence type of grain production and on the other the geographical location shaped the popular

³¹ Guha Ramchandra (1991), *The Unquiet Woods: OUP*, p. 22.

³² DHANDAK is the term used for such tradition of protest.

consciousness of the people as deeply informed by delicate relationship between the human and nature. This deep ecological dimension shaped not only the social organisation of the society but was also reflected in its mode of protest drew unanimous support from all sections of the society transcending caste and class categories.³³ These protests indicate that such mobilization did occur in Uttarakhand society almost a century ago. The traditional delicate balance between the people and their surroundings had begun to crumble with the onset of the forces of modernization and social change and with this the process of social transformation had started.

The Social and cultural idiom of protest DHANDAK was a popular protest against commercialisation of forestry and forest resources and it sought to re-establish the forest region of the people over what belonged to them naturally.³⁴

The continuities as discerned in the pre independence instance of mobilization in the Uttarakhand region get reflected in the fact the any infringement in the relationship between human and forest was resented but at the same time the protests were limited in their content to their immediate environs and were directed against the state as such mobilizations remained unaffected by the happenings at the larger political level. Absence of physical violence was another feature which characterized all such protests though in the later part some deliberate burning of the forests was resorted to. The growing intensity and frequency of such protests was reflective of increase penetration of industrial and commercial interests in Uttarakhand forests and growing consciousness amongst hill dwellers about the growing distance between the habitat and its inhabitants. The community orientation of people's consciousness can be traced to the heart that the forces of modernization posed to the entire community as such and not to the specific caste or classes. As a result the nature of such

³³ Rawan and Patti Ramuli are such two major instances of organized resistance in erstwhile state of Tehri where people under customary mode of protest marched towards the state capital.

³⁴ Ramachandra Guha cites numerous instances of popular protests by the villagers against the forest policies of the colonial rule and princely state of Tehri.

mobilizations was unanimous cutting across and transcending existing social categories. The features of mobilization in pre-independence days certainly had its influence on the trajectory that the protest took in the form of the Uttarakhand Movement.

Entry of modernizing forces first in the form of commercial exploitation of forest resources and later through road construction activities necessitated by the need to exploit forest resources and late due to strategic reasons not only affected the agricultural practices of the region but also resulted in the breaking up of traditional social order. These changes were reflected in the deficit grain production in the agricultural sector and alter in the mass exodus of able bodied people to the plains in search of employment. Such transformation in the social set up of the region had to give a new shape and form to the mobilisation patterns during the post independence period. This was amply evident in the movements against liquor trade, dam construction, mining and quarrying, the Chipko. These movements exhibited certain elements of continuity with the previous protests in terms of their mode of protest in terms of their mode of protest and the social composition of the participants and organizational aspect.

Ecological devastation first affected the lives of the people not directly but rather by affecting the nature of subsistence agriculture and the practice of animal husbandry which was practically dependent on the forests. But gradually the relationship between ecological degradation and social disintegration became too evident through rising out migration and the consequent imbalances in the demographic profile of the region as also through an increase in the incidence of landslides, forest fuel, drying up of natural sources of water. A direct threat today to day existence sharpened the contours of earlier consciousness and a sense of identity in the form of a common perception about matters as fundamental as existence and survival. An identity in terms of the people's understanding of who they are, the common existential circumstances of their lives, the similarity of their threat perceptions and ecological embeddedness of their consciousness took shape constituting the fundamental defining characteristic of various protests. Such a

commonality of perception was to become later the very basis of various protest movements in this region.

These protest movements can be looked at separately.

I Anti-Begar Movement: It was a popular mobilization on the issue of Coolie Begar (practice of unpaid labour) which took place in the beginning of 1920s. It was also fundamentally linked to the introduction of commercial forestry in the region and growing influence and pressure of outside elements such as forest officials and colonial functionaries with the growing realisation of the worth of forest wealth of the region and the vital role it could play in the railway construction and wood works. The region acquired sudden importance in the colonial set up. In this context village persons were required to perform various kinds of services such as providing free labour, free ration to visiting officials. This kind of exploitation went on until popular mobilisation started taking place.³⁵ The ecological dimension of such a mobilization could not be denied as it was based on a sense of alienate from what was once their due in terms of their traditional rights over forests and now was denied to them. After the success of the anti beggar movement the focus was shifted to the forest rights movement. There were instances of deliberate forest burnings and people refusing to extend help in extinguishing fire. Refined soldiers were active in this protest which was led by the Kumaon Parishad.

2 Chipko Movement: Chipko which started in the beginning of 1970s which has been defined variously as a feminist, environmental, ecological movement has its roots in the underlying notion of 'us' and 'them'.³⁶ The Chipko movement gained enormous fame through out the world's environmentalist circles for its successful efforts against deforestation. Chipko which is commonly perceived as a singular movement though mistakenly was actually an expression of the consciousness of the

³⁵ A popular mobilization against the practice took place under the leadership of B.D. Pande.

³⁶ Kumar Pradeep (2000), Uttarakhand: Construction of regional identity, Kanishka Publications, pp. 30

hill people and their quest for survival which later symbolized the Anti-Dam movement as well. Chipko which meant literally to embrace had drawn worldwide attention for its ingenious methods of civil disobedience including clinging to trees.

Historical Background

Deforestation in the Garhwal region began in earnest as the conquerors plundered the best trees of the lower foothills. Villagers also abandoned their terraced fields to escape from the ravages of the Gurkha forces. Following the Anglo-Gurkha war these areas were ceded and incorporated into British India. This change did not bode well for the forests. Organized commercial logging to feed Britain's industrial revolution severely impacted the Uttarakhand Himalayas. Large tracts of forested land were granted for agricultural usage. The needs of the British colonial state also resulted in systemic timber harvesting. Extensive railroad construction also ravaged the forests. The economic devastation of hill communities and the erosion of ancient cultural and societal ties to the forest resulted in self-destructive protests against imperial rule and exploitative forest policies but were suppressed violently by the British Raj.

The advent of independence unfortunately accelerated deforestation in the Himalayas. With economic growth and development as new guiding principles. Governments encouraged natural resource extraction on an unprecedented scale. In serving the overall national interest, forest conditions and ecosystems of Uttarakhand worsened and it became an internal colony.

The Modern Context

Deforestation and the introduction of a money based economy into the hills dramatically dislocated Uttarakhand village community. The new economic realities propelled a vastly longer movement of people to the plains. Environmental deterioration and the fall of the great forests further propelled Uttarakhandis to the plains and severely burdened the women who remained. Natural disasters increased in intensity as a result of deforested watershed and established geology commercial contractors from the plains carried out their massive extraction of natural resources

such as timber, limestone, magnesium by destructive means. The hum of machinery rumble of construction vehicles and explosion of dynamite became ubiquitous as companies blasted mountain slides, clear cut forests, excavated quarries and consumed resources for their own corporate needs. Given such massive disruption of the fragile Himalayan ecology, flooding and landslides claimed more victims and caused extensive damage. Such desperate conditions and loss of life increased substance abuse in the hills to such an extent as to prompt various organizations and associations around the issues of deforestation, resource depletion, etc.

The combined hardship and adversity of hill life had prepared the Garhwali people to respond radically to the powers destroying their lands and livelihoods. Effectively mobilized by various social activists like Sunderlal Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, the movement took on a distinctly non-violent grassroots essence. Organized first by the Sarvodaya workers, the ideals, aims and methods of the movement quickly spread across Uttarakhand. Socially conscious activists tried to organize as many communities against the commercial logging operations that had threatened and continued to menace their livelihoods. The movement gained momentum when hill women rose from the villages and embraced the trees and helped spread the word of Chipko among their own communities in H.P. Kashmir and Nepal. Womenfolk in fact formed the backbone of Chipko. Dependent on fuel, wood, water for household needs, they had suffered the most from deforestation, soil erosion and water depletion. Chipko was thus not a spontaneous popular upsurge which soon gripped the entire region it rather was a manifestation of the growing conflict between the industrial and commercial interests on the one hand and the people's traditional claims over their ecological endowments on the other.³⁷ The intensification of this conflict developed with the growing pressure of industrial interest on the ecology and with the consequent increase in the occurrence of natural calamities.

Chipko, thus was a grass roots movement responding to the needs of most of the population of Uttarakhand namely those people who live in rural villages close to

³⁷ Hussain Zakir (1990), *The Right Owners*, the Pioneer, 14 August, 1998.

the soil, forests and water of Himalayas. Chipko movement was the result of hundreds of decentralised and locally autonomous initiatives. Its leaders and activities (primarily village women) tried hard to save their means of sustenance and their communities.

The following table gives a brief outline of the Chipko Movement

Table 2.1

Year	Landmarks of Chipko Movement
1973	The first Chipko action took place
1980	The Chipko protests in U.P. achieved a major victory with a 15 year ban on green felling in the Himalayan forests
1981-83	Sunderlal Bahuguna's foot March, covering a distance of 5,000 kms was crucial in spreading the Chipko Message. He coined the Chipko slogan: ecology is permanent economy.
1986	The Chipko movement was featured in one of the publications of the U.N.

3. ANTI LIQUOR MOVEMENT

Similarly the mobilization against the liquor trade was not a singular instance but again has been part of hill people's consciousness to save their disintegrating social and cultural landscape.³⁸ This movement which like Chipko is spread over more than three decades, was started way back in 1902 by Sarvodaya activists like Sunderlal Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt. These activists realised that alcohol consumption was wrecking families and ruining the lives of so many young adults. Along with them women also led anti-drunkenness campaigns. No wonder the fight

³⁸ Pathak Shekhar (1985), Intoxication as a social evil EPW, Aug 1, 85, pp. 4311.

against liquor had become the cry of the Uttarakhand movement after women joined it in very large numbers. It was they who had to bear the brunt of a drunkard husband or son who not only spent all his earnings but also borrowed for his addiction leading to constant conflicts. The social evil of liquor consumption in the region has often been linked to the disintegration of social life which came with the family mode of development. The practice of liquor consumption was introduced with the military tradition and rising unemployment caused it to acquire menacing proportions.

The ex-army and paramilitary personnel living in the hills number about 500,000 and on an average each is entitled to draw for bottles of liquor which alone comes to two million bottles a month besides the consumption by civilians villagers and others. No sooner the Uttarkhand movement slackened, auctions were held for liquor shops all over the hills.

4. ANTI-TEHRI DAM MOVEMENT

The Tehri Dam has been another important issue which made people take the path of protest. The mobilization against the construction of Tehri Dam has revolved around technical issues of seismicity, dam safety norms, reservoir induced seismicity and cultural issues of displacement and rehabilitation.³⁹ The project was labeled as a prescription for disaster which could lead to unprecedented devastation not only in areas around the project but also in thickly populated townships. It was considered technically unfeasible, geologically blunder, economically unsound and environmentally disastrous. Another reason for the opposition to the construction by Dam is its lack of advantage to the local people since the project was supposed to supply electricity to Delhi.

The reasons for opposing the dam could be summarised as follows:

- The dam is being build over the confluence of the Bhilangana and Bhagirathi in a serious earthquake prone seismic zone that looks to become more active in the near future. Any earthquake of over 8.0 in magnitude, incidentally predicted in

³⁹ Rawat, Rajiv (1997), Up hills echo anti-liquor call, Hindustan Times, April 19, 1997.

the next century by seismologists, could collapse the dam, or at least cause reservoir levels over the height, leading to a flooding disaster.

- Constructed on a feeder river to the Ganges, the project has elicited opposition from Hindu leaders including the VHP and Rishikesh based Sants who see the dam as a sacrilegious violation of the river's right to flow unimpeded.
- Enormous water resources will be devoted to filling the hydro-electric reservoir, thus depriving the parched Tehri and Dehra Dun districts of more drinking water that has become critically scarce in recent years.
- Deforestation, leading to soil erosion in surrounding slopes, is predicted to cause heavy siltation, clogging the turbines and reducing the expected power generation significantly. The desilting process is also expected to be very expensive and would gobble up much of the generated electricity.
- Electricity generated by the plant will almost exclusively be supplied to Delhi and the plains, thus driving little benefit for local communities.
- The U.P. Electricity Board workers' strike in early 2000 focused attention on the colossal amount of electricity theft from the power grid that continues unchallenged. What guarantees are there that the electricity generated at Tehri won't be similarly dissipated?

And after more than 30 years of blundering progress, the dam is still under construction...

The first few instances of opposition to the proposal for the dam go as far back as 1965 and 1970s. But the organised protest started only after the administrative approval of the project in 1976. Thereafter various Gaon Sabhas in the Tehri district passed a joint resolution opposing the project. Various efforts of the people were given an organizational shape in the form of the Tehri Bandh Virodhi Sangarsh Samiti having the representation of several political parties and local people and womenfolk. Mode of protest employed by the Samiti included mass protest, Satyagrahas, awareness campaign, signature campaign, petitions to the Parliament and the Supreme Court. As a result the government of India was pressurized to order

various reviews by the proposal and constituted an expert group. A similar opposition to the Vishnuprayag Dam Project proposed in the Alaknanda valley led to the Shelving of the project when social activists brought the technical deficiencies of the project to the fore and drew the government's attention towards the unstable hill slope at the project's site exposing the entire area to the danger of landslides and avalanches. Mining and quarrying of limestone on the hills slopes near and around the Doon Valley is yet another instance where the people of Uttarakhand region were mobilized to preserve their environs from ecological destruction. Probably this was the first such protest which culminated in a successful environmental litigation.

Thus the life of inhabitant of Uttarakhand all through the ages has been marked by phases of and turbulence, of protest and resistance against the tyranny and exploitation of invaders and intruders both in pre-colonial and colonial times. The infringement and encroachment by these rulers, or their local representatives on the customary rights enjoyed by the hill people on their lands and forests on their mines and rivers and the freedom enjoyed by them within their local environment to evolve a cultural and economic life of their own had always evoked silent or vocal resentment, protest from the people inhabiting the hills.⁴⁰

The relevance of various instances of mobilization in the Uttarakhand region lies in the connections and disjunctions between not only these movements but also between the past and future mobilisational experiences. Some understanding of what happened in the immediate and remote past is essential for an insight into the recent convulsions and turbulence in Uttarakhand. If one is ignorant of what happened in Uttarakhand in pre colonial and colonial times and in the post colonial period, one is unaware of the continuity between the past the present.

There is an element of commonality in terms of modes of protest employed by these protests. All these movements set an example of non-violent Gandhian resistance. By combating such powerful opponents as state governments, commercial

⁴⁰ Joshi, P.C. (1995), Uttarakhand: Issues and Challenges, Hr Anand Publications, pp.

loggers and development planners, the people of Uttarakhand have in their struggle challenged the very basis of western inspired development or internal colonization. All these protests are marked by a flurry of awareness campaigns in the form of padyatras, fasts, satyagrahas, songs in the vernacular language, pamphlets, land hills. Movement leaders concentrated on democratic modes of protest such as picketing the liquor stalls, preventing the forest and liquor auctions, petitions, signature campaigns, etc.

Social activism is another such factor which pervades all post independence social movements in the Uttarakhand region. Sarvodaya activists have been in the lead of all of these.⁴¹ The political nature of all of these mobilizations further testifies to their social activism aspect. Sarvodaya activists have been instrumental in taking the message of Chipko from one village to another and thus consolidating the consciousness which had its origins in the pre independence days.

A high degree of participation by women has been another feature which characterizes the mobilisational history of Uttarakhand. Women have played a prominent if not pivotal role in the struggle. The lengthier forage time has stressed many village women to the point of physical exhaustion and incurred enormous hardships in their already difficult lives. The retreat of India's forest cover has been particularly acute in the Himalayan region where it is also necessary for stemming landslides, waterborne soil erosion and flooding.⁴² As such hill women borne the brunt of this modern assault on their natural resources and livelihood. Environmental degradation and the longstanding out migration of hill men in search of employment to the plains have combined to dramatically alter Himalayan society pushing women into new roles by undermining the social and ecological structure that one ordered their lives. The out migration of the men folk resulted in an imbalanced demographic

⁴¹ Names like Sunderlal Bahuguna Vimla Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Sarla Behn, Gaura Devi have been associated with various local movements.

⁴² Valdiya K.S. (1996), Uttarakhand Aaj (ed.), Forest wealth and women n India by S.P. Singh, Shree Almora Book Depot, p. 62.

profile and increased the burden on womenfolk. The combination of such pressures and timely organising talent of the Gandhian activists inspired such women to assert their rights and challenge the destruction happening all around them. The consciousness amongst the women about their placement in the structure of the entire discourse on nature-development and survival explains why the name Mahila Mangal Dal has become synonymous with social mobilisation. These Mahila Mandals have been active in the region. They have not only effected a sharp cut in the collection of timber fuel wood and fodder elected van panchayats which are entrusted with the job of conserving forests and ensuring adequate supply of forest produce to the local communities. The tough conditions in which these women live have influenced their love for conservation. Besides enduring an inhospitable terrain and treacherous climate the women shoulder a back-breaking routine to access resources to keep the household fires burning. Women in the region have moved on from an active role in agricultural activities to an empowered status in the social and political avenue by means of gaining entry into village panchyats which explains their high degree of participation in the social movements.

The neglect of local or regional geography and history resulted in total ignorance about this region, the hard life of its people and the heroic struggle and resistance waged by them in different periods. The people of this region have evolved a way of life for themselves bearing the impress of the Himalayan region, its flora and fauna, its ecology and environment whenever this way of life was threatened they fought hard to defend their control over their local environment and its resources and to safeguard their autonomy against overwhelming odds. The tradition of resistance against outside exploitation and oppression had existed in this region long before the era of anti-colonial, national awakening and the spirit of resistance generated by this awakening. National awakening in this region was as much the extension of local awakening to the national plane as the penetration of national consciousness amongst the local

people.⁴³ The nationalist fighting spirit in this region owes much to pre-existing fighting traditions of the local communities. It became important to tap and draw upon the vast reservoir of energy and fighting spirit of the local communities in the nationalist cause. In this respect the anti Kuli movement of 1921, and the movements round the issues connected with forests were not new developments owing their inspiration primarily to nationalism from above. They were in fact the continuation with greater tenacity and valour and showing greater sweep, of the local struggles on these issues which had gone on in pre-colonial times. The wide sweep of the nationalist movement in the region can be explained primarily by its capacity to identify itself with local issues and demands, local urges and aspirations and to give them recognition and legitimacy at the national level and to incorporate them into the character of national demands. In the consciousness of the people the local and the national had become indivisible. Some of the basic issues being raised by the people of this central Himalayan region were not just of local significance, they were also fundamental for the protection of the eco system as a whole.

Mobilisation in Uttarakhand has not only used the primordial network of community solidarity by drawing upon religious symbolisms as well as the cultural idiom of protest but also has resulted in a number of community networks, and organisations namely Uttarakhand Sangarsh Vahini, Tehri Band Vinodhi Sangarsh Samiti, Mahila Mangal Dal, Yuvak Dals etc. which have facilitated the scale and extent of and political culture witnessed in the region over a period of time. Such an organisational network backed by a commonality of perceptions and experiences about one's life, opportunities and its deep ecological embeddedness explains the sustained protracted and recurrent nature of mobilizations in the life of Uttarakhand people.

Crystallisation of an identity as an ongoing process of development of a consciousness and its placement in the historical, cultural, and ecological boundaries has also been crucial in the mobilisational history of the Uttarakhand. The

⁴³ Sanwal, K.D. (1995), Localism Vs Nationalism, Mainstream, Nov. 1, 1995, pp. 19-18.

mobilisation on the issue of regional autonomy for Uttarakhand though completely different from the earlier movements in terms of the political nature of its demand can be better understood in the backdrop of mobilisational history of Uttarakhand region and the creation of the community and mobilisation networks.

CHAPTER IV

THE MOVEMENT

Introduction

In the background of regional movements of Uttarakhand one can understand how an awakening of such great sweep and intensity had stirred up amongst the people of Uttarakhand. It was like a wave that shook up the whole region as never before in its history. Though the movement had to face indifference, apathy and hostility of established vested interests both within and outside the region and intimidation and terrorization, it exhibited a tenacity and strength derived from active participation of all sections of society from both rural and urban areas. The movement quite often is claimed to be a sort of renaissance in contemporary times. The movement like the 19th century renaissance aimed at rejuvenating the Uttarakhand society to face the challenges posed by an alien, insensitive and callous model of development based on internal colonialisation. It may be useful to dwell briefly on P.C. Joshi's⁴⁴ study of Uttarakhand movement which identifies four basic motivating forces behind the movement.

Firstly, the forces operating and mechanisms working at the political, and cultural levels that had acted as a bridge between local concerns and national concerns and that had maintained a continuing dialogue and two way communication between the people, the region and the national elite/national state have broken down. The power elite at the top have shown less and less interest and concern for regions like Uttarakhand which do not constitute major vote banks. Even politicians at the local level have been less keen to gain legitimacy through the service of the region and its public. The tremendous distrust of and revulsion with politics, political parties and politicians in this region had its source in the alienation of politics from the basic interests of the people of this region. Those political leaders who rose into prominence from this region hardly espoused the cause of this region in national forums or

⁴⁴ Joshi, P.C. (1995), Uttarakhand: Issues and Challenges, Har Anand Publications, pp. 16-28.

through national institutions and agencies. The sense of powerlessness and the search for more effective ways of empowerment led people to demand shift of centers of effective power to the region itself where they could be made responsive and accountable to the people.

Secondly according to P.C. Joshi Uttarakhand having a very early start in education through the establishment of centres of order learning had thrown up a modern educated class which served as a bridge between the local stream and the national mainstream. From this educated class dynamic and talented elements were recruited into the national elite. All this also constituted a bridge between localism and nationalism. There has been a deep disillusionment amongst the local people about the role of this co-opted middle class of non-resident Uttarakhandis in advancing the cause of the region. Despite the high positions enjoyed by them they have not played any significant role in either creating awareness about this region in the rest of India or in creating awareness in the people of the region about the challenges facing them in a vastly changed environment. There has been a sort of regression from the past traditions arising from this ruptured relationship between the 'nation' and the 'region'.

Thirdly, the basic background for change in people's perception has been created by the rapid opening up of the region via extensive road building and extension of communications, the disruption of traditional sources of livelihood and or economic and social security and the loss of control experienced by the people over the resources and endowments of their own environment. It has been argued that the post colonial India has carried forward in some basic respects the fundamental approach underlying the colonial system of economy management and political governance. The Uttarakhand movement emerged in the background of this rapid disintegration of the traditional economy resulting in mass exodus by people from this region and the emergence of a money order economy within the region.

Fourthly, the interventions made through the Five Year Plans to initiate reconstruction of the economy of the region on a sounder footing and to arrest the process of economic dislocation, social disintegration and ecological destruction did

not yield the desired results. The consequences of this failure have been disastrous leading to erosion of faith in planning and development itself and the promoters of it. In this region the regime of planning itself has been a source of massive corruption, maldevelopment and loss of autonomy through over-centraliation.

The Uttarakhand movement was a protest against the maldevelopment, marginalisation, peripheralisation. These evils arise from the basic disjunction of the region from the nation.

Out of these four motivating factors the one that seems to have been stressed most is the degeneration of the region in to a hinterland of the country's affluent classes and regions. The region became an internal colony, exploited for and by outsiders. And it was this economic as well as ecological exploitation which became one of the motivating forces behind the movement. This process was in turn facilitated by the developments which led to the break u p of economic relations with neighbouring countries of Nepal and Tibet and after independence practically took away the economical vital land of the terai which provided economic sustenance during the winter months to the land-starved hill people. The contractor-economy further bled the region white of its green economic resources!

REFLECTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMET MODEL OF THE REGION

It was not merely a case of development of non-development in the last fifty-six years of independence but this had been accompanied by the ruthless exploitation of the natural resource of the region.

The unbalanced development of the region can be attributed to neglect, faulty planning and lack of interest in the region or due to the fact that it was a part of a very big and unwieldy province of U.P. The postcolonial policies continued to undermine the social, economic and ecological basis of agrarian life without replacing it within a more viable and prosperous system of production.⁴⁵ They had wreaked tremendous have on the countryside pauperising people in agrarian sector and diminishing the

⁴⁵ Pathak, Shekhar (1997), State, society and National Resources in Himalayas, EPW, 26 April, 1997, p. 18.

stock of plant, water and soil resources. In Uttarakhand the process which started with the establishment of British rule continued at the same pace or rather at a greater after Independence in the form of internal colonization and resulted in continued drain of mineral, forest as well as human resources. Most young people have left the mountains for greener and not so greener pastures in the plains.

The region which presents some very special ecological and social cultural features has been one of the backward and neglected regions inspite of rich natural resources. The region was denied economic justice and hence the development process was almost negligible in different sectors like:

A. Agriculture has always been the main profession through it couldn't sustain people throughout the years. It was so weak, unscientific and backward that it could not become the basis of economy. The government seemed not to realize that because of shortage of land, small size holdings and growing population resulting in increase in burden on land, agriculture could not become a basis for sound economy. No such policy was formulated which could have been in accordance with the needs and would have resulted in overall growth of the region. Due to absence of introduction of suitable scientific and modern techniques in agriculture the people employed in agriculture remained without work for almost six months. They added to the volume of unemployed youth. The agriculture couldn't fulfill the needs of 80% of the population. Major part of the grain came from outside the state. Since majority of population had to survive on agriculture the hardly available land became overburdened resulting in environmental exploitation and solid erosion. A large part of the land being reserved the people started using the rest of the available land, oblivious of soil erosion and other harmful effects.

The absence of economically viable agricultural sector and slow growth of horticulture in the hills made people aware of the need to generate employment in sectors other than agriculture or to migrate to the plains.

The following table reflects on the poor economics of agriculture in the region.

Table 3.1. District wise Agriculture Production in Uttarakhand (1990-91)

Districts	Net area sown (In hectares)	Agricultural Production (Quintals)		
		Cereals	Pulses	Oilseeds
Almora	103	1,79,435	2,709	662
Chamoli	43	77,724	263	428
Dehradun	53	93,772	2,159	2,206
Nainital	202	6,48,915	5,739	5,254
Pauri	101	1,53,772	2,186	601
Pithoragarh	70	1,35,559	4,612	426
Tehri	72	1,42,181	1,854	757
Uttarkashi	34	49,399	695	806

Source: Tiwari, Indu (1999): Unity for Indentity: Struggle for Uttarakhand, K.I. Pub.

Valdiya, K. S. (ed) 1996, Uttarakhand Today, Shree Almora Book Depot, Almora

B. Industries: When it comes to industries no attention was paid to industrial development of the region. There had been negligible growth. Some of the industries that had been laid before resulted in the destruction and exploitation of natural resources. The policy again has not been in consistency with the ecology of the region. The policy of the plains was always imposed by the policy makers who were ignorant of uniqueness of topography and geography of the region. Out of eight districts six were declared to be zero industrialized. The hill districts also figured among the most undeveloped districts of Uttar Pradesh and among 72 most backward

districts of the country.⁴⁶ That the hill economy of Kumaon is much poorly diversified is well indicated by its dimly low level of urbanization. The industrial activities have been limited and often inappropriate with respect to the real regional needs. The proportion of people dependent on transport has always been higher in western plains and the lowest in Himalayas. The Himalayas though neither urbanized nor industrialised had a large proportion of its rural population dependent on remittances of employees in the Defence and other services. The region has always been treated as an internal colony, subjected to one-sided competition of exploitation of natural resources. In this competition the success has been of the majority community because they have been the ones who decide the rules. The adaptation of the western model of development has been based on the implicit assumption that backward regions both at the national and global levels must serve as colonies as source of raw materials and as deeming grounds for surplus goods of the developed regions of the world.⁴⁷ The new elites of the country thus emulated the west and treated the undeveloped but resource rich regions like Uttarakhand in the same manner as the developed countries had treated the less developed countries.

No basic industrial infrastructure had been developed for the region. In the absence of industries the employment avenues were not being generated. Self-employment schemes were launched but in the absence of resources and training it could not be a success. Even after independence some of the hill areas were deep immersed in poverty. Administrators and planners had done nothing to strengthen the economy of these districts and the result of this neglect was regional imbalance.

The real fact regarding the development of the region is that it has witnessed inconsistent development in which no attention has been paid to the uniqueness of the region. Since Himalayan ecological principles could only be applicable in the

⁴⁶ Shah, Giriraj (1996), *Uttarakhand A Blue print for Development*, Cosmo Pub. New Delhi, pp. 28.

⁴⁷ Naithani Pankaj (1998), *Economic Scenario of Uttaranchal*, *Mainstream*, Nov. 4, 1998, pp. 105.

ous policies could not be successful in the region which were meant for The plans should have been such as which could have systematically available resources and were in accordance with the topography and the region. The plans which were formulated for the plains had been the region. The issue of economic backwardness gets compounded on various factors such as the nature of the terrain where agriculture alone in life.

partisan development and inconsistent reorganization led to a sense of awareness led to a sense of concern and awareness amongst people. The thus called for an indigenous effort to plan its own natural resources.

predominantly mountainous regions of Uttarakhand lacked modern communication. Some of the areas till date remain inaccessible. In spite of large budget the hill region was desperately in need of development process because of the dearth of implementation of development scheme, lack of basic amenities like electricity, roads, bridges credit and marketing and industrial atmosphere. In the distant areas there has been acute scarcity of social and public services, education, medical facilities. Even the basic facilities like health have been very insufficient. There has been a dearth of doctors, paramedical staff, medicines etc.

The following table reveals the low level of industrial development in major districts

Table 3.2 Some basic comparative data about districts of Uttarakhand (1991)

Name of Districts	% of Industrial Units	Total Investment (R Crore)	Capital (R)	% of Villages connected by pucca road
Almora	17.85	20.36		14.54
Chamoli	9.03	9.05		7.78
Dehradun	21.50	200.27		47.51
Nainital	22.55	468.01		51.16
Pauri Garhwal	7.86	34.27		10.48
Pithoragarh	10.78	18.25		15.08
Tehri Garhwal	7.24	29.76		10.85
Uttarkashi	7.9	7.98		9.71

Source: Nautiyal R. R. and A. K. (1996), " Changing Dimensions of Uttarakhand: Economic Status in Nautiyal and Nautiyal (ed.) 1996.

The table clearly shows that only two districts Dehradun and Nainital account for most of the development related performance.

It is due to these problems that the proper utilization of natural resource didn't take place.

The deprivation in the region therefore has not merely been relative but also absolute to a great extent.⁴⁸

C. Ecological Concerns: The construction of roads in the wake of the Chinese aggression in 1962 did give a fillip to the transportation activities on the highways but it also brought modern tourists who followed a consumption pattern unsuited to the environment of the hills resulting in an environmental imbalance in region. The unplanned manner in which roads had been constructed led to landslides and allied problems. The Government appeared to have taken a hypocritical stance in the hills. It banned the traditional rights of villagers to use village common lands thereby depriving them of their conventional rights on forest but allowed unlimited felling of trees by the contractors and their mafias. Mindless cutting down of the forests by timber mafias is by now very well-known.

Inflow of forests in towns like Mussorie and Naintial evoked a very negative response from the environmentalists who saw this development as resulting in the deflection of natural resources and defacement of the hills of create leisure spots for the affluent, neo-rich from the metropolis. Unscientific mining, deforestation, liquor, and forest mafias along with the contractor's mafias also posed major ecological concerns.

Flaws in the Planning Process

It was the then system of planning which never took into consideration the needs of the hills people. Large funds were allocated for development work in the plans. But often funds allotted to hills were transferred to other regions on the plea that these couldn't be utilized in the mountains. The economic situation came to such a pass that the region in became a victim of a vicious circle. Even if some developmental work took place the advantages did not go to the local population. Due to lack of permanent and regular source of income thousands of young bodied person migrated. How to subordinate such kind of economy to an overall development plan

⁴⁸ Kumar Pradeep (1999), *The Uttarakhand Movement; Construction of a Regional Identity*, Kanishka Pub. , pp. 25.

suited to the needs of sustainable regional development and to the imperatives of economy and environment became a major concern for the people of Uttarakhand.

Administrative Anomalies

It was the reservation issue which gave a decisive turning point to the struggle for Uttarakhand. In its long and chequered history the movement entered its crucial phase around two points.⁴⁹ Since Monsoon 1994, in various hill districts of Garhwal and Kumaon, students and the youth started an agitation against the Government policy of 27% reservation for OBC. The region has a very scanty OBC population. And the youth realized that the job prospects would be greatly threatened and so the stir intensified with the participation of every section of the people.

The other point was to resume the demand for a separate state. Both these strands mingled with each other. The movement became distinct on two point. One for the first time the movement passed from political parties to students and the youth, from party offices to campuses in Kumaon and Garhwal divisions. Even the backward masses of the villages as well as the residents of glamorous lowest centers like Mussorie and Nainital left their conventional party inclinations and agitated in favour of separate state. Although the students of the plains on campuses such as Meerut and Gorakhpur universities had organized protest programme. The main reason of the discontent of the Kumaon and Garhwal region was their experience that the plain areas of the huge state prospered at the cost of the neglect of the hill people.

When Maulayam Singh government shot dead the agitating hill people, people observed the day of mourning against the atrocities. Such an ethos of violence and repression instead of blunting the will of the hill people brought the movement to a crucial turning point in 1994. The issue of reservation escalated the movement. It was not the prime factor. It was a contributory factor to the age old demand for a separate state.

⁴⁹ Kumar, Pradeep (1997), Political, Dynamics of Uttarakhand on 1990's, Mainstream, Apr. 8, 1997, pp. 16-19.

Delimitation of Gram Shabhas was another administrative anomaly on the part of the UP Government which sought to recognise the Gram Sabhas for every 5,000 population.⁵⁰ While in the plains the might have been a sound principle, for the hills one is lucky to have a village with 500-1,000 person. Even a polling booth with 1,000 and odd voters is generally spreads over four to six villages. Thus as per the requirements of Gram Sabhas a villager would have to travel 15-20 villages to meet the sarpanch and that too in the difficult hilly terrains.

Many more anomalies were found in the Government departments where funds had been made available for hand pumps, digging wells and tube wells in a region like Uttarakhand. Similarly money had been sanctioned for purchasing tractors, fertilizers despite conventional cereal crops not being widely cultivated in the region.⁵¹ It was this indifference and callousness in not looking into the specific requirement of the mountainous region at the time of finalizing state plans that had given hill people a raw deal!

The insensitive and callous administration failed to understand the local requirements of the region. The people of Uttarakhand realized that all these problems would be taken care of the once the UP Government, acting as a 'feudal lord' gives in and allows its 'colonised' part to stand on its own legs and speak up on the issues related to its people.⁵²

The neglect of the UP hills has not been a new development but what was new was the aggressive translation of the perception of the neglect. The demand for Uttarakhand for a long time was actually confined to some intellectual and political circles. The movement gradually could spread its support base within a short span of time. Most agitators comprised the Government employees, the students and their guardians including a large number of women who have always been in the forefront

⁵⁰ The Hindustan Times, Oct. 7, 1994.

⁵¹ Nautiyal, Suresh, The Observer, Sept. 29, 1994.

⁵² Matur, M. L. (1995), Uttarakhand Movement, Political and Economic issues, social change, Dec. 1995, pp. 23-56.

in these hills. The movement also got the support from environmentalists. It was the Government employees, the students and their parents (More particularly the women, Matri Shakti) who were perturbed by the prospects of there being no seats available for the local students in the education institutions.

Issue of Identity

Most contemporary demands for separate states have been driven by growing perception of economic deprivation. The later however needs some nuclear to grow around and this is provided by a district culture, geography, economy and language. Here in comes the issue of identity. Previous instances of mobilisation in the region had been instrumental in cementing a well knit Uttarakhandi identity. The district geographical location, climate, history and a distinct pahari culture have added to this identity. What is more discernible in this evolving identity has been the subjective consciousness of their being a 'people' who constitute a pahari community with its own culture and history. Along with this their perception of relative deprivation of the entire hill region has been determinant of this cementing of a pan-Uttarakhandi identity. Crucial role has also been played by the large number of migrants from Uttarakhand living in various parts of India. Their role in boosting the movement for a separate state has been visible in their organization of various rallies. Some of the associations run by these Non Resident Uttarakhandis in their respective towns brought out volumes documenting the events and data related to the movement. The economic backwardness in terms of lack of agricultural development, deforestation, uneconomical growth, lack of effective regional planning and callous neglect of the hills by an indifferent and distant state capital of Lucknow could not have become so important unless people as a whole community actually had taken cognizance of this. The movement in a way was assertion of their cultural identity.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOVEMENT

Demand for a separate state of Uttarakhand was raised time and again but it assumed the form of a movement only as protest against 27% reservation for OBC. The movement took off on a low keynote when the unified Uttarakhand Kranti Dal launched an agitation demanding vedemtion of Panchyats, implementation of hill

cadre and the creation of separate hill state.⁵³ The unsympathetic attitude of the authorities against the peace loving hill people strengthened their feeling of injustice being done to them. This feeling they had been nurturing for long. Use of lathis on students was a shock to the people who being law abiding citizens had never been used to such kind of police action. Anti reservation wave gave it the necessary impetus to become a mass movement are:

It was the fear and insecurity for the future for it would dwindle the concept of money order which was the basis of economy. The most important avenue of livelihood was being threatened Education was the only means of acquiring respectable jobs and that was being encroached upon and there were chances of being shared with outsiders in the absence of proportionate percentage of population. The move sparked off a fierce anti reservation stir in the region which came in handy for the votaries of Uttarakhand who put their weight behind it to further their cause. Some of the main features of the movement.

A. MASSIVE SUPPORT BASE

Earlier the demand had remained confined to the upper middle class educated people. It was generally discussed in meetings, conferences and resolutions were passed. There were lone instances of dharmas, protests march and strikes here and there but it still remained the purview of upper middle class.⁵⁴ The year 1994 was significant in the history of the movement when the anti-reservation stir broadened its base and it finally became a mass movement, encompassing the whole state of society. The whole mass of popular classes identified themselves with the movement. The entire population felt affected by the orders of the government.⁵⁵ Now people came out on their own in large numbers. Almost the whole of the population was on

⁵³ A meeting was organized by the students at Parui to Oppose this move and they were brutally lathi charged.

⁵⁴ Farhat Parveen (1990), Uttarakhand Movement: A perspective Regional Studies, 1990 (Autumn), pp. 68.

⁵⁵ Nautiyal Annapurna (1994), Uttarakhand: The Mass Movement, 11 Jan., pp. 120.

the roads and the agitation was purely voluntary. The agitationists had one common grievance for the redressal of which they all came together irrespective of caste, color, creed, religion and class. The reservation issue became a unifying factor. In the absence of profitable agriculture and accompanying industrial sector the working class also looked towards jobs which were not there in the region. The aspiring and ambitious amongst them had also realized the importance of education in acquiring jobs-the only means to earn bread. The term Uttarakhandi came to mean any person living in any part of the country of any religion of any political ideology who was concerned about the region. Various Uttarakhandis living in other cities outside Uttarakhand watched with sympathy the movement and tried to organize support for the cause. Spontaneous response of the people became one of the most important characteristics of the movement.⁵⁶ The reason being the feeling in every man of Uttarakhand that injustice had been done to him. Even in far off area. (Gairsain, Gwaldam, Bhukeassian) people could be seen agitatingly denouncing the slogan of indifference of the Government towards their demand for a separate state. Enthusiasm was so great that the shopkeepers were not worried about regular bandhs which affected their business. They were all for the attainment of the statehood.

This was the movement which broke all the barriers. Cities, villages, elderly mother, sisters, young employees everyone came on the street because of the concern for the future. It was a people's movement which was more social and cultural than political. In a way a movement's spontaneity lends it a non political colour. Since the Uttarakhand movement rose voluntarily one noticeable factor was the absence of important political leaders to guide and lead the movement. Unlike in some other cases where the political parties are accused of politicising the issue or creating one out of nothing to divide the people, the movement in these hills completely marginalised these parties during the peak of the agitation. It was argued that political parties had only tried to weaken the movement by opposing the call for a boycott in 1996. Most people who had been active participants in the movement insisted that it

⁵⁶ Rao, Hanumantha (1993), Uttarakhand: Case for a separate state, Mainstream, 20 Dec., pp. 35-37.

was not a political movement but a people's movement. The movement represents one of those rare movement when people forged a head taking charge of their destiny and leaving intellectuals and political leaders for behind.⁵⁷

B. WOMEN IN THE FOREFRONT:

Participation of women in large numbers was another significant feature of the agitation. Conservative and backward women of the region came out openly and in large numbers to join the movement. Leaving their homes they went out to places as far as Delhi to demonstrate.⁵⁸ Women also actively participated in processions and rallies. Women who had always remained indoors were on the roads. Rural women who walked miles to fetch water were on the roads. Women came out leaving the household chores which required extra time and labour because of the migration of male population and much of their time was spent on solving problems like fuel shortage, water etc. They felt that running their household will become even more difficult as their children's future appeared to be weak. Therefore they voluntarily came out of their house to protest soon they became a force to reckon with. The position of a hill woman is entirely different from that of a city women.⁵⁹ She is the backbone of agriculture in addition to motherhood and household chores. With the large scale migration of men folk the decisions are to be taken by the women which has made them vociferous and capable of taking decisions as compared to the women in the plane. Supplying a large number of recruits in the army the region also has a substantial also number of widows who have been also quite active in regional affairs. It is often said that in this region any programme can be successful it women are

⁵⁷ Joshi P. C. (1996), Uttarakhand: Issues and Challenges, Har Anand Publication, pp. 12.

⁵⁸ Around 40 Women activists from Dehra Dun demonstrated before Parliament house and attempted to force entry through the heavily guarded gates and were detained by police, Hindustan Times, 8 Dec. 1995).

⁵⁹ Negi, Biju, The Hindustan Times, Sept. 30, 1997.

made a part of it.⁶⁰ The Chipko Movement had shown that women had played an important role in all the social and environment related issues. The attitude of the government in Mussorie, Rampur, Muzzafarnagar greatly agitated them.

Women of the region joined the struggle and staged rallies foregoing their essential chores of gathering fodder and wood from the forest. There was not a single district in which the women were not on the roads. It has been described as an obsessive concern. Their only concern was to take a separate state which they believed will be their own in which they would be able to solve their problems. This hope helped them to face all sorts of oppression. The result was the general awareness amongst women, started taking interest in government schemes etc and questioned the village head/authorities about its implementation.

In the rallies organized by Progressive women platform women demanded from the central government a separate hill and nothing less and support from the state government. Seeing this overwhelming response political parties vied with each other to win their support. There were even instances of giving lures to women in the form of party position. But women did not have faith in political parties. Various women organisations felt that all such parties and groups that were interested in the separate state should form a separate Hill State Agitation Samiti or the United Sangarsh Samiti otherwise movement would scatter.

Measures were taken to organise local women and establish contacts with local and district level women organizations. A progressive women forum with programmes such as women awareness, women identities, their rights, organizing seminars and cultural issues was formed. Various women organisations started a debate on the question what should be the nature of Uttarakhand movement. They didn't want to be dominated by the Mafia.

Various programmes were aimed at by the forum like

⁶⁰ There is a saying in the hills that the plough is in the hands of men. Rest everything is in the hands of women, Uttaryani, Souvenir 1977.

(a) It will keep on providing a definite programme, keep political parties which were not in favour of separate state work by the forum.

(b) It would fight the attempts of any organisation or group to agitation.

(c) It would keep trying to bring together agitation students, intellectuals and various sections of the society and the supporting the cause. The forum believed in unity of programme.

C. CONTRIBUTION FROM THE STUDENTS.

Apart from womenfolk student community played a major role in the movement. In fact it was the students who started it. Reservation on their future. It was they who started the anti reservation struggle of all sections of the society which took the form of demand for

Students in their initial year even left their studies spending almost entire time on this agitation. Schools and colleges closed for months.

After the Muzaffarnagar incident the students became more active. A programme of various steps for intensification of the movement was being worked out by a committee of common struggle led by students. The movement was revived when groups of women and students went around persuading government and other offices to close in support of the popular demand for separate hill state. The students tried to keep the national parties away from their issue for they felt that these parties had no interest in the region. Their only interest was to capitalize on the issue. Various student leaders from all districts of Garhwal and Kumaon deliberated for two days and criticised the role of major national parties active in the region. Those leaders aligned to or belonging to students wings of the major parties maintained their

⁶¹ It was the protest meeting at Pauri of the students when was fired upon by the police that sparked off the agitation.

allegiance only on ideological grounds while some defended their allegiance. The leaders of Uttarakhand Chhatra Sanyukt Sangarsh Samiti decided to boycott all sorts of elections in the region unless a separate state was formed. They decided to oppose those parties who wished to make electoral gains out of the separate state issue.

D. EX-ARMY PERSONNEL'S ROLE IN THE MOVEMENT

Contribution from this section of the society can't be overlooked. This section comprised of soldiers both ex soldiers and then in active service. Region's participation in the armed forces has been quite immense. Both Kumaon and Garhwal Rifles are in existence and majority of the youth of the region joins the armed force.⁶² A feeling gained ground among them that their sacrifices have been ignored and that they had sacrificed everything for the nation and that with the pension they were able to educate their children but now when they are ready to enter college/university then the issue of reservation has come up and they couldn't be more patient and time has come for them to enter the fray and mobilize the movement. The way in which the state government had dealt with agitators provoked the ex-servicemen and they decided to join the agitation and resort. Many of them had but on their uniforms and medals of valour and stage marched in various towns and villages.

Involvement of the people not belonging to the region but working there was also noteworthy. Some government employees led long strikes and sacrificed much. It was they who coined the striker's slogan 'Vaiten nahin Uttarakhand hand Chaiye.'⁶³

E. NON-VIOLENCE : AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE MOVEMENT

Non-violence always remained the key word of the agitation in spite of sufferings and attitude of the government. The hill people had mostly used peaceful

⁶² Region's participation in the armed forces has been quite immense. Both Kumaon and Garhwal Rifles are in existence and majority of the youth of the region joins the armed force.

⁶³ Uniyal, J.P. (1995), The Observer, 10 Oct. 1995.

means. The nonviolent and spontaneous characteristics of the movement are in a way nothing new for the hill populace which had spearheaded many such movements in its history. Agitations demanding a total ban on the sale of liquor and villagers right to use forest produce have all been non-violent. One factor which is often cited as an evidence of the non-violent character of these movements is that nearly all these particularly the Chipko, anti liquor have been led, by women.⁶⁴ And even in the Uttarakhand agitation especially in the 1990s more than any other section it was the women who were in the forefront.

In spite of provocation by the government the agitation remained peaceful. The technique adopted included strikes, bandas and protest marches. In the initial stages all the school colleges and government offices remained closed. Student community enforced the closure of schools, college and offices to wider the network and involve. Other establishments of central and state governments, banks and other public sector centers. It was believed that the success of bandhs, rallies and protest marches would mark the solidarity within the Uttarakhand movement. Economic blockades were also resorted. Fasts were also popular means. Boycott of elections was one major issue. No state, no election became a popular slogan Some Uttarakhand action groups decided to boycott the assembly elections. All these organizations united under the aegis of Uttarakhand Sangarsh Samiti and demanded that elections in the region be stalled till a separate state is created. It was decided that dharnas would be staged in the region on the day of polling. In spite of the non-violent stand adopted by the agitationists the policy adopted by the government was of coercion and the most glaring example was of Khatima and Muzzafamagar firing which came as a great shock to the people who had always insisted on being non violent.⁶⁵

It was on the insistence of the older generation and womenfolk that the agitation remained non-violent. They believed that compromise not confrontation was

⁶⁴ Kumar Pradeep (1995), *Forests of Uttarakhand Crises*, 14, Oct. *Mainstream*, p. 68.

⁶⁵ Upadhaya, Devendra, (1994), *Uttarkhand: Calous Handling*, *Hindustan Times*, 15 Oct. 1994.

the solution to crisis. They exhorted to remain within the constitutional limits without sacrificing the right to express one's disgust over the then socio political climate. It was felt that the agitation shouldn't lose its peaceful colour and go out of hand. It was felt that in the garb of agitation the anti social elements could not enter the ranks and create disorder. The movement being non-violent was not only a unique feature but an important achievement. There was public anger against the coercion of the police and armed forces, there were a number of ex-servicemen trained in using the arms, the geographical situation suited to guerrilla warfare yet the movement remained free of violence which is considered to be one of its major strengths.

F. CENTRIPETALIST CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT:

The most distinct feature of the movement however has not been its origin in the politicization of the perceptions of relative socio-economic deprivation nor does it lie in the spontaneous and massive character of the movement. While these are very important to distinguish the Uttarakhand movement from several other movements for separate political set ups. The most distinguishing feature has been its strong rootedness in centripetalism.⁶⁶ Uttarakhand's location as a region in the heart land state of Uttar Pradesh makes it a part of the national mainstream politics which is highly centripetalist, nationalist and integrationist. Regional languages like Garhwali, Kumaoni, Kathmali have been treated as dialects of Hindi. The Social composition of the region has had a preponderance of the twice born castes (largely Brahmins and Thakur) who identify with pan Indian Hinduism. Most participants in the movement were aware of this sentiment which found repeated mention in their narrative of the movement. It was explained by them not as a movement to demand a political set up for the hill dwellers but a movement with a much broader agenda aimed at changing the conventional model of development which had been insensitive to the fragile

⁶⁶ Nautiyal R. R and Nautiyal Annapurna, Uttarakhand in Turmoil, M. D. Publications, pp. 22-26.

ecology of the Himalayas. Most slogans raised by the rank and file of the movement in the pamphlets and handbills were related to broad sentiments.⁶⁷

The existential realities also reinforced the centripetalist thrust of the movement. The Muzaffarnagar firing and rape incidents of October 1994 were also recalled by the agitators to bring home the point that it was the 'nation' that protected them and not the police which ironically were the perpetrators of the heinous crimes. The people who rescued the victims at Rampur ka Tiraha were those from the plains.

Half the population of Uttarakhand lives in the plains all across the north India. These non-resident Uttarakhandis have always acted as a permanent umbilical cord connecting the region with the nation. These migrants have greatly shortened the distance by disallowing the hills from getting isolated from the plains. The episodal help rendered by the entire nation in the aftermath of the tragedy at Uttarkashi in the wake of an earthquake is vividly remembered and recollected to reinforce the national identity of the region. The presence of a very large number of ex-service men re-establishes this sentiment. Most families pride on someone being in the service of the nation. All this added to the centripetal character of the movement. Most participants in the movement did not miss to register that it was not the demand for a regional autonomy so much as it was for speedy development of the hills to ensure its fullest integration into the economic mainstream.

G. CONTRIBUTION OF ARTISTS, POETS:

The movement also had a cultural aspect. Various cultural associations took the initiative.⁶⁸ By way of folk songs, street plays, poetry, posters and cultural processions. They took the responsibility of giving it a new direction.

⁶⁷ Bharat desh rahe akhand, le ke rahenge Uttarakhand: Bharat Mata rahe akhand rakshak hoga Uttarakhand were some of the slogans which found; mention on top of the most handbills issued by agitations.

⁶⁸ These organisations are Jagar Parayas, Uttarakhand Jan Sanskriti, Uttarakhand Jan Chetna, Akrosh, DHAD.

The songs which were sung for gods and goddesses were adopted in such a way as to arouse the public opinion. In most hill towns the movement had thrown up groups which composed songs written extensively in the regional press. Various regional and Hindi poets with their simple poetry tried to keep alive the cultural aspect of the movement. Such cultural associations not only gave a new meaning to the conventional forms of folk culture but also helped in preparing ground for transforming the movement into a comprehensively charged movement.

There was a kind of cultural exchange between the rural and urban areas. Rural folk from interiors presented their street plays in various urban areas and the urban cultural troupes went on Padyatra in rural areas and created a kind of cultural awakening. The movement thus had the support of a large number of theater and art groups which didn't necessarily lead it but had played an important role. Intellectuals also took out various pamphlets and folders on Uttarakhand, and research papers on the social, cultural and economic aspects of the movement. Innumerable articles in regional and local dailies generated an intellectual support for the movement.

WEAKNESS OF THE MOVEMENT

The movement also had some weak points. The movement which had started with such a great intensity and spontaneity was not able to maintain that vigour for long.

A. Lack of good leadership remained the bane of the region and also of the movement.⁶⁹ The hill leaders remained busy in the national forum and the development of the region remained neglected. It was also realized that every party in the region was in favour of a separate state but because of the undefined policy of the parties they kept quiet.

The region lacked men like Y.S. Parmar who remained hooked to his region (Sirmaur in Himachal Pradesh). It was time and again felt that the region did not have a single leader. The government also had a problem with whom it should

⁶⁹ Maityam, Shailesh (1996), Uttarakhand Ka Janandolan: Rashtriya Pariprekshya in Valdeya (ed) 1996.

negotiate. If any leadership was witnessed at any point of time the leaders aligned with other parties whenever the elections came near. They started nurturing the desire of reaching the Parliament. This leadership believed that Uttarakhand would be formed in Parliament. Most of the leaders and political parties became interested in the movement because of its spontaneity. They wanted to get political Mileage out of the same. Once they saw that the intensity of the movement was dying because of various reasons they also lost interest. The political leaders who had jumped into the movement to capture its leadership abandoned it because they found that coming into being of a hill state was a distant dream and capturing power in it still more remote. This situation resulted in the movement remaining a disorganized one. In the absence of one united party a large number of parties⁷⁰ had cropped up at various levels but there was a lack of co-ordination amongst them. A single plan of action could not be formulated. There was no doubt that the movement went differently at different places. At places more emphasis was laid on the demand of a separate state, at the others an opposition to 27% reservation. Absence of a tall leader always makes movement vulnerable to infiltration. In the absence of organizational set up the government took advantage of the situation. Several pro-government persons infiltrated the ranks of Uttarakhand Kranti Dal in order to weaken the movement. At one point of time the agitation seemed to lose the momentum especially in the Kumaon Region where several pro-Government officials had infiltrated into the ranks of the agitationsist.⁷¹

B. Factionalism in the party had also disillusioned its cadre most of which consisted of not professional politicians but students, guardians, women and many more who had identified themselves with the movement. The Uttarakhand Kranti Dal party, had split again and again and in 1996 it had at least three factions. This definitely moralized many. Disillusionment with the professional politicians was somewhat

⁷⁰ These parties were Uttarakhand Kranti Dal Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini, Uttarakhand Jan Parishad, Uttarakhand Raksha maneh.

⁷¹ Mandradh, Jerasana (1996), Uttarakhand remains in the heart, The Tribune, 11 Dec 1996.

inevitable in a spontaneous movement like this. It was felt that political parties had actually damaged the movement by dividing it into several faction leaders. This may be a natural outcome of a prolonged neglect of the region by the politicians.

Thus the Uttarakhand movement represented a mass movement, rebel or protest against the socio-economic exploitation of the region. Economic, development and justice constituted the main ideology of the movement. These were the major components which guided the movement. But there were also other areas of concern like environmental and ecological protection, protection of human and natural resources. These were some of the issues on which the awakened people of this land launched agitations. These agitations brought to the fore the short comings, aberrations and distortions in the schemes of national development.

As far as leadership is concerned the movement seemed to have a kind of collective leadership in the form of women, students, ex-army men. There was a good harmony amongst them at every stage of the movement. All of them resorted to daily rallies, demonstrations hunger strikes, closing of offices and schools, resignation as major strategies to protest against the state government.

Role of the state

How did the state government deal with movement needs to be explored. The central or even the state government never favoured the creation of a hill state and adopted various coercing means to contain the movement. The most glaring example of this coercion could be seen in Khatima and Muzzafarnagar firing. The peaceful Uttarakhand protesters were on their way to participate in a rally when armed policemen in the midnight suddenly attacked them. Some men were allegedly shot dead and women raped in nearby sugarcane fields. But shockingly instead of admitting mistake and seeking forgiveness the state government framed false charges against some of the protesters. The state had struck to the policy of repression.

This was the period when the movement suffered a setback. The hill people received many wounds in the suppression unleashed by the U.P. Government. Many innocent lives were lost. Curfew was clamped over the hills and police forces were brought in from other states. Many innocent young men were killed and some were

arrested. The coercion of the government did not stop even after this. The movement for them was dubbed as anti social, anti-reform, and anti-progressive. There were various instances of use of force and police atrocities like Shriyantra Tapu incident which claimed two young lives in 1995 at Srinagar. The Government's attitude could be at best be called autocratic not being considerate or sympathetic to the people. Coercion and repression was the keyword of their policy towards the agitationists. These instances added the frustration aggression dimension to the perception of relative socio economic deprivation. These acts of coercion didn't deviate the people from their struggle. Rather it gave an impetus to fight till the last breath and the roots of the movement then started getting deeper and deeper. The state then followed the policy of co-option. Some of the politicians justified the movement with an eye on future vote banks!

PERIPHERI OF THE MOVEMENT

Politically it is very important for a movement to first muster sufficient and unanimous support from within the region which includes both, the support of all sections and communities and the support from all sub-regions that may constitute the bigger region. This also implies that a region looking for its own identity may also behave to strive for the fusion of various smaller identities. Once these smaller identities level the same charges against the regional elite as the latter itself has been leveling against the parent state, the battle is half lost, not only on the moral front but also on the political front.

Broadly the Uttarakhand movement succeeded in mobilising support from all regions of the UP hills and also from among all sections of its hill population. But there has been some variation with regard to the intensity or quality of this support. It has been observed that the Kumaon region was somewhat lukewarm in comparison to Garhwal in its enthusiasm for a separate state. This variation from Kumaon to Garhwal could be attributed to several reasons.⁷²

⁷² Kumar, Pradeep (1997), Areas of peripheral support, Mainstream, Aug 97, p. 9.

- (i) Uneven levels of development Kumaon being far ahead of Garhwal in various socio economic indicators.
- (ii) Garhwal's history being that of a princely state where people fought against the brutalities of the Maharaja on a much larger scale than perhaps was required in British Kumaon where at least some civil rights did exist in the pre-independence period.
- (iii) The incidents of firing and rape at Muzzafarnager largely affected the Garhwalis who were the main victims and gave a new turn to the movement.
- (iv) Garhwal has had a long tradition of revolutionaries like Sri Dev Suman, Chandra Singh Garhwali and Indra Mani Badauni.

The movement in Kumaon was therefore much less visible than in Garhwal. The intensity of support got further diluted in the terai belt of Kumaon compared to the rest of the Kumaon hills where people already found themselves somewhat lined up behind the Garhwalis.

The variation in terms of the intensity of the emotional support could also be seen in the Dehradun Valley which has been home to a large number of non-Paharis. Some of these however had settled in the valley for a longtime and to a great extent identify themselves with the political aspirations of the region and supported the movement. But here were some non-paharis who realized that they were not likely to benefit as much from the creation of a hill state as the local Paharis. It was this realisation that has made many of them not to support the movement both in physical as well as in financial terms. Then there were some of these non Pharis who infact simply played safe by siding with the strong current which threatened to sweep them away. Any resistance to this current would have invited the wrath of the fellow Garhwalis who were more than gives to the movement.

Some non-Garhwalis had even gone to the extent of launching a madiani manch built was largely confined more to protect the interest of the non Garhwalis

than to attack the demand frontally.⁷³ Similarly the Shivalik Group wanted to exclude the valley from the proposed state. Much of the rationale of these groups was a fear psychosis created by some leaders of the movement that non-Garhwalis would have no place in the proposed state.

Most non pahari settlers from plains and refugees from Punjab were quite reluctant to support the movement as they always feared they would be reduced to second class citizens on a hill state. It is this which makes them demand the longer Uttarakhand with some of the futile districts of neighbouring plains which would not only dilute the Pahari dominance but also ensure some other business in view of their link with some of these commercially prosperous plains. The participation of non Garhwalis in the leadership positions had also been minimal. The movement's leadership did not put in enough efforts to co-opt the non-Paharis beyond making them somewhat passive and reluctant supporters of the movement.

If we see the movements in terms of area then there was one area where the movement was actually dormant and it was the Jaunsar Bawar region of Garhwal.

The demography and the socio-economic composition of the region explains the reason for this sub region of Uttarakhand for being cold over the issue of separate statehood. The region has a strong concentration of Jaunsar who are scheduled tribes and have therefore supported two percent reservation in government jobs. Apart from being a tribal area, Jaunsar Bawar has also been quite isolated from the rest of the Garhwal region in terms of its culture and psyche. The cultural isolation has only added to the tribal identity which has been constructed by the economics of the situation. The near absence of higher education facilities in the region also deprived its people of the political consciousness.

Much of the momentum that the movement acquired in the Garhwal and Kumaon region was in fact a culmination of the process of identity formulation in the region. While most areas of these two regions succeeded in fusing their smaller local

⁷³ Kumar Pradeep (1999), Uttarakhand Movement: Construction of a regional identity, Kanishka Publication, pp. 147.

identities into a common Uttarkhandi identity, Jaunsar Bawar's case remained an exception. The lack of development the absence of cultural and historical links with Garhwal, reservation of for local tribes were some factors that led to the growing subjective perception of a distinct Jaunsar sub identity which became powerful enough to dissuade the people from mining themselves into Uttarakhandi identity.

In the new state Jaunsar Bawar's indifference bordering on alienation from the movement could partly be attributed to its geographical isolation from the Uttarakhand mountains. The sheer physical distance as much as the cultural or social distinctness maybe reason fro most Jaunsar's not supporting the movement whole heartedly. The movement also had some adversaries in the form of some politicians and economists who raised the issue of sessionism and economic viability. Many politicians termed the movement as anti-nation anti-development anti-backward while economists questioned the economic viability of the region.

To conclude the Uttarakhand movement, like other movements has had a chequered history. From anti reservation stir to a voluntary mass mobilization cutting across class caste barriers, the vigour and intensity of the movement was phenomenal.

It was historic in which, at one time virtually the entire populace was physically or emotionally involved. It was a movement of the people and by the people with no role for then politicians who stood consciously rejected and isolated.

Table 3.3. Some of the important landmark events of the movement are given below

Years	Landmark Event
1936	Jawaharlal Nehru in Srinagar Garhwal Congress conference accepted the view of autonomous structure of the region on the basis of its geo-cultural peculiarities
1946	Badri Dutt Pane, a prominent figure in Garhwal organised a conference at Haldwani and demanded special status of the region.
1952	Comrade P.C. Joshi, the then general secretary of CPI put forward the demand for a separate state
1956	P.C. Joshi restarted the movement termed as Kumaon Sankalp
1967	Ramnagar conference was held. An important organisation Parvitya Rajya Parishad was found which can be seen as the foundation of the movement
1971	Chandra Mani Badauni, Laxman Singh Adhikari and other social activists started reawakening the masses.
1973	Parvitya Rajya Parishad was reorganized demanding statehood to Uttaranchal
1976	A new organization called Uttarakhand Rajya Morcha came into existence, organized a March from Badrinath to Boat club to press their demand for a separate state
1977	Uttarakhand Sangarhs Vahini was formed by Dr. S.S. Bisht
1979	On July 25, Uttarakhand Kranti Dal was formed by Dr.D.D. Pant.

1985	Kashi Singh Airy, Prominent leader won Assembly election and gave new thrust to the movement
1987	A split occurred in Uttarakhand Kranti Dal. A youth wing left the party and formed Uttarakhand Jan Parishad in the same year
1989	A massive BJP rally was held at Almora supported by various organisations like Uttarakhand Kranti Dal, Uttarkhand Jan Parishad
1994	Mulayam Singh Yadav delared 27% reservation for OBCS of the region in the educational institutions in the region.
1994	Muzzafarnagar carnage took place, many were killed and women were allegedly raped by police
1995-2000	Uttarakhand people wrote letters to prime minister demanding creation of a hill state. Rallies and demonstrations continued and pressure was built on the government
9 th Nov. 2000	Uttaranchal, the 27 th State and the dream of the Uttarakhandis became a reality

Source: Johsi, M.P. (1990) Uttaranchal Himalayas: an essay in historical anthropology, Sri Almora book Depot Almora.

A Times of India, Special report on Uttaranchal, Feb 22, 2003.

CHAPTER IV

UTTARANCHAL – VISION AND REALITY

FEW CONCLUDING INFERENCES

Uttarakhand Movement like any social movement had its internal dynamics, motivational forces and structural conditions and cyclical character. Economic development and justice constituted the main theme of the movement. The region, over the years had become an internal colony with a rampant exploitation of its human and natural resources by outsiders. The movement had a collective leadership in the form of various women groups students, social activists. The movement went through various stages. The movement was at its peak in early 90s when the reservation issue gave it a fillip. But there was also a time when the movement had frittered away and reached its stage of exhaustion. The movement thus had its ups and downs.

It was only after a long and protected struggle waged by the people of Uttarakhand that the state of Uttaranchal was carved out from Uttar Pradesh on 9th November 2000. It was an outcome of the people's assertion and conviction that the government at Lucknow could no longer fulfill their expectations and aspirations. The movement cannot be looked at as an isolated phenomenon which occurred as a response to some sudden development. In fact it has been seen as a movement for which the soil had been prepared by various regional, local struggles. These grass-roots mobilizations revolved around such existential issues as forest related restrictions, deforestation, alcoholism, 'beggar', dam project and lasted for decades. These also, more often than not cut across the socio economic barriers in view of all the communities finding themselves on the receiving end of the development model unleashed first by the colonial state and later imposed by the post-colonial state. One can trace out a common trajectory of these mobilizations. It has been this continuity which imparted confidence to the movement. All the events and developments in the pre and post independence history of Uttarakhand have been organically linked with various social, cultural and environmental issues and reflect local nationalism where

in the desire to promote local culture was at the center. The symbols, idioms and methods of mobilization were all local. This local nationalism in a way contributed to the overall resurgence of the region. The earlier episodes of mobilization gave rise to a network of associations and organizations which explains the active role played by various social categories such as women, students, ex-servicemen government employees in the movement. These mobilizations apart from consolidating Uttarakhandi identity created an extensive organisational support base by means of recruiting members and instilling a sense of purpose towards a common cause in them. It is also equally important to sift these instances of mobilization from the specific mobilization on the issue of a separate state for the hills. The movement which started as an anti-reservation agitation was soon transformed into a demand for a separate state. The massiveness of the demand which converted it into a powerful movement in the mid 1990's was a great achievement. Even greater has been the non-violence and non political character of the movement which successfully kept politicians of all shades in the margins.

The main positive fall out of the movement was the tremendous growth of awareness among the people. The people realized their economic plight in the sense that, they became aware of the fact that their human and natural resources have been drained and they have been reduced to a mere internal colony. They protested against the alien model of development which had deprived them economically as well as socially. The demand for a new state was not aimed at yet another addition to the existing group of states. It was aimed at the socio economic rejuvenation and restructuring of the region.

Another gain of the movement has been bridging of the cultural distance between the Garhwali and Kumaoni communities. There was also a time when the movement had gone into decline in December because of the suppression unleashed by the then Uttar Pradesh government. There was a wave of anger that had arisen following the killing of some hill people and rape of women near Muzzafarnagar on October 2. Curfew was clamped over the hills and police forces were brought in from other states to enforce it which killed innocent young men, arrested thousands, destroyed property and established a region of terror. This violence by the state had

shocked the people into a period of silence. At the same time this was also the period of introspection for the hill people, for formulating strategies and for joining social, economic and cultural issues with the political struggle for a hill state.⁷⁴ Despite coercive response of the state the hill people continued to struggle. And after years of struggle that does away with those factors which are to be seen as the cause of underdevelopment in the region. But today there are many serious issues in the state which need to be addressed. The creation of the state did not cause obvious elation among participants of the movement. It was because of the two acts by the then BJP government.⁷⁵ These acts proved to be callous and disregard the sentiments of the people and the emotional, physical and material sacrifices made by them. These acts were-one the name given to the new state and two, Dehra Dun being made its capital even if a temporary one.

The name Uttaranchal is the touchstone that sparks off volatile reactions among the residents of the region. For most of the Garhwalis, the name lacks emotive resonance and is another instance of betrayal of their identity by the powers to be running the show for this separate hill state had always been spoken as Uttarakhand, a name that had its genesis in the ancient lore and scriptures. BJP's argument was that it did not believe in or support the idea of 'Khand' (piece or part of division). The concept of the country getting divided up. For the same reason it had given the name Vananchal to Jharkhand. But the fact now is that the name Jharkhand was retained for the at new state, has weakened the BJP's argument against the name Uttarakhand. By changing the name they had misjudged the passions and pride of the people. Thus, Uttarakhand vs Uttaranchal – the controversy has been more than a debate over semantics.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Chandola, Harish, What kind of Uttarakhand, R. R. Nautiyal, A. Nautiyal (ed.) Uttarakhand in Turmoil, M.D. Pub., New Delhi, pp. 40.

⁷⁵ Emerging state of Uttaranchal by N.P. Nawani (2000), Uttaryani, New Delhi, pp. 32-36.

⁷⁶ Dhasmana, R., Uttarakhand remains in the heart Indian Express, Aug. 28, 2002.

It strikes at the core of their identity as people and what people had struggled for in the Uttarakhand Andolan. Name apart, the fact of having made Dehra Dun the capital of his new state disheartened many activists of the movement. It only suggests that it is the writ of the politicians, bureaucrats, lobbyists and the mafia which has prevailed and not the interests of the people nor the development of the hill region.⁷⁷ In the entire Uttarakhand movement among the issues on which there was total consent among the people and between the participating groups – was the location of the capital of the proposed new state at Gairsain. If at all one occasionally heard of Dehra Dun and Nainital being offered as choices, it was only by some sections of the respective local residents. One of the major gains of the Uttarakhand movement was the break up of a part fact, part fiction psychological barrier which existed between the people of Garhwal and Kumaon. And Gairsain was symbolic of the coming together of the two communities which had been assumed to nurse a bias against each other and engage some times in petty rivalry. By making Dehra Dun the capital the government had undone this gain of the Uttarakhand movement. According to the movement participants the choice of Gairsain, located in a valley close to the border between Garhwal and Kumaon would be true to the character of a hill state and would have been the only appropriate capital of a hill state being itself in the hills. And since development was the *raison d'être* of the basic demand for a separate hill state, the selection of Gairsain as the capital would have meant that the common hill folk would likely be placed at the center of planning and development. Dehra Dun adjoining the plains is already developed area in the new state but short of industrialisation. The new state initially had started with a financial disadvantage and the lion's share of economic assistance got concentrated in or concerned by Dehra Dun. This situation has been like helping the rich get richer while the poor remain poorer. While the rich prosper the hardships of the common man have multiplied and they have remained deprived of their political voice despite all their sacrifices for the Uttarakhand movement. And now the important question that arises is what is the

⁷⁷ Negi, Biju, Round one to the Lobbyists, Politicians and Bureaucrats, Hindustan Times, Jan. 2, 2001.

difference from what the people were earlier. Then if Dehra Dun had to be the capital then what was wrong with Lucknow in the first place? It is often argued by the exponents of the movement that Dehra Dun with its plains bias would be just as ignorant or unconcern of the problems of the hills. At the same time Dehra Dun which once boasted a year round equitable climate had a thick green cover and ample water resources is already bursting at its small sensitive seams. Residential construction activities are taking place at a fast pace. Fumes of vehicular traffic narrow congesting roads has made Dehra Dun town among the worst polluted in the country. However, the most worrying factor is that Dehra Dun and its adjoining areas have in the last decade seen strong infiltration from adjoining regions. And this infiltration is not the kind that might be welcomed. The town has now become a stronghold of an established Mafia particularly dealing in land and liquor and spreading its wings in other areas as well. It would be in the interest of such people and of the bureaucrats and the politicians who would rather not go uphill to a place yet to be developed that Dehra Dun be the capital for they could then call all the shots and also spread the influence in other parts of Uttarakhand. But the social activists of the region feel that this was not something which the movement had aspired for. It is obvious that the birth of the new state means that people's struggle has not ended but must continue!

STATE OF UTTARANCHAL: PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

The people of Uttarakhand now have entered a new phase of the struggle. They have to ensure that the aspiration which inspired them to take up the struggle for a separate state are actually realized.

Enormous problems confront the hill people today. A significant demand of the Uttarakhand movement had been for the material well-being of hill residents, economic revitalization of the region. Indeed, the movement had its genesis in the very failure of the process to bring any substantive improvement in the lives of the Uttarakhand rural poor. In truth, development has only impoverished in the hills and visited ever more onerous ecological burden on the people. For Uttarakhand forest policy has always been a key issue and indicative of how various administrations

have approached development in the hills. From time immemorial the people lived relatively harmoniously with the environment. The modern management under the guise of progress and development has led to the merciless plunder of the once green hills. It has also hastened the exhaustion of the land. The magnitude of the damage done to the hills by modern commercial extraction has been enormous. The rich forests have been plundered by the timber mafia and in some parts of the state there is no source of livelihood for the people. There are still some villages which are devoid of young men as they seek livelihood outside. Uttarakhand according to social activists has been ruined by modern development, its water and rich natural resources are being plundered and pillaged. Selected areas are being converted into pleasure and pilgrimage spots for tourists with vast areas being neglected and deprived. It is an irony that a region which had given birth to India's environment movement in 1970's is still facing a serious environmental challenge. Although joint Forest Management Programme is becoming popular in the region, it has to ensure people's participation in the management of forests through village forest committers or the village panchyats.

Water resources of this nascent state have also fallen prey to environmental deterioration. The famous Nainital lake today is a filthy water body which receives all the dirt of the city. It has become the dumping ground for the four's sewer and garbage. The rate of situation has also gone up tremendously due to unscientific and illegal cutting of the hill sides around the lake by the mafia controlled contractors. There has also been an increasing pressure on the environment of the Gangotri Dham in the absence of guidelines to accommodate the growing pilgrim traffic in conformity with the Himalayan ecosystem. Gangotri today suffers from a multi pronged invasion in the form of erosion and degradable and non degradable waste. The water of Ganga which has supposed to have magical powers has in itself become a part of pathological cycle of bacteria and protozoans. There have been environmental campaigns in the state to save its water resource from depletion.

Exploration and development of mineral wealth is a major avenue of income for the state. The mountains of Uttarakhand are rich in many minerals and metals but the means by which excavation has been carried out so far has been disruptive of the

geology and has benefited very few people. Limestone quarries have scarred the region. It is high time that the state government must realize that the resources have to be extracted in harmony with environment so that they do not endanger the habitat and ecological balance which has been the tradition of the people. Even after two years of the creation of the state, the stark reality is that there are still some villages that lack electricity and proper roads or communication.

It seems that what is happening to the people of Uttaranchal today is a replay of what happened with the people of India 56 years ago at the time of formal independence from colonial rule. People shed their blood but they were not allowed to enjoy the fruits of victory. The India that was fashioned after 1947 was not the India the freedom fighter had envisaged. A similar thing is taking place with the people of Uttaranchal. They have won a victory in the creation of Uttarakhand but failed to give it the content they have all along desired. They must continue to wage the struggle be it against corruption, environmental degradation, pollution and urban sprawl, for preserving bio-diversity and finally culture of Garhwal.

One of the major objectives of the movement was corruption free Uttaranchal. But recent developments have highlighted endemic political corruption and opportunism. The state lacks a transparent and accountable administration which can identify itself with the people. Poverty and lack of employment opportunities still predominate in the state. Administrative authorities seemed to be inept in making the benefits of various programmes reach the common men. Crores of rupees were spent on Dehra Dun initially much of it on unnecessary sprucing up with the same amount a worth while beginning could have been made in Gairsain itself. The lobbies-bureaucrats, politicians and the mafia are flourishing. The working masses of Uttarakhand must ensure today that the agenda is set by them, not by the ruling classes. They must organize themselves into no-partisan committees in the villages, schools and other economic institution and put forth proposals for solutions to various economic and political problems food security, health care, water, electricity and so on. They must select those candidates who would be sincere fighters for the interest of the people. The hill women who had played a pivotal role in the movement need to assume a watch dog role and ensure that the politicians, officials, Panchyati level

leaders and the workers do not deviate from correct path. Probably hill women will succeed where the government has failed. Uttaranchal, the current reality remains a pale shadow of what could be. In the two years following statehood, it has become painfully obvious that the new Uttaranchal does not belong to the people. But to the large landowners of the terai, petty babus in the bureaucracy, land speculators across the hills and the big mafia controlled contractors that continue to exploit the natural resources of the Himalaya beyond the breaking point. Moreover, a new class of colonizer has arrived from the plains and cities of Northern India. Land prices have skyrocketed... Most grievously, the ugly concrete sprawl, land colonization, pollution and vehicular congestion have done immense damage to fragile ecosystem and devastated the natural beauty of the Devbhumi. Does it not bring us back to the notion of internal colony? Aren't there certain pockets in the state now which have fallen into the trap of internal colonialisation and exploitation?

Thus, there is a kind of inconsistency between the state that was envisioned by the movement, and the current state. And when the existing structures in a society show certain inconsistencies with reference to the achievement of certain goals, collective mobilization may emerge. And this is what is happening in the new state in the form of various campaigns and mobilizations against environmental degradation, pollution, and political corruption. The aim of these collective mobilizations which draw their inspiration from the movement has been to make the new state committed to the ideals of economic justice and sustainable development.

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